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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. TSEGHE (Ethiopia): Mr. President, it is my very pleasant duty to express to you the particular satisfaction of the Ethiopian Government on your election to preside over this twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Because we are fully confident in your high competence for your present task and are mindful of the constructive role which Indonesia continues to play in the international community, you may rest assured that my delegation will spare no effort to place at your disposal its modest contribution towards the efficient discharge of the heavy duties of your high office.

2. The twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly was no less blessed than the present session in that it had your learned predecessor, Ambassador Hambro of Norway, to guide it competently through that particularly busy anniversary session. To Ambassador Hambro, I should like to extend the heartfelt gratitude of the Ethiopian delegation in the simplest terms and in all humility: thank you for a job well done.

3. As we all know, this year marks U Thant's tenth year of selfless and devoted service as Secretary-General of the United Nations. The manifold achievements of U Thant in strengthening the United Nations, especially in strengthening the role of the Secretary-General as the roving ambassador of peace during the last decade, must obviously be left to the historians of the period to record in detail. But I am none the less impelled to express the profound gratitude of my Government for the dedicated service he

has rendered to the United Nations and, through it, to the larger family of mankind.

4. My Government welcomes the admission of Bahrain, Bhutan, Oman and Qatar to membership in the United Nations. In congratulating the representatives of these nations on the achievements of their respective countries in reaching their present status of full membership in this ever-growing family of nations, we wish to express the confident hope that their contribution of new ideas and different approaches to solving common problems will further strengthen this Organization.

5. Speaking of membership in the United Nations, I must state that my Government continues to be concerned about the exclusion of the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China from our counsels. We firmly believe that none of the outstanding and most fundamental world problems such as disarmament and international security can be resolved without the active participation of the representatives of the People's Republic of China. On the basis of this belief, representatives of my Government have, for a decade, persistently appealed from this rostrum for a sense of realism and true statesmanship to rectify what we still think of as a wrong perpetuated for far too long. As a consequence of this conviction, we have heretofore voted in favour of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Yet, the same item appears on the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly [*item 93*]—we hope for the last time.

6. I express this optimistic hope on the basis of the fact that, at long last, realism and statesmanship have emerged from some quarters during the last few months. Such being the case, I must limit myself to reiterating our consistent appeal in modified terms.

7. Thus, in the first place there should be no further procrastination in redressing the past injustice.

8. Secondly, no further obstacle should be put in the way of the restoration of the lawful rights of the Government of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations as the sole representative of the entire people of China.

9. With some tragic exceptions, the interval between the past and present sessions of the General Assembly has been a reasonably calm and fruitful period for the world community.

10. On the credit side, the continuing *détente* between power groupings; the preliminary agreement on Berlin;¹ the

¹ Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

pragmatic reorientation of national policies vis-à-vis existing realities; and the agreement on the text of a treaty for the prohibition of biological weapons, are but a few of the positive developments which my Government heartily welcomes. We are encouraged also by the further commitments towards the amelioration of the general world situation which have been voiced by representatives of both super-Powers and small nations alike throughout the present general debate.

11. On the other hand, the unaltered situation in South-East Asia; the seemingly inactive volcano in the Middle East; the spreading malignancy of racist oppression in southern Africa; the last-ditch entrenchment of colonialism in Africa; the lack of appreciable progress in disarmament negotiations in Geneva; and the recent human tragedy in the Indian subcontinent are, surely, some aspects of our common and urgent problems which must remain matters of anxious concern to the international community and, as such, must command a redoubled effort on the part of all of us towards facilitating their containment and final solution.

12. It is a fact that none of the problems I have just mentioned, or the rest of the world's manifold problems, can be said to have any magic formulae for their ready and prompt solution. Yet, we are not starting from a void in all instances.

13. To be more specific, let me, for example, single out the urgent problem of the Middle East.

14. First, we have Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which laid down the broad basis for achieving genuine and durable peace in that long-troubled area of the world.

15. Secondly, an attempt to implement that resolution was promptly initiated by the Secretary-General and the arduous effort towards its actual implementation continues to be pursued by his personal representative, Ambassador Jarring.

16. Thirdly, a temporary cease-fire was achieved, which, mercifully, is still observed *de facto* by the parties concerned.

17. Fourthly, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity which convened in Addis Ababa last June, has formed a committee composed of 10 Heads of State—including His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, my august Sovereign—to seek ways and means of bringing about lasting peace to that cross-road of civilizations. That committee has, since its formation, held intensive consultations, as a result of which a sub-committee was formed and will soon visit the capitals of the countries concerned.

18. Meanwhile, since the initial cease-fire, there has been considerable restraint by the parties concerned in not aggravating the already tense situation. From what we gather, the guns are more often silent. As a result, incalculable life and property have been spared the ravages of war. We appreciate the advantages of these positive developments and we ardently hope that they will eventually lead to the establishment of lasting peace in the region.

19. In spite of the achievement of some progress towards solving some of the problems confronting the international community in general, the problems that prevail in southern Africa continue to deteriorate. The colonial-racist minority régimes in that part of the world continue their impudent defiance of world opinion by escalating the repressions and oppressions that they mete out to the millions of people they hold in bondage.

20. In the furtherance of their pernicious objectives of preserving the hegemony of the social and political anachronisms to which they cling, the colonial racial minority régimes in southern Africa are fostering ever closer collaboration among themselves in the vain hope of obstructing the inevitable march to freedom of peoples long subjugated and long denied the right to self-determination and independence. I need hardly deal with the numerous decisions of the United Nations that continue to be flouted by the Lisbon-Salisbury-Pretoria axis, for these are too well known and painstakingly documented elsewhere. I would only wish to underline at this point my Government's deep and serious concern at the explosive danger inherent in the failure by the United Nations, and particularly by those Member States that have close political and economic ties with the recalcitrant régimes that dominate southern Africa, to act against an injustice that is being perpetrated in the name of *apartheid* and colonialism.

21. It has been generally accepted that, among the areas of notable achievements credited to the efforts of the United Nations, decolonization ranks as the most significant. Nevertheless, the import of this phenomenon continues to elude the subjugated peoples of southern Africa. That is the case because the international community has abandoned them in their plight and misery, or, perhaps, has not yet shown sufficient willingness and resolve to act with speed and determination to enable them to realize their legitimate aspirations to live and die as free men and women. For the colonial peoples of southern Africa the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and other declarations remain unfulfilled promises as a result of the illogical and intransigent policies being ruthlessly pursued by the colonial-racial régimes dominating that region.

22. A significant development this year regarding the southern African tragedy has been the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on Namibia.² The role that my country, in co-operation with others, has played in the legal battle concerning the Namibian case is a matter of record and I do not wish to labour it. I merely wish to state the satisfaction of my Government with the opinion rendered by the Court in response to the request made by the Security Council in its resolution 284 (1970).

23. The advisory opinion of the Court on the illegality of the presence of South Africa in Namibia being so clear and categorical, how much longer must implementation of the decisions of the competent organs of the United Nations be withheld or procrastinated?

24. Now is the moment of truth. Will the Security Council take the proper measures under the Charter to implement

² *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.*

its own decisions, or is the cause of the oppressed Namibians to go by default?

25. How much longer also will the international community and, in particular, the permanent members of the Security Council, regard, with a somewhat resigned acquiescence, the conspiracy of colonialists and racialists to try to keep the subjugated peoples of Africa in their death grip?

26. The choice between peace or an interracial bloodbath in southern Africa, with all its serious implications, may well depend on the answers given to the simple questions I have posed.

27. In yet another sphere, one of the most disquieting problems facing humanity today is the ever-widening gap between the developing and the developed countries. As the eminent President of Mexico succinctly put it in his address to this Assembly on 5 October:

“There will be no peace in the world until there has been a basic reorganization of the economic relations among nations. Today, the threat of atomic wars is as serious as that of the growing inequality between the rich countries and the poor.” [1952nd meeting, para. 27.]

28. The International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session [resolution 2626 (XXV)] is, perhaps, the best instrument at our disposal to cope with this problem. What remains now is its implementation. In this respect the developed countries have a unique and important role to play. And unless these affluent and industrialized countries encourage and assist the poor nations to accelerate their economic development, the latter will no doubt continue to be confronted with serious difficulties in meeting the developmental needs of their peoples.

29. It might be said that the First Development Decade was not, after all, a complete failure, if only because its shortcomings have, to a certain extent, enabled us to be more pragmatic in our approach to the Second Development Decade. It is, therefore, our earnest hope that, with this realization, the forthcoming meetings of the Group of 77 and of the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD] will come up with concrete and viable proposals aimed at facilitating the implementation of the International Development Strategy.

30. May I now turn to a subject which gives rise to a legitimate hope on the part of the international community as a result of the adoption, a year ago, by the General Assembly of a declaration of principles governing the exploitation and the exploration of the resources of the sea-bed.³

31. For certain basic needs, man is becoming increasingly dependent on the biological resources of the sea. Following the tremendous advance of science and technology during

this century, the exploitation and exploration of the rich resources of the seas and the oceans has become a means of combating the serious shortage of the products that the surface of the earth used to offer.

32. Moreover, the explosive growth of the world's population has emerged as an important factor requiring the maximum utilization of all the resources nature offers in order to give humanity a better standard of living. In this respect, the General Assembly laid down, during its last session, a fundamental principle by which the sea-bed is declared the common heritage of mankind and, hence, no State may exercise sovereign rights over any part of that area.

33. Thus, my country looks forward, with justified hope, to the attainment of the following results by the conference on the law of the sea scheduled to take place in 1973.

34. First, we expect the conference to do away with the sad practice of operating on a “first-come-first-served” basis, by establishing a strong international machinery which would assure equitable and fair distribution of the benefits to be derived from the exploitation of the sea and by taking into account the interests and the needs of the developing countries as well as the special situation of land-locked and shelf-locked countries. Second, the conference should find a solution to the urgent problem of the pollution of the sea environment. And lastly, the conference should put an end to the questions related to the law of the sea, which several diplomatic conferences have heretofore failed to resolve.

35. I have stated in my remarks therefore some of the principal preoccupations of my Government and its delegation to the present session of the General Assembly.

36. We also appreciate the enormity of some of the problems facing humanity at large today. But given the political will and the determination of the entire membership of the United Nations, we are convinced that none of these problems is insoluble. In the name of justice, international harmony and the abundant life for all mankind, our plea is, therefore, to rise courageously to meet the lesser challenges to the authority of this Organization even as we endeavour to overcome the more complex ones. To begin is already to take action, and to begin again to take the arduous path leading to a resolution of our chronic problems is what we must do.

37. Mr. BACHEV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria I should like to congratulate you most warmly on the occasion of your election as President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

38. I should like to take this opportunity to pay a warm tribute to the Secretary-General, U Thant, who for 10 years has been serving in the highest post in the world Organization. During this whole period U Thant has devoted his efforts and his talents to strengthening the prestige of the United Nations, displaying an unshakeable faith in the role which the United Nations can play in the attainment of the highest aspirations of mankind towards a future of peace and co-operation among people.

³ Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil Thereof, beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction (resolution 2749 (XXV)).

39. These words through which we wish to reaffirm our deep esteem for the Secretary-General are in no way words of farewell. We wish to believe that his authority and experience will continue to be placed at the service of the community of nations.

40. Debates in the United Nations are a reflection of changes, positive or negative, in the world of international politics waged by States in respect of the great problems the solution of which is expected by all the peoples of the world.

41. Therefore we think that we can say that the general debate is held under the sign of a positive evolution in some areas, which this year brings us the wind of *détente* and improvement of the international political climate. Was not the important news that we heard this morning of the visit of President Nixon to the Soviet Union another of those signs?

42. At the same time, the debates translate the great concern for the fact that the dynamism of this process and its repercussions in the world remain slow and uncertain.

43. Therefore, it is only natural that the problems of international security and the ways and means to settle them in conformity with the political realities of the present world have dominated the debate. The desire to pass from statements of general principles and political philosophy to concrete measures aiming at improving the international situation has been expressed in the most urgent manner. The will of the international community to reach an urgent solution of the important problems and conflicts which maintain mankind in a state of tension and alarm is more categorical than ever, because these conflicts are only too numerous. Military activities in Indo-China continue. The dangerous situation in the Middle East can at any time provoke a new explosion. In other parts of the world, more especially in the eastern Mediterranean, in Africa and in Latin America, acts of overt interference or preparations for interference in the internal affairs of States are ever more numerous.

44. The war of aggression in Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos continues with the same violence. The inauguration of the present session on 21 September was accompanied by explosions caused by the most powerful bombings by United States aircraft on the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam in the past three years. It is these aggressive acts, and not the official declarations which translate the genuine intentions of the United States Government which are to continue the war in Indo-China through direct aggression and Viet-Namization. The objective of this redoubling of military efforts remains, of course, the same as the one defined in 1954 by the National Security Council of the United States: "The American policy consists of the search for a military victory." This objective today is much more inaccessible than it was at the time. The United States is not in a position to break the will and ability to fight of the heroic peoples of Viet-Nam and the other countries of Indo-China, who oppose foreign aggression. The latest aggressive acts of the United States can only lead to a new failure for its political and military strategy in south-east Asia, a new crisis of confidence in regard to the Washington Government, especially on the

part of the American people and its youth, who pay a very painful price for the policy of their leaders.

45. The strategists of American policy look for a way out but they do not look for it where it is to be found in reality: the total withdrawal of American troops from Indo-China. Therefore the American leaders are looking for new possibilities in Asia, and especially in the Far East, to support their military efforts in Indo-China and their political goals within the country and in the United Nations. Washington does not conceal its satisfaction at seeing that the second visit of the adviser to President Nixon is taking place at the very moment when the United States is trying in the General Assembly to save the seat of Taiwan, immediately after the alleged elections in Saigon and the strengthening of the military activities in Viet-Nam. The United States Government is particularly appreciative of the fact that this new mission to the People's Republic of China will help to divert the attention of the public opinion of the country from new manifestations and demonstrations against the Viet-Nam war.

