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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. BARAKAT (Yemen): Madam President, the Yemen Arab Republic delegation wishes to offer you its warmest congratulations on the confidence expressed in you by the Member States of the United Nations in electing you to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session. My delegation also wishes to pay tribute to the late President of the General Assembly at its twenty-third session, Mr. Arenales, who presided over that session with great tact and ability.

2. Yemen has just emerged from a great struggle to establish and preserve its national goals: freedom, peace and government by consent. Yemen had to pay a high price for the realization of those aims. Not only did the Yemeni people have to cope with local and indigenous difficulties but they also had to face foreign interventions, which cost the country tens of thousands of lives and shook the moral foundations of the whole nation. In spite of these overwhelming difficulties, the Yemeni people were able to gain their freedom, bring peace to the land and re-establish their age-old tradition of democracy, by electing a national assembly which in turn appoints the Government.

3. Historically, Yemen has contributed substantially to the cultural heritage of mankind. A few thousand years before Christ, civilization thrived in that part of the world. The legendary Queen of Sheba, whose real name was Belquis, was only one of the numerous Yemeni monarchs ruling over that period of history when Yemen led the world in irrigation, dam construction, skyscraper building, mining and smelting and in numerous other fields of civilization.

4. Now that peace and security have been achieved, the Government of Yemen is faced with the task of reconstruction. It is striving to bring about widespread and basic changes in the structure of society. Schools for both sexes, women's societies and athletic and cultural clubs are being widely constructed, subsidized and encouraged. Great efforts are being made for the construction of roads, school

buildings and small and medium-sized factories, with the use of locally available materials.

5. In these and in various other fields, co-operation with friendly nations and the assistance of various United Nations agencies have been essential and important factors. This is a practical manifestation of international goodwill and understanding. It is our conviction that peace and friendship between nations could be well served by such practical co-operation in the various fields of development.

Mr. Rios (Panama), Vice-President, took the Chair.

6. It is gratifying to note that, particularly during the past two years, the Government of the Yemen Arab Republic has stood firmly by the principles of the Yemeni revolution, in itself a human attempt to restore and preserve the dignity of man in its comprehensive and complete sense. It is an established fact that a democratic form of government based on popular choice now exists in the Yemen Arab Republic. Since November 1967, Yemen has been rid of all the dictatorial diseases. Political persecution, arrest without warrant, imprisonment without trial, torture and all the practices of a police State are regarded by the Yemeni people with horror and contempt.

7. The experiences the Yemeni people have endured during the past seven years have been engraved on the mind and in the heart of every individual citizen in the country. These were very cruel experiences but, on the other hand, they were extremely useful and revealing. In fact the Yemeni people look back with awe on the past seven years while still cherishing the historical lessons gained. They are therefore determined to keep the memory of such experiences alive for generations to come.

8. The Yemeni people are now more than ever convinced that peace in this world can be established only if nations respect each other's sovereignty and refrain from interfering in each other's internal affairs. They are prepared to defend and preserve their freedom, whether internally or internationally. They also recognize that nations of the world have every right to complete and true independence as well as the right to adopt the form of government they choose. In accordance with these principles, the Yemen Arab Republic maintains relations with all countries of the world, regardless of their social systems or forms of government.

9. The United Nations was established to further world peace and security, to protect and preserve the rights and freedom of mankind, to work for the elimination of colonialism in its various forms, for the liberation of peoples still ruled by colonial Powers, for the eradication of racialism and for the settlement by negotiation of world problems and differences.

10. Small nations place great hopes in this Organization and though the United Nations and its various agencies have realized great achievements, those hopes have been greatly disappointed because this Organization has not been effective in quelling aggression or punishing and isolating the aggressor. That is clearly manifest in the case of the Israeli aggression against the Palestinian and other Arab peoples.

11. When we consider the United Nations Charter, which embodies those noble aims and principles, we cannot fail to realize that those principles are constantly being violated by Israel, which has shown that it has neither respect for the Charter nor any regard for the world community. Israel was established at the expense of the indigenous people of Palestine. Not only did the Israelis usurp the land, houses and property of the Palestinian people but they also conducted an aggressive and expansionist campaign against the neighbouring Arab countries.

Mr. Pitty Velásquez (Panama), Vice-President, took the Chair.

12. History has shown that no matter how long colonialist Powers occupy and exploit usurped lands, the rightful people always regain their land and their freedom. The Palestinians are now conducting a war of liberation against the Israeli colonists. The struggle will be bitter and long, but right will triumph as it has triumphed in other parts of the world where, under popular pressure, colonialists have had to evacuate the occupied countries.

13. Viet-Nam is another area where world peace and security are endangered by the presence of foreign troops which continue to be the major obstacle to a just and honourable settlement of this problem. We support the legitimate rights of the Viet-Nameese people for self-determination in accordance with the principles outlined in the United Nations Charter. Therefore, we call for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Viet-Nam so that the Viet-Nameese people may practise their right of self-determination.

14. The racial régimes of South Africa, Rhodesia, and some colonial Powers in other parts of Africa are practising the most detestable policy of racial discrimination against the people of Africa. The United Nations has condemned racial discrimination, but has been unable to persuade those racial régimes to abandon their inhuman practices.

15. It is also sadly disappointing that this Organization has failed to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China with regard to membership in the United Nations. It is doubly disappointing to see it continue to ignore the rights of a great people and a great country with more than one sixth of the world population. The persistence of this odd and irrational situation is in itself an infringement of the principles and provisions of the United Nations Charter. It is an ideal manifestation of self-contradiction. The time has come for all nations of the world to free this Organization from this self-contradictory situation by inviting the People's Republic of China to participate in the activities of the United Nations.

