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*President:* Miss Angie E. BROOKS (Liberia).

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. FORAY (Sierra Leone): Madam President, I wish to congratulate you on your election to the high office of President of the twenty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly. Your great experience and competence in the affairs of the United Nations over the past fifteen years will enable you to guide our deliberations with tact, skill and ability. Apart from the ties of affinity which bind our two countries, we share a common endeavour in building a democratic nation out of many different communities. We acknowledge the part played by your delegation and by you yourself, personally, in the events which, in 1961 led to the admission of Sierra Leone as the one-hundredth Member of the United Nations. We assure you of the support of the Sierra Leone delegation during your tenure of office.

2. We would like to take this opportunity also to express our sympathy to Guatemala for the loss of Mr. Emilio Arenales, who was President during the last General Assembly, and who died before he was able to complete the assignment entrusted to him by the Assembly. We all admired the courage with which he carried out his duties despite his failing health. We all share deeply in the loss of a great world statesman.

3. We congratulate the Secretary-General on the introduction to his annual report [A/7601/Add.1]. We know how difficult the year has been for him and for his staff and yet, in the face of all the obstacles, he was able to present us with a report which contains some concrete achievements. We would like, however, to underline his statement about the precarious financial position of the Organization and to urge all defaulting Member States to fulfil their obligations so as to enable the United Nations to attain its objectives.

4. The achievements in space exploration of the two super-Powers have filled all of us with admiration. We

would like to congratulate the United States of America on its successful moon landing. In our view, the importance of this achievement lies in its exciting challenge to all of us. We must continue to seek positive solutions to the problems confronting us so as to create an atmosphere which will enhance the well-being of mankind. We must not allow the progress in our human and national relationships to lag behind our technological advances.

5. On the eve of the silver jubilee of our Organization, it may be considered appropriate for us to reappraise the success of the United Nations in achieving the ideals which were contemplated at San Francisco. The United Nations Organization was established, among other things, to maintain international peace and security; to develop friendly relations among nations, based on the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; and to foster international co-operation in economic, social, cultural and humanitarian fields. While we are ready to admit that the specialized agencies of the United Nations have made significant successes, we are disheartened that international stability has been disturbed by armed conflicts in various parts of the world. The unresolved case of Viet-Nam is a striking example of such conflicts. My Government feels that the current peace talks in Paris, coupled with the continuing withdrawal of the American forces from South Viet-Nam, are genuine indications of a desire towards peace.

6. We believe that several factors have contributed to creating tensions in the international sphere. In this decade, for example, although many new nations, including ourselves, have appeared in this Assembly, yet about a third of the world's population remains unrepresented here. These include a nuclear Power and other countries which have been excluded because the ravages of war have divided them in a way which makes it difficult for them to be properly represented in this Assembly. We believe that it is within the competence of this Organization to create the means whereby two countries which were formerly one could be admitted to membership. The structure and procedure of the United Nations Organization are likewise factors which create international tensions. While these might have been justified in the initial stages of the Organization, we do not think that they are relevant at this stage because they do not give due recognition of the population, potentialities, and growing importance of the developing nations. We would like to suggest an examination of the power entrusted to some of the founding Members, the exercise of which by certain States tends to frustrate the legitimate aspirations of developing nations. We do not ask that they should be deprived of all their powers, but we do ask that a redistribution of these powers should reflect a more realistic and equitable picture of our Organization on the eve of its silver jubilee.

7. The political development of parts of the African continent, particularly the southern area, has been far too often subjected to the economic interests of the industrialized Powers. It is quite evident to anyone, who has examined the subject with any objectivity or sincerity, that the behaviour of some of the major Powers, as far as this question is concerned, leaves one with the impression of hypocrisy or double dealing. Africa is one of the world's great reservoirs of natural resources, but paradoxically, the Africans remain one of the world's poorest peoples. This is a cruelty which cries aloud for an early redress.

8. We have always condemned, and shall continue to condemn, the obnoxious policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination wherever it is practised. Indeed, the whole Organization is unanimous in its condemnation of *apartheid*. Whilst we multiply resolutions condemning *apartheid* and discrimination, vast sums of money are being transferred from the United States, Britain, France, Western Germany and Japan, amongst others, for purely selfish economic reasons, to aid the development of South Africa. What these nations have refused to admit is that these investments not only stimulate the industrial growth of South Africa, but also enable that country to intensify the growth of human misery in that part of our continent. We have listened with great interest to the contribution made by the President of Botswana [1764th meeting], and we are convinced that the time has come for the Government of South Africa to call a halt to its vicious and diabolical policy, and to embark on constructive and realistic measures which will facilitate the peaceful coexistence of all States in southern Africa. We also appeal to these major Powers that now reap financial dividends from their investments in South Africa to think of the larger human problems. If they do this, South Africa may, very likely, respond to our calls for moderation and change.

9. Sierra Leone believes that the causes of peace cannot be pursued unless the causes of war are removed; that the domination of one country by another is one of the basic causes of conflict. Sierra Leone continues to believe that the peoples of Zimbabwe have the inalienable right to self-determination. The United Kingdom Government has a responsibility, as the administering Power, to ensure that this right is exercised without further delay. Indeed, the United Kingdom Government has maintained that there can be no independence for Southern Rhodesia unless the principles of NIBMAR<sup>1</sup> are fulfilled.

10. We find it most unfortunate, however, that Britain should have absolved itself completely of this responsibility for Southern Rhodesia, and pressed for sanctions when it was clear to Britain that the effectiveness of sanctions would be paralysed by Portugal and South Africa. When, as a result of an illegal referendum, it was announced that Southern Rhodesia would declare itself as a republic, the British Governor abdicated his responsibility by resigning. We would have considered Britain's position more realistic and more in conformity with what it has declared in the past years if the representative of Her Majesty had remained at his post until forced to leave by an illegal republican régime. His resignation and the fact that he has not been replaced by Britain seems to us to be sheer condonation of the actions of this illegal régime. This abandonment of a

fundamental moral and legal obligation on the part of Britain has made of Rhodesia one vast prison for the unfortunate Africans living there, who are in the majority.

11. Although South Africa continues to be a Member of the United Nations, yet it persists in ignoring that body's resolutions. Since the termination of South Africa's mandate over Namibia and the setting up of the United Nations Council for Namibia, we have seen no improvement in the attitude of the Vorster régime. Instead, it continues to implement the Self-Government for Native Nations of South Africa Act and the South West Africa Affairs Bill, which give South Africa's Parliament and its central government very wide powers over the affairs of Namibia and enforce in that territory the policy of *apartheid* and discrimination.

12. The Portuguese Territories of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau), are fortified by arms provided for them by NATO. It has been said that those arms have been supplied for strategic reasons in Western Europe; but Portugal has no war in Europe and all the arms are being used solely to slaughter thousands of innocent Africans. Again, it has been said that the treaty arrangements which the United States of America has with Portugal regarding the Azores and other strategic areas have forced the American Government into a position of assisting Portugal. Now that those treaties are being reappraised and it is clear that the necessity for them is secondary, there can be no reason, strategic or moral, for the continued support given to Portugal by NATO for the further devastation and destruction of our African populations. We should like to congratulate our brothers in Guinea (Bissau), in particular, who have been fighting the war of liberation with considerable success despite the ferocity which Portugal has been using to subdue them. The Portuguese have not been able to stifle the spirit of resistance which lies active in the breasts of our brothers, not only of Guinea (Bissau) but also Mozambique and Angola. The struggle will gather momentum with time until all Africa is free. This is the passionate preoccupation of every true son of Africa.

13. Increasingly, the actions of the white minorities of South Africa, Namibia, Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) are forcing the rest of Africa to the realization that the philosophy of non-violence, as stated and exemplified by winners of the Nobel Prize of African origin such as Chief Albert Luthuli and Martin Luther King, which we should have chosen to pursue is not practicable in the face of armed force and condonation by nations which declare themselves democratic. More and more, Africa is being pushed against its inner will into a position of violence and revolution.

14. In the Middle East, the hopes of resolving the conflict which were entertained when the Security Council resolution [242 (1967)] of 22 November 1967 was adopted have not been realized. Indeed, the past twelve months have witnessed a continuing deterioration of the situation. The Government of Sierra Leone supports the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967, the implementation of which it considers should be used as a basis for the settlement of the conflict. It is greatly regretted that the Jarring mission was interrupted prematurely. We welcome the resumption of talks by the great and super-Powers, but

<sup>1</sup> No independence before majority rule.

we are of the opinion that lasting peace in the Middle East can only be achieved if such talks involve the parties concerned. Every effort in achieving peace talks, whether by direct confrontation or by the Rhodes method, which we have reason to believe will be acceptable, should be pursued relentlessly. We should also like to recommend that steps should be taken by both sides to ameliorate the condition of the Palestinian refugees, many of whom find themselves, through the dramatic upheavals of history, second-class citizens or refugees in the country where their people have lived for many generations.

15. Sierra Leone cannot remain silent on the armed conflict continuing in Nigeria—a country with which we have many close connexions. The conflict in Nigeria has been causing us considerable concern. We appreciate the efforts of the Organization of African Unity Consultative Committee to resolve the dispute, but with the serious involvement of Great Britain and the Soviet Union, among others, in the conflict the situation in Nigeria has become an international problem.

16. My delegation invites the United Nations and its specialized agencies to consider the problem of starvation in Nigeria and Biafra as a matter of urgency, and to take appropriate steps to ensure that relief supplies are made available to the victims of that tragic war. The United Nations must call for an immediate cease-fire and encourage both parties to negotiate a settlement.

17. The silver jubilee of this Organization coincides with the advent of the Second United Nations Development Decade. The achievements of the First Decade have not been spectacular because of an unwillingness on the part of most industrialized nations to give the developing countries a just and equitable price for their primary products. The decisions reached at the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in New Delhi<sup>2</sup> proved that point.

18. The quota system as presently structured prevents most developing nations from selling all their products in the world market. This contributes, in no small measure, to their inability to achieve the stipulated target growth rate. We hope that the Second United Nations Development Decade will see both developed and developing countries co-operating towards the realization of that objective. In this regard, my country notes with disappointment the extremely high rate of interest charged by the World Bank on loans to member countries notwithstanding the wide profit margin on the Bank's operations.

19. The great Powers must realize that the safety and future of their countries and peoples depend, not on increasing their own wealth but on increasing both the wealth of their countries and that of developing countries. Thus would the gap between rich and poor be narrowed—a gap which, if it continued to expand, would inevitably end in conflagration. We are certain that many of the problems of this Organization can be solved if it is realized by all concerned that nations must decide for themselves how best and under what political philosophy they can develop, and that the major part of their resources must go to their own development instead of the enrichment of other nations.

20. We do not share the pessimistic view which some hold about the future of the United Nations. Those who do hold it are sometimes reflecting an inner pessimism and insecurity of their own. We know that there is a great deal to be done, but the fact that the United Nations exists and is concerned about doing it is, to us, a great sign of its essential and useful role. It is our hope that this year, under your able presidency, major steps will be taken which will put the United Nations back on a road that will bring peace and prosperity to people of all nations and of all races.