46. As long as the United States intervention goes on in south-east Asia the Viet-Nameese people, enjoying the support of socialist countries, will continue to deal heavy blows to the invaders. At the same time it continues to bend every effort for a just and realistic political solution of the conflict. The recent proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam constitute a new and constructive programme for the establishment of peace in Indo-China. These proposals, supported by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and welcomed with satisfaction and hope in the world, open up new prospects for the Paris negotiations and for a political solution which would take into account the interests and feelings of all the countries concerned. It is regrettable that the United States Government should continue, through its obstructionism in Paris and through its acts in Indo-China, to deepen the conflict and doom to failure all the efforts towards a political solution of the crisis.

47. The situation in the Middle East has gone beyond tolerable limits and is incompatible with the normal and effective development of peaceful efforts aimed at liquidating the consequences of Israeli aggression. The military aggression of 1967 continues at present under the guise of occupation and political aggression, which for four years has made impossible the implementation of decisions of the Security Council. The responsibility for this situation lies exclusively with the Government of Israel.

48. In the Middle East also we are confronted with two opposing trends. On the one hand, the Arab Governments are ready to accept a political solution of the crisis, no matter who takes the initiative for it, and, on the other hand, Israel only seeks to keep the fruits of its aggression and opposes any just solution of the conflict.

49. This policy of Israel meets with increasing disapproval on the part of world public opinion, which sees in it an intolerable defiance of the most elementary principles of international law and justice.

50. Israel is perfectly aware of this state of affairs and tries to conceal its opposition to measures aimed at the

restoration of peace and security in the Middle East. The statement of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Israel in the General Assembly [1946th meeting] was a new proof of this. Mr. Eban generously stated that there were several roads leading to peace; but where do the roads suggested by the Israeli Minister lead? To the illegal consecration of the consequences of aggression and, therefore, new conflicts and war. Only the road leading truly to peace and stability escaped his attention: I have in mind the total implementation of resolution 242 (1967) of the Security Council and its main provision, the withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied Arab territories.

51. On the other hand, the constructive position of the Arab countries, and especially of Egypt, has created propitious conditions for the political solution of the crisis in the Middle East on the basis of total implementation of the Security Council resolution. The Egyptian Government has declared its readiness to conclude a peace treaty with Israel on this basis, and this would put an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict while safeguarding the interests of all peoples, including the Israeli and Palestinian peoples.

52. This position was confirmed by the statement of Mr. Riad [1954th meeting], who repeated the readiness of Egypt to accept a just solution based upon the reciprocal security of all the countries concerned. However, Israel does not renounce its dangerous expansionist objectives. In the circumstances, decisive international action is called for. Only the concerted initiatives of the four Powers of the Security Council could pave the way for a peaceful settlement of the crisis in the Arab East. Isolated actions by one single country can only encourage Israeli intransigence.

53. The situation in the Korean peninsula also remains a cause for concern. The presence of American troops in South Korea for over 20 years has prevented a divided country from achieving peaceful reunification. This is all the more serious because foreign intervention is being carried out under the flag of the United Nations. The normalization of the situation in this part of the world requires the withdrawal of all foreign troops and the end of any interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people. The majority of countries present here are aware of this and that is why the stand taken by some States, which made it possible to impose the decision of adjourning consideration of this question, is a matter of surprise to us. The arguments advanced by the States against the inscription on the agenda of this session of questions such as the withdrawal of United States troops from South Korea and the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea would be more weighty were there no foreign troops to prevent the Koreans from agreeing among themselves and achieving the peaceful democratic unification of their country.

54. That is precisely the objective of the latest proposals of the Korean Democratic People's Republic of Korea. If those proposals are carried out it would lead to the creation of favourable conditions in order to put an end to an artificially created and fostered state of affairs in this part of the world.

55. Despite resolutions and solemn documents adopted at the commemorative session of the General Assembly, which

called colonialism a crime and asked for the immediate and final liquidation of the colonial system, the solution of colonial problems has not moved forward. On the contrary, we are confronted with redoubled activities of the colonial and racist régimes in southern Africa. Those régimes have strengthened their opposition and their actions against the African national liberation movements. They have perpetrated acts of aggression against Guinea, Zambia and Senegal. The racist Government of the Republic of South Africa has launched a large-scale diplomatic offensive aimed at breaking the unity of independent African countries and at subverting their struggle for the liberation of the whole of Africa. Responsibility for this state of affairs lies with those NATO countries which have not only always brought to bear their moral and material support for the colonial régimes in Africa but have even strengthened their assistance. They openly help and encourage colonialism and neo-colonialism in Africa. The most obvious proof can be seen in the talks held between the United Kingdom and the racist régime of Salisbury, the sale of British weapons to the Republic of South Africa and the NATO meeting in Lisbon.⁴

56. This situation in Africa also requires the strengthening of international action to help the African peoples in their just struggle for the total liquidation of colonialism.

57. The problems of disarmament take pride of place among the most important problems of our time. Numerous resolutions, adopted almost always unanimously by the General Assembly, testify to the hopes placed by the peoples of the world in efforts likely to lead to disarmament. During lengthy debates on the various aspects of disarmament some results were reached, whose positive influence is generally recognized. We also welcome the latest progress achieved by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva: the draft convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons and on their destruction [A/8457-DC/234, annex A]. It is certain that the General Assembly will not fail to approve this first real disarmament measure and that the new convention will very soon become international law, designed to eliminate one of the most terrible weapons of mass destruction.

58. We should like at the same time to express the hope that the adoption of this convention will bring us closer to an agreement on the prohibition of the production of chemical weapons.

59. Every time the question of disarmament is debated, one is duty-bound to note that results in this field are not in keeping with the extreme dangers resulting from armaments. In point of fact, the very grave problems of nuclear disarmament remain in a state of suspension; general and complete disarmament is still marking time; the arms race continues to accelerate and stocks of murderous weapons are still being accumulated.

60. Thanks above all to the efforts of the socialist countries, far from negligible results have been reached in

⁴ Ministerial meeting of the NATO Council, held at Lisbon from 3 to 4 June 1971.

the field of nuclear disarmament, especially the prohibition of nuclear tests in the three environments, the agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and on the demilitarization of the sea-bed, and the negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States on the limitation of strategic arms. This progress is far from sufficient. At this time there are propitious conditions for the conclusion of an agreement on the prohibition of underground nuclear tests. One should not let such an opportunity escape. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] is already in force. It is therefore necessary that States not having signed or ratified it, especially States possessing the industrial and financial potential for the production of nuclear weapons should adhere to it and ratify it.

61. Nuclear disarmament could not be effective without the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons. The common agreement of all States possessing nuclear weapons is indispensable for this. That is precisely the objective of the Soviet proposal for the convening of a conference of the five nuclear Powers [*A/8328*]. The initiative was greeted favourably in all countries, since progress in the field of nuclear disarmament will greatly contribute to the strengthening of confidence and the creation of favourable conditions for the solution of the fundamental problem: that of general and complete disarmament.

62. The proposal of the Soviet Government on the convening of a world disarmament conference [*A/8491*] is also of paramount importance. This is a new initiative likely to ensure progress in the problem of general disarmament, thanks to the participation of all the States of the world. That proposal is widely supported and represents the most democratic way to solve a problem which is a matter of concern to all peoples. It is regrettable that the Government of the United States should have hastened to express reservations about this proposal and we should like to believe that that is not its last word on this problem.

63. The Government of Bulgaria unreservedly supports the new Soviet initiatives since they represent an effective way of reaching one of the essential objectives of the programme for the strengthening of world peace.

64. A policy aimed at strengthening collective security in Europe has of late progressed in a most encouraging manner. The beginning of this positive process was marked by the initiative of the socialist States for the convening of a European conference on security and co-operation. The constructive nature of this proposal, which is in keeping with the aspirations of peoples and the needs of the European continent, has exerted great influence on the political situation in Europe. It made it possible first to embark upon a dialogue between East and West and then—and this is by far the most important—among all the European States. Never have there been so many contacts, conversations and consultations among the countries of Europe as in recent years. Despite the complexity of the problems and some dramatic episodes, all this has created a propitious political climate for the consideration and solution of the important European questions, the settlement of which had not advanced at all during whole decades.

65. It is in this new climate, created thanks to the positive actions of the socialist countries, that the policy of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany towards the East has been able to take a concrete and more realistic form. This was the necessary element enabling the Soviet Union, the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland to sit down at the negotiating table for talks that have resulted in the signing of certain well-known and historic treaties.

66. Further, it was in the same circumstances that it was possible to undertake and carry through successfully the four-Power talks on West Berlin, thus eliminating one of the most sensitive sources of tension in Europe.

67. This important progress had salutary effects on the situation in Europe. The Bulgarian Government hopes that the talks among the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin will lead to positive results, and that the simultaneous ratification of the Treaty of 12 August 1970 between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany, and the Treaty of 7 December 1970 between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany, and the approval of the agreement on West Berlin,⁵ will not be further delayed.

68. We are convinced that the negotiations between Czechoslovakia and West Germany will likewise be crowned with success.

69. It is therefore evident that the time has come to pass from bilateral consultations to concrete multilateral preparations for the European security conference, with no prior conditions or reservations of any kind. During consultations carried on in a spirit of mutual understanding, agreement has become apparent on a considerable number of questions. The European conference on security and co-operation has already become an essential element for promoting relations among the European States, a genuine hope for a more stable and tranquil Europe facing a peaceful future. The conference will be an important step towards eliminating the division of Europe into blocs, towards building in its place a system of collective security, and towards liquidating artificial obstacles preventing the achievement of the real possibilities for wider political, economic, technical and cultural co-operation among the European peoples.

70. Yet, certain measures taken by the United Kingdom Government and likely to create new tensions in East-West relations and to delay the improvement of the political climate in Europe have given rise to profound amazement. One begins to wonder whether the United Kingdom is ready to assume responsibility for this.

71. Together with the other socialist countries, Bulgaria has played an active part in the efforts towards ensuring progress in the problem of European security, which is the key question in international relations.

72. Profoundly convinced that the promotion of regional and bilateral co-operation contributes to a sound international situation as a whole, our country exerts untiring

⁵ Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

efforts to improve its relations with all countries, paying special attention to the situation in Europe, more particularly in the Balkans. In this connexion, Bulgaria has undertaken a great many bilateral and multilateral initiatives for strengthening political, economic and cultural co-operation in the Balkans. Meetings and talks have been held this year with responsible representatives of most of the Balkan countries, among them Yugoslavia, Romania, Greece, Turkey and Cyprus. At these meetings, matters of common concern and practical measures were discussed with a view to ensuring better conditions for the encouragement of good-neighbourly relations among the Balkan countries.

73. These positive developments have had a favourable reception throughout the Balkan Peninsula. It is our hope that with the participation of all the Balkan States these trends will be further strengthened. The Bulgarian Government, on its part, will spare no effort to maintain and strengthen confidence and mutual understanding, the indispensable conditions for co-operation among the Balkan peoples, and for transforming the Balkans into a region of stability and lasting peace, free from nuclear weapons.

74. Efforts aimed at establishing new international relations cannot be limited solely to bilateral and multilateral arrangements. Such efforts are unquestionably necessary, useful and effective. However, it is obvious that today, within the framework of the United Nations, the international community has at its disposal wider means and possibilities.

75. One of the conditions that would make it possible to utilize those possibilities is the total application of the principle of universality of this Organization. And it is here that we see the capital importance of restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, and of the simultaneous admission to membership in the United Nations of the two German States: the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany.

76. I would like, in this connexion, to remind you of the role being played by the German Democratic Republic in international life. All its political activities and its international relations testify to the fact that it bends every effort to serve the cause of peace and understanding among peoples, in its desire to make its special contribution to the strengthening of security in Europe. The admission of the German Democratic Republic to the United Nations will therefore be an important contribution to the strengthening of the principles of the Charter.

77. The question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China has been before the United Nations for 20 years. The negative position of the United States alone has prevented its solution. The United States to this very day continues to act in the same vein, although in a different guise and obviously with less chance of success. Bulgaria, like the other socialist countries, has always favoured, and continues to favour, restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in all United Nations bodies, regarding that Government as the only legitimate representative of China. Our country categorically rejects any proposal involving "two Chinas".

78. The Bulgarian delegation shares the interest felt by the majority of Member States in the problems of economic

development. The interdependence of the problems of peace and international security, on the one hand, and the problems of the elimination of under-development, on the other, have been brought out in previous discussions, especially during the last session.

79. At present, international economic relations are characterized by phenomena which give rise to serious concern. Financial and monetary troubles, inflation and unemployment are causing increasing instability in the Western economy. A large number of speakers before me have stressed the danger these phenomena represent for international economic relations, especially the success of the Second United Nations Development Decade. Any worsening in this situation will inevitably result in a greater exploitation of the third world countries, as was pointed out with particular emphasis by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France [1942nd meeting]. One thing is unfortunately quite certain, and that is that the success of United Nations initiatives in the field of economic development is confronted with new and very grave obstacles.

80. International economic relations during recent years have confirmed the fact that economic and social progress for the developing countries is possible only in certain conditions: complete economic independence, total mobilization of national resources and implementation of programmes for accomplishing profound social and economic transformations.

81. In the struggle of the developing countries to ensure favourable international economic conditions for their economic progress, the United Nations must resolutely stand by the side of these peoples and defend their interests.

82. On the agenda of this session we find other important questions which the Bulgarian delegation views with all due attention. Before concluding, I should like, however, to emphasize that it is the problems of international security and the safeguarding of peace that must have absolute priority. In this connexion, I wish to stress the importance of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, unanimously adopted by the General Assembly at its anniversary session [resolution 2734 (XXV)]. The solution of the problems underlined by that Declaration in fact can create the conditions necessary for the solution of other problems of the present-day world, and international peace and security always remain the most important task of the United Nations.