16. Mr. LOPEZ MICHELSEN (Colombia) (*translated from Spanish*): I think it is a good omen that our deliberations

this year are presided over by such a distinguished personality as Miss Angie Brooks. The affection and esteem in which she has been generally held for years in the United Nations are well deserved and, on this occasion, she embodies many of the values which constitute the nucleus of the Organization's concern, not only as a woman but as a representative of a small country and of a race whose influence extends to several continents. Colombia rejoices at her unanimous election to preside over this Assembly.

17. Nor can I fail to record with a profound feeling of sorrow the disappearance from our midst of our last President, Mr. Emilio Arenales, the representative of a Latin American nation and of a generation destined to face the challenge of our times with personalities of outstanding character such as his.

18. Reference has been made here on numerous occasions to the heroic feat of a human being setting foot on the moon for the first time. There can be no doubt that this constitutes a decisive landmark in the progress of mankind. The very destiny of man and his place in history have been placed in a new light. In the last ten years we have made the most rapid progress of the species in many centuries. And notwithstanding the fact that the astronaut, Armstrong, when he planted his flag stated that he did so "for all mankind", as a generous act towards his rivals in the space race and towards those who will never achieve a comparable degree of development, how many considerations does this event not give rise to?

19. As inconceivable as the sidereal distances covered are to the general public, so also are the technological, economic and social gaps which separate some inhabitants of the earth from others. The prodigious conquest, which is said to have been carried out in the name of all and which in an egalitarian society of nations, with a universal Organization, should have been carried out under a common direction and with the support of all mankind, is but the accomplishment of one super-Power, in which it demonstrates its unquestionable superiority.

20. As we enter this new era, new responsibilities and new obligations are entailed for each one of us. This has been perceived intuitively by churches, empires and States, which have been shaken to their foundations by present-day developments known as *aggiornamiento*, or "decolonization" or the "thaw" and bow to the signs of the times.

21. In contrast to this change amid stability, where technology, science, religions and political institutions also adapt themselves to their new context, the United Nations remains the same, governed by a Charter, namely the one signed in San Francisco, which was drawn up twenty-five years ago to operate for geopolitical conditions which have now been surpassed.

22. A few days ago [*1756th meeting*] the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union reminded us here how this Organization had been conceived by a coalition of peace-loving countries which, despite ideological differences, succeeded in restoring the rule of international law, making themselves responsible for the maintenance of order against the law-breakers of the Nazi-Fascist axis.

23. This was the distribution of forces taken into account by the Charter and which today no longer exists. The

designation "enemy" States is an anachronism which corresponds to the conditions prevailing in 1946. After the years of alliance against totalitarianism and of competition among the super-Powers, we are returning to that path from which we should never have strayed, namely that international order is not the task of any State in particular but is the collective duty of the community.

24. The enormous responsibility of maintaining world peace which the United States assumed for the first time in history, as President Nixon reminded us here [1755th meeting], is also a thing of the past. What was a dissident opinion a few years ago has now become a commonplace. All of us, all States, large and small, see in collective security the true guarantee of world peace and no one fosters any longer the illusion that it can be the gendarme responsible for maintaining international order. The persistence of many conflicts between small States can rightly be attributed to interference by the great Powers, as was stated here by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel, when he said:

"For when the complex national interests and rivalries of great Powers are superimposed on a regional tension, the result is often not to reduce the tension but to broaden its scope" [1757th meeting].

25. Therefore, despite the inevitable setbacks in a process as complicated as the maintenance of peace, we can contemplate the future with optimism on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization.

26. The very nature of nuclear weapons, which, when the United Nations came into existence, were in the hands of a single Power, has forced all the participants in the arms race to change their outlook. Today, with the new distribution of power in the world, it is more imperative than it was a quarter of a century ago to achieve disarmament and agreement through dialogue and negotiation in a spirit of mutual respect. Furthermore, it is known that in the wars of our times and for all the more reason in future wars there are no absolute victors or vanquished, nor will there be, but rather that victory, which is more difficult to achieve than in other ages, imposes obligations on the victors themselves; it is also a known fact that between countries whose economic and technological development is comparable only a very transitory military superiority can be gained. The ever more strenuous efforts required to establish an immense industrial and military complex, while they may make possible feats such as the voyage to the moon, must ultimately be regarded as a waste in the light of the urgency of human needs, not only in the under-developed areas, but also in the industrialized countries themselves.

27. In this way we return, after many high hopes of global strategy, to the concept which took shape with the reconstruction of Europe and Japan, following the San Francisco Conference, namely that peace rests equally on strength of arms and on social stability based upon the satisfaction of a minimum of needs which, for twentieth-century man, is as important as his own particle of freedom was for the man of previous centuries. Therefore, in 1946, paraphrasing a great Latin American who said a century ago: "Peace is respect for another's rights", we could then

say: "Peace is the satisfying of another's hunger", with the prospect that large economic resources diverted from the arms race would be channelled, at least in part, towards the development of the least developed regions of the world, giving bread, literacy and work to millions of human beings. Article 26 of the Charter states the same thing when it affirms:

"In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources, the Security Council shall be responsible for formulating . . . plans to be submitted to the Members of the United Nations for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments."

28. What have we achieved in this respect? It is true that significant progress has been made, particularly in regard to the outlawing of chemical and bacteriological warfare, and the results of the nuclear non-proliferation treaties, both world-wide and regional, are encouraging in some respects; but it is no less certain that we have lived for years on end under the strategy of terror in search of a *détente*, of which the words which we have heard here are harbingers, in that they relate to renunciation of unilateral action, of spheres of influence, of the Great Powers' role of gendarme, in order to return to the collective concept of the rule of law.