21. As we enter the threshold of our twenty-fifth anniversary, let us be challenged by the noble ideals of our Charter, humbled by our successes, conscious of our many shortcomings and resolutely dedicated to that great ideal which has eluded us all—peace, which alone is our primary objective.

22. Mr. TOIV (Mongolia) (*translated from Russian*): Madam President, distinguished Secretary-General, it is indeed a great pleasure for me, on behalf of the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic, warmly to congratulate you as a representative of the great African continent on your election to the office of President of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, and to wish you success in carrying out the noble and responsible tasks that have been entrusted to you.

23. The present world situation is marked by a struggle between the forces of reaction and war, which are noticeably intensifying their intrigues in various parts of the world, and the forces of revolution and progress, headed by the socialist community, which are consistently furthering the cause of peace, democracy, national independence and social progress. The peace-loving forces are doing everything in their power to avert the threat of a new world war.

24. No appreciable improvement in the international situation has been observed since the last session of the General Assembly. Indeed, the world situation has deteriorated considerably, owing to the aggressive policy of imperialism. The threat to universal peace and the security of nations has not yet been averted but, on the contrary, has become graver. This is clearly confirmed by the situation in South-East Asia and the Middle East, which threatens world peace and security. This is also shown by the recent alarming developments in Central Europe and in certain other parts of the world.

25. In defining the objective and methods of imperialist policy, Mr. Y. Tsedenbal, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic, said in his statement at the Moscow Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties on 13 June 1969:

“Resorting to the widest variety of means, including provocation, counter-revolutionary conspiracy, reactionary uprisings and armed intervention, imperialism is trying to impose its policy on the peoples of the world by force and artificiality to maintain constant tension in international relations.”

26. The serious situation which now prevails makes it urgently necessary for the United Nations to take really practical measures on problems which are vitally important

<sup>2</sup> Held from 1 February to 29 March 1968.

for the future of the world and of mankind, such as the strengthening of international security, development of friendly co-operation between countries and peoples, the final eradication of the vestiges of colonialism, the prompt suppression of the intrigues of neo-colonialism, militarism and neo-nazism, and general and complete disarmament. In this connexion the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic supports the new initiative taken by the Government of the Soviet Union providing for a series of constructive measures to strengthen international security, and advocates the adoption by this session of the General Assembly of the appeal to all States of the world, the draft of which was introduced by Mr. A. A. Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on 19 September this year [A/7654]. Once again the Soviet Union has drawn the attention of the General Assembly and the world to the central problem of modern international life.

27. As the representative of an Asian socialist country which consistently pursues a policy of peace and co-operation based on equal rights and good neighbourliness towards the countries of this region and towards all States, I should like to dwell in somewhat greater detail on the situation in Asia and the Far East.

28. The problem of maintaining peace in Asia has always been a matter of great concern to all peace-loving forces and, above all, to the peoples of Asia. This is perfectly comprehensible. The peoples of the Asian countries need a stable peace which would ensure favourable conditions for consolidation of their independence, achieved after a long struggle, and for improvement of living conditions, elimination of the harmful consequences of colonial rule, and attainment of social and economic progress. It is perfectly clear that the future of world peace largely depends on whether or not peace is maintained in Asia.

29. Nevertheless, the situation in that part of the world is marked by chronic instability and increasing tension.

30. The United States of America, in flagrant violation of the Geneva Agreements on Viet-Nam, continues to wage a bloody colonial war against the people of Viet-Nam, which is being compelled to use armed force in defence of the freedom, independence and unity of its country.

31. The courage and determination of the people of Viet-Nam in its struggle against the most powerful imperialist Power, the United States of America, are an inspiring example to peoples battling for freedom and national independence and against colonialist and imperialist enslavement.

32. At the Paris negotiations the United States side is resorting to all kinds of delaying tactics and is rejecting the constructive proposals of the representatives of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam directed towards the political settlement of the Viet-Nam problem. The Nixon Government, by deliberately drawing out the Paris negotiations and representing as a peaceful gesture the withdrawal of a negligible part of its troops from South Viet-Nam, is trying to delude world public opinion and to gain time in order to continue its barbarous

aggression. That is also the purpose served by the so-called new Asian policy of the United States of America, so widely publicized of late, which in fact represents nothing but an attempt to legalize the "United States presence" in Asia, to strengthen the tottering position of the puppet régime in Saigon and similar régimes, and to strengthen the role of the Asian military establishment in the struggle against the national liberation movement in Asia.

33. Basic prerequisites for a political settlement of the Viet-Nam problem are cessation of United States aggression, unconditional withdrawal of the troops of the interventionists and their henchmen from South Viet-Nam, and an opportunity for the people of Viet-Nam to decide its future for itself without external interference. The problem can be solved only through unconditional recognition of the inalienable rights of the people of Viet-Nam.

34. The legitimate claims of the people of Viet-Nam are clearly expressed in the unswerving position of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and in the comprehensive programme of the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, which enjoys great authority among the people of Viet-Nam and wide support from world public opinion, the proof of which is that it is already recognized by more than twenty States.

35. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic resolutely supports the just and constructive proposals of fighting Viet-Nam. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic and the Mongolian people have stood and will stand firmly beside their brothers the people of Viet-Nam and will continue to give them all possible assistance in their struggle for peace in South-East Asia and throughout the world against United States aggression.

36. United States aggression in Viet-Nam directly threatened the freedom and independence of the peoples of Asia and particularly the national sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of the neighbouring countries of Laos and Cambodia. Accordingly, consistent support of the heroic and just struggle of the people of Viet-Nam serves the vital cause of the defence and consolidation of the independence and sovereignty of the countries of Asia. Any assistance to United States aggression runs counter to these interests.

37. The Korean peninsula continues to be one of the sources of international tension. This is confirmed by the unceasing provocation of the United States-Seoul side against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, in the form of practically daily violations of the demarcation line and the systematic penetration of United States intelligence vessels and aircraft into its territorial waters and air space. The situation is further aggravated by the fact that the United States, having turned South Korea into a military and strategic strongpoint for carrying out its aggressive plans, is increasing its military power in South Korea, is introducing large quantities of the most modern types of weapons, and is forcing the South Korean army to rearm.

38. In order to eliminate this dangerous source of tension and to give the Korean people an opportunity to settle its

domestic affairs without any interference from outside, it is essential to bring about the immediate withdrawal from South Korea of the United States occupation troops, whose presence is unlawfully concealed behind the flag of our Organization.

39. As we all know, the question of the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea is on the agenda of the General Assembly. By adopting a positive decision on this question, the General Assembly will render a valuable service to the Korean people and to the cause of peace in the Far East.

40. The Mongolian People's Republic maintains the most cordial relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which is going through a stage of vigorous economic and cultural development, and greatly appreciates the untiring and constructive efforts of its Government for its peaceful unification on a democratic basis and for the maintenance of peace in that part of the world.

41. In speaking of the situation in Asia, we cannot ignore the threat presented by the so-called security treaties concluded by certain Asian countries with the United States of America, or the existence of such aggressive military blocs as SEATO [*South-East Asia Treaty Organization*] and ANZUS [*Security Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America*], which are directed against the socialist countries, against independent peace-loving States and against national liberation movements in Asia. It is well known that intensive preparations are now under way for forging yet another aggressive bloc, PATO [*Pacific-Asian Treaty Organization*].

42. In addition, the noticeable strengthening of the military and political alliance between the United States of America and Japan and the increasing Japanese militarization are causing legitimate concern to the peoples of Asia, which have often in the past been the victims of Japanese aggression; they include the Mongolian people, who have recently observed the thirtieth anniversary of their victory on the river Khalkin-Gol over the Japanese invaders who had attempted to undermine our country's independence and revolutionary achievements. The Japanese invasion was a kind of prelude to the Second World War. As you know, on the very day after the defeat of the Japanese forces at Khalkin-Gok, that is to say on 1 September 1939, the most destructive war in history began with Nazi Germany's attack on Poland.

43. Another serious threat to security in Asia and the Far East is the *de facto* occupation of vast areas of the Pacific and Indian oceans by United States armed forces.

44. Thus the dangerous situation now prevailing in Asia gives us serious food for thought on how peace can be maintained and ensured in this enormous area of the world.

45. Accordingly, the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic warmly welcomes and supports the idea of establishing a system of collective security in Asia, an idea which is dictated by the actual course of events and finds sympathy and support in many countries.

46. Only a system of collective security embracing the whole continent, not narrow military and political group-

ings under the aegis of foreign aggressive forces, can give the peoples of the region an opportunity of finding better solutions, under conditions of political independence and lasting peace, for the vast social and economic problems with which they are confronted. Such a system would ensure peaceful and mutually advantageous co-operation, on a basis of equal rights, between the participating States. It would be an obstacle to any increase in the influence of imperialist, colonial and expansionist circles in the region and a stabilizing factor in Asia and throughout the world.

47. The Government and people of our country continue to follow with close attention the development of events in the Middle East, and consider that an immediate political settlement in that region is one of the important conditions for the alleviation of international tension and for the defence of peace against a large-scale military conflict.

48. The extremist ruling circles at Tel Aviv, openly flouting repeated United Nations decisions and the whole world's clearly expressed demands, are violating the cease-fire agreement and escalating their aggression against the Arab States, thus aggravating an already explosive situation.

49. The Israeli aggressors have set themselves the goal of preventing a political settlement of the Middle East crisis and are trying to impose their expansionist conditions in the interests of imperialism and neo-colonialism.

50. Many speakers here have quite rightly emphasized that the Tel Aviv rulers, in their defiant behaviour and adventurism, are relying on the direct aid and support of influential imperialist circles of the United States, Western Germany and certain Western Powers which take a hostile neo-colonialist attitude towards the independent Arab States.

51. The Mongolian delegation considers that those who stand behind Israel should bear the responsibility for delay in reaching a Middle East settlement. The cause of the peace and security of nations urgently requires the rapid adoption of decisive measures, both within and outside the United Nations, to compel the Israeli invaders to implement the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)] and to abandon their present dangerous course, which is fraught with serious consequences for all nations.

52. The question of European security occupies an important place in the strengthening of the peace and security of nations.

53. The military and political alliance between the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany and the activation of the aggressive NATO bloc are a serious threat to peace in Europe and throughout the world.

54. The openly revanchist and expansionist policy of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, and its support of militarist and neo-nazi forces in the country, cannot fail to arouse profound concern among the peoples. The line taken by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany that it is the sole representative of all Germany, its unlawful encroachment on West Berlin, and Bonn's aspirations to the possession of nuclear weapons—all

this is directed towards undermining the foundations of peace in Europe.

55. A prerequisite for ensuring European security is recognition of the incontrovertible fact of the existence on German soil of two sovereign States, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, and recognition of the existing frontiers, especially the Oder-Neisse line and the frontier between the two German States.