83. Mr. BENEKE (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, the first words of my delegation and of my Government, in participating in this general debate, must be those of satisfaction at seeing the Foreign Minister of Indonesia presiding over the twenty-sixth regular session. Your great experience and your well-known judgement, Sir, your impartiality and your conciliatory approach, augur well for our work during the next few months; work that is filled with very heavy problems, but nevertheless most promising and open to decisions of great significance to the future of the international community.

84. The United Nations will no doubt be the arena for new alignments of world political powers. In fact, the move

towards the universality that the United Nations Charter defines will allow States heretofore outside this international forum to join us, and, due to their own unique position, they might help in a redefinition not only of the political interests at play, but what is more important, the political forces that move economic and social development and relations among the developed and the developing countries.

85. We can foresee that in the not too distant future the nations which today are divided will, with their own consent, find a place in the Organization. The admission of those States, to the exclusion of their counterparts, would be like trying to square the circle. Therefore, the only solution is to offer equal opportunities to the nations divided into States, whose division was caused by the armed conflicts that took place in the last 30 years. The duration of that division will depend upon the nations themselves, since they alone can decide upon their ultimate political reunification. In the meantime, their absence from the international arena creates a breach in significant and promising negotiations.

86. The application of the principle of universality presupposes the recognition of certain political facts, without thereby justifying them or endeavouring to interfere in the domestic affairs of other States. There are, however, certain facts that have lasted for a number of decades and will apparently be crystallized for many more. The United Nations is not creating those situations which the historians will have to unravel and politicians solve. The United Nations has to work with the world as it is. The least we can do is to accept to negotiate with the spokesmen of all sides and ideologies present. Otherwise, we are doing a disservice to peace and security and are, *a priori*, closing the road to agreement and compromise.

87. Therefore, any discussions that might confuse agreements that could ultimately lead to the principle of universality's being applied should be postponed or dealt with very simply, without acrimony of any sort. Declaring a truce in the verbal war that has taken place year after year and that has presented no new argument—to the point that we have heard them so often we might say that we know all the arguments by rote—would be a service to the United Nations and to the peoples which have most directly lived through those antagonisms for the last few years.

88. We must point out that the mere increase in the Members of the United Nations, although bringing in new forces, and probably new ideas for the treatment of problems, is not in itself a solution to the great pending problems themselves. However, it is a better basis on which to deal with those problems than the present one. If we do some honest stocktaking, we would have to recognize that the United Nations has been absent, or has only participated very incidentally, in the most critical problems in the last few years. Even arrangements for the achievement of universality have been carried out outside the United Nations through bilateral or multilateral negotiations. The United Nations should have participated in explorations and negotiations taking place that will in the future lead to the admission of new Members. Thus, not only would we strengthen the concept of the United Nations presence, but by positive action we would also assist the world in

achieving the objectives and principles of the Charter. Probably for technical reasons—but we might be well advised to try to overcome them through political initiatives and with the agreement of the interested parties—the United Nations has been absent from the entire problem of Indo-China.

89. On the other hand, its activity in the Middle East has been significant, but in the last few months has had to yield to bilateral diplomacy. We note an atmosphere of *détente*, of lowering of guards, of diminution of tension, and to contribute to that atmosphere we might set some very difficult problems aside for a while. This, of course, does not mean that we will forget them nor that we have solved them; but merely to give breathing space, a precious time in which to study them and also allow the United Nations to contribute, with its prestige and its peacemaking resources, to their ultimate solution.

90. Obviously, it still holds true that the golden rule to be applied in the solution of all international problems is direct negotiation, and in these cases, with the assistance of the United Nations. Certain situations cannot be improvised, we cannot artificially create states of mind, but we can yearn for those periods when, carried by the favourable breezes of history, the United Nations played a pioneer role in many of the fields of international relations, and, with its faith and its spirit, spurred on the crusade for peace and economic and social development, and was felt in the farthest corners of the world.

91. Among the different causes for the weakness of the United Nations, some political and even academic circles in many developed countries, point to the imbalance between real power and the number of States; that is to say, the majority decisions on the one hand, with majorities composed generally of smaller States, and strength or power on the other—primarily an economic strength but also military power. This judgment defines the measure of the problems of the international community in terms of *Realpolitik* and the traditional balance of power. Yet, neither *Realpolitik* nor that balance of power inspired the Charter, except where the first left its imprint on the structure of the Security Council. But the United Nations was conceived along certain progressive lines of international law, such as the legal equality of States, co-operation with the international community, the peaceful settlement of disputes. Other principles, such as justice, although mentioned, did not hold sufficient sway. Yet the field was left open for work to be done in the reorganization of the international community through the principles of true distributive justice. Thus, the Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil Thereof, beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction [resolution 2749 (XXV)] and the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)] constitute important milestones. They can perhaps be improved upon—they may perhaps be strengthened in terms of trade relations and of the new régime of the oceans.

92. International law must necessarily establish a single yardstick for international relations, and it responds to the process of humanization of all institutions, as well as the growing process of rationalization. Within this process, to

surrender to *Realpolitik* and balance of power is tantamount to abandoning the process of humanization and rationalization, and therefore means surrendering the long-range interests and the projections for the future to the petty interests of the moment. In domestic law great efforts and significant progress have been made in the curbing of power. In the international field, although belatedly, these efforts show the progressive line of the development of mankind and can only be achieved through a legal order based on principles that rest on the concept of humanization and rationalization. Of course, peace and security are basic values in this entire picture, but as we progress along those lines, it becomes obvious that true peace can only rest on justice and that the type of justice that must govern international relations is proportionate justice which the ancients termed 'distributive justice'.

93. Obviously we cannot in a few years expect to change the habits and views of centuries and traditionally we have considered expediency from the unilateral and short-range view of each State. The type of society created by science and technology has changed the systems of traditional interests and we have come to an interrelation of all of them. However, we still measure and judge our relations on the basis of the old models, thus international activity, and in particular that of international organizations, is sadly unbalanced when confronted by the realities of the present-day world. With its undeniable weaknesses, the United Nations is an irreplaceable instrument allowing the international community to rationalize its relations, to enable new principles of distributive justice to gain ground, and to base peace and security on concrete foundations, not simply on the inert maintenance of the *status quo ante*. It would be deplorable for us to surrender to those who still survive from the period when the rights of States coincided with their strength. Traditionally, men have always sought a better city than that in which they live, and the passage of time has proved that that sought-after city is not one of dreams, but the one that becomes reality in the course of time. Therefore, we must not yield to the past or to the vices of the present, we must look to the world-city, built on the control of power, the true understanding that peace and prosperity are one and indivisible, and that there are obligations derived from sharing this planet—earth.

94. As the United Nations increases its membership, it is merely following the lines drawn by its Charter, be these new Members great or small; it is gradually achieving universality and putting to work all the peoples of the world together. Right is not measured by might and it is to be hoped that, in the world concert, Governments will carry out the difficult and laborious apprenticeship of rationalizing their decisions, which does not mean that they need ignore their own interests, but rather that they should discern the existence of common and long-range interests that must prevail over the immediate ones. The weakness of the United Nations does not lie with the increasing number of its Members, many of them extremely small, but with the fact that it has allowed the policy of balance of power to replace the policy of collective security, and that it has been satisfied with programmes of economic and social development conceived somehow within the old concepts that recent history has shown to be insufficient or inadequate. The developed countries have refused to make the change to make of development a truly common

undertaking and to consider the development of other countries as an international and national objective, on the understanding that, even from the standpoint of economic interests, the development of the third world will increase the prosperity of the developed countries themselves.

95. The executive power of the United Nations lies with the Security Council, but the Council is paralysed because the policy of balance of power has replaced the policy of collective security; in it, it is the lowest common denominator that is sought by voiding resolutions of any significant sections and using oracular language which allows of contradictory interpretations and can thus satisfy even the most opposed interests. And thus has been created a new art in the drafting of resolutions which touch on all possible points but have carefully built-in curbs. This art might be praiseworthy if it led to a solution of the problems; but not only do the problems persist, but, what is worse, they become aggravated.

96. With regard to the increase in the membership of certain bodies of the United Nations, we must point out that, although this does respond to the desire for greater representation and is thus very valuable, we cannot see in it the panacea that will revitalize all these organs. Thus, the proposal to raise to 54 the number of the members of the Economic and Social Council is important since it would make that Council more representative and would establish the balance between its composition and the number of Members of the United Nations, which in the last years has increased considerably. But the Economic and Social Council can be invigorated only by the will of its Members; and we ought not to try to invigorate it at the expense of activities which are being carried out by other bodies of the United Nations, such as the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD]. We can quite justifiably fear that the transfer of competence from UNCTAD to the Council may decrease its effectiveness, since UNCTAD is an organ of the United Nations with exclusive competence, with true specialization, and it is largely due to this that it can render services to the international community. To transfer these powers to a Council that has a very wide competence, might reduce those powers and water them down. If the price of the increase of membership of the Economic and Social Council is to water down the specific and specialized activities of UNCTAD, my Government would not be ready to pay that price.

97. The twenty-fifth session of the United Nations was very significant because of the declarations adopted. At least some of them have blazed new trails in the history of international relations: the Strategy for the Second Development Decade, the Declaration on the principles on the sea-bed, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)] and the resolution on basic principles for the protection of civilian populations in armed conflicts [resolution 2675 (XXV)].

98. But the twenty-sixth regular session of the General Assembly is one in which the United Nations might well take a new tack in specific areas. It may well be that, at the present session, for the first time in the history of the United Nations, the first concrete steps towards disarmament may be taken, in this case as far as biological weapons are concerned, because what has occurred thus far with all

the treaties that deal with armaments is that none of them has been truly one of disarmament but only preventive agreements to stop the build-up of potential arms, therefore their scope has been very limited, and they all fall within the framework of the policy of the balance of power. This is the year of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on Namibia and this, too, is a milestone in the treatment of decolonization.

99. The achievements of the United Nations in economic, social and legal questions are undeniable. Of course, this does not free the United Nations of its political responsibilities, particularly with regard to peace and security.

100. The trend to justify the United Nations for its technical achievements is questionable, although I would not want to underestimate their importance. But the United Nations was not created as an entity to solve technical problems, but rather to take full advantage of technology to achieve its greatest objectives: peace and security based on development, human rights and distributive international justice.

101. The famous policy, the International Development Strategy, suffered a set-back in the last few days, and it is precisely the developing countries that have been squeezed between the rivalries and antagonisms of the great developed countries.

102. We understand the problems of balance of payments, for they are not the monopoly of a few countries; however, the defensive measures of the United States have been extended to the exports from the developing countries and include their first few manufactured goods. Yet the problem of the balance of payments of the United States is not primarily caused by the importing of such merchandise from those countries.

103. It has been said that one cannot discriminate and that therefore protectionist measures must apply equally to all countries. This argument should be examined in the light of the realities of the international community of today, and among these realities we should stress the following: first, the growing ties among all countries that are becoming partners in a great common undertaking; secondly, a defined policy of international development—United Nations documents, the strategies for the first and Second Development Decades; and thirdly unanimous international agreements and efforts, which take into consideration the particular situation of the developing countries.

104. Special arrangements arrived at by these countries have never been called discriminatory. On the contrary, they respond to the very normal and reasonable agreement that rules and accords are adapted to the circumstances they are intended to deal with. If there is a world programme and a defined programme to encourage development, if we even speak of transferring 1 per cent of the gross national product of the developed countries, it is inconsistent to raise tariff barriers to the incipient exports from those countries, when it is through those exports that they are strengthening their economy and paying salaries that will allow them to create their domestic markets and therefore allow the vertical development to which they aspire.

105. But today's case is not the only one that can be looked at. Any other day it may be another industrialized country, or a war of tariffs might be unleashed or retaliatory measures might be adopted. As developing countries, we wish and we have the right to be protected from the conflicts and problems confronting the developed countries. And in this we do not discriminate, we do not ask for capricious concessions; what we ask for are political coherence and adaptation to the norms of reality. This may soon pass, but it is a tocsin which announces the problem, it is an alarm and should be considered coldly before new decisions are taken by other countries.

106. My country proposes that the appropriate bodies of the United Nations, without trying to antagonize any country in particular, should examine the specific case of protectionist measures that might be decreed by industrialized countries. Together with other declarations and as a means of ensuring effectiveness for the doctrine of the Development Strategy, it should be proclaimed that the developing countries shall not be affected by such measures and countermeasures adopted by the industrialized countries.

107. Of course, in order to have a firm starting-point in dealing with world problems, we have to begin with our own home and neighbourhood. We cannot act appropriately in the solution of foreign problems when we overlook those that beset us at home, and we have to begin with our own, that is, by seeking the full potential of each and every country and State. Therefore, if we express an interest in peace and security all over the world, it is because we are ready to seek and establish peace and security on a firm and just basis in our own region.

108. The preservation of peoples and States today calls for a dynamism and requirements that have been increased by technological society. Only in movement, in the exercise and expression of our wills, can we maintain the health of our political bodies. And today the way in which this domestic consolidation is possible is by understanding and by co-ordinating interests into progressively widening spheres from the sub-region to the region and so to the world, and in the case of my own country from the region of Central America to the Latin American continent and then to world organizations. Without resorting to rhetoric here, we may say that preservation requires movement, the discovery of our own personality, the understanding of other personalities, the establishment of an historic affirmation of our own existence and a recognition of how closely we must work and collaborate with other peoples.

109. The great word that has polarized wills and rationalized national and international activities is "development". Development is the main component of peace and security and can only be achieved through two major resources which are: negotiation and agreement and a sense of justice in harmonizing the interests of all and in making the fullest use of the products and the benefits of regional and world co-operation. The best way of preserving the international personality of peoples and of preserving their identity lies in their active and responsible contribution in the different geographic, historic and cultural spheres in which they find themselves as a result of many vicissitudes and historical events which they were unable to avoid and cannot reshape.

110. Although development is intended for these purposes, today it hinges on at least three decisive factors: first, a thorough understanding of all the developing countries without any restrictions based on spheres of culture or geography; second, the creation of great integrated zones, and third, the capacity of the developed countries to understand the problems of the third world as also being their own, in a true perspective of time, history, solidarity and particularly of justice.