29. We see how little by little strategic concepts of the period prior to modern intercontinental missiles, when the range of armaments necessitated a policy of alliances designed to secure launching bases, which today are an anachronism, are being relegated to oblivion. The most advanced types of rockets allow the super-Powers to take charge of their own security without the need for partners, and the large States can now boast of not having in their continental appendices any "soft bellies" where they can be hit.

30. We have before us, however, armed conflicts which have remained unsolved for years, in the face of the impotence of the United Nations and of the super-Powers themselves. The cases of Viet-Nam and of the Middle East, no less than civil or racial wars, are obvious examples. Here in this very Assembly, we have witnessed the great paradox that Viet-Nam, which is not on the agenda of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, has been the central theme of many speeches. In like manner, we have seen how the Middle East conflict, on which there was rare unanimity in Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, has been delegated to the so-called Big Four, with a last hope of reaching agreement, in view of the failure of the regular organs of the Organization to make their own resolutions effective. Colombia regrets this state of affairs but understands it. It is better to seek, at whatever cost, the re-establishment of peace through the agreement of the great Powers than definitely to give up the search. But does not this state of affairs indicate to us not only the need to assess the results achieved by the Organization in this quarter of a century but also the desirability of its being restructured institutionally in some respects?

31. No one would venture to deny the balance of beneficial results that have been achieved by the United

Nations in its brief existence in the fields of culture, health, nutrition, economics and peace itself. There have been many conflicts of all kinds that the Organization, sometimes discreetly and sometimes dramatically, has helped to settle. Barely a month and a half ago the Organization of American States, a regional organization which forms part of the world system, ended an armed conflict between two sister nations when events as serious as the occupation of territories had already occurred. In the same way, over the years, imminent or real threats to the peace have been averted with honourable and satisfactory solutions for the parties in dispute.

32. Nevertheless, Colombia considers that even though this balance is so positive, in view of the new circumstances of the present-day world, some reform to bring the Charter up to date is imperative. For this purpose it intends to request the holding of a General Conference, as provided for in Article 109 of the Charter itself, trusting that although this initiative comes from a small country, from one of those countries which are generally assigned the role of spectators and not of actors in this Assembly, the experiences of the last twenty-five years may prove the timeliness and appropriateness of such an institutional readjustment.

33. My Government's reasons are very clear, and I have been very much pleased to see that they are shared by other States. The balance of power in the present-day world is not the same as it was in 1946. The Secretary-General, U Thant, who is so objective and impartial and whose opinions deserve all our respect, said at a press conference that for some years to come the international scene will be dominated by the nature of the relationship between mainland China and the two super-Powers, and it is an obvious fact that world peace cannot be organized while a nation possessing the capacity for waging war on such a scale as People's China is excluded.

34. This was recognized in this very same hall some years ago by His Holiness the Supreme Pontiff of Rome and, more recently, by President Nixon when he stated that the United States would have no objection to a request for admission by People's China if there was a willingness to abide by the rules of the Organization. The question of the admission of mainland China, if indeed it wishes to form part of the Organization, cannot continue indefinitely to be treated as a procedural question involving a decision as to whether it is one of the so-called important questions requiring a two-thirds majority or whether it is a simple matter of credentials. What is at stake are the general interests of peace, respect for the right of self-determination of the people of Taiwan, whom the Organization could hardly exclude, and a number of other questions relating to a general settlement of disputes on the continent of Asia.

35. As more and more voices are heard calling for universality in the United Nations, voices like that of the President of Colombia, like those of 16 June 1969 in the Security Council, and like those of many illustrious personages who are calling for a study of the participation of People's China and other new countries, the conclusion is reached that it is essential to stop evading the question and face up to it, while simultaneously undertaking a

general consideration of the rules for the admission of new States to the United Nations, and defining unequivocally what, by general consensus, is meant by "a new State" in the international community.

36. It is not possible, without a new and close examination of the principles that allow of such events, to continue indefinitely studying limitations with a view to conferring on small States the status of associate members, because of their small size, while at the same time failing to investigate whether 700 million human beings in the Asian continent would be interested in enjoying the benefits of the world Organization and abiding by its rules. This is an unanswered question which must be cleared up in order to decide upon a course of action which is in harmony with the purposes of the United Nations.

37. Equal importance should be attached to the reform of the functions of the Security Council and of the Secretary-General himself as far as his good offices for the purpose of bringing about an understanding between the parties in dispute are concerned. The persistent disregard of resolutions against racial discrimination, of those which order a return to the *status quo ante* or those whose purpose is to protect the rights of minorities makes it imperative to provide the Security Council with a force of its own, a secular arm. Such a force, permanent in character and not created to deal with a specific case, would replace the occasional expeditions which, organized in the midst of power conflicts and in the ebb and flow of momentary interests, have the result that the financial and material contributions of each State subsequently become a breeding-ground of further difficulties for the proper functioning of the Organization.

38. The will to strengthen world security cannot be limited, as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has requested, to calling for the withdrawal of troops from occupied territories, which would be merely a solution for transitory difficulties, properly speaking. It must be accompanied by measures which, within the framework of the Charter and the rules of procedure, invest the Security Council with greater enforcement powers, such as the creation of a permanent force, international in character, to give effect to its resolutions, by force if necessary.

Miss Brooks (Liberia) resumed the Chair.