56. In this connexion the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic would like to lay special stress on the great contribution which the German Democratic Republic, as an important factor of peace, is making to the cause of strengthening security in Europe. The actively peaceful policy of the socialist German Democratic Republic, whose glorious twentieth anniversary will be celebrated in a few days' time enjoys great authority on the international scene. This is convincingly illustrated by the fact that a number of Asian and African States have recently established diplomatic relations with the German Democratic Republic.

57. We should like to reiterate once again that the United Nations should comply with the request of the German Democratic Republic, which long ago informed the Organization of its wish to become a Member. The consistent adherence of the German Democratic Republic to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, its untiring struggle for peace and security and the continuing growth of its economic potential are eloquent proof that it would become an active and effective Member of our Organization.

58. The Mongolian delegation wishes to state unequivocally that the discrimination which is being exercised against the German Democratic Republic with regard to granting it observer status in the United Nations and the right to participate in the Organization's various commissions and committees is not only a shortsighted attitude but also a dangerous concession to the policy of those forces which are using devious means to introduce the Federal Republic of Germany, with its expansionist policy towards the developing countries, into various United Nations institutions.

59. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic welcomed the Budapest appeal by the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty to all European countries concerning the convening of an all-European conference on problems of security and co-operation.<sup>3</sup> This important proposal by the socialist countries is gaining ever-increasing support.

60. We are profoundly convinced that peaceful co-operation between the European States is the only realistic alternative to the dangerous military confrontation, to the arms race and to the disputes imposed upon Europe by aggressive forces seeking to review the consequences of the Second World War and to recarve the map of Europe. In our opinion the creation of a stable system of security in

<sup>3</sup> Appeal by the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty to all European countries, adopted at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization at Budapest on 17 March 1969.

Europe would also promote the creation of other regional collective-security systems, particularly in Asia.

61. Despite the limited success recently achieved in partial disarmament measures, the world arms race, especially in nuclear weapons, is accelerating. No progress is being made in the settlement of such vitally important problems as the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, their limitation and the subsequent destruction of stockpiles of such weapons.

62. The problem of ending underground tests of nuclear weapons, and other measures to limit the race in these weapons of mass destruction, are still urgently awaiting solution. The Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in three environments<sup>4</sup> is not being universally observed. That important instrument, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*General Assembly resolution 2372 (XXII)*], has not yet entered into force and has not yet been signed by a number of nuclear and potential nuclear States.

63. All this arouses legitimate anxiety among the peoples, which look to the United Nations for further efforts to promote success in the negotiations on general and complete disarmament and to take effective partial measures to avert the threat of thermo-nuclear catastrophe. The world expects the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva to produce specific and positive results on the questions which it is discussing.

64. The Mongolian People's Republic, which has recently become a member of the Committee on Disarmament, is continuing its endeavours to contribute to the cause of disarmament and the strengthening of international security.

65. Evidence of this is to be found, in particular, in the fact that the Mongolian People's Republic is a co-sponsor of the draft convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons and on the destruction of such weapons [*A/7655*] which has been submitted for consideration at this session of the General Assembly.

66. Our delegation is convinced that this proposal, which is motivated by a genuine concern to save mankind from the horrors of a chemical and bacteriological war, will be supported by the States Members of the United Nations. In our opinion the General Assembly would make a substantial contribution to the cause of disarmament and the cause of maintaining world peace by adopting the draft convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons and on the destruction of such weapons.

67. The conclusion of such a convention would expand and strengthen the Geneva Protocol of 1925, which has been, and still is, a highly important instrument of international law for prohibition of the use in war of chemical and bacteriological weapons, those dangerous means of mass destruction of human life.

<sup>4</sup> Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water. Signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

68. Now that, in certain countries, particularly in the United States and Western Germany, intensive work is being done on developing and stockpiling chemical and bacteriological weapons and monstrous plans are being made for their use "in case of war", it is an urgent task to ensure strict observance of the Geneva Protocol by all States without exception. Accordingly the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic to the Committee on Disarmament submitted a proposal that the General Assembly should immediately address an appeal to all Governments which have not yet done so to accede to the Protocol or to ratify it during 1970, to mark the forty-fifth anniversary of the signature of this historic instrument and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. Our delegation hopes that this proposal, which was supported by a number of delegations in the Committee—and we should like to express our gratitude to them—will also meet with a favourable response and support at this session of the General Assembly.

69. Our delegation has taken those steps because of its sincere desire to support the important conclusions and recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations on chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons and the effects of their possible use.<sup>5</sup>

70. Life insistently demands untiring work to limit the arms race and take effective partial measures of disarmament, as well as the settlement of such problems as the peaceful use of the sea-bed and the ocean floor, the removal of foreign military bases from the territories of other States and the creation of nuclear-free zones in various continents of the world.

71. Our delegation hopes that the Committee on Disarmament, which is now concentrating its attention on the problem of prohibiting the use of the sea-bed and the ocean floor for military purposes, will achieve practical results contributing to a positive solution of this important problem.

72. The Mongolian People's Republic is prepared to continue its active co-operation with all States, both in the General Assembly and in the Committee on Disarmament, for the solution of the cardinal problem of our time, that of disarmament.

73. In 1970 the workers of the world will celebrate the centenary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, that consistent champion of the right of oppressed peoples to self-determination, that great thinker, the founder of the world's first socialist State and the leader of the October Revolution, which heralded the era of the true liberation of peoples.

74. It is significant that during the same year the United Nations will be celebrating the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which reflects the noble ideas of national self-determination, full equality and the social progress of nations, and will be assessing the

progress made in the implementation of this historic document.

75. As a result of the rapid expansion of the national liberation movement among colonial peoples and of the efforts made by the United Nations, the socialist countries and the newly independent States of Asia and Africa, a large number of former colonies and dependent countries have recently attained independence.

76. Nevertheless, the Declaration has not yet been fully implemented. Tens of millions of human beings are still under the colonial and racist yoke.

77. A particularly dangerous situation has developed in southern Africa, where the alliance between the racist régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonialists has turned this part of the African continent into a bastion of the colonial and racist order.

78. In an attempt to retain their colonial possessions in Africa by force, the Portuguese colonialists are waging a bloody war against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), with the economic and military assistance of the NATO countries. The racist régime in South Africa, in addition to intensifying its policy of *apartheid* against the indigenous population of the country, is stubbornly pursuing the same inhuman policy against the people of Namibia, in flagrant violation of resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The illegal régime of the white minority in Southern Rhodesia has not only not been overthrown but is becoming more firmly entrenched. With the direct connivance of the Government of the United Kingdom, the Salisbury régime has adopted a racist constitution depriving the people of Zimbabwe of their fundamental rights and has thus obtained a free hand for the open establishment of a racist State similar to that of the Republic of South Africa.

79. The maintenance of colonialism and racism runs counter to the high purposes and principles of the United Nations and constitutes a threat to world peace.

80. The United Nations should take resolute and practical steps to achieve the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and of other decisions of the United Nations on this subject.

81. Our delegation believes that the time has come for the United Nations to come to grips with the problem of neo-colonialism and to develop specific measures which can help the newly independent States to combat this evil. The policy of neo-colonialism being pursued by imperialist circles constitutes a grave danger to the political independence and sovereignty of the developing countries and hinders their attainment of economic independence and social progress.

82. The part which the United Nations is called upon to play in the development of the economics of new States must be regarded as directly connected with the struggle against neo-colonialism. In order to enhance the effectiveness of the economic activities of the United Nations, the results of the implementation of earlier decisions and in

<sup>5</sup> *Chemical and Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons and the Effects of their Possible Use* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.69.I.24).

particular the reasons for the failure of the First Development Decade must be taken into account in planning further measures in this sphere. We believe that the programme of the Second Development Decade should be planned primarily to further the interests of the developing countries and to promote the attainment of their economic independence and the strengthening of the government sector. It is also important that the programme of action should be based on their national development plans.

83. Where international conditions are concerned, the Second Development Decade cannot promise realistic effects unless the forms and methods of trade and economic relations between the Western and the developing countries are radically changed, that is to say, unless the plundering of the newly independent States by the monopolies of the developed capitalist countries is brought to an end. It is essential to carry on a relentless struggle against the attempts of the capitalist Powers to evade their historic responsibility for the wretched situation of the former colonial countries.

84. The Mongolian People's Republic will support any measures which will genuinely promote the economic and social advancement of the developing countries and the expansion of mutually advantageous co-operation between States.

85. In 1970, the United Nations will celebrate a highly significant occasion, the twenty-fifth anniversary of its establishment.

86. The peoples of the world expect the United Nations, which is called upon to save mankind from the threat of war, to mark this anniversary with positive achievements to its credit. This can be done, and there is enough time to do so.

87. As before, the Mongolian People's Republic advocates the strengthening of the United Nations as an instrument of peace and international co-operation and will actively support any steps it may take for the maintenance of world peace and the strengthening of mutual understanding among nations in accordance with its Charter. Moreover, we believe that the Charter still contains a wide range of possibilities for such action. We are in favour of unswerving observance of the Charter. Only through strict observance of its Charter can the United Nations achieve effective solutions of the urgent problems with which it is confronted. That is why we resolutely oppose the attempts of some circles to review the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter, under various pretexts, including that of the forthcoming anniversary.

88. Respect for the principle of universality is extremely important. In connexion with the forthcoming twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, we propose that the doors of the Organization should be opened to all States expressing a desire to become Members.

89. In conclusion, on behalf of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, I should like to wish the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly success in solving the urgent problems of the day in the interests of peace and international security.

90. Mr. AL-SHAIKHLY (Iraq):<sup>6</sup> Madam President, it gives me pleasure to begin my statement by expressing the great gratification of my delegation at your election to the presidency of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, the more so when I recall that the only two ladies who have gained this confidence have come from Asia and Africa, the two continents whose peoples have been engaged in a bitter struggle for freedom, independence and self-determination for all oppressed peoples.

91. I should also like to take this occasion to express our sincere sorrow at the passing away of former President Emilio Arenales, who earned the confidence of the General Assembly at its last session, and who, in spite of ill health, discharged his duties admirably.

92. One year has passed since I addressed the General Assembly at its last session, quoting in my statement from the Secretary-General's report, to the effect that no progress had been made towards an international order based on law and justice. I regret to state now that the year that has just passed has not been more favourable than the one preceding it, in banishing the atmosphere of anxieties and dangers that threaten the safety and security of nations.

93. This failure has been manifested in all its aspects in the Middle East, where Israel continues its aggression against the people of Palestine and its occupation of the territories of three Arab States, Members of the United Nations, before the eyes of the world Organization. Israel has been attempting by all methods to consolidate its colonialist, racist and expansionist existence in the Arab region, aided and abetted by world imperialism headed by the United States of America, in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations.