111. For the first factor to express its constructive presence the solidarity of all countries in the developing sphere is required, that is, all those that constitute the so-called Group of 77. The forthcoming meeting in Lima might well be a milestone, not only in restoring understanding among the "77" themselves, but in making it even deeper as a consequence of finding the common character of their interests and the strengthening of negotiations, which is the cement that binds them together. We believe that international agreements must not continue to consider all developing countries as in the same position; they must recognize the relative differences among them and therefore norms have to be established that will give more to those who have less, and therefore carry out that distributive international justice among the third world nations that we call for from the developed countries.

112. With regard to the programmes of integration, it is the firm and definitive opinion of my Government that this is the only way of ensuring decorous survival in this period of accelerated technology. Every day we delay integration means a postponement in meeting the elementary needs of our people and diverts us from enjoying economic and social welfare and the possibility of ensuring our peoples their education and development.

113. El Salvador knows that it is its mission to integrate with its neighbours. In Central America we have come to the point where new, irrevocable and profound decisions of integration which will have to be made—not only to cover the trade aspects as in the past, but also political, social, and international matters. Experience has taught us that purely economic agreements have been shattered for lack of the political and legal organs of machinery to deal with them. It was nevertheless a useful experience, and for 10 years it allowed the Central Americans to take full advantage of the benefits of horizontal development. But only with vertical development, which increases the productive and consumer capacity of the people, their level of education and their handling of technology, can they keep up with the progress of other countries and regions. Therefore, El Salvador is ready to form part of the Central American community, with all the social, political and economic obligations involved, as a preliminary step to our integration within the Latin American community, and of course with the firm purpose and prospect of organizing responsible spokesmen and participants in efforts with other regions and peoples of the world to strengthen the international community in accordance with the up-to-date terms of the Charter.

114. The problems of the last few years in the Central American region which, by dint of slow and patient effort, are being smoothed out through direct contacts will show a completely different picture of the Central American community.

115. The sorrows, the anxiety and all the sequels of harm that were left behind by discord and in general the loss of perspective in international relations, lead to reflection and to the understanding of the situation, and therefore ineluctably we are taught by history that we have mutual respect, justice and a reasonable understanding of the interests of the parties concerned.

116. Within that completely new dimension of the Central American community, which for political, geographical and sentimental reasons must include the sister republic of Panama, El Salvador feels constrained in this forum to speak up in solidarity with the legitimate aspirations of the people of Panama that the Canal Treaty signed in 1903, be renegotiated on a more just basis which will recognize the full sovereignty of Panama over all its territory, and we trust that such claims will be heard by the great Power which, in accordance with the wise declaration of its historic leaders, finds its *raison d'être* not only in liberty but also in law and justice.

117. With regard to the dependence of development on the understanding of the great countries, we have made some progress but we are far from having met with the true awareness that, in promoting the development of all the regions of the world, the super-industrialized nations are also promoting their own development. In this field the work of the United Nations has been significant since it allows this and other problems to be defined, permits their continued study and the establishment of organs and machinery for global negotiations. The dismantling of UNCTAD would be an obviously backward step in the programmes of the United Nations and would be the greatest setback that the developing countries might suffer.

118. The United Nations is about to adopt decisions which will have a great impact on the immediate future of the international community. It could be hoped that the effectiveness of the considerably delayed principle of universality might be carried out without exclusions or reprisals or, in other words, what it gains on the one hand, it should not lose on the other, or to speak more specifically, my Government believes that we should preserve the representation of the Republic of China in the United Nations for it is one of the realities of the contemporary world.

119. The admission of Bahrain, Qatar, Bhutan and Oman was fully supported by us. To these new Members and to their representatives we offer the best expressions of friendship of the people and Government of El Salvador. Their presence confirms the universal vocation of the United Nations. We trust that we will be able to work with these new Members of our Organization on the basis of the greatest cordiality and in full co-operation.

120. In brief, El Salvador reaffirms its unshakable purpose to contribute to the achievement of the objectives of the Charter and the establishment of an increasingly interdependent international community, motivated by a feeling of impregnable solidarity and with a vocation for justice as the basis for peace and security.

121. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): At the outset of the Second United Nations Develop-

ment Decade, the undertakings to overcome the conditions of backwardness and subordination which prevail in the greater portion of mankind are still uppermost in the minds of most delegations. The results achieved thus far and the perspectives for the immediate future clearly indicate that we are still far from having achieved true international co-operation or of breathing real-life into the purposes and principles proclaimed in the Charter of San Francisco.

122. The aggressive policy of imperialism, particularly of North American imperialism, constitutes the main obstacle to the establishment of adequate rules governing relations among States. The present situation in the world eloquently bespeaks the fact that the imperialists are not resigning themselves to the loss of their privileges, they are not complying with the precepts of the international organs and they are mobilizing all their resources to hinder the efforts of the countries of the third world to strengthen their own independence and sovereignty. Asia, Africa and Latin America are still the arenas where the decisive struggle is being waged between the subjected people and an imperialism which refuses to bow to the dictates of history.

123. Indo-China is still the region that polarizes that fundamental contradiction of our day. The war of aggression unleashed by Yankee imperialism against Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia not only shows the people of the third world the best example of the true designs of imperialism, but also points to the only way to wipe out the policies of aggression and exploitation. For many years North American imperialism has used against the Viet-Nameese people all the warlike resources of its arsenals. Against that people it has mobilized contingents of its allies and Asian lackeys. It has widened aggression against the territories of Cambodia and Laos. In the territories of those three countries it has unleashed all the criminal potentials of its many means of chemical and biological destruction. On Viet-Nameese territory it has dropped more bombs than all those that were dropped on Europe in the course of the Second World War. It has committed the most atrocious acts of genocide against the civilian population. It resorts to all means to pressure the Viet-Nameese people and to shake its firm decision to achieve independence.

124. And yet the heroic and determined struggle of the people of Viet-Nam, led by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam, has dealt North American imperialism its greatest, most absolute and most irreparable defeat. The incomparable Viet-Nameese resistance has proved that imperialism is not invincible. It has opened new channels for the struggle for emancipation of the oppressed peoples. It has also gathered around itself world opposition to American imperialism, and even inside the United States itself, it has let loose resistance to the policy of war and death dictated by the great monopolies.

125. The result of that confrontation is the complete failure of the United States Government's aims to subjugate the peoples of Indo-China. Today no one, not even the hierarchy of the Pentagon, believes in the possibility of a Yankee military victory. Politically, diplomatically and militarily speaking, the aggression against Viet-Nam has met the worst defeat suffered thus far by North American imperialism and yet the authorities in Washington try at all

costs to continue their interference in the Indo-Chinese peninsula, they refuse a total, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of their troops and they cling to their dreams of domination in Asia. It is for that reason that it is indispensable that efforts be redoubled to put an immediate end to the aggression against the people of Indo-China. Solidarity with the peoples of that region is still an unshirkable duty for all until the full liquidation of imperialist aggression is achieved.

126. The seven-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam is the sole formula that can restore peace and correctly solve the problem of Viet-Nam, guaranteeing fundamental national rights to the Viet-Nameese people. That proposal is also consistent with the interests of the North American people and with the aspirations to peace and justice of other peoples all over the world. The Government in Washington has thus far refused to reply to the peaceful initiative of the Viet-Nameese people. In the meantime the United States stubbornly continues and widens the war by the clumsy manoeuvre of so-called "Viet-Namization"; it tries to obtain military victories in order to negotiate from a position of strength; it continues its aggression and its interference in South Viet-Nam and it makes use of the warmongering group of Nguyen Van Thieu as an instrument of its neo-colonialist policies. The American refusal to reply to the proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam and its stubbornness in imposing the Thieu group through a scandalous electoral farce clearly indicate that the Government of the United States means to continue violating the right to self-determination of the South Viet-Nameese people and intends to perpetuate its aggression.

127. It is for that reason that world public opinion must resolutely condemn the policy of the war of imperialism; it must insist that the Government in Washington give a favourable response to the peace initiatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government and that it commit itself to the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of all its troops. The Government of the United States must be required to abide by and respect the agreements of September 1962 on Laos, to put an immediate end to the aggression and intervention against that country and, furthermore, to respect the independence, peace, neutrality and territorial integrity of Cambodia and fully, totally and unconditionally to cease its intervention in that country.

128. The numberless crimes committed by North American imperialism against the people of Indo-China constitute a debt in blood that the imperialists have assumed towards all peoples of the world that no propagandistic or diplomatic manoeuvres can ever disguise. Towards Viet-Nam, furthermore, the peoples of the world have assumed an immense debt of gratitude for the contribution that that small Asian country by its indomitable resistance has made to the cause of preserving the independence and peace by the rest of mankind.

129. In Latin America the revolutionary anti-imperialist movement is still gaining ground and shaking the foundations of North American hegemony over a region of the world where the United States monopolies exercised almost exclusive domination for almost a century. The establish-

ment of the Government of Popular Unity in Chile, the establishment in Peru of a nationalist Government and the development all over the continent of a popular movement which offers the most concrete example, in the case of Uruguay, of throwing out of government the oligarchic group serving imperialism: these are all obvious signs that Latin America has now entered a new phase, one that will not be concluded until the entire continent has achieved its second and true independence.

130. For years the North American imperialists considered Latin America as their own private domain, where their monopolies could impose their will and where the peoples were denied the possibilities of recovering their natural resources or fully exercising their sovereign rights. Every serious effort made by our people to take a step towards independence and progress was brutally cut off by the imperialist Government of the United States. With the guilty connivance or the servile applause of the Organization of American States, Yankee imperialism and its continental servants cut off at the root, the efforts of our peoples to set up more just systems of government and eliminate the causes of backwardness, misery and exploitation imposed on them by centuries of vassalage. The peoples of Latin America remember far too well the heroic efforts of Augusto César Sandino in the mountains of Nicaragua; the open intervention against Guatemala in 1954; the landing of Yankee troops in Santo Domingo in 1965; the massacres of the Panamanian people; the colonial occupation of Puerto Rico; the establishment of Fascist régimes; the slaughter of Indians, workers, peasants and students when they claimed their rights; the invasion of Cuba in 1961; and the pressures on and interference in the affairs of our peoples.

131. But today the situation begins to change radically. The time when American imperialism could dominate our continent without let or hindrance has ended. The Latin American peoples now, with firm step, have headed toward their full national emancipation. The imperialists and the parasitic oligarchies know that today they confront a fight to the finish, one in which they are condemned by history to fail: thus they unscrupulously organize a continental repression against all revolutionary movements, and devise conspiracies and provocations against popular governments. The recent fascist *coup d'état* in Bolivia under the Yankee Central Intelligence Agency with the open support of the Governments of Brazil, Paraguay and Argentina, was an assault on the revolutionary movement and against all the peoples of Latin America. Fascism has gained an ephemeral victory in Bolivia. It imposed itself over the corpses of hundreds of workers and students, but its régime of hatred, treason and crime will not last. The Bolivian people know how to regain the positions they have momentarily lost, and then to advance and conquer revolutionary power.

132. As the Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, Commander Fidel Castro, stated on 27 August last:

"We are fully convinced that that Government cannot last, that the Fascists will not be able to keep themselves in power, that the Bolivians will indefatigably struggle until they, shall we say, regain the right road. But it will be more than the right road; it will be to gain power through revolution.

"It is obvious that imperialism and reaction have hurled a great challenge to the revolutionary movement with the events in Bolivia. And it is the duty of the international revolutionary movement, to give help and moral and material support to the Bolivian revolutionaries in their struggle for liberation."

133. Imperialism and its oligarchic underlings cannot set back the revolutionary movement in Latin America. The struggle of the people of this continent has gone once and for all beyond the channels in which the exploiters those lackey régimes and those reformist and shaky groups tried to keep them. The glorious example of thousands of revolutionary fighters who lost their lives for the cause of continental emancipation constitutes the impetus of the present process and the sure guarantee that that process will not stop until the last Latin American country has fully shaken off Yankee vassalage. The thoughts and the immortal example of Commander Ernesto Che Guevara are today more living and powerful than ever, and offer encouragement to millions of Latin Americans in their march towards the battle without fear and without surrender, ready now and forever to conquer their independence once and for all.

134. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba is deeply convinced of the total victory which will crown the revolutionary movements and the peoples of Latin America. We pledge our full solidarity to the revolutionary fighters in all corners of America and to the popular Governments that endeavour to strengthen their national independence.

135. The revolutionary position of Cuba and its unshakeable commitment to those who are heroically confronting Yankee imperialism will never change. Cuba will not bring down its revolutionary flag in any circumstances. We shall stubbornly and with determination stand up against Yankee imperialism and its Latin American lackeys. To the gambles, manoeuvres and lying campaigns of imperialism, Cuba can once again emphatically and categorically reply that it has no desire to rejoin the so-called Organization of American States, nor to re-establish relations with the puppet régimes of imperialism which oppress their peoples and are composed of corrupt and servile exploiting minorities. The Organization of American States is a putrid Organization, in bad repute, useless and already breathing its last. The Organization of American States will inevitably disappear, swept away by the uncontrollable waves of revolution of the Latin American peoples.

136. With regard to bilateral relations, Cuba wishes to state that it would only be ready to re-establish such relations with those Latin American countries that have shaken off Yankee domination and that act with true sovereignty and really defend the interests of their peoples against foreign monopolies. With oligarchs, with demagogues, with pretenders and with traitors to Latin America, we shall never have anything to do. They, too, will be irredeemably smashed by the revolutionary action of their own peoples.

137. With regard to the foreman of the Organization of American States, United States imperialism, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba has unshakeably and unequiv-

ocally defined its position. Under no circumstances and regardless of the difficulties our people may have to confront, will Cuba ever abandon its position of principle: we are revolutionary and anti-imperialist and fully support the anti-imperialist movements of liberation on our continent. We shall not compromise with American imperialism. We shall never seek conciliation or understanding with the imperialists that for so many years exploited us, as today they exploit millions of our brothers on this continent—with those who sow war and destruction among the peoples of south-east Asia, with those who uphold the reactionary and non-popular groups, with those who tried to break the backs of our people and organized against us blockades, mercenary aggressions and threats of total extermination. The foreign policy of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba is based on immutable principles. We are bound to the movement of liberation against imperialism, and that struggle will not end until the peoples in their resolute battle and fighting united will have beaten to their knees those who are to blame for exploitation, misery and backwardness.