39. Naturally, the establishment of such a force would have to be accompanied by a clear definition of what is meant by aggression and by an unequivocal differentiation between internal conflicts and international conflicts, over which latter the United Nations has jurisdiction and in which, without renouncing the concept of sovereignty, it is possible to frustrate the already traditional gambit of evading the Organization's resolutions condemning discrimination based on religion, race or nationality, by alleging that the problems concerned are internal ones. In the same range of ideas, the question of disarmament, now entrusted to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, should be the principal item on the agenda of the General Conference which Colombia intends to request.

40. When the studies for the Second United Nations Development Decade are beginning, and in view of the

failure to reach the goals set for the First Decade, the reduction of military expenditures, with the consequent utilization of part of those resources to raise the living standards of backward areas, becomes particularly relevant. A number of countries have repeated, at this session, their intention to devote 1 per cent of their gross national product to the development of the less developed areas. Yet, natural wealth and resources are concentrated to such an extent in the hands of those States which are the leaders in the armaments race that it would be utopian to think of an improvement in general conditions, while relying solely on the good intentions of the small States but without the determined will of those States which to a greater degree are contributing to the strangulation of the international economy through military expenditures at an almost exclusively national level. This economic process not only consumes the money of the great Powers but determines the whole gamut of contemporary problems as well: the problems of poverty, of racial differences, of education, of housing and employment, not only in the competing countries themselves but also in those that could receive greater attention were it not for the pernicious obsession with armaments.

41. The complex processes involved in manufacturing modern weapons also concentrate employment in only a few centres of industrial and technological development in the world. When battles were fought with arrows each State found work for its inhabitants, whose job it was to sharpen them. In the era of rockets and supersonic planes there are few indeed, outside the industrialized countries, who can participate in their production.

42. The Powers of Europe, America and Asia which were exposed, during the great depression of the 1930s, to massive unemployment among their workers, find a palliative for this scourge in the employment brought about by contemporary war industries and their related industries. In this way, unemployment among men and women, which mentally we associate with the last crisis of the industrial world, has been transferred to the developing countries, with its train of poverty and disorders, in proportions and with characteristics never before recorded in the history of mankind. It is essential that at this session of the Assembly, at which the Second United Nations Development Decade will be discussed, there should be a clear awareness of how serious is the problem of unemployment in the rural and semi-industrialized areas of the world.

43. Many of the world's resources are lying idle, are unexploited or are in process of disappearing because of imbalances caused by mankind itself. It is incumbent on the Assembly at the present and at forthcoming sessions to make a thorough study of the exploitation of the resources of the sea-bed, of the definition of the limits of territorial waters by agreement between States, of the use of outer space for peaceful purposes and of many other equally important items which are on the agenda.

44. However, undoubtedly the most important item before the Assembly, particularly for countries like Colombia, must be the one relating to development. The very notion of development implies the concept of making the most of something that already exists, be it labour, the resources of the sea-bed or the resources of the subsoil, but

which cannot be used for lack of means. Many factors—indeed the same factors which, channeled on a vast scale into the armaments race, have made possible the achievements of the new era—are involved in the process of development. Firstly, economic resources when they are allocated on a vast scale to mobilize inert wealth and to promote full employment assist nations in their so-called “take-off” towards consumer societies. The application of science and technology—in a word, education—plays a similar role in both cases, whether it be to turn inventiveness to the making of war material or to awaken societies that have been sleeping in a centuries-old lethargy.

45. Therefore, the effort to make the objectives of the Second United Nations Development Decade a reality must combine the question of the reduction of armaments with positive measures, in order to start diverting energies which are today devoted to preparations for a hypothetical war towards the benefits of a better distributed and more widely enjoyed world prosperity, and, first and foremost, to face the problem of unemployment which, either openly or in disguised form, afflicts the under-developed regions. Will not this then be the real challenge of our times, in the Second United Nations Development Decade?

46. Our countries do not aspire, however, to receive from alien hands the benefits of progress. We only want to change in the framework within which other countries achieved it in the past. We only seek access to world markets on a non-discriminatory and non-reciprocal basis. A greater participation of our continent in the world market would be tantamount to setting out on the road to development with a resolute step. But, as my Government has stated repeatedly, for this to occur there must be established a reciprocity between the backward and the developed regions going beyond the supply of raw materials subject to ruthless competition both from the older producers and from the manufacturers of artificial substitutes. A division of labour similar to that which occurs naturally in large countries, leaving industries requiring a large volume of manpower in areas where this is plentiful, and large concentrations of capital in areas where this is to be found, should also take place on a world-wide scale.

47. Thus, with wider horizons for world trade, with the abandonment of imperial or post-colonial preferences, the semi-industrialized countries would be able to have access to the large markets, with indisputable benefits to the consumers themselves. This is why we attach such great importance to the task of trade liberalization which the United Nations is promoting for the Second Development Decade.

48. We seek less power for States and more welfare for the individual, a larger trade flow and less interchange of strong words and missiles among nations. Optimistically we believe that, given the will to change existing conditions, we shall be able to forge ahead. To the great States we say: Create the conditions, give us the tools, and we, by our own efforts, will carry out the task of freeing two thirds of the human race from hunger, ignorance, disease and unemployment.

49. Mr. HILLERY (Ireland): Madam President, on behalf of the delegation of Ireland I should like to congratulate

you warmly on your election to preside over the deliberations of this session of the General Assembly. We welcome the choice of a distinguished citizen of Liberia to fill this high office. Your many past contributions to the work of the United Nations guarantee that you will discharge the functions of the Presidency in a manner calculated to advance the goal enunciated in your opening address—to ensure that the Organization promotes “peace, the welfare of all, and the effectiveness of the Charter as a whole” [1753rd meeting, para. 63].