94. During the past year and since the previous session of the General Assembly, a series of resolutions has been adopted and initiatives taken with varying degrees of seriousness and responsibility to find a solution, creating a basis for justice and the banishment of aggression from the region. In spite of all this, no noticeable improvement has been achieved and we have not seen any glimmer of hope for reaching a just solution of this problem that has been awaiting solution for the last twenty years.

95. It is high time to differentiate between causes and consequences and to confront the causes with the needed courage, objectivity and fairness. The basic cause is the denial to the Palestinian people, who have been living in tents for the past twenty years, of the right to live in their own homeland in freedom, sovereignty and peace. Any solution which does not take into full consideration the Palestinian people, the people directly concerned, will have no chance of success. The overriding reality which will remain alive in the conscience of the Arab nation and of the world is the rejection by the Palestinian people of their elimination as a distinct national entity, and their determination for national survival, regardless of the price, in common with other nations that have fought against occupation and extinction and achieved, through their just struggle, the goals of liberation and independence.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Al-Shaikhly spoke in Arabic, the English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.



96. When Israel embarked upon the second stage of its expansionist designs by waging its 1967 aggression and occupying large territories of the Arab States, it was determined to consolidate its occupation of those territories for the purpose of their annexation, in defiance of all the principles of the United Nations Charter, and thus to impose submission on the Arab States and the final liquidation of the Palestine question.

97. It is not difficult for those who are acquainted with Israeli methods to realize that Israel is endeavouring to employ all means to consolidate its occupation and to impose on the United Nations another *fait accompli*. This is neither surprising nor unexpected from an Israel, which has from the start based its existence upon acquisition by force and the presenting of that acquisition as an irrevocable *fait accompli*. This fact has been proved by what happened last year, and ever since Israel came into being, a fact deserving everyone's attention so that measures may be taken to avoid its imposition upon the region and the world community.

98. At the end of its previous session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2452 (XXIII) for the return of the evacuees who were forced to leave their homes as a result of the June 1967 aggression, and the United Nations reaffirmed its previous resolution concerning the right of the people of Palestine to return to their homeland. A year has now passed and not a single part of that resolution has been implemented. Furthermore, the General Assembly, at its last session, adopted resolution 2443 (XXIII) on respect for human rights in the occupied Arab territories, a resolution which was rejected by Israel right from the very beginning. The Security Council, on its part, adopted several resolutions condemning Israeli aggression against the Arab States, such as resolution 262 (1968) concerning Israel's raid on Beirut International Airport, and resolution 265 (1969) regarding Israel's attack upon the civilian population in Jordan. Other resolutions by the Security Council include resolution 267 (1969) declaring as invalid all Israeli measures to annex Arab Jerusalem and efface its Arabic character; also Security Council resolution 271 (1969), in which the Council reaffirmed its previous resolution on Jerusalem.

99. But all those resolutions were contemptuously and arrogantly rejected by Israel. On the other hand, the United Nations Human Rights Commission adopted its resolution 6 (XXV)<sup>7</sup> for the establishment of a mission to investigate Israel's inhumane measures against the civilian population in occupied territories. That mission was denied co-operation by Israel and even barred from entering the territories in question, as if such an attitude could blind the world to the persecution of civilians, the suppression of freedom, the economic hardships and the imposition of a brutal occupation upon the peoples of those territories. All these actions were condemned by the International Conference on Human Rights which was held at Teheran from 22 April to 13 May 1968.

100. We were not surprised at Israel's persistence in such a policy and at its continuous contempt for United Nations resolutions. Our realization of this fact was based upon

unquestionable and unmistakable indications which were further reinforced by well-known statements of various Israeli spokesmen.

101. Israel's continued contempt for the Security Council resolutions is a result of its knowledge that those resolutions will not go beyond censure and condemnation because there are Powers that prevent the Organization from undertaking appropriate measures, under the Charter, to deal with situations similar to the Israeli aggression. Israel was certain that the United States of America, which has supported it since its creation with material and moral aid and which continues to provide it with the latest destructive weapons, even at a time when it is in occupation of the Territories of United Nations Member States, would block any effective action by the Organization. This is not surprising from the United States, which is the foremost imperialist Power in the world and from whose machinations no country has been safe. It is the same United States which called, through its President and from this rostrum a few days ago [*1755th meeting*], for alteration of the map of the Middle East to satisfy Israel and reward its aggression.

102. How could the United States allow itself—and how could the international community allow it—to play with the destinies of peoples and violate the sanctity of homelands? That declaration of the United States President creates a dangerous precedent in international relations, one which threatens the sovereignty of States and their territorial integrity, and it must be the concern of all Members of this Organization for the sake of their security and territorial integrity.

103. Supporting aggression, so forcefully and enthusiastically, by a great Power such as the United States—a permanent member of the Security Council which, according to the Charter, bears a special responsibility for keeping international peace and security—is a dangerous action which threatens the very future of this Organization and weakens whatever faith the peoples of the world may have in it. It is such actions which help to replace the rule of law by the law of the jungle. The United States must realize that force can never stand in the way of nations struggling for their legitimate aspirations. The changes that are taking place in Asia, Africa and Latin America are shining examples of the total failure of the policy of force.

104. This is the dark and negative side of the situation prevailing in the Middle East since 1948 which has further deteriorated since Israel's June 1967 aggression. There is, however, the other side of the picture where there is a ray of hope and a gleam of optimism that a fundamental remedy is beginning to emerge. By this I mean the growing valiant resistance movement of the people of Palestine who, under the yoke of Israel's occupation in the darkness of refugee tents and conscious of their homelessness, suffer from the world's lack of conscience and the impotence of this Organization to find a solution for the plight in which they have been living for twenty years now. Last year witnessed the intensification of patriotic resistance in Palestine and all occupied Arab territories. This resistance has become the criterion for the effectiveness of the Arab struggle.

105. From this rostrum, I wish to affirm the support of the Iraqi Government and people for the legitimate struggle

<sup>7</sup> *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Forty-sixth Session*, document E/4621, p. 183.

of the Palestinian people who are resisting foreign occupation and striving for the right of self-determination. This struggle, by its example of bravery and sacrifice, has awakened the conscience of the world and gained the sympathy of all freedom loving nations. The Iraqi Republic, convinced of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people as part of the Arab nation, will continue to support their struggle by all available means, both inside and outside this Organization.

106. It is for us a source of satisfaction that the number of States which have come to recognize this right has been growing. In this respect, I wish to recall the resolution of the consultative meeting of the non-aligned nations held at Belgrade from 8 to 12 July 1969 which was based upon the resolutions of the two non-aligned summit conferences held at Belgrade in 1961 and Cairo in 1964, supporting unequivocally the struggle of the Palestinian people against colonialism, racism and their efforts to regain their legitimate rights.

107. One of the most dangerous aspects of Israeli expansion is its attempts to extend its domination to citizens of other States on a purely religious basis. Israeli protective claims over world Jewry is a factor for confusion and disturbance in the world today. It is an encroachment upon the sovereignty of independent States and calls for dual loyalty and allegiance.

108. Today, religion is no longer a bond between the individual and the State. Therefore, Israel's responsibility in exploiting religious feelings and inciting citizens to betray their countries as part of its aggressive designs is extremely dangerous. The tears it sheds for those victims of its wicked designs, in the name of defending semitism, are an act of tremendous cynicism. The events of recent years have uncovered many of Israel's criminal acts. It is doubtful that the world would be deceived by its weeping for a few spies who betrayed their country while it continues to assassinate a whole nation.

109. The world was shocked by the burning of the Al Aqsa Mosque, one of the most holy Moslem places of worship and which constitutes a spiritual and historical monument for all mankind. This barbaric crime, perpetrated by the Zionists, reflects the decline of their moral and human values. In spite of all propaganda camouflages the world did not hesitate to show its anger and disgust and to lay the responsibility at Israel's door as the occupying Power.

110. The continuation of the Zionist aggression against the Arab nations will lead to most serious consequences in the Middle East and will weaken the confidence in the United Nations, which bears a great responsibility in view of its failure to liquidate aggression and find a just solution for the Palestinian problem.

111. The Arab nation, which has placed its confidence in this Organization, is determined and entitled to use all legitimate means for the liberation of Arab lands from the racial Zionist occupation, regardless of the price to be paid.

112. The only way to deal with Israeli aggression is by its liquidation and by the refusal to recognize any territorial

gain resulting from it. Israel must unconditionally withdraw from all Arab territories. This will not by itself normalize the situation or establish a just and lasting peace, because the June aggression is nothing but one of the direct consequences of the Zionist aggression against the people of Palestine. It is only by recognizing the rights of the people of Palestine for repatriation and self-determination and assuring their full participation that a successful solution can be reached.

113. The Israeli aggression and its consequences are not the only dangers to the peace and security in the Middle East. There is another problem which is of particular concern to my Government since it is a direct threat to Iraqi sovereignty, and to which the Foreign Minister of Iran referred yesterday [1776th meeting]. This is the problem which has been artificially created by our neighbour Iran, by its unilateral declaration abrogating the valid and legally binding boundary Treaty of 1937.<sup>8</sup> The unilateral denunciation of this Treaty has no basis or support in law or fact.

114. The 1937 Treaty was concluded to settle and delineate, once and for all, the water and land boundaries between Iraq and Iran. The Treaty provided for the recognition of international instruments which were previously established for the delineation of the frontiers between the two countries. It was duly signed and ratified and the instruments of ratification were exchanged. The Treaty was registered with the League of Nations.

115. Although the conclusion of the Treaty was opposed by the Iraqi populace, as it provided for concessions from a part of Iraq's territory in Shatt-al-Arab, nevertheless, once the Treaty was ratified and legal procedures were terminated Iraq abided by its provisions in compliance with its policy of honouring its international obligations and recognition of the sanctity of treaties and conventions.

116. To the regret of my Government, our neighbour Iran, in its attempt to evade the application of the valid and legally binding Treaty, deemed it fit to denounce it unilaterally, in violation of the principles of international law. The unilateral denunciation of the Treaty was accompanied by mass demonstrations of troops and naval and air forces along the boundaries of the two countries. To make matters worse, military force was actually used to violate Iraqi sovereignty, contrary to paragraph 4 of Article 2 of the United Nations Charter. Furthermore, Iran deliberately transgressed rules and regulations of Iraqi port authorities, endangering navigation in Shatt-al-Arab.

117. The Iraqi-Iranian boundary Treaty of 1937 is valid and binding on both parties, and any measure which was or could be taken contrary to its provisions is null and void. In the spirit of good-neighbour relations between Iraq and Iran and the binding force of international commitment, Iran should rescind its illegal measures and restore the *status quo ante* in the interest of both nations, with a view to preserving international peace and security in the region. My Government, however, motivated by the sincere desire for settling peacefully any dispute which may arise regarding the application of the provisions of the Treaty, declares its readiness to accept the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice.

<sup>8</sup> Boundary Treaty between Iran and Iraq, with Protocol, signed at Teheran on 4 July 1937.