138. The struggle for the total emancipation of Latin America is a factor of crucial importance in the process of the liberation of the peoples of the third world and basic to true universal peace.

139. Independent and progressive States are in duty bound to support the liberating undertakings of peoples of this part of the world.

140. Cuba is at one with the peoples subjected to colonial domination, particularly in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). Once again we state our repudiation of the political and criminal policies of racial segregation imposed by the South African régime, and we repeat our support for the struggle of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe.

141. At the same time, we wish to express the imperative duty of Member States to assist the people of Puerto Rico in their struggle against United States colonialism. The discussion that took place this year on our request [*A/8441 and Add.1*] for examination in the Assembly of the colonial case of that territory has merely shown up the United States fallacies regarding the status of Puerto Rico. The United States delegation was unable to refute any of our arguments, which eloquently proved that that sister island has been subjected to classical colonialism and that its people have never been allowed freely to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination. Cuba will continue to fight for this Organization to fulfil its duties—those duties imposed on it by resolution 1514 (XV)—with regard to Puerto Rico. We shall continue to urge the United Nations to assume its full responsibilities so that we shall know once and for all whether the anti-colonialism of this Organization is a universal principle or whether it becomes useless when we call for its use against American pressure.

142. Cuba wishes to confirm the position we adopted on the question of the conflict in the Middle East. We repeat that this question cannot be solved until the State of Israel withdraws its armed forces from the territories it occupied in a number of Arab States and until the people of Palestine are guaranteed full exercise of their national rights.

143. Cuba insists upon the withdrawal of United States troops occupying South Korea and the dissolution of the

so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. Implementation of both these measures is the imperative duty of this Organization if it is to comply with the principles of its Charter. The United Nations interference in the domestic affairs of Korea must cease forthwith, and the Korean people must be permitted, alone and without alien interference, to solve the problem of the country's reunification.

144. Once again the General Assembly is to consider the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. On this, our position is the same as that stated and defined year after year from this same rostrum. Consistent with that position, the Cuban delegation is co-sponsoring the draft resolution which advocates the restoration of the rights of that State and the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek group [*A/L.630 and Add.1*].

145. The United Nations must truly become universal. To do so, we have to secure the participation in this Organization of the German Democratic Republic, a sovereign and independent State.

146. The world of today is living through a determining moment for its future. The conflict between the forces of progress and the interests of the minorities that hold wealth has reached a critical moment. While the retrograde forces preserve their hegemony in some regions of the world and reflect their influence in our Organization, we can hardly expect satisfactory results from the efforts being made to promote international co-operation.

147. The present international moment, at the same time, however, is filled with potential progress and happiness for peoples. Imperialism stands surrounded by many contradictions and it has found turned against it the results of its aggressive policies. The crisis of United States imperialism culminated in the recent economic measures announced by Mr. Nixon. They reflect the growing obstacles that United States monopolies are finding in their role as the *gendarmes* of mankind. But, by the same token, they are an indication of the fact that imperialism intends to solve its difficulties at the expense of the legitimate interests of the developing countries, which would be the ones to suffer from the arbitrary restrictions imposed on international trade which those United States decisions have created. This being the case, the countries of what we call the third world must redouble the defence of their common interests and stand together against the American designs.

148. At the beginning of the last decade the imperialist Government of the United States arbitrarily cancelled the Cuban sugar quota and imposed a savage economic and trade blockade on our country. When these illegal and criminal measures were adopted against Cuba, my country did not enjoy the solidarity which the international community called for under the San Francisco Charter. On the contrary, other countries accepted the crumbs of what was left of our sugar quota, handed out by the Yankees as bribery to purchase the necessary votes to push through the Organization of American States the decisions against Cuba.

149. The United Nations turned a deaf ear to our denunciations, and Cuba had to confront and resist alone,

counting only on the assistance of the socialist countries to outlive the criminal measures intended to strangle us economically.

150. Today, Yankee imperialism is imposing restrictions which seriously affect the developing nations and particularly those of Latin America. Those who yesterday tore up the agreements born of our common history are now reaping the fruits of their docility in the face of the imperialist dictates. It is not Cuba, but they, who today must confront the arbitrary restrictions, the barriers to trade and the obstacles to their development.

151. Cuba, which yesterday suffered much more drastic measures intended to destroy it and confronted them with courage while other Latin American countries not only abandoned it but quickly hastened to participate in despoiling a sister people of its rights; Cuba, which had to stand practically alone against the criminal policy of Yankee imperialism; Cuba today offers its support to the just claim of the third world against the restrictive measures imposed on international trade by the Government of Washington.

152. For the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America the future holds periods of strife and sacrifice. The future to which those peoples have a right is not one that can be easily won, but victory is not far off, and how close it is will depend on the degree of cohesion and determination with which the progressive forces battle. The united struggle of the socialist countries, the peoples of the third world and the revolutionary forces of the rest of the world could very well surround the imperialists and turn the balance of history once and for all in favour of those who struggle for justice, peace and the progress of mankind.

153. Cuba, whose international policy draws inspiration from revolutionary principles, whose line of conduct is inspired by the heroic traditions of our people, whose acts obey the rule of full solidarity with oppressed peoples, faces the future with optimism. The peoples subjected by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism will not falter in their struggle for full liberation, and in that struggle lies the key to the future. And in that struggle they can always rely upon the solidarity of Cuba.

154. Mr. AL-ASNAJ (Yemen): It is with great pleasure that I extend to you, Sir, on behalf of my delegation and myself, our sincere congratulations on your well-deserved election to the high post of President of this Assembly. Your election to preside over the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly is not only a recognition of, and a vote of confidence in, your qualities, but also a homage to your great country. In this connexion, the delegation of Yemen wishes to assure you of its full co-operation in your endeavour to direct the proceedings of the General Assembly at this session. My delegation wishes also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Edvard Hambro, for the efficiency and wisdom which he amply demonstrated during the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

155. During 10 years of unfailing efforts, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, has rendered his service with competence, patience and dedication. We feel indebted to him for the ability, courage and personal

integrity which he has shown in times of crisis, when the fate of the United Nations as an instrument for peace was at stake. U Thant, the man of peace and wisdom, has won the world's respect and high esteem. We pray that he will be able to continue to serve the cause of this Organization to which he has given so much of himself.

156. The delegation of Yemen is greatly pleased to welcome warmly the new Member States, Bhutan, Bahrain, Qatar and Oman, on their admission to this community of nations. We are confident that their membership will undoubtedly give a new impetus to the United Nations in its quest for universality and international peace, justice and dignity for all mankind, irrespective of race, colour, creed or political belief.

157. My delegation is happy to state that Yemen has succeeded in achieving its national unity under the republican régime. Consequently, we face the great challenge of introducing within our limited resources the basic economic, social and educational developments which have been long awaited by our people. Yemen has embarked on a number of issues that are considered to be of profound importance in fulfilling the aspirations of the Yemeni people. Firstly, a permanent constitution providing for the establishment of a Parliament was drawn up and proclaimed on 28 December 1970. Furthermore, the Parliament, composed of 159 representatives, was set up in a free and general election for the first time in the modern history of Yemen. Secondly, my Government in co-operation with the United Nations specialized agencies and other international institutions has started a programme of reform within a national plan of economic development. Thirdly, in the international arena, Yemen, which belongs to the non-aligned nations, strictly follows a policy of non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, respects the territorial integrity and national independence of other States, regardless of their political or social systems, and uncompromisingly opposes colonialism, racial discrimination and the policy of *apartheid*. On the other hand, Yemen has expanded its diplomatic ties with a number of countries in conformity with our policy of non-alignment and according to our national interest. In this connexion, Yemen reaffirms its belief in the unity of all Yemen and its people. My Government realizes that the task ahead of us is not an easy one, but we are confident that our fellow countrymen are able and willing to stand up to their responsibilities and meet the challenge.

158. Last year the United Nations celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. Assessments and examinations of the role of this Organization were made in order to draw up a balance-sheet of the successes and failures of the United Nations. Admittedly, the record was set straight, arousing our utmost concern for the fate of our Organization. Indeed, our expectations that the United Nations would achieve the objectives of the Charter did not make us lose sight of the role which this international body should play. Rays of hope and encouragement which afforded grounds for optimism were pointed out and predicted. My delegation is happy to see signs of improvement and of a relaxation in international relations which partially fulfil some of the hopes that were expressed during the last session of the General Assembly.

159. We welcome, in particular, the United States Government's initiation of a dialogue with the People's Republic of China. We see this as a realistic and natural approach, which could lead to the normalization of relations between the People's Republic of China and the United States and certainly have an impact on the relations among many nations.

160. These rays of hope are not strong enough to dissipate our anxiety regarding international peace and justice. The world community is still confronted with a series of problems which constitute a threat to peace and have a direct impact on the fate of our Organization. Wars of aggression and foreign domination persist and continue to be a source of anxiety and alarming concern.

161. In Viet-Nam, tragic events continue to occur every day, spreading widely over all Indo-China and constituting the major obstacle towards reaching a solution to this question. The Government of Yemen asserts its conviction that the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Viet-Nam is a necessary condition for any peaceful settlement in accordance with the principle of self-determination enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. The people of Viet-Nam should be allowed to express their wishes freely and without any outside interference.

162. On the question of the Korean conflict, the Yemen Government strongly favours one united Korea, free of foreign interference.

163. The question of colonialism and colonial domination in South Africa remains unsolved, despite repeated resolutions calling upon the colonial Powers to recognize the right of the people to self-determination. The Government of Pretoria continues to pursue a policy of oppression and terror against the population of Namibia, as well as its repugnant policy of *apartheid* against the indigenous people of South Africa. The Yemen Government deplores the persistent refusal of South Africa to implement the resolutions of the United Nations regarding Namibia, particularly resolution 2145 (XXI), of 27 October 1966, which terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia as a result of that country's failure to fulfil its obligations under Chapter XI of the Charter. The recent advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice brings the Government of Pretoria to trial for its oppressive and illegal occupation of Namibia. My delegation calls for concerted international action to ensure the rights of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence in accordance with the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in resolution 1514 (XV).

164. My delegation also supports the legitimate struggle of the freedom-fighters in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) under the leadership of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [*FRELIMO*]. And we deplore the persistent refusal of the Portuguese authorities to implement the relevant General Assembly resolutions regarding those Territories.

165. We strongly believe that the United Nations should assert its authority, which has been flouted by the Government of Lisbon in violation of its Charter obligations.

166. The delegation of Yemen expresses its solidarity with the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle against the illegal and racist régime in Salisbury. Once again, all the Members of the United Nations who have respect for the Charter should act with responsibility to bring down the rebellious régime of Ian Smith and secure the transfer of power to the indigenous population of Zimbabwe.

167. My country is deeply concerned over the tragic situation in East Pakistan. We understand the heavy burden that India has to shoulder and we appreciate its difficulties. The international community is in duty bound to give generously to assist both India and Pakistan in their efforts to alleviate the sufferings of the refugees. We hope that Pakistan's internal difficulties will soon be overcome in such a way as to ensure the speedy return of the refugees. The Yemen Government would take this occasion to stress its belief in the principle of full respect for the territorial integrity of all Member States.

168. It is high time now for this Organization to act with fairness and authority regarding the representation of the Chinese people. The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, as the only legitimate Government which rightly and lawfully represents the great Chinese people has become imperative in this international body.

169. My country, which is a co-sponsor of the draft resolution on the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations [*A/L.630 and Add.1*], will oppose any attempt to confuse the issue before this Assembly. The idea of "dual representation", advocated by some Member States, cannot be accepted since it violates the principle of the territorial integrity of States; furthermore, it replaces one problem by another.

170. The crime of usurpation committed by Zionism against the people of Palestine could not have been committed with impunity without the support of world imperialism. Zionism, which was born in Europe, has succeeded in becoming part of the plans for colonizing the Middle East. As far back as 1898, the Commission for the Colonization of Palestine was set up, along with the Company for Agrarian Development in Palestine and the Palestine Bureau. It was those institutions that were the instruments of Zionist penetration. Then came the military and terrorist organizations, such as the infamous Haganah and Stern organizations. The Zionist plan was for the elimination of the Palestinians by expulsion and pillage, using all forms of oppression and terror in order to force the Palestinians out and acquire their land for the Jewish immigrants. The process of expulsion and pillaging still continues because the Zionist plan of expansion has not yet been completed.

171. It is regrettably true that the United Nations, because of intimidation and pressure by certain major Powers, played a part in the consolidation of this colonial fact by adopting a resolution which disregarded the will of the people of Palestine and was detrimental to the right of peoples to self-determination, as laid down in Chapter XII of the Charter.

172. Furthermore, the right of the Palestinians to self-determination was once again disregarded when the Zionist

State was admitted to membership in this Organization in May 1949. Since the creation of the Zionist State in the midst of the Arab world by terror and force, numerous resolutions have been adopted by the United Nations asserting the rights of the Palestinian people.

173. The right of the Palestinian people is sacred to us, who are convinced of the final victory of those who are fighting for their right to self-determination and independence. We unreservedly support the people of Palestine, as indeed we support other peoples fighting for their independence and human dignity. Neither Zionist imperialism nor colonialism and racial discrimination can check the movement of history. They cannot prevent the Palestinians, the Namibians or the Zimbabwe people from recovering their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence.

174. If a crime goes unpunished, it encourages the criminal to repeat the crime. Thus, by committing an unpunished act of aggression followed by another act of aggression Zionism has been able to create a State and then expand it according to plans providing for the establishment of a Zionist State covering the whole area from the Nile to the Euphrates. Repeated acts of aggression by the Zionist State against the people of Palestine and, subsequently, against three States Members of the United Nations have made it possible for Israel to occupy new territory.