50. My delegation would like, at this time, to record our sincere regret at the death of the President of the twenty-third session of the Assembly. The Irish delegation admired the great talents of His Excellency Mr. Emilio Arenales and, despite serious illness, the dedication he displayed as President. We were grieved that he should pass away at such an early age. Our sympathy goes out to the delegation of Guatemala.

51. Representatives are no doubt aware, from my recent appearances before the Security Council [1503rd meeting] and the General Committee [180th meeting], that we in Ireland are gravely concerned about the situation in the north of Ireland. I shall speak on that later. At this stage, and since this is the first occasion on which I have the honour to address the Assembly on behalf of Ireland, I should like to reiterate the strong commitment of my Government to the objectives and purposes of the Charter. That commitment has consistently informed our policies and attitudes within the United Nations. It will continue to do so and our aim will continue to be to promote the vigour and efficacy of the Organization. My delegation, therefore, regrets that during the past twelve months, to quote from the opening sentence of our distinguished Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report: “the deterioration of the international situation, which I noted in the introduction to the annual report last year, has continued” [A/7601/Add.1, para. 1].

52. It was in June 1968 that the Assembly, after a long and detailed discussion at the resumed twenty-second session, commended the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)]. That was a full fifteen months ago. It is thus a matter of concern that the Treaty has not yet become effective and also that it still needs to be formally ratified by two of the three nuclear signatories, and that a substantial proportion of the other ratifications required for its entry into force have not been deposited.

53. There has, it is true, been one encouraging development in the field of nuclear non-proliferation, in that the Treaty of Tlatelolco¹ has received the requisite number of ratifications and that the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America has now been established. My delegation would like to congratulate the delegations of Latin America on this achievement. We hope that it will lead to others, and that it will, in particular, serve to accelerate ratification of the non-proliferation Treaty by many more States and, immediately, by the remaining two of the three nuclear signatories. In expressing this hope, we have especially in mind that the debates at

the resumed twenty-second session revealed a considerable volume of opinion to the effect that the Treaty constitutes an indispensable first step towards further measures of nuclear disarmament. The need for speed is all the more evident when we recall that eleven years have passed since the proposal for a non-proliferation treaty was first submitted by the Irish delegation under the leadership of Mr. Frank Aiken [751st meeting, para. 82].

54. In this connexion, it is right to remind ourselves not only that it is an explicit function of the Assembly under Article 11 of the Charter to deal with disarmament but that Article 26 implicitly enjoins Member States to limit the use for armaments of the world's human and economic resources. The least that can be said is that the present position in that regard is most disappointing. The Secretary-General has pointed out that, while it was estimated in 1962 that total world expenditure for military purposes had reached the enormous figure of about \$120,000 million per year, the rate today is estimated at about \$200,000 million. It is not surprising that the Secretary-General should feel that “even allowing for the increase in the price level, this inflation of military expenditure is both startling and depressing” [A/7601/Add.1, para. 40]. Consequently, the Irish delegation strongly supports the Secretary-General's proposal that the decade of the 1970s, already designated as the Second United Nations Development Decade, should likewise be a disarmament decade [ibid., para. 42]. Dedicating the same decade simultaneously to these two purposes will serve to bring out the link between them in terms of the best use of economic and human resources.

55. The Irish delegation will continue to support the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban treaty and generally acceptable measures for the banning of chemical and biological means of warfare as well as the spread of nuclear and other mass-destruction weapons to the sea-bed.

56. The question of peace-keeping operations is again before the Assembly. Member States will be aware of the views expressed by the Irish delegation on this subject at earlier sessions, and of our endeavours in recent years to provide for a reliable and satisfactory system of financing duly authorized peace-keeping operations. It is not necessary for me to detail now the many arguments in favour of such a system: the matter will be debated later in the Special Political Committee and in plenary in connexion with item 35. I will confine myself here to saying that my delegation has noted the remarks in paragraph 80 of the introduction to the Secretary-General's annual report about the uncertainty concerning the maintenance of the United Nations Force in Cyprus, the main current United Nations peace-keeping operation, because of the unsatisfactory nature of the financial arrangements. We have noted too the statements already made, in the course of the general debate by a number of speakers, about the great importance in certain situations of a peace-keeping operation, and the necessity to put such operations on a proper footing.

57. The Irish people have watched with sadness and distress the continuation of the tragic conflict in Nigeria—a country with which Ireland has very close ties, stretching well back into the last century, through direct and continuing contacts between our two peoples. It is our

¹ Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America signed at Tlatelolco, Mexico, on 14 February 1967.

hope that a just settlement of the problem will be speedily reached with the assistance of the Organization of African Unity. We most earnestly and urgently appeal to all concerned to strive, despite the political difficulties, to find ways of maintaining and indeed increasing the flow of international relief supplies so desperately needed.

58. This is the third regular session of the Assembly whose agenda contains an item on the situation in the Middle East arising out of the hostilities of June 1967. That no substantial progress has been made in resolving that situation is most disquieting, bearing in mind the possibility of a recrudescence of major hostilities in the area. In that event there would clearly be a risk of the big Powers being drawn in for various reasons including the traditional strategic importance of the Middle East. It is therefore discouraging that the Secretary-General should record a marked deterioration in the situation. My Government noted with concern the anxious appeals he felt obliged to make in recent months for the exercise of restraint by the parties directly concerned and for the cessation of the many grave incidents which have unnecessarily risked the safety of the military observers along the Suez Canal. As the Secretary-General has well said, the whole situation in the area creates "a crisis of effectiveness for the United Nations and for its Members" [A/7601/Add.1, para. 65]. The Irish delegation sincerely hopes that the mission of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in the Middle East, Ambassador Jarring, will bear fruit worthy of the patient and persistent efforts on which he has been engaged, and that the Big Four, who have been seconding those efforts for the past six months, will enable him to bring his mission to a successful conclusion at a very early date.