118. In this respect I should like to refer to a question relating to decolonization which has not received sufficient attention from the United Nations in the last few years; namely, the question of Oman. The people of Oman, who have continued to struggle against British colonialism to attain their liberation and progress, are awaiting justice from this world Organization to enable them to exercise their right to self-determination. The United Kingdom, which has already declared its intention to liquidate British bases and withdraw its troops from the Arab Gulf area, still prevents the people of Oman from achieving their aspiration, through the policies of intimidation and banishment, and in collaboration with the reactionary authorities of Muscat. The people of Oman, who were ruled by Britain for about a century and a half, are still leading a primitive life of isolation and are backward in the fields of economy and hygiene. The economic potentialities of that nation of about 3 million are being plundered by oil monopolies, and yet they still lack a single high school, or a hospital, or any aspect of modern society. Tens of thousands of Omanis are still living in exile, due to the policies of terror and persecution practised by colonialism and reactionists. The international community is called upon to bring pressure to bear upon the United Kingdom to implement the United Nations resolutions relative to the termination of the British colonial presence in Oman, and the liquidation of British military bases, and to put an end to the policies of repression and expulsion, practised by the British occupying forces in collaboration with the reactionary authorities of Muscat. It is necessary to recognize the rights of the people of Oman to their national wealth, which they desperately need to emerge from a way of life of unparalleled primitiveness.

119. The people of Iraq, who struggled gallantly for a long period of time against colonialism and foreign domination, support with all the means at their disposal the just struggle of the valiant people of Oman, and extend to them all the assistance and support needed to enable that part of our Arab homeland achieve its full right to freedom and sovereignty.

120. The determination of the Iraqi people in their full support of the struggle of the Arab nation for freedom and unity has not made us oblivious of the struggle of other nations in different parts of the world for their own legitimate rights against the forces of imperialism and aggression. We firmly believe that national struggle and collaboration of progressive forces all over the world is the only way for nations to achieve independence and liberty. The continuation of American aggression in Viet-Nam and Zionist aggression in Palestine are but a single manifestation of colonialist policies, pursued by the United States and based upon its disregard of the rights of nations in its own selfish and monopolistic interests.

121. The struggle of the people of Viet-Nam has scored a brilliant victory against the forces of foreign occupation and domination, exemplified by the military and colonial aggression of the United States. The United States has used all its enormous military capacity in a daily operation of annihilation which is aimed at the subjugation of a great nation whose struggle has been regarded as an eternal symbol in the march of nations against the forces of oppression and domination.

122. The Republic of Iraq believes that permanent peace in Viet-Nam will not be obtained except by the unconditional withdrawal of the aggressive American troops from Viet-Nameese territory; by strict non-interference in the affairs of the Viet-Nameese people, and by enabling it to decide its own future. On this occasion the delegation of the Republic of Iraq salutes the emergence of the revolutionary provisional Government of South Viet-Nam and considers it the result of the gallant struggle of the people of Viet-Nam. One basic element in the foreign policy of Iraq is to foster the cause of national liberation and decolonization all over the world. Iraq, therefore, firmly supports the liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), as well as the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia.

123. My Government observes a flagrant irregularity in the position of the United Nations which is one of the causes of its falling short of achieving its objectives. This irregularity is the prevention of the Chinese people from enjoying their legal right to be represented in this Organization, so that they may contribute to the efforts of Member States to safeguard international peace and security and to consolidate international co-operation.

124. There is also another anomalous situation in the region of the Far East which the United Nations should not ignore nor allow to continue any longer, and that is the presence of the United States occupation forces in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations. My Government does not see any justification for the continuation of this anomalous state of affairs, and calls upon the United Nations to rid itself of this entanglement which not only does harm to the reputation of the international community but also thwarts the rightful aspirations of the Korean people for sovereignty and unity.

125. The German Democratic Republic, which represents an important section of the German people and enjoys wide political and economic relations with the majority of the international community, has been for twenty years deprived of representation in the United Nations and its specialized agencies. The realities of international life and the requirements for European peace and security prescribe that the German Democratic Republic should not be deprived of its right to be represented in the world Organization and the specialized agencies.

126. The agenda of the present session is replete with topics that deserve all our attention and consideration. My delegation will, in the first place, pay particular attention to the items which aim at the consolidation of international peace and security, and the strengthening of co-operation between Member States in order to achieve economic and social progress and the welfare of all peoples. In this connexion, we refer particularly to the question of disarmament and other related matters, and to the question of the reservation exclusively for peaceful purposes of the sea-bed and the ocean floor, and the subsoil thereof underlying the high seas beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction, and the use of their resources in the interests of mankind. We welcome the inclusion in the agenda of the item on the strengthening of international security and the item on the conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stock-

pling of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons and on the destruction of such weapons.

127. It might be useful in this connexion to point out that Iraq has realized considerable progress in various economic fields during the First United Nations Development Decade. The reports published by the Economic and Social Council, entitled *World Economic Survey, 1968, parts I and II*<sup>9</sup> indicate that Iraq has achieved an increase of 12 per cent in the national commodity production, compared with the period between 1960 and 1967. This percentage is one of the highest achieved by the developing countries. Iraq's agricultural production has also increased by 12 per cent while its exports for 1968 increased by 40 per cent compared with the previous year. During the same period, Iraq's imports decreased by 6 per cent. Iraq at present exploits all its energies and natural resources to assure the prosperity of its people and to raise their standard of living. Our policy in this respect emanates from our sovereignty over our natural resources and our right to exploit them directly for the national interest.

128. Iraq is greatly interested in the Second United Nations Economic Development Decade, and looks forward with great hopes to seeing that Decade achieve our expectations in developing the economy of the underdeveloped countries, raising the standards of living of their peoples, and closing the gap between the developed and developing countries. We also hope that the planning of the Second United Nations Development Decade is based on realistic objectives and an effective and practicable means of execution.

129. In spite of all the questions and problems which the United Nations and the entire world community face at present, and which obscure the horizon of international relations with dark and ominous clouds, there are, however, gleams of hope that inspire confidence in the ability of peace-loving mankind to overcome the forces of evil that attempt to impose their will on the peoples. These rays of hope that appear on the international horizon, through this Organization and its organs, ensure the possibility of opening wider fields of co-operation to achieve the welfare of all mankind. I am therefore pleased to conclude my statement by announcing my country's support of all the noble efforts aimed at eradicating the negative aspects of international relations. We are prepared to take part in all attempts to realize mankind's aspirations to live in peace and security, which alone can ensure the progress of the peoples in the fields of constructive and fruitful work for the prosperity and happiness of all.

130. Mr. RAJBHANDARY (Nepal): Madam President, I should like, first of all, to convey the greetings and good wishes of my Sovereign, His Majesty King Mahendra, for the success of this session of the General Assembly. While we mourn the untimely death of your predecessor, the late Mr. Emilio Arenales, Foreign Minister of Guatemala, we are very happy to see you elected President of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Your country has been in the forefront of the fight for the freedom and independence of peoples everywhere. We have great admiration for your personal qualities and, above all, for your refreshing candour. Those qualities, together with your vast

experience with the work of the United Nations, will serve you in good stead in your high office. My delegation wishes you success, and pledges its whole-hearted co-operation in your task.

131. I would also take this opportunity to express our deep appreciation of the sincere and honest efforts of the Secretary-General, who has striven to realize the ideal of peace and justice in the relations among the nations of the world. His response to different challenging situations has always reflected the basic principles of this Organization, and that is a very difficult role to play.

132. We can well recall today the wide and varied nature of the world problems which have tested the strength of this Organization. Some of the problems have appeared dangerous enough to create a panic all over the world. Despite all the achievements to the credit of this Organization, such problems have stressed the need for it to play a more effective role. Every problem that the United Nations has not been able to solve admonishes all of us to contribute our maximum understanding and co-operation to it. All of us know that the world was compelled to have a United Nations Organization for safeguarding certain international values so as to ensure a peace based on justice. We were determined then not to allow another calamitous war to shatter all the dreams of civilized man. Whether it be on the question of disarmament or the Middle East crisis, this Organization demands the co-operation of its Members to implement the principles inherent in its Charter and its commitment to peace. It requires more from those who are more advantageously placed in terms of strength and resources.

133. Our faith in the United Nations is very strong, because, in the words of His Majesty King Mahendra, we believe that: "The only real alternative to the United Nations is an ever more powerful United Nations". We feel that this is the only body which can bring peace and harmony to our world of nations; big and small, strong and weak, developed and developing. Each nation should be allowed to follow its own path of development, without any political or economic interference from outside. Landlocked as we are between two populous and big neighbours, we have evolved our own Panchayat system of Government under the able leadership of our King. Peaceful co-existence among nations, big and small—or among developed and developing nations—is as essential to us as to any other small country in our situation.

134. It is in the necessity for peaceful coexistence among nations and the necessity to maintain the diversity of paths followed by different nations, and, above all, to ensure a stable and peaceful development in the world, that the United Nations has to be more creative and effective. We have a deep-rooted faith in the United Nations, for which my country has worked and will continue to work honestly to implement the noble principles of the Charter.

135. The world today is witnessing many changes. Emerging nations are striving hard to stand on their own; they are yearning for world peace in order to achieve sufficient and uninterrupted economic development. Developments in science and technology are bringing all of us closer every day. The improvement in relations between the United

<sup>9</sup> E/4687/Rev.1 and E/4688.

States and the Soviet Union is very promising, as it helps to relax the tension of the so-called cold war. But there are yet problems which await solutions. The situation in Viet-Nam still remains a source of serious concern to all of us. Of course, the cessation of the bombing of North Viet-Nam and the recent withdrawal of some American troops from South Viet-Nam are commendable steps towards a peaceful settlement. We sincerely hope that other similar and adequate measures will follow. It is gratifying to note that the parties concerned are more anxious for a political solution of the problem than for a military one.

136. My delegation wants to reiterate that the people of Viet-Nam should be allowed to exercise their legitimate right of shaping their own future without any interference from outside. Our appeal to all parties concerned is to settle the conflict in the spirit of the Geneva Agreement of 1954, which, we feel, provides an appropriate basis for the solution. As we see it, the unnecessary interference by outside Powers has resulted only in an inhuman massacre of the Viet-Nameese people, who have long suffered with courage and dignity. Peace should be restored to their land as early as possible. My delegation hopes that the participants in the Paris peace talks will display the necessary foresight and statesmanship in their efforts at finding a solution acceptable to all concerned.

137. My delegation realizes the highly inflammable nature of the confrontation in the Middle East. We have always stood for a peaceful solution of the problem, and have always opposed the escalation of the conflict by the supplying of arms by the big Powers. We fully realize the danger of changing the territorial status of the area by force of arms, which cannot be justified even under the pretext of the self-preservation of a country. Such pretexts can only bring chaos to international relations.

138. We stand committed to Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, which, I am sure, provides a sound basis for the establishment of peace in the region. It is a pity that that resolution could not be enforced even after a lapse of nearly two years. We feel it is vital for peace in the Middle East that Israel should withdraw from the Arab lands it has occupied, as it is essential for the Arab States to be reconciled to the existence of Israel; that, we understand, is the meaning of the Security Council resolution.