175. Permit me to refresh the memory of this Assembly by quoting resolution 2672 C (XXV) of the General Assembly, which was adopted during the twenty-fifth session last year. The resolution states:

[The speaker then read out the text of General Assembly resolution 2672 C (XXV)].

176. The Security Council has, on eight occasions since 1967, adopted resolutions warning Israel not to change the status of Jerusalem, to cease military attacks against Arab countries, and to withdraw from Arab territories.

177. As long as the Zionist State persists in occupying Arab territories, as long as the Palestinian people are denied their inalienable right to self-determination, as long as Israel continues with utter contempt and impunity to flout the numerous resolutions of the United Nations and the Charter itself, there can be no peace in the Middle East.

178. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to exercise their right of reply.

179. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): The representative of India, while making his statement in exercise of the right of reply, at the 1953rd meeting on 5 October, put forth two propositions with which my delegation would entirely agree. The first, referring to Pakistan's internal situation, was that India, to use his own words, "cannot come into it; and ... should not come into it" [1953rd meeting, para. 246]. The second was that the problem of the return of displaced persons to their homes in East Pakistan is of such anguish that it is not a matter for polemics or debate.

180. If the representative of India had sustained these propositions, we would have seen the beginning of a process

whereby the tension in the India-Pakistan subcontinent could be dispelled. This would make a just and durable solution of our own internal problems vastly easier.

181. Is it not, therefore, extremely unfortunate that, far from sustaining these propositions, the representative of India proceeded to destroy them at every turn? On the one hand, he said that India does not and should not interfere in Pakistan's internal problems. But straightaway he asked that the Government of Pakistan should enter into negotiations with the same group that wanted to break the national unity of Pakistan. Is this not clear interference by one State in the affairs of another? Governments of States which wish to maintain normal relations do not even comment on one another's internal problems. But here one State demands that a certain internal situation of another State be resolved in a certain way.

182. Then again, on the one hand, Ambassador Sen said that the problem of the return of the displaced persons was one of extreme anguish. On the other, he did not hold out the slightest promise of India's co-operation towards accomplishing the objective of the return of this mass of unfortunate people to their homes, in full security of life, property and honour.

183. Let us be clear on this point. Everyone agrees that the only humanitarian solution of the problem caused by this tragic exodus of people is that they should be enabled to return to their homes. Since they are at present on Indian soil, I ask, how can this be done without India's willing co-operation? Yet there was nothing in the statement of the Indian representative which could be construed as an offer to co-operate towards this humane and urgently necessary end.

184. To make the return of the refugees conditional on a political change in Pakistan is not only to interfere in Pakistan's affairs but also to play with the present plight of this large number of human beings. The representative of India charged us with callousness. But how can one describe the attitude and the policy of India, which is responsible for obstructing the return of the refugees?

185. In our statements made from this rostrum on 27 and 29 September [1941st and 1945th meetings], and on 5 October [1953rd meeting], my delegation described in detail the various measures taken by the Government of Pakistan to assure the refugees that they have nothing to fear on their return. The Secretary-General and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees have both offered to help in this endeavour. Is it not time that India reacted positively to the constructive proposals that have been made?

186. For its part, Pakistan has succeeded in bringing back about 200,000 of the displaced persons. I am in a position to report to the Assembly that a number of the returning refugees have assured the representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, who personally visited many areas in East Pakistan, that their properties had been restored to them and that they were living in conditions of security. These included members of the minority community. My Government affords full facilities to the representative of the High Commissioner to meet the refugees on their return.

187. We are not here engaged in a debating exercise but in trying to see how situations of great peril can be resolved. In our main statement of 5 October [1953rd meeting], we cited concrete instances of the clandestine war at present waged by India against Pakistan. Ambassador Sen dismissed them in a casual and almost light-hearted manner. Then he said that India has made more than 400 complaints about the violation of its eastern border. Regardless of the basis of these complaints, is this not an evidence of the seriousness of the situation? It is not enough to make complaints; one should be prepared for them to be examined. If India wants these complaints to be examined, is it not necessary that the Security Council should consider the international situation? As we stated, we have expressed our readiness to co-operate with a good offices committee of the Security Council. But it is India which is obstructing the means by which the situation can be defused. Can it be denied that a threat to peace exists today in the India-Pakistan subcontinent? Addressing the nation earlier today, President Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan stated:

“She”—referring to India—“has shelled and continues to shell a number of areas in that wing”—that is, the eastern wing of Pakistan—“with her artillery and mortars. The world is gradually coming to know that all major sabotage activities, like the blowing up of bridges and disruption of communications in East Pakistan, are being conducted by the Indian infiltrators in the name of the secessionists. Frogmen and saboteurs trained and sent by India attempted to damage food ships in and around our ports in the eastern wing, but have been dealt with by our armed forces. By such acts India’s aim cannot be anything else but to create famine conditions and to starve the people of East Pakistan.”

In spite of these clearly war-like acts and the massing of Indian troops on our borders, Pakistan maintains a policy of peace. As the President stated today:

“It is our sincere belief that, whether it be for the creation of a climate conducive to the return of the displaced persons or for the normalization of the situation, it is essential that India and Pakistan should work out ways and means to reduce tension and allow normalcy to return at the earliest.”

188. Certainly it was not in a spirit of responsibility that Ambassador Sen ridiculed the report quoted by us of nearly a thousand shells fired by Indian artillery on border villages of East Pakistan during the night of 29 September. After himself changing “nearly” to “exactly”, he put the question, “Who counted them?” But Indian representatives do not pause to put the same question to themselves when they make wild allegations that a million people were killed in East Pakistan.

189. Ambassador Sen quoted a frivolous remark of the *Manchester Guardian*, but let me remind him that the same newspaper in its issue on 9 July published a report from its correspondent, Martin Woolcott, to the effect that in regard to: “the awful arithmetic of the killing in East Bengal, it can be taken as obvious that in every category there has been an exaggeration.” Woolcott’s careful estimate was that about 20,000 people were killed by the secessionist elements and about 30,000 casualties resulted

from army action on 25 March. To quote him: “The military action itself no doubt killed far fewer than the propagandists from the other side claimed.”

190. In his statement of 5 October, the chairman of my delegation alluded to his coming from East Pakistan because he was citing his direct acquaintance with the mind of the people of the eastern wing of our country. I regret that Ambassador Sen should have thought it fit to allude to his own origin also. Surely, as a representative of India, he cannot by virtue of his birth alone claim a direct acquaintance with conditions in any part of Pakistan.

191. Finally, the representative of India tried to make light of the issues between India and Pakistan which have prevented the establishment of normal and good-neighbourly relations between us. He would not like to hear about the problem of Jammu and Kashmir which is a problem involving millions of human beings. He said that India is always willing to co-operate with Pakistan in solving all bilateral problems. In the first place, the problem of Jammu and Kashmir is not entirely bilateral: the United Nations is also a party to it. Secondly, even if we disregard that consideration for a moment, is it not most extraordinary that India should express its willingness to negotiate a settlement of this problem and, in the next breath, assert that the only thing to negotiate is the withdrawal by Pakistan from Azad Kashmir. In other words, the Indians invite us to make a gift to them of even that part of Kashmir which escaped Indian occupation.

192. To say that we raise these issues in order to divert attention from the problem created by the situation in East Pakistan is wholly contrary to fact. The latter problem arose only this year, and we fervently hope it will be solved soon. The problem of Jammu and Kashmir has been in the forefront of India-Pakistan relations since 1948.

193. Pakistan more than any other country is aware of the urgent necessity of a political solution of its problems. Our only plea is that we should be allowed to work it out without outside interference. The President of Pakistan, in his address earlier today, announced concrete measures whereby democracy will be restored in the country.

194. I cannot leave this room without seeking to dispel a certain misunderstanding about the situation in East Pakistan which has appeared in the statements made by one or two delegations during the general debate. This misunderstanding seems to be related to the principle of self-determination. Pakistan, as much as any other country and more than some, believes in and steadfastly adheres to this principle. The principle is applicable to all peoples living under colonial rule or alien subjugation or in territories whose disposition is yet undetermined. It would be a travesty of this principle, however, if it were to be invoked in the case of racial, ethnic or linguistic groups which compose the populations of multiracial or multi-linguistic States which have already exercised their right of self-determination. Endless fragmentation, especially of newly independent States, would then result. In the case of Pakistan, its sovereign Statehood was established by the same act from which India derives its independence. Both States are multilingual. Pakistan consists of the Bengalis, the Punjabis, the Sindhis, the Pathans and the Baluchis;

these five ethnic and cultural groups are the main components of our nation and not one of them is subordinate or inferior to the other. References which were made to the Pathans and the Baluchis are not in conformity with historical and legal facts. And let me say, finally, that with our neighbour Afghanistan we desire nothing more ardently than relations of brotherhood and mutual respect.

195. Mr. MAGHRIBI (Libyan Arab Republic): Adhering to the appeal of President Diori of Niger transmitted through the Organization of African Unity, my delegation at the 1957th meeting postponed its reply to the allegations of the Foreign Minister of Chad. However, all efforts at conciliation have been to no avail, due to the position of the delegation of Chad. We are therefore left with no other alternative than to present our reply refuting such accusations and exposing the motivations behind them.

196. In the exercise of our right of reply, I should like to express our deep regret at the accusations we heard at the 1955th meeting of the General Assembly on 6 October 1971 from the Foreign Minister of Chad against the Libyan Arab Republic and its leadership. The great dangers confronting Africa today and the great efforts required to face them leave no place for the unfounded allegations levelled by the Foreign Minister of Chad against my country. It would be far more appropriate and useful if the efforts wasted to produce such allegations were added to the combined African struggle opposing the racist atrocities and aggressions committed by colonialism and its perpetrators against the peoples of our continent. We would do better to stand united in face of this challenge rather than to yield to its machinations.

197. I should like to emphasize, first, that the Libyan Arab Republic has deep faith in the principles of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity, and adheres firmly to the principle of respect for the political independence and territorial integrity of each State and to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of Member States.

198. The two peoples of Chad and Libya are fraternal neighbours bound together by their long-standing friendship. Like others among the peoples of Africa, they both reject colonialism, racism and the hated policies of *apartheid*. They both share a belief in the necessity of serious work for achieving economic and social progress. The two peoples have often come to the aid of one another in times of hardship. During the last few months, Libya has contributed effective assistance to the people of Chad when they were facing the dark threat of cholera. We do not feel it is necessary to go into the details of a matter such as this, which we consider a duty in the interests of good-neighbourliness and brotherhood.

199. The two peoples of Libya and Chad have a common history of struggle against colonialism. Early in this century when our part of the world was resisting the aggression of colonialism, both peoples fought side by side, and many Libyans died fighting the aggressors on the soil of Chad. Indeed, thousands of Libyans, together with their brothers from Chad, were engaged in the struggle against colonial intervention in the south when our country, Libya, was invaded from the north. Moreover, during the Libyan

struggle for liberation against Fascist colonial rule, thousands of Libyans who were driven out of their country found refuge to the south in Chad. The majority of them have since returned. Conversely, a large number of people from Chad live in Libya and work there. In addition, the Libyan citizens and citizens of Chad who live in the vast border regions of the two countries come from the same origins and speak mainly the same language; it would therefore be very difficult to differentiate between them on the basis of language, customs or colour.

200. The names of many among the two peoples are also similar, as witnessed by the Foreign Minister of Chad himself, whose name, Hassane, is very commonly used in Arab and Islamic lands. An understanding of these facts places the problem in its proper context and confirms the close links between our two peoples. In view of this, the allegations coming from the Foreign Minister of Chad against my country are a cause of great regret. The Libyan Arab Republic has never interfered in the internal affairs of any State, including Chad. The matters that were raised are of concern only to the people of Chad and are for them to decide in accordance with their wishes. If certain events have taken place which have given rise to resistance to the régime in Chad, these should not be used as a pretext for levelling accusations against the Libyan Arab Republic or for injecting it into another country's internal conflict.

201. This is not the first time that the Government of Chad has accused its neighbours of interference in its affairs, but at least the third. On previous occasions it has accused two other neighbours, using the same allegations. These accusations should not be taken at face value. If anything, they are a reflection of internal difficulties which Chad has no right to blame on other States.

202. It is important in this connexion to remind the Assembly that the conflict in Chad had been in existence for years before the rise of the Libyan revolution, and it is not at all clear how we can be blamed for that conflict. We reject these accusations, which implicate us in the internal affairs of Chad and provide the Government of Chad with a pretext for interfering in our own internal affairs.

203. The *Derdei* who was mentioned by the Foreign Minister of Chad in his statement is not involved in any political activities. He is a political refugee who had been living in Libya long before the rise of the Republic. He did indeed meet with some officials from Chad in Libya, but these meetings were held with the consent of the authorities of Chad, and the role of the Libyan Arab Republic was restricted to the task of facilitating their talks. This was a contribution on the part of the Libyan Arab Republic towards reaching a solution to the dispute by peaceful means, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity.

204. We have heard the Foreign Minister mention other persons, but their names mean little, due to the similarity of names among many of the people from Chad and Libya who move in the vast border areas, as I have just said. In fact, it is worth mentioning in this respect that there are a number of ex-officials of the overthrown Royalist régime who now live in Chad and who have been convicted by the courts in Libya for crimes which they committed in the

past. These people, who have been deprived of the opportunity to continue accumulating immense unlawful riches that belong to the people, these former officials who were corrupt, who were governing the Libyan people oppressively and who were protected by the foreign military bases in Libya, have been plotting against the revolutionary Government in Libya. It would be very easy to list their names and the places where they reside in Chad. In fact, the conspiracy of August 1970 to overthrow the Government of the Libyan Arab Republic was planned by some of the ex-officials of the overthrown Royal régime residing in Chad.

205. As for those who were asked to leave our country, they had entered it illegally without visas. Such expulsion is a right of every State; and indeed, instead of imprisoning or fining them, as provided for by the law, we offered them transportation from the north to the borders of their country. Thousands of citizens of Chad have been working and living peacefully in Libya. Their efforts and contributions are appreciated.