59. The Secretary-General's introduction to his annual report calls attention to the particular problem of the hijacking of commercial passenger aircraft. It is a problem to which no country can be indifferent and which is of special concern to all Member States operating international air services. We all know the great cost of operating regular air services and what a heavy financial burden the disruption caused by the practice of piracy in the air can place on airlines, especially those of smaller countries, not to speak of the addition to the already heavy responsibility of airline pilots and crews. The Irish delegation therefore associates itself with the appeals made by the Secretary-General for a successful outcome to the efforts being made by the International Civil Aviation Organization to remove this threat to reliable air communications and to the lives of innocent travellers.

60. A section of the Secretary-General's introduction which the Irish delegation finds of particular interest is that relating to the exercise of his good offices. We subscribe entirely to his statement, against the background of earlier consideration of this point that "I have come to the clear conclusion that I am competent under the Charter to use my good offices" [ibid., para. 185]. Indeed we feel that the legitimate role of the Secretary-General in this field is in some ways broader than is sometimes conceded.

61. I may recall here the view expressed by the Irish delegation on 28 September 1967 [1571st meeting] that the Secretary-General should be entitled to appoint a

special representative without necessarily seeking further authorization. This continues to be our interpretation of the scope of Article 99. And in the same context I may say that my delegation is of the opinion that the good offices of the Secretary-General could be of very great value in giving effect to one of the main purposes of the United Nations. I have in mind the purpose set out in Article 1, paragraph 4, of the Charter, which says that the United Nations should be "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends".

62. In that regard my delegation has noted with much interest the statement made here by the Foreign Minister of Sweden on 19 September 1969, that at the present time the principle role of the United Nations as far as current conflicts are concerned is:

"...to serve as a centre for the expression and formation of international opinion, to encourage and facilitate co-operation and agreement between the States concerned and to offer the formal framework for such co-operation and agreement" [1757th meeting, para. 3].

63. During the fifteen years since my country became a Member of the United Nations, Ireland has endeavoured by word and deed to prove its loyalty to the purposes and principles of the Charter. We have honoured the obligations of membership and we have striven to contribute to the attainment of the ends for which the Organization was founded. And the basic purpose for which the United Nations was founded was, and remains, the preservation of peace.

64. We have not hitherto sought to bring before the United Nations in a formal manner our greatest political problem, the partition of Ireland, a problem at once national and international. In the detailed debate which took place in the Irish Parliament in July 1946 on the question of seeking admission to the United Nations it was agreed that, whereas under the Charter membership would impose serious obligations, it would be wrong to look to the Organization for national advantage only, and that it would be misleading to suggest that the United Nations would solve the vital problem of Ireland's national reunification. That was made clear. Our Parliament unanimously recommended that the Government seek admission because of our dedication to the purposes of the United Nations and because of the great potential of the Organization for advancing the cause of peace and establishing a better world order.

65. We have ourselves sought to achieve reunification through co-operation by means enjoined by the Charter. We have not had, nor do we now have, any wish to achieve it by force; nor would we have wished, without grave reason, to ventilate in this forum the faults of the Belfast Administration or the acquiescence up to now of British Governments in those faults. We have had no expectation of reunion through a verdict on the part of the world community. Even if such a verdict were obtainable and enforceable, we realize that it could well create a situation in which some of our fellow citizens in a united Ireland might feel embittered and alienated. We have no desire to vitiate the spirit of co-operation which has begun to grow between the two parts of our divided country or the

amicable relations which have developed between the peoples of Ireland and Great Britain after centuries of strife and confrontation.

66. That we nevertheless addressed two requests to the United Nations in recent weeks in connexion with this problem is due to the grave situation which developed in Northern Ireland through the growing impatience and frustrations of the minority at the persistent denial to them of human rights and fundamental freedoms. It is a situation which constitutes a real and present danger to the lives, homes and livelihood of a substantial number of Irish citizens in that area and a threat to the amicable relations with Britain, to which I have just referred. But it still remains our earnest hope that the goal which the great majority of the Irish people ardently desire will be achieved by mutual consent.

67. My Government has sought to create an atmosphere of confidence and friendship between the two areas of Ireland through economic and social co-operation. But this co-operation, although it undoubtedly improved the climate of opinion North and South, did not alter the basic economic and political disadvantages of the minority in the North. These disadvantages derive primarily from the institutionalized system of economic, political and social discrimination of which the minority have been the victims for the last fifty years.

68. The immediate plight of the minority is our most urgent concern. For we are convinced that the heart of the matter lies in the partition of Ireland, which originally brought about the political structure of Northern Ireland and gave the Unionist Party there the degree of autonomous control which permitted them to discriminate against the minority.

69. The Government of Ireland Act of 1920 which established Northern Ireland—an Act of the British Parliament for which no Irish Member North or South voted—and the subsequent Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 radically altered the relationship between Britain and Ireland. Although the relationships between Britain and the now independent part of Ireland resulted in sovereign control by the Government at Dublin over twenty-six of the thirty-two counties of our country, that is, over three of the four historic provinces of Ireland and one third of the fourth province, Ulster, the position of the Government in the six North Eastern Counties remained one of subordination to Britain. The 1920 Act installed a régime in power in the six counties with tragic results, to which the whole world is now witness. The division of Ireland was a poor and unimaginative arrangement which, like other similar arrangements before and since, contained within it the seeds of perpetual dissension and discontent.