*Mr. Akwei (Ghana), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

139. Any permanent solution of the problem should be aimed at creating an atmosphere in which all the countries of that region may live peacefully without apprehension of aggression from any quarter. The Arab-Israel dispute, as all of us are aware, has been fanned by a mutual suspicion and hatred of more than two decades. A lasting peace requires elimination of such fears and suspicions, and recognition of the right of each State to live within secure and recognized boundaries. This right has been guaranteed by the Charter of the United Nations.

140. Despite several consultations among the four Powers, there has been no improvement in the situation which has not only remained as explosive as ever but also, in the words of the Secretary-General, the past year has seen the

highest level of armed conflict in the area since June 1967. It is a matter of the deepest concern to all of us, who earnestly feel that the situation should not be allowed to get out of control. My delegation sincerely hopes that the consultations among the four Powers, within and outside the United Nations, will lead to the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967. The four Powers, as permanent members of the Security Council, have a special responsibility for the establishment of peace in that region. In the meantime, we fervently appeal to all the parties to the conflict to exercise the utmost restraint in order not to engage in violent activities that may reduce the possibility of reaching a satisfactory settlement.

141. The November resolution provides a sound basis, and the most acceptable, for a just and lasting peace in the area. The Secretary-General's Special Representative is engaged in seeking a common agreement with the parties to the dispute regarding the implementation of the provisions of the Security Council resolution. While the importance of the task entrusted to the Special Representative cannot be underemphasized, we realize, and hope that the parties have realized, that his role is necessarily limited to assisting the peace efforts of the parties themselves and that, therefore, it is up to them and them alone to bring about a political settlement by peaceful means.

142. A very disheartening feature in the Middle East has been the danger to the lives and security of the United Nations military observers posted there. The Secretary-General has rightly observed that they had become defenceless targets in a shooting gallery and had even hinted at the possibility of withdrawing them. My delegation hopes that the parties to the dispute will realize the importance of the role of the United Nations observers and take sufficient precautions against risking their lives and security.

143. The peace-keeping role of the United Nations has always been useful as it has contributed, in so many previous instances, to stopping further escalation of the conflict, if not its total elimination. It is but natural that we cannot expect the peace-keeping forces of the United Nations to achieve complete success if the parties themselves will not permit it. Nevertheless, their usefulness in supervising a cease-fire or maintaining the *status quo*, pending a satisfactory solution, cannot be underrated. This peace-keeping role of the United Nations has assumed great importance, specially for the smaller nations. My delegation hopes that the constitutional and financial crises confronting the United Nations will be resolved in this spirit.

144. The past year has also been unproductive in the field of disarmament. A matter of regret in this connexion is the failure of the major nuclear Powers to enter into bilateral discussions on the limitation and reduction of offensive strategic nuclear-weapons delivery systems and systems of defence against ballistic missiles, which were promised at the time of the signing of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons on 1 July 1968 [see resolution 2373 (XXII)].

145. The present decade has witnessed significant measures of non-armament such as the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under

Water, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and other Celestial Bodies [see resolution 2222 (XXI)] and the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America [see resolution 2286 (XXII)]. Each of these measures has provided a good start. Nevertheless, a long journey is still before us and we will reach our final objective only when we have general and complete disarmament. Only after that will we be able to use our great asset, nuclear energy, for creative and peaceful purposes.

146. However, despite all this progress, the spectre of a nuclear holocaust is ever present, haunting us with the threat of the complete destruction of civilization. At the beginning of this decade, the total expenditure for military purposes amounted to about 100 thousand million dollars; today, it is estimated at about 200 thousand million dollars.

147. It is self-evident that the balance between the two largest military Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, is a stabilizing factor in the world today. This balance provides the most effective deterrent against temptation for attack against each other. In this situation, we would have thought that the best course of action for these Powers would be to freeze the balance and then reduce it gradually to a lower level, instead of acquiring more and more sophisticated offensive and defensive weapons systems, out of an unreal sense of fear and insecurity. It is up to these two Powers to ease the situation by halting the mad armaments race thus releasing the vast resources that are now spent on armaments and using them instead for the Security and economic and social progress and the well-being of the entire world, in particular, the developing parts of it. It is up to the nuclear Powers to take the lead. In this connexion, my delegation supports the proposal made by the Secretary-General [A/7601/Add.1, para. 42] to designate the decade of the 1970s as the Disarmament Decade, a decade which has already been named the Second United Nations Development Decade.

148. All the measures that have already been adopted in the field of disarmament will not mean much if they are not followed by other similar measures. A comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty will indeed be a great step towards our cherished goal. Only a lack of will on the part of the nuclear Powers stands in the way of this treaty.

149. The Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States<sup>10</sup> has made several deliberations on the subject of disarmament. It has gone a long way towards enlightening world public opinion on the question of disarmament. The various opinions expressed in the Conference as well as its resolutions are worth serious consideration. My delegation strongly holds that a world disarmament conference, consisting of both the nuclear and non-nuclear Powers, would prove extremely useful and would be a constructive step towards our goal. There are countries which are fully capable of manufacturing nuclear weapons and there are those which neither possess nor are likely to possess such weapons. Such a conference, attended by all the countries of the world, would provide a forum for comprehensive deliberations on different aspects of the problem. We hope

that the subject will receive serious consideration from the big Powers. Mankind today is looking to the big Powers in the hope that they will engage not in the nuclear arms race but in the more constructive purpose of improving the economic situation of those who are in need of it.

150. The question of universal and total disarmament and other relevant questions can never be effectively settled without the participation of the People's Republic of China, which is a nuclear Power in its own right. The restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in this world body is absolutely essential for world peace, and, in fact, the application of the principle of the Charter demands it. This world body will always be lacking in the universal character of its membership if the most populous country on earth is left out of it. We cannot ignore the reality that the People's Republic of China has exercised its authority effectively for a long time and has made remarkable economic progress. It is entitled to be properly represented in this world body as the only legitimate Government of China.

151. It is obvious that without its participation any measure to promote international co-operation and strengthen international security will be incomplete and the role of the United Nations as an effective instrument of peace, as conceived by its founders, will continue to be severely limited. Especially, the maintenance of peace and stability in the world, and in Asia in particular, demands that the People's Republic of China should be allowed to participate in this Organization without any delay. My delegation once again appeals to all delegations to consider this question most objectively.

152. During the past year, the chronic problems of colonialism and racialism, particularly in southern Africa, have persisted as stubbornly as before. In the words of the Secretary-General, this year has been mainly one of continuing disappointment and frustration. The struggle for independence by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and the so-called Portuguese Guinea continues to meet the most ruthless suppression at the hands of the colonial rulers. The colonial rulers have ignored the realities of today's world and forgotten the lesson from history that the spirit of freedom cannot be suppressed forever by brutal force.

153. The racist or *apartheid* policy followed by South Africa has been a constant challenge to the ideals enshrined in the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The policy of segregation based on colour, to which South Africa clings, is an anachronism in the modern world and is against the dignity of man everywhere. Unfortunately, a concerted action by all the countries of the world, particularly in co-operation with some big Powers, is yet lacking. Our ideals have been sacrificed to the interest of trade by some countries, and this has helped the South African Government to remain adamant. We hope that such wrongs will be corrected by complete implementation of United Nations resolutions for a boycott of trade with that country. The international trading community should have no dealing with that régime as long as it does not give up its inhuman policy of *apartheid* and racism.

154. The South African régime with its continued defiance of the United Nations has been occupying South

<sup>10</sup> Held at Geneva from 29 August to 28 September 1968.

West Africa. This retrograde action should not be allowed to continue any longer. We welcome the Security Council resolution [269 (1969)] warning South Africa that the Security Council will have to take further strong measures in case it does not vacate South West Africa. We hope that the big Powers which have been entrusted with special responsibility by the Charter will take every possible step to ensure that the expressed wish of the United Nations is respected.

155. Encouraged by the failure of the United Nations to eliminate racism, the white rulers of Southern Rhodesia have proved themselves as adamant in defying civilized human values as their South African counterparts. By openly challenging the administering Authority and by defying the United Nations, they are trying to present a fait accompli to the world. Sanctions have failed so far to persuade them to adopt a sensible policy in the interest of the people. It is the primary responsibility of the British Government to see that all Rhodesians are allowed to participate freely in the administration of their country on the basis of the well known democratic principle of one man, one vote.

156. Nepal has always stood against colonialism and racial discrimination, whatever their forms. In this spirit we have supported measures by the Security Council and by the General Assembly which are directed against those, who not only seek to degrade human values through colonial exploitation or other similar means, but also adopt a policy of active hostility against the United Nations.

157. The most alarming feature of the modern world is the continuing economic disparity between the developed and the developing countries. The first and second sessions of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development have examined this problem in its proper dimension and have suggested measures to be undertaken by the developed and the developing countries. Unfortunately, co-operation has been found wanting in various fields of trade and development. The manufactured or semi-manufactured articles of the developing countries have not found their way to the markets of developed countries. In a situation like this, the less developed of the developing countries have been confronted with even greater difficulties. The traditional pattern of exporting raw materials and importing manufactured items on very unfavourable terms is still a fact of life in a developing country like Nepal, and it cannot be oriented otherwise unless liberal measures are pursued by the developed countries for the import of finished or semi-finished goods from the developing countries.

158. As a developing country, Nepal is very much concerned with the prevailing situation. A land-locked country, its difficulties are far greater than is commonly understood. In the last few years we have been striving, to the best of our ability, to diversify our trade; we are trying to create an economic infrastructure and we have begun a modest venture in the field of industrialization. In these circumstances, the task before us is to arrive at a sustained economic development by gradually changing the pattern of trade with our neighbours in particular and with other countries of the world in general.

159. The Convention on Transit Trade of Land-locked States<sup>11</sup> has already come into force. We welcomed it as a positive step towards increasing international collaboration in so far as it tried to facilitate the trade and transit of the land-locked countries. Unfortunately, some of the coastal and transit countries have not yet found it possible to accede to the convention. Nepal feels that the convention should serve as a basis for any sort of bilateral agreement designed to improve the present position. It is, in our view, of utmost importance that the developing countries should establish an increasing measure of goodwill and co-operation among themselves if they aspire to greater understanding and goodwill from the developed countries.

160. The First United Nations Development Decade is nearly over. The average rate of growth in the developing countries could not attain the modest target of 5 per cent, which is very disappointing. The strategy of the Second United Nations Development Decade will, it is hoped, take into account the causes of the failure of the first one and will focus on concrete measures to facilitate the commitments of the developed countries in this respect. Nonetheless, a positive response on the part of the developed countries is highly necessary to make a success of the Second United Nations Development Decade.

161. The social and economic inequalities among developed and developing nations, as well as within both categories of these nations, portend dangerous consequences for all of us. Prompt action in the way of removing such inequalities is extremely necessary to ensure a smooth and orderly evolution towards a fuller and richer life.