206. The Foreign Minister of Chad has accused my country of having expansionist intentions and claimed that he had proof of that. But we did not hear from him anything to that effect except some reference to a tourist map which is said to be printed and sold in Italy. Is this really sufficient proof of the expansionist aims that Libya is charged with? Did it not occur to him that, behind these tricks, there might be colonialist hands plotting against us in order to disperse our combined efforts against colonialism on our continent? This is an old imperialist method: divide and rule. Imperialism knows very well that if the solidarity of the peoples of Africa were achieved, the imperialists would have to leave the continent. We must be alert to these colonialist devices and plots if we are to be able to defeat them. Colonialism will never give up Africa of its own free will. It will utilize any methods that might give it access to its aims.

207. How can one expect any reasonable person to believe that Libya, a country with a vast area of about 2 million square kilometres, inhabited by a small population of less than 2 million people, has expansionist intentions? It is not easy for us to develop our vast area. Moreover, our policy against expansionism has been firmly established.

208. Why did not Niger, our southern neighbour, raise any question about this map? Niger must have concluded, and rightly so, that such a map in no way determines the borders between our countries. The borders between countries are not determined by tourist maps. As for the alleged heading on the map stating that the international frontiers should not be considered final, such statements are customary on tourist and road maps, lest they be misinterpreted as defining the final borders. The Foreign Minister of Chad's misinterpretation of this heading is most unfortunate.

209. In fact, it is the Government of Chad itself which seems to be entertaining expansionist intentions towards our country. The evidence for this comes from the statements of the President of Chad himself. In a recent interview published in the French newspaper, *Le Figaro*, on 3 September 1971, President Tombalbaye is reported to have said that Chad has historic rights over Kofra and

Fezzan. The areas referred to by the President constitute merely half of the whole area of the Libyan Arab Republic. Beyond this, I do not think that this point needs any further comment.

210. The stories made up to implicate the Libyan Arab Republic in the alleged plot against the régime in Chad are accusations which have no basis in reality. This is evident from the manner in which this allegation was presented. In the statement which President Tombalbaye made on 27 August, and in which he announced the alleged plot, he claimed that the Libyan Arab Republic, along with a big colonialist State, was behind the alleged attempt. It is significant that he did not mention the name of this big colonialist State, but that he unhesitatingly attempted to implicate Libya. Is it not strange that a Government, having been subjected to an attempt at its overthrow, would not dare even to name, let alone to sever diplomatic relations with, the big State which, it claims, was behind this attempt, but rather proceeds to pour out charges against Libya, a small peaceful State, which always seeks to co-exist with its neighbours in peace and harmony? Is it, perhaps, because we have succeeded in removing colonialist military bases from our country, or is it because we support the struggle of the African peoples for liberation, that we find ourselves today confronted with accusations trying to side-track our efforts and divert us from the tasks we face?

211. Are we in this august body to believe that Libya would conspire with a big colonialist Power to delve into the internal affairs of Chad and try to overthrow its Government—Libya, which overthrew the corrupt feudal régime based on foreign imperialist protection, got rid of the imperialist military bases, demanded and received from the foreign oil companies retroactive to 1965 almost double the earlier price for its natural resources, a step which opened the door to the recent constructive development in the oil situation in the exporting countries—Libya, which is determined to have effective control over its natural resources by real participation? Who would believe that such a country would conspire with a big imperialist Power? Indeed, Chad would be very fortunate, and would do Africa and the world a great service, if it, too, accomplished some of the gains I have mentioned.

212. Those recent events and proclamations may yet be hiding more ominous implications. When he announced the alleged plot on 27 August, President Tombalbaye made very hostile declarations against the Libyan Arab Republic that cannot be justified. Not only did he sever diplomatic relations with Libya in his statement that day, but went further and spoke deliberately of hostile intentions against the Libyan Arab Republic. The Agence France-Presse reported that he said: "Libyans who want to set up bases in Chad to fight Kadhafi will find me prepared to provide them with such bases". Such flagrant hostility aimed at using the neighbouring country of Chad as a base for those planning to carry out aggression against the Libyan Arab Republic is indeed lamentable. It was only after that that the support of FROLINAT was mentioned. My Government does not provide military training for any citizen of Chad, nor does it provide citizens of Chad with military equipment. And, of course, it is unimaginable that my Government provides citizens of Chad with Libyan passports to enter Chad and fight its Government.

213. Already, definite information is available to indicate that certain mercenaries are being currently trained in Chad to be employed for aggression against the Libyan Arab Republic. Could it be that our people, having revolted against the handful of exploiters who had been operating under the umbrella of the foreign military bases, now have to face new forms of aggression against their independence?

214. The Libyan Arab Republic's policy of rejecting expansionist aims and opposing the conquest of territory is well known. It corresponds to the principles of the Charters of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity.

215. If the allegations concerning the conspiracy and the accusations against Libya are intended by the Government of Chad as a political manoeuvre directed at the opposition in Chad, then we wish to declare forthwith that we reject this attempt to use the Libyan Arab Republic as a cover in matters which pertain to the internal situation in Chad itself. Whatever is going on between the parties in conflict within Chad, and whatever conditions and demands are involved, be it severing relations or otherwise, these matters fall beyond our concern. They are for the people of Chad to decide without outside interference. We refuse to allow ourselves to be drawn into matters relating to the internal situation of that country. We reject any State's attempt to impose its conditions on us; we do not attempt to impose conditions on any State.

216. It is a source of extreme regret to us that this matter, with all its vagueness, was brought up in the statement of the delegation of Chad before the General Assembly. That is especially true because we know that the good offices of certain African States have been offered to clear up this misunderstanding. The good offices of a number of African States—including those of the President of the Niger, President Hamani Diori, have been graciously offered to remove the misunderstanding. My Government had agreed to send a delegation to the Niger to resolve this misunderstanding. Even so, and without waiting for the results of those efforts, the Government of Chad disregarded those worthy African attempts and came out with its torrent of accusations in the General Assembly.

217. These accusations and the antagonisms resulting from them provide a golden opportunity for the reactionary forces and the mercenary elements working in the service of colonialism. They would serve as a pretext for aggression against our country aimed at destroying its republic régime and restoring colonial domination over it. The stage is being set, and pretexts are being elaborated as of now, for the invasion of our country—as recently happened with the colonialist aggression against Guinea, Senegal and Zambia.

218. Colonialism uses various methods to subjugate the different peoples and to disperse their potentialities in order to divert them from the joint struggle for liberation. It is that struggle on which we must concentrate by fortifying our co-operation and unity. The task of intensifying the combined struggle against colonialism, which is discriminating against our peoples in different parts of Africa and imposing on them the most inhumane injustices in Namibia, South Africa and Rhodesia, must take prece-

dence over all other considerations. The necessity of defeating the evils of *apartheid* and the aggression of its perpetrators must command our absolute attention as African States in the General Assembly and elsewhere.

219. The resistance of African States such as Guinea, Senegal and Zambia against Portuguese aggression should take priority over false accusations. We must never provide colonialism with opportunities to repeat its aggression and domination over our continent. It is time that Africa faced the world with its demands, its rights and its aspirations in unity, and it is time that it overcame all colonialist attempts at dividing it.

220. Mr. GUEVARA ARZE (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It would appear that the representative of Cuba, Mr. Alarcón, thinks he enjoys impunity in this Assembly. Last Friday [*1959th meeting*], behaving as usual, he personally insulted the Foreign Minister, the Government and the people of Bolivia. Today, he repeated the same remarks.

221. Before replying to him, I should like to make some preliminary comments. If Mr. Alarcón was unable or unwilling to reply immediately to Mr. Gutiérrez Gutiérrez, it was, to say the least, malicious to have waited until he was absent and then to have taken advantage of the last hour before a weekend in order to ensure that his words might be unanswered.

222. History should have taught the representative of Cuba that Bolivia and Bolivians do not suffer interference in their domestic affairs.

223. To get to the substance of this question, I would remind representatives that in the statement of the Foreign Minister of my country [*1957th meeting*], not a single mention of Cuba was made. The Government of Cuba was not even named; nor were any members of it. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Cuba and his representative, Mr. Alarcón, were not named. There was no reference to the centrally planned structure of the Cuban economy, nor to its dictatorial form of government. In silence we passed over its official foreign policy or its contradictions by the unofficial acts of that Government in the continent—of some of which we have had dramatic examples in Bolivia.

224. One would therefore be justified in asking the reason for the use and abuse of the so-called right of reply. Insolence is not adequate justification.

225. The most unusual words of the representative of Cuba prove only one thing: that he knows nothing of what takes place in Bolivia and he therefore blithely trots out a random series of adjectives to qualify a domestic change that is neither to his liking nor any of his business; that is, unless the Cubans who were lately surprised with weapons in their hands in Santa Cruz and other Bolivian towns were sent by Mr. Alarcón's Government, in which case we should also have to presume that the many hundreds of thousands of dollars found in the possession of a number of international agents were supplied by Cuba in a new attempt to interfere in the affairs of my country.

226. Setting himself up as the grand inquisitor, the representative of Cuba hurled adjectives pell-mell against

the living and the dead. He made all men either good or bad, revolutionaries or reactionaries, rightists or leftists, anti-imperialists or pro-imperialists. None was spared.

227. I shall not answer those insults, nor need I. Suffice it to compare the lack of substance in those words with the objective facts of Bolivia and of the declarations of the Foreign Minister of my country.

228. Six years before the Cuban revolution, Bolivia nationalized its mines and distributed the land to those who worked it; within that same revolutionary process that began in 1952, a State-owned tin foundry was created: oil refineries and oil and natural gas pipelines, also under the control of the State, were laid. The oil and natural gas industries were nationalized, as were the railroads and air transport. The country's largest sugar refinery was built, and is under state management. In a word, in Bolivia, the State is the main producer, the main exporter, the main importer and the main employer, even without taking into account the members of the Administration but only those who work in State enterprises. But all this relates only to the economic structure of the country.

229. Regarding the social and political organization, the workers were released from feudal servitude and the obligation to give free services; and, through universal suffrage, they now take part in public activities from which they had been excluded. We have recognized and guaranteed trade-union rights. With the destruction of the old stratified economic and social structures, new chances were given to the children of workers, many of whom are today professionals. Young girls, whose only prospects had been to work as servants, today occupy posts as secretaries, nurses or accountants. The children of workers enjoy the possibility of becoming officers in our army, members of the Administration, or free professionals. Many children of workers have left the factories and are now studying law or engineering.

230. As far as foreign policy is concerned, various Governments of Bolivia have established diplomatic and trade relations with a number of socialist countries, and have undertaken programmes of technical assistance, and other forms of mutual co-operation.

231. All these structural modifications of our economy, of our social organization, of our political institutions and of Bolivian foreign policy are part and parcel of a continuing revolution for which the Bolivians have not had to pay the price of slavery nor to yield our freedom or human dignity. It has been a revolution without a firing squad!

232. It is true, we have had domestic changes within the last 20 years. Sometimes the revolution has hesitated and faltered. But the tenacious freedom-loving people of Bolivia, determined as it is to progress, has still been able to find its own road and has rejected all foreign interference. This is a Bolivian type of revolution, serving the Bolivian people, a national revolution, without puerile pretensions to being of export calibre.

233. Now, none of the structural modifications achieved by our various Governments has been changed, derogated, or denied by the present Government of Bolivia, which has

no intention of the kind. Here in this Assembly Members heard the words of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country, who specifically confirmed the validity of those measures, adding that:

"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." [1957th meeting, para. 62.]

234. What, then, is the fascism to which the representative of Cuba referred? Wherein lies the return of the feudal oligarchy that was toppled 20 years ago? That headless spectre might frighten those who do not know Bolivia; but, as far as we are concerned, it no longer exists.

235. What are the measures of racial or religious discrimination imposed by Bolivia that justify our being called Nazis? Which are the laws? Which are the decrees? Which were the administrative measures that took the land from the workers, thus vitiating our agrarian reform? In what way have we rescinded the nationalization orders of the oil, gas, zinc and tin industries, and handed over those national resources to either private or foreign capital?

236. Trivial and insolent irresponsibility is not enough justification for statements that are belied by objective facts. If the structural reforms of the Bolivian revolution still stand, if the revolution continues, if the Government that is represented by the Foreign Minister announces on its own initiative in the United Nations that there will be no modifications to slow down or destroy that process, then on what can anyone base such affirmations as were made from this rostrum?

237. There can be only one reply, and it lies in the frustration suffered by those who, from outside our country, were trying to fan the flames of civil war and to sow discord in Bolivia in order to achieve their own dark designs. The echoes of that frustration are very audible in the words of the representative of Cuba, to whom as a consolation I can only offer what was said on a previous occasion and in a different place: he who pokes his nose in another's garden runs the risk of having it cut off.

238. However, there is something else, regarding foreign interference in Bolivia, if we bear in mind the source of that insinuation.

239. My country does not receive hundreds of millions of dollars a year to ensure the functioning of our economy; we are not given political subsidies by anyone as a surplus on the price paid for what we produce. We sell mineral ore, oil, gas and other raw materials on the world market—and on a strictly competitive basis—which very often calls for sacrifices from our people. We export a small amount of sugar, at a loss. We pay in hard currency for foreign technicians and experts who help us in our development. Can the representative of Cuba say the same about his country?

240. Furthermore, we have never tried to intervene in the domestic affairs of Cuba or any other country, but the Government represented by Mr. Alarcón sent a few hundred Cubans to Bolivia to shoulder arms against our legally constituted Government, with the declared purpose of

replacing our institutions by others which they felt were more appropriate for us Bolivians. They wanted to impose a régime that was alien to our idiosyncrasies, our needs and our interests.

241. Naturally, the adventure was still-born. The peasants, who theoretically should have supported and followed the invaders, turned on them and squashed them with their active resistance. Perhaps the explanation is unknown to the representative of Cuba, but to us it is simple. The 1952 revolution had restored to the peasants the land taken away from them in colonial days and they did not want to lose it again in the service of abstract concepts, because for them it is one and the same thing if property is wrested from them by the representatives of a police State or by the erstwhile feudal lords.