70. We believe that the division of Ireland and the present denial of human rights to the minority in the six counties are intimately interrelated, and until both issues are honourably resolved there can be no true and lasting peace. It must not be forgotten that the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, although responsible for the present situation, explicitly envisaged the reunification of Ireland. Indeed, when he formally opened the Northern Parliament in June 1921, the late King George V of England expressed the hope that this step would prove to be no more than

“the prelude of the day in which the Irish people, North and South, under one parliament or two, as those parliaments may themselves decide, shall work together in common love for Ireland upon the sure foundation of mutual justice and respect”.

71. It was a hope which reflected the conviction expressed some years earlier by the then British Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, that “Ireland is a nation; not two nations, but one nation”. He went on to say:

“There are few cases in history, and as a student of history in a humble way, I myself know none, of a nationality at once so distinct, so persistent, and so assimilative as the Irish”.

72. I have already said that it is the policy of my Government to seek the reunification of Ireland by peaceful means. In so stating I am but echoing what has often been said elsewhere by those qualified to speak for the Irish people, and most recently by our Prime Minister a few days ago. The unity we seek, he declared, is not something forced but a free and genuine union of those living in Ireland, based on mutual respect and tolerance and guaranteed by a form or forms of government in Ireland providing for progressive improvement of social, economic and cultural life in a just and peaceful environment.

73. The united Ireland we desire is one in which there would be a scrupulously fair deal for all. Differences in political outlook or religious belief need not set people apart. They exist in most countries and they are no barrier to effective and constructive co-operation. The real barriers are those created by fear, suspicion and intolerance.

74. Reiterating what the Prime Minister stated on that occasion, I may say that the events of the past months have made it evident to all that while disrupting the unity of Ireland the 1920 devolution of powers has not provided a system of government acceptable, as fair and just, to very many of the people in Northern Ireland. The truth and validity of this assertion are amply demonstrated by a recent objective report. I refer, of course, to the report of the Commission appointed by the Belfast Administration and headed by the distinguished Scottish judge, Lord Cameron. The report makes clear the urgent need for change.

75. We are concerned that the grievances of so many of our fellow Irish men and women be quickly remedied and their fears set at rest. We also have a legitimate concern regarding the disposition to be made by the British Government in relation to the future administration of Northern Ireland. Our views on how peace and justice can be assured in our small island are relevant and entitled to be heard. Our direct interest in this matter has been recognized publicly by the British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson.

76. Speaking at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg in January 1967, Mr. Wilson said:

“I know, just as my predecessors, that no one would be happier than Great Britain if this problem were solved by agreement within the Emerald Isle. I am sure that I am speaking for everyone in expressing the hope that over

the next few years we shall see an intensification of the process of coming together which has begun during the last three or four years”.

And, again, Mr. Wilson referred to

“the real duty of all those in Northern and Southern Ireland, without propaganda and with a genuine desire to solve the problems, to get together and solve the Irish problem so that”—as he expressed it—“we can all express our warm blessing to them for solving it”.²

77. These are generous sentiments. At the same time we must not overlook the fact that the ultimate responsibility for the present situation in Northern Ireland rests in London. The British Government has recognized this. It is our earnest hope that the British Government will persevere in its determination to see that the necessary reforms in the North—the reforms which are required by the United Nations Charter—are speedily and irreversibly effected and that they will soon come to deal with the root cause. Because of our direct interest in these questions, it would be only natural that the British and Irish Governments, both Members of the United Nations, should consult and work together in the spirit of the Charter in order to arrive at a just and lasting solution.

78. If I have spoken at some length about the problem of Northern Ireland, the reason is that the partition of our country, a historic unit, has been a constant—indeed a major—preoccupation of our people, whether at home or in the many lands in which great numbers of them now reside. That my Government has felt constrained to raise the matter formally now is due to the gravity which the situation has assumed in these last months. The question, we genuinely believe, is one which is a proper concern of the United Nations, involving as it does infringements of the principles of the Charter.

79. Before concluding I wish to say how deeply touched the Irish delegation was by the very friendly reference to our problem made by the Foreign Ministers of France [1763rd meeting] and Iceland [1762nd meeting], two countries for which the Irish nation has a warm sympathy arising from ties of kinship and of intercourse extending over many centuries.

80. I conclude by expressing the most earnest hope that the deliberations of this session of the Assembly will be a source of encouragement and help to resolve their last outstanding problem between two close neighbours.

81. Mr. PITY VELASQUEZ (Panama) (*translated from Spanish*): Madam President, in speaking at this session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, I wish, first of all, to convey to you, on behalf of the Republic of Panama, our warmest and most cordial congratulations on your having been chosen, so wisely and with such justice, to preside over this twenty-fourth session.

82. The delegation of Panama, which is well aware of your devotion to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, welcomes the presence in the President's chair of

one who is both a symbol of the women of the present-day world and a most distinguished representative of Liberia and the African continent which is emerging dynamically and promisingly on the international scene, and because it is convinced that that presence constitutes the best guarantee of impartiality and tact in the guidance of the debate and of success in our deliberations.

83. May I also be permitted to pay a sincere tribute to the memory of the great Guatemalan, Emilio Arenales, who died during the twenty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly, of which he was President, when he was at the height of a fruitful life in the service of his country, of America and of the world. Here his name is added to the list of those who have joined the immortals, leaving behind a trail of prodigious and noteworthy efforts to promote international peace and security, fundamental human rights and social progress and who, quite properly, deserve the grateful thanks of peace-loving nations.

84. The Republic of Panama is attending this Assembly with a very clear and definite intention to contribute, as far as lies within its power, to ensuring that the general debate and the work of the committees furnish the United Nations with new considerations which will still further justify its existence, enhance its prestige, strengthen its activities and stimulate hope, on the eve of its twenty-fifth anniversary.