162. In this age, when man has landed on the moon, highlighting the tremendous progress in science and technology and turning into reality the long cherished dream of mankind, it is all the more necessary for us to be more and more concerned about the growing inequalities in the standards of living of peoples on this earth. Efforts undertaken by both developed and developing countries towards the achievement of a minimum living standard in the developing world, which comprises two thirds of the global population, have proved utterly inadequate during the First United Nations Development Decade. A most disheartening feature in this connexion has been the weakening of public support for international aid by the aid-giving countries, particularly the richest ones.

163. The Secretary-General has repeatedly drawn our attention to the widening development gap and appealed for a sincere willingness on our part, particularly on the part of the developed countries, to tackle the problem with a sufficient sense of urgency. In his address of 9 May 1969 at the opening session of the Conference on the Second United Nations Development Decade: "A Challenge for Rich and Poor Countries", U Thant said:

"Members of the United Nations have perhaps ten years left in which to subordinate their ancient quarrels and launch a global partnership to curb the arms race, to improve the human environment, to defuse the population explosion, and to supply the required momentum to world development efforts"

<sup>11</sup> Signed in New York on 8 July 1965.

164. In our efforts to save world peace and build a happier and fuller society on earth, time is not on our side. It is running out. The Secretary-General's introduction to his annual report depicts a very sombre picture of the world situation and the state of affairs of the United Nations. Whether in regard to the situation in the Middle East, the financial state of the Organization, the field of disarmament, decolonization or the field of social and economic development—in other words, in every conceivable field of important activities of the United Nations—the Secretary-General has been constrained to report little or no progress at all.

165. Next year we shall be celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. This anniversary coincides with the beginning of the Second United Nations Development Decade and, if the Assembly so decides, the beginning of the Disarmament Decade as well. There will be no better way to celebrate these momentous events than by rising above narrow selfish interests and dedicating ourselves anew to the purposes of the United Nations—to maintain world peace and security, to develop friendly relations among nations and to achieve international co-operation in the solution of international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character.

166. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Iran wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply, and I give him the floor.

167. Mr. VAKIL (Iran): This morning, the Foreign Minister of Iraq, as well as one of his colleagues yesterday, made a few references to my country in the course of their statements. I should like, with your permission, to comment very briefly on those points. Yesterday, the representative of Iraq not only tried to define the position of Iraq with respect to the Shatt-al-Arab River boundary between Iraq and Iran, but also arrogated to himself the right to speak on behalf of Arab interests and rights in the Persian Gulf. As I do not wish to tax the patience of the Members of this Assembly, I shall try to avoid rhetoric and instead confine myself to facts which, I am sure, must have escaped the attention of the representative of Iraq.

168. First, it was astonishing to hear the representative of a country, whose territory barely touches on the Persian Gulf, attempt to deny any rights to a littoral State, located along the entire length of the northern shoreline of the Gulf. In addition to some 800 kilometres of shoreline, Iran provides the Gulf with its most important and most numerous ports and facilities for trade and commerce. Its territory forms a number of islands and inlets, and a slight knowledge of the history of this area would show how much Iran is bound to this international waterway by history and geography. Our shore on the Persian Gulf has constituted, since long before the advent of newcomers in this area, the lifeline of our commerce, trade, cultural exchanges and communications with the outside world. As my Foreign Minister said yesterday, and I reiterate today, "we attach the greatest importance to the developments in this area" [1776th meeting, para. 155] and the security of this area. The misrepresentation of my Foreign Minister's words by the representative of Iraq has, I am sure, escaped no one. We have no intention of occupying territories

which do not belong to us. It is true that for a long period of history a large part, and at times even the entire area, of the Persian Gulf was under Iranian rule. Nevertheless, we are making no claim on such grounds. This does not mean however, that we shall not defend our rights with respect to territories which have constituted integral parts of Iran. We entertain no colonial ambitions, but we shall not allow others to reap the harvest of colonialism at our expense.

169. The representative of Iraq [1776th meeting], to elaborate further his point, drew an analogy between Iran's position in the Persian Gulf and that of European colonial Powers in Africa and Asia. In drawing this analogy he must have forgotten that, while European Powers were alien with respect to both Asia and Africa, a large part of the Persian Gulf area constitutes the Iranian homeland and plateau. This is much more than the representative of Iraq can say for his own country. I need say no more on the threadbare analogy designed to make a false appeal to people's emotions.

170. Second, the Persian Gulf is Arab neither in name nor in character. It is an international waterway open for free navigation to vessels of all nations in accordance with the general principles of international law. At the same time, the littoral States, by virtue of established rules of international law and conduct, enjoy particular rights, such as territorial limits, the continental shelf, fishing and other rights. Therefore, it is in the interests of all littoral States, and not any particular group of countries, to work together for the common good. In contrast to what the representative of Iraq wishes to happen, we have already arrived at agreements and arrangements with a number of our Arab neighbours, aimed at sharing the fortunes of the resources of the Persian Gulf.

171. So much for the character of the Persian Gulf. As for its name, I need not repeat what I said two days ago in another context. The distortion of a time-honoured name represents a pathetic urge to satisfy a frustrated desire for expansion. There are, of course, other psychological and emotional reasons for this, to which I shall not refer at this time. Even when the representative of Iraq quoted yesterday from my Foreign Minister's speech [ibid.], he replaced the word "Persian" by the word "Arab".

172. In short, the representative of Iraq has chosen to change the name of the Persian Gulf to "the Arab Gulf", and by so doing he believes he has deprived Iran of all its legitimate rights in the Persian Gulf. If that is the stand of the Iraqi Government with respect to the Persian Gulf, one can imagine what would be its position on the border river between Iran and Iraq, which is generally known by its Arab name, Shatt-al-Arab.

173. Today, the Foreign Minister of Iraq elaborated on the Iraqi position on this particular river and then further expanded the points which were raised yesterday by his colleague. The position of my Government on this issue has been set forth in detail in three letters that I have sent to the President of the Security Council. This position was outlined yesterday by my Foreign Minister. I shall therefore confine my remarks to some of the points raised by the Iraqi spokesman in the course of yesterday and today.



174. Iraq has often complained that Iran has ceased to recognize the validity of the 1937 Treaty.<sup>12</sup> Ever since the Treaty of 1937 came into force, an interval of over thirty-two years, Iraq has employed every means to avoid fulfilling its obligation under the Treaty. It has refused to enter into agreement with Iran for the regulation and administration of navigation on the Shatt-al-Arab in accordance with articles 4 and 5 of that Treaty.

175. May I remind the members of the Assembly that, according to the Treaty, this convention, this particular arrangement concerning navigation on the Shatt-al-Arab, was supposed to be drawn up and agreed upon within a year. Thirty-two years have elapsed and we are still waiting for it. By thus refusing to carry out its obligation with respect to a substantial part of this Treaty—I mean by that articles 4 and 5 which I cited just a minute ago, and paragraph 2 of the Protocol which refers to this convention concerning navigation on the Shatt-al-Arab—Iraq, in effect, has rendered the Treaty null and void in its entirety. It is therefore Iraq and not Iran which has, in effect, terminated the 1937 Treaty.

176. It is rather strange that the Government of Iraq should see fit to appeal to the principle of the sanctity of treaties; the same Government which only a month ago abrogated the trade agreement with Iran in disregard of specific procedures set forth for its termination in the Treaty itself, and followed that unilateral act by barring Iranian merchandise and manufactured goods from its country. Iran has not, however, sought to reciprocate this action. We have remained faithful to the Treaty.

177. In his statement yesterday the representative of Iraq seemed to be questioning the colonial nature of the 1937 Treaty and went to the extent of suggesting that it was Iran and not Iraq which was the beneficiary of the arrangement under that Treaty. To clarify this point, I need hardly go into any details. I will confine myself to quoting one single passage from report no. 371/18981 prepared in February 1935 by the Foreign Office of Great Britain entitled, "The British Interests in Shatt-al-Arab and the Conservancy Board Convention". It reads:

"It is generally accepted that the maintenance of free navigation of British and Iraqi vessels"—British and Iraqi vessels—"along this waterway, both in peace and in war, is an important British imperial interest, as well as a vital interest for Iraq, and that it is desirable that the waterway should, if possible"—I repeat "if possible"—"remain under the exclusive control of Iraq, with whom His Majesty's Government"—I am quoting His Britannic Majesty's Government—"are in alliance."

This quotation speaks for itself. Need I say any more?

178. The representative of Iraq challenged Iran to take its case to the International Court of Justice and submit to the decision of that body. The position of my Government in that respect has already been made clear in my latest communication to the President of the Security Council. For the benefit of the Members of the General Assembly, however, and also to refresh the memory of the Iraqi representative, I shall reiterate that position.

<sup>12</sup> Boundary Treaty between Iran and Iraq, with Protocol, signed at Teheran on 4 July 1937.

179. Iran has offered to conclude with Iraq a treaty to define the reciprocal rights of the two countries, as well as the regulation of navigation on the Shatt-al-Arab. In the event of failure to agree as to respective rights of the parties to free navigation on the Shatt-al-Arab, Iran will accept the decision of the International Court of Justice; this to be based on the rights of the parties and the established rules of international law and justice, and not upon a presumed continuance of the validity of the 1937 frontier Treaty which Iraq, of its own free will, rendered null and void.

180. As was pointed out yesterday by my Foreign Minister, Iran has proposed constructive alternatives for the peaceful settlement of this dispute in accordance with Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations, which does not exclude judicial settlement. For that reason we have proposed to the Secretary-General that he assign a good offices representative to help the parties reach a settlement, if Iraq truly desires one. All it has to do to get negotiations going is to inform the Secretary-General of its consent to such procedure.

181. The time has come for the parties really concerned to sit down together and to work out an arrangement which, while respectful of the equal rights in the Shatt-al-Arab, will further their mutual and reciprocal interests in its rational utilization as an important highway, with the end of deriving the maximum common advantage from it.

182. The Foreign Minister of Iraq spoke this morning of massive demonstrations by Iran of troops, and naval and air forces along the boundaries of our two countries. May I remind the Foreign Minister that it was Iraq that first concentrated troops on our borders? Of course, it is natural for a country to take every necessary measure to defend itself, its territory and its rights, and we have done so in response to their action. But also, thanks to the good offices of some brotherly countries—one or two of our neighbours and even countries in other parts of the world—we have said that the very first day Iraq withdraws its troops from our frontiers we will match its action, the very next day. I am authorized by my Foreign Minister to reiterate that position today.

183. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Iraq has requested to speak in exercise of his right of reply, and I now call on him.

184. Mr. KHALAF (Iraq): I know the hour is late and I would not wish to keep the representatives for a long time. I wish to make a few remarks, however, concerning the statement just made by the representative of Iran.