242. In the inexorable course of the foreign intervention, death and desolation claimed their victims, throwing thousands of Bolivian families into mourning: mourning for those children who died to ensure for Bolivians the right to govern themselves without the kindly interference of other Governments.

243. We are not, nor shall we allow ourselves to become, a battlefield for disagreements. We know that when alien interests and alien ideologies join issue in a small country it is the foreigners who supply the ideology, the money, the weapons, the agents, but it is we the nationals of the small country who are forced to supply the cannon fodder.

244. We are not, nor do we wish to be, pawns in the game of international chess. Despite our limitations, which we share with other small countries that live and work and struggle in the different spheres of power and influence into which the contemporary world is divided, we still will not allow others to come in to settle our domestic affairs; and for that reason, we categorically reject here the words of the representative of Cuba, as in the past we rejected and as in the future we shall reject, any attempt at foreign interference.

245. I said at the beginning that not even the dead were safe from the pretentious adjectives scattered by Mr. Alarcón. He referred to Commander Guevara and the founder of the Bolivian Socialist Phalanx, Oscar Unzaga de la Vega, and in an Olympian manner he ascribed to each his place in the pantheon of eternity.

246. I shall not argue regarding Che Guevara, but I must categorically state that the head of the Socialist Phalanx of Bolivia was not brought to trial. A commission of special technical assistants of the Organization of American States, presided over by the Chilean penologist, Mr. Schweitzer, who was a permanent representative of his country to the United Nations, and composed of two equally eminent citizens of Mexico and Peru respectively, established irrefutably the circumstances surrounding his death. These are historical facts, internationally checked, that cannot be denied, by the insidious intent to which the representative of Cuba, without knowing the facts, has resorted from this rostrum. On this point may I say that, regardless of the political divergences which separate Bolivians, we all lament that event which deprived of life a citizen who fought constantly in the service of his ideals.

247. I feel a few personal comments before concluding this statement are called for. As an actor on the stage of Bolivian politics I have stood in trenches far different from those where the present Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bolivia, Mr. Mario Gutiérrez Gutiérrez, has stood and yet, despite those divergences, I must admit that both he as the head of the Bolivian Socialist Phalanx and ex-President Paz Estenssoro, head of the Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario, took a patriotic stand in the service of Bolivia's people and interests, setting aside divergences and creating a political coalition that could support the armed forces and return to the Bolivian people control over their own affairs, peace and public order that were threatened by chaos, uncertainty and the fratricidal war fed and incited from outside. As a Bolivian citizen, one who loves his country over and above all else, I can only express hope for success in the enterprise to which they are devoting themselves.

248. Mr. FRAZAO (Brazil): I have just heard from the representative of Cuba a reference to Brazilian intervention in the internal political matters of a friendly neighbour country. The representative of Cuba did not distribute a written text of his speech, but I am sure I am referring correctly to the gist of his statement.

249. I want to contradict, here and now, this false, unwarranted and gratuitous accusation. It is a historical truth that Brazil has always faithfully adhered to the principle of non-intervention, which is one of the cornerstones of its foreign policy. It is common knowledge—and we have just been reminded of this once again by the representative of Cuba—that the Government of Cuba acts exactly contrary to that principle and tries by every possible means to export insurrection, revolution and terrorism. I should like my colleagues to keep that in mind.

250. Having made that point, I shall not again take the time of this Assembly to refute any further irresponsible accusations by the Cuban representative.

251. Mr. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In his speech this afternoon the representative of Cuba, while referring to the change of Government in Bolivia, saw fit to state that the events had been assisted by certain Latin American Governments, and among them he specifically named the Government of Argentina. In making such an unfounded statement, which is not and cannot be supported by any evidence, the representative of Cuba seemed to want to overlook the fact that strict respect for the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other States is one of the basic pillars of Argentine foreign policy.

252. That is not a rhetorical stand; it is a reality which has always, still does and will always govern our relations with other countries. On the strength of and expecting equal and reciprocal respect for that principle from others, we enjoy diplomatic relations with Governments of very different political régimes on all five continents, the majority of which are represented here. On that basis, we are still strengthening ties with all our Latin American neighbours.

253. We cherish far too much the Bolivian people and their institutions even to allow of any hint of interference in their domestic affairs. We are linked to that people by

geography and by a common present and future, and we will allow nothing to stand in that path—not even the references made by the representative of Cuba. The changes of Government that may take place in Bolivia are the domestic affair, exclusively of the Bolivian people.

254. The Cuban representative with his unfounded accusations has, among many other things, forgotten that many of the Bolivian leaders of the previous administration—an administration in whose overthrow Argentina is supposed to have taken part—have found political asylum in my country. He has also forgotten that the present authorities in Bolivia have respected the taking of asylum by those leaders in accordance with one of the most ancient of Latin American juridical tenets.

255. What is truly unbelievable—and an insult to the intelligence and common sense of this Assembly—is that that accusation should have been made by the representative of a country such as Cuba, which for a decade has done nothing but barefacedly interfere in the domestic affairs of all the countries of Latin America without any exception whatsoever.

256. I do not believe that it is worth dwelling on this episode any longer. Those who know of Argentine conduct and of Cuban doings will know how to judge the matter.

257. Mr. SOLANO LOPEZ (Paraguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In the course of his statement this afternoon in the plenary meeting of the General Assembly, in referring to the events that took place recently in Bolivia, the representative of Cuba said that they had occurred with the assistance of some countries of Latin America, and then he mentioned Paraguay. I wish to state categorically that my country has had no part whatever in those events.

258. Paraguay is second to none in its respect for the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other States. In the course of our history as a free, sovereign and independent State, perhaps no country in this hall has had to pay such a high price for its unreserved respect for that principle, as well as for the principle of sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, and the preservation of national identity.

259. We are proud of this tradition, and by the same token we hold nothing as close as our hope that there will be universal respect for these tenets, particularly on the part of the country represented by the speaker to whom I am replying.

260. I categorically deny the false accusation made in this hall this afternoon.

261. Mr. PAZHWAQ (Afghanistan): I have come here to say a word in connexion with the statement made by the representative of Pakistan. He referred to a part of the statement made by the Foreign Minister of my country [1961st meeting].

262. In this connexion, I should, first of all, like to reciprocate the friendly sentiments which he said the people of Pakistan have towards the people of Afghanistan; and I want to assure him—although I am quite sure that he

knows it—that it is a mutual feeling of brotherly affection and sentiments between the peoples—I repeat, peoples—of the two countries.

263. Secondly, I should like to put on record the position of my country. And in this connexion, at this late hour I should simply like to say that I reiterate every word of the statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country.

264. Thirdly, I reject, with all the force at my disposal, that part of the representative of Pakistan's statement in which he said that the annexation of Pakhtunistan is a legally established fact. And since, as my Minister of Foreign Affairs said, this question is not on the agenda of the United Nations—because we hope that a peaceful solution will be found—I shall not take the time of the Assembly to discuss it, particularly at this late hour.

265. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, I apologize for speaking at such a late hour, but I should like to say a few words at this moment so as to avoid the representative of Bolivia's considering that we are being malicious if we do not reply while he is here although it is obvious to any delegation that ours is not the delegation that is kept informed of the travels of Mr. Gutiérrez Gutiérrez whether he stays in New York or in this room.

266. As far as the allegations made by the representatives of Brazil, Argentina and Paraguay are concerned, it is obvious that no one in this hall would have expected these representatives to come here and admit the participation of their Governments and armed forces in the overthrow of the Bolivian Government presided over by General Torres. Their denials do not surprise us. We merely refer to the accusations made by that Bolivian Government when it was endeavouring to resist the Fascist attack and the communiqués published in a number of newspapers, some of them North American, that referred to the participation of the four countries that we mentioned and primarily, of course, the country that has refrained from answering, that of the United States. Mention was made by name of Major Robert London of the United States Army as the uniformed officer of the American army who supplied communication equipment for the use of the rebelling armed forces in the region of Santa Cruz.

267. It is also a known fact that the air forces of Brazil and Argentina were in direct communication with those rebellious elements in the region of Santa Cruz in Bolivia and how they contributed to the preparation of the overthrow of the Government at La Paz. It is also a known fact that the Bolivian exiles who are at present high officials of the Fascist régime of Bolivia had entire freedom of movement across the Argentine and Brazilian borders to enter the national territory and there to guide and direct the counter revolutionary movement.

268. I shall not go into a detailed analysis of the long statement of the representative of Bolivia, but to the questions he asked here in trying to deny the repressive and Fascist nature of his Government, let the General Assembly take note of the following facts.

269. It is not the representative of Cuba but the Auxiliary Bishop of La Paz, Ademar Esquivel, who in a statement made the day before yesterday pointed out that in his country the most elementary rights of persons were being violated, and he urged the present Government of Bolivia to stop the brutal repressions imposed on the Bolivian people, including certain members of the Catholic Church.

270. Nor is it the representative of Cuba who is a member of the ecclesiastical community of La Paz who on 11 October of this year, published a communiqué which denounced the raiding of Catholic churches in Charagua, Coro Coro and La Paz and in the Department of Santa Cruz and pointed out that military and police units had attacked representatives of the Catholic hierarchy of that country.

271. It was not I but Mr. Gutiérrez Gutiérrez himself who in his speech in the general debate [1957th meeting] pointed out that at present in Bolivia the centres of education, both universities and lower level institutions, have been closed until next year. However, he forbore from mentioning that this was the case because the Fascists had to seize the Universidad Mayor of San Andrés by force, to bomb it from the air, to attack it with tanks and infantry in order to impose the present régime on the country.

272. He referred to other aspects of the Bolivian situation, but I would not have the time here to cite all the complaints of the trade-union movement in Bolivia, regarding the military occupation of factories and trade-union centres and of the violations of trade-union rights committed by the present Bolivian régime.

273. He said that the Bolivian régime would continue the same policy of reform initiated in that country in 1952. We do not have sufficient time to read the statements made by the present officials of that régime in which they recognize and admit that at present the Fascist Government of Bolivia is taking a number of steps to renegotiate some of the firms that had been nationalized by previous Governments for their denationalization and to increase foreign participation in the ownership of the property which was owned in the past by the Bolivian people.

274. In his statement Mr. Guevara Arze alluded to the possibility that we were confused regarding the course of events in Bolivia and the domestic changes in that country. Perhaps at this point some members of the Assembly may well be confused: hearing him give an explanation of the revolutionary process in Bolivia and the present situation in that country, we would be justified in asking ourselves whether the spokesman was in fact the one-time Minister of the National Revolutionary Movement of 1952 who had to confront the Fascist uprising of the today highly-praised Unzaga de la Vega or whether he was the Minister of later Bolivian régimes or even perhaps the Ambassador who, in this same Assembly until two months ago, represented the Government which today he calls the Government that represented foreign interference and chaos in Bolivia. If we follow the career of Mr. Guevara Arze, in fact we can only be confused and it becomes extremely difficult to follow the domestic evolution of Bolivia.

275. However, there is a very clear explanation and it is contained in our previous statements: it is the wonders

created by foreign interference, the marvels created by imperialism on pseudo-revolutionaries and on those who for well-paid positions quickly jettison the ideals that they were willing to defend in their youth.

276. But there is still the Bolivian people as there is still a Latin American people confronted by the barefaced intervention of North American imperialism with the assistance of two régimes that have come here and allegedly sworn adherence to the principle of non-intervention but which did participate actively in the pan-American army that the Americans sent in 1965 against the Dominican people and which have always been ready to contribute and take part in any foray of interference against our people together with the Yankees. Confronted by that intervention by the exploiters, confronted by that intervention of the Yankees, the Latin American peoples have developed great feelings of solidarity which are very deeply rooted and that prevail and will prevail over the pseudo-revolutionaries, the traitors and those who sell themselves for the gold of empires.

277. Mr. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall be very brief as the Assembly is exhausted and I am sure that it is more than ready to meet its social obligations.

278. However, because silence might mean consent I cannot be silent but must point out once again that the representative of Cuba in his statement mentioned three things as far as my country is concerned.

279. First, he spoke of newspapers, including the American press. We do not believe that the American press is the Gospel that must be respected at all times. Then, too, I think it interesting that the representative of Cuba should enjoy freedom of the press and read what he is barred from reading in his own country.

280. The second statement of the representative of Cuba was that it is well known that communications existed between the Argentine air force and Bolivian units. It may be well known to him but it is not well known to us. I do not know what evidence he feels he can submit to this Assembly. I do not want to fall into the error of his ways but perhaps there were Cuban units that were doing precisely that which he accuses other countries of doing; because perhaps there were Cuban elements interfering in the domestic policy of Bolivia and from them he has been able to gather such good information that he was unable to present to the Assembly.

281. Thirdly, he spoke of the freedom with which the Argentine-Bolivian frontiers were crossed by those units and persons that later assumed power in Bolivia. The same applies to this as my comment on the press. The representative of Cuba must be upset because, apart from being an island, it is an island into which it is not easy to enter—far less to leave.

282. Mr. GUEVARA ARZE (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I also cannot leave unanswered the last words of the representative of Cuba. It is not a question of making unsubstantiated statements, with no proof whatsoever, or of insulting people. If the representative of Cuba wishes to know anything further regarding why General Torres lost

his Government the answer is very simple. He lost the Government because those who represented the Cuban position, who officially supported it, were at the same time his enemies and were trying to overthrow him. It was for that reason that the Government of General Torres fell.

283. With regard to the personal references which obviously do not call for an audience of this nature for discussion, I would merely tell the representative of Cuba that I am the same man that I was 20 or 30 years ago and that I have not

served—and I do not believe that I am serving a Government when I represent my country—any system that was contrary to my deepest convictions. For this reason I have defended my country against all aggression, particularly against that aggression that would turn a free people that loves liberty more than anything else into slaves manipulated by outside forces.

The meeting rose at 6.55 p.m.