85. We understand and, at the same time, regret that at this historic moment, which is the background to this Assembly, the realities of international life confront us with a motley panorama full of questions. We are not unaware that conflicts in an acute form are still continuing and cast a shadow over the peace of the world, although there had been understandable hopes that they might be settled or at least that their effects might be reduced, and we know that in various regions in the world situations exist which offend the most elemental feelings of humanity. But we also know that, despite these facts, efforts continue to be made to put an end to these conflicts and situations, and that programmes whose purpose it is to promote peace and general welfare through international co-operation are being implemented and expanded.

86. Without indulging in undue optimism, we reiterate our unshakable faith in the usefulness and benefits of this association of peace-loving nations. The existence of problems as yet unresolved, the undeniable preponderance of strong nations which talk of law and sovereign equality but which, without shame, scoff at and disregard the rights of small and defenceless nations, and the lack of adequate resources to cope with the urgent needs of the world, should not lead us to either anaemic acceptance or to cynical scepticism, but, on the contrary, should stimulate efforts to overcome this state of affairs.

87. Peace—as has rightly been said in this very forum—is, in the present-day world, a continuing process of creative evolution, because there can be no stability without change. It is not sufficient to abolish war. Peace inevitably presupposes effective progress both in the task of satisfying the material needs of the human being and in that of fulfilling his spiritual desires.

88. We share that way of thinking. We are convinced that every nation, in the exercise of its supreme right freely to

² Council of Europe, *Official Report of Debates, Eighteenth Session of the Consultative Assembly*, vol. III, pp. 655 and 656.

determine its own future, can and should—when its existing conditions make it necessary—undertake the political, social and economic reorganization which is necessary in the interests of the dignity of each and every one of its citizens in order to ensure its internal peace, the absence of which in our times easily endangers peace abroad and the international order.

89. For that reason, machinery for co-operation among nations, in order to be really effective, must make itself felt in the national sphere as a factor aiding the process of recovery. Only in this way can it truly serve world peace. It is for that reason also that every country, every State is duty bound to make its influence felt beyond its frontiers, either in order to find, through negotiation, ways of removing the causes of domestic ills which have their roots or origin in other countries, or to co-operate, as a good neighbour, in fulfilling a duty to aid, as far as it is able, the efforts made by other nations to overcome their shortcomings.

90. Recently, the Central American isthmus was shaken by a clash between the armed forces of two sister nations, Honduras and El Salvador. Despite the obvious ideological affinity of these highly esteemed and respected small Central American territories, in spite of the fraternal ties uniting Salvadoreans and Hondurans, a bloody conflict erupted, which we all observed with amazement and heavy hearts.

91. It is true that the efforts made by the Organization of American States succeeded in bringing about a cease-fire, and the restoration of the *status quo ante bellum*, which facilitated the adoption of measures designed to bring about a peaceful solution of the conflict; but the graves which put thousands of families into mourning, the tears that flooded, with their stream of sad questions, the formerly loving and calm eyes of mothers and wives, the ashes which today constitute an epilogue of ruin and desolation, are there as a melancholy and sinister spectre which recalls the horrors of war. And, what is more serious, we have not taken any decisive step towards the removal of the causes which gave rise to, stirred up and aggravated the tragedy. It is necessary that the problems which gave rise to and fomented the war should be tackled at the American level and settled by new, bold formulas.

92. The Republic of Panama is not satisfied with spectacular and dazzling lyrical outpourings regarding American unity. Panama wants to have machinery established which will put an end to the virus of under-development, and open up employment opportunities for intelligent minds and strong arms which find their frontiers hemmed in and constrictive. And because, as a member of the American family, it is interested in these problems, it hopes that after the ruins and tears, after the graves and sobs, an embrace of reconciliation and forgetfulness will come about. Both nations have sufficient grandeur to drown transitory resentments in the enduring waters of love. If yesterday we witnessed a rupture of brotherliness, today we can proclaim the rebirth of peace fostered by affection and brotherhood. We hope that on the frontier between El Salvador and Honduras there may shortly be erected a monument to perpetuate the flowering of the most absolute harmony and that the passions which yesterday darkened people's minds

will turn into tears of love, which also can be shed when we pardon and forget.

93. For almost a year the Republic of Panama has been engaged in the process of changing its fundamental structures in order to meet the vital needs of the Panamanian nation. A lengthy period of social decomposition led to fearful chaos involving the political and institutional disintegration of the country. Democracy was wiped out, the procedure for determining the results of the people's voting being converted into a crude farce; and the constitutionally established electoral jurisdiction was in fact replaced by machinery with arbitrary powers in the hands of a small group which seized control of the electoral institutions. The Constitution was turned into a dead letter, the institutions providing safeguards, the principle of the separation of the organs of the public power, and the limited nature of its exercise, being ignored. Access to the courts of justice was impeded, the decisions of the courts were disregarded, and the rule of law was replaced by an infamous absolutist régime. The public treasury was the pitiful prey of political corruption, and the national economy failed to keep pace with the requirements for national development. In view of this state of affairs, the Panamanian people, imbued with an unchanging desire for peace and freedom, decided once again to become masters of their own destiny, and acting through the remaining elements of law and order, set up the present provisional government, which is now carrying out the task of bringing about a radical change.

94. In this connexion, intensive efforts are being made to establish the bases for the restoration and effective operation of representative democracy in our isthmus so that there may be real and conscious participation by every citizen in the formation and activities of a government which guarantees to every Panamanian full enjoyment of his fundamental rights and affords equal opportunities to all to attain a life in accordance with the principles of human dignity which the reactionary forces, now definitely driven out, persistently disregarded.