185. The representative of Iran denies Iraq the right to speak about, or indeed to reject, claims by the Iranian delegation concerning what is part and parcel of our Arab homeland, because—this is what he says—our territory barely touches the territory under discussion, or rather the territory that has been referred to by the Foreign Minister and, today, by the representative of Iran. He accords himself, or his Government, in contrast, the right to interfere, indeed to make claims concerning the region. I should like to say at this stage, that the people of the region, who have hoped and aspired for several years to get rid of the colonial yoke, will never accept a trusteeship or a

new colonial yoke, no matter the terms or what it is called by one delegation or another. All I said yesterday was that it is for the Arab people of the territory themselves to decide their own destiny and to do whatever they want to do with their own future and their own fortunes. If we are to agree with the suggestion of the representative of Iran that common boundaries give claims to a given party upon another part of the world, then again I should like to say that the world will be very different from what it is now.

186. The representative of Iran said that a large part of the territories formed, and, I suppose, still forms, an integral part of Iran. I should like to challenge the representative of Iran to come and tell the General Assembly, from this rostrum, which part it is on which Iran sets a claim, because, as far as we are concerned, the territories we are discussing are territories which belong to their own people, not to any other Power because they one day were part of its past. As I said, if we are going to grant validity to that suggestion, we shall be giving right and title to the imperial and colonial Powers to their former colonies in Africa and Asia.

187. The representative of Iran referred to arrangements they have already made with some countries in the area. The policy of my Government is that it is for the people of those territories to decide their own future and to see their own interests. May I remind the representative of Iran of a declaration that was made by some very high and responsible Iranians and that was quoted by a British newspaper a few weeks ago. When Iran was negotiating with the oil companies, there were suggestions here and there that the Iranian Government did not like the idea that those Arab territories can continue to get their oil in the amounts they are now getting, while Iran is entitled, as it was put by the Iranian representative, to more of that oil production. Iran now tells us that they are ready to share their fortunes and their wealth with the territories of the region. Iran is bordered by various countries to the south, to the north, to the west and to the east. Why do they not share their fortunes with other neighbours and not confine it to only those neighbours that are now struggling to get rid of foreign domination and foreign interests and monopolies?

188. The representative of Iran referred again this morning to the fact that the Iranian Government contacted the President of the Security Council and offered alternatives and suggestions. I should like to ask, is this a political question or is it a legal question? We disagree with our Iranian neighbours about the implementation of a valid existing treaty between our two neighbouring countries. What went wrong, so that they should go to the Security Council? Only the International Court of Justice is competent to consider any differences or disputes concerning this legal matter. The Security Council, according to the Charter, has other functions to perform. The Security Council, according to the Charter, is not entitled to interpret treaties.

189. The representative of Iran referred to certain articles of the Treaty in question. He said that for the last thirty-two years Iraq has been in default with respect to the implementation of that Treaty. Yesterday I asked why Iran waited thirty-two years before making those representa-

tions. Is there any relation—and I want to be very frank at this time—between what is going on now, and what is going on in the Middle East area? Because, after all, if there have been mistakes made by one party or the other, it was up to the other party to bring it up and talk about it and to refer it to whatever international organization was appropriate. But to wait thirty-two years and then to come and say, “Well, for the last thirty-two years you have been in default and we have to declare this treaty null and void”, is unacceptable to my Government.

190. The representative of Iran referred to that Treaty. Let me quote only one sentence from that Treaty. In its preambular paragraph the Treaty says:

“Sincerely desirous of strengthening the bonds of brotherly friendship and good understanding between the two States, and of settling definitively”—I repeat, “settling definitively”—“the question of the frontier between their two States, have decided to conclude the present Treaty . . .”<sup>13</sup>

So those boundaries were decided definitely by that Treaty, which was negotiated, accepted and ratified, with the instruments of ratification deposited with the League of Nations. As far as we are concerned, this is a treaty which decided definitely, once and for all, the boundaries between the two countries.

191. The representative of Iran referred to the fact that the Iraqi Government abrogated or cancelled a commercial treaty. I already said, yesterday, that there are two kinds of treaties. There are treaties that are permanent, and they include treaties concerning frontiers. All of us here have treaties with our neighbours concerning our frontiers. If one of us is going to cancel or abrogate a treaty at will, then all Members of the United Nations can imagine what is going to happen to the frontiers of their homelands, especially the newly independent countries. What would happen in Africa and in Asia if every country, at will, were to cancel a treaty and say that it no longer accepted it, that the other party was not fulfilling it and that it was no longer any good? Therefore, this type of treaty, a frontier treaty or a peace treaty, cannot be altered, let alone abrogated, at will by one party. In this very Treaty there is no stipulation whatsoever that it can be amended or changed or, indeed, abrogated unilaterally. If there should be any difficulty, then, as my Government has suggested, we should sit down and talk about it. If, after sitting down and talking about it, some difficulty would remain which could not be solved, then let us go to the International Court of Justice. But we are not at war with each other, and should not go to the Security Council. Involved is an interpretation of the Treaty, which should be taken to a legal body, the highest international legal body of the world community.

192. It is strange that in the statement which the Foreign Minister of Iran made to the Assembly yesterday [1776th meeting] he spoke about the United Nations Conference on the Law of Treaties and about the sanctity of treaties, and then in that same statement he said that a treaty which is thirty-two years old, and which is based on other treaties

<sup>13</sup> League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. CXC, 1938, No. 4423, p. 256.

which are scores of years older, like the Erzerum Treaty of 1847 and the Constantinople Treaty of 1913 is null and void. He said that about that Treaty in the same speech in which he glorified the sanctity of treaties.

193. Mr. President, you can draw your own conclusions. But our conclusion is that the Government of Iran would like to take advantage of whatever situation it thinks is favourable to it and attempt to make some alterations which have no basis in law or in fact and which, indeed, are contrary to international instruments and relations.

194. The representative of Iran spoke about another article in that Treaty, and I have it here in front of me. He said that it was decided that Iraq would administer the navigation for one year, until an agreement had been made—and I am practically quoting from the Treaty, because I know it by heart—to conclude a Convention for the sake of arranging navigation, administration, dues, improvement of navigation.

195. Now in the same Treaty, in the Protocol, article II states that:

“In the event of the said Convention not being concluded”—a convention to agree on the dues, on the improvements, and on other items, but not to agree that we have a joint administration and not to say that it should be a mixed commission which would take over the navigation at Shatt-al-Arab, as the representatives of Iran contend—“within the year despite their utmost efforts, the said time-limit may be extended by the High Contracting Parties by common accord.”<sup>14</sup>

196. This common agreement is thirty-two years old. Why is it that the convention was not concluded? It is because the Iranians wanted to arrogate to themselves rights and privileges which have no basis whatsoever in the Treaty or, indeed, in the principles of international law. The Shatt-al-Arab runs 204 kilometres; about 104 kilometres is Iraqi territory on both sides. With respect to the other half of the Shatt-al-Arab, the Iraqi boundaries go to the east side of the river, to the shallow waters of the Shatt-al-Arab on the Iranian side. That being the case, the Iranians now want to have some privileges and rights which have no basis whatsoever, either in international law or in the Treaty, and which could never be tolerated between countries which are far off, let alone neighbourly and friendly countries such as Iran and Iraq should be.

197. The representative of Iran stated that they are ready to make a new agreement, a new treaty pertaining to this question. But a treaty already exists. Why should we make a new treaty? If one party abrogates a treaty at will because that treaty does not suit its interests, who will believe that once a new treaty is made—if one were going to be made—that party will not one day say that, because of the circumstances, it wants to abrogate it?

198. With respect to the circumstances in which the treaty was concluded, I personally remember very distinctly that when I was a small boy in primary school I myself took part in demonstrations which swept the whole country, from the north to the south, because of the conclusion of

that Treaty. Why did we demonstrate? It was because in that very Treaty Iran was given some privileges. Iran was given the right to use half of Shatt-al-Arab around the Port of Abadan. As in other previous treaties, Iran received other privileges. That is why there were demonstrations at that time.

199. The representative of Iran stated that this Treaty was made under pressure. As I said yesterday, Iran was then as independent as we were, if we ever were independent at that time. Also, and I repeat this, Iran was under the former Shah of Iran, who was the father of the present Shah of Iran. Therefore, that Treaty was not in our favour at all. It was in favour of the Iranians. That is why I must say, with all due respect, that the remarks made by the representative of Iran are really out of place.

200. Why then, as Iraqis, do we stick to this Treaty? It is because we want to stick to our signature. If others do not want to do so, that is their business.

201. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Iran has again asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply. Before calling on him, may I draw his attention to the hour and appeal to him to assist members in discharging obligations which they have to fulfil at this time of the day.

202. Mr. VAKIL (Iran) (*translated from French*): I apologize for speaking at this late hour, but if I speak now I think I should be able to reply in a couple of minutes, whereas if I wait until this afternoon, I shall be forced to speak at greater length.

203. What I wish to point out now is that the representative of Iraq has not made a single new point; he has simply repeated what he said yesterday [*1776th meeting*] and what his Minister for Foreign Affairs said this morning. There are, nevertheless, three or four points on which I should like to comment.

204. I am not a jurist, but I presume my Iraqi colleague is. He said that the divergence of views between Iran and Iraq was a legal problem and that consequently it should not go before the Security Council but should be referred to the International Court of Justice. May I ask the representative of Iraq who was the first to appeal to the Security Council, he or I?

205. Secondly, he challenged me to say which territories belong to us. I presume that he has read the Constitution of Iran, since he is from a neighbouring country whose inhabitants we regard as our brothers. How then is it possible that he does not know where Iran is and why does he force me to waste the Assembly's time drawing a map of my country? All he has to do is look in any geography book.

206. The representative of Iraq also said that the Treaty had been in force for thirty-two years and that any difficulties that existed could have been settled by negotiation. But we have been trying to negotiate for thirty-two years, and in February of this year, if I am not mistaken—I do not remember the exact date but it was in the first few months of this year—a large delegation left Teheran for Baghdad to negotiate. The members of this delegation were sent back: they went there in vain.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 258.

207. Hence we ask, if it is so difficult to negotiate, why should we not approach the Secretary-General and request him to appoint a mediator to facilitate the negotiations? What harm is there in that?

208. One last point: the representative of Iraq refers more and more frequently to the treaties concluded between Iran and the Ottoman Empire. As I have stated, I am not a jurist, but I do not believe that Iraq is the successor of the Ottoman Empire; from the legal standpoint, Iraq is the successor of the British Empire. But this is of no importance. What is extremely important is that when the question was brought before the Council of the League of Nations, the representatives of Turkey and of the Soviet Union dissociated themselves from all those treaties.

Therefore I do not know why we have to go back to those treaties, when we have declared that we are ready to negotiate and when we sent to Baghdad, at the beginning of the year, a large delegation headed by our Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. We are told "Let us discuss this question". We are ready to discuss; but if it is difficult to start discussions, we propose that the Secretary-General should be asked to appoint someone to assist us.

209. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the President, may I take this opportunity to thank the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Sierra Leone, Mongolia, Iraq and Nepal for the compliments they have paid to the Chair.

*The meeting rose at 1.55 p.m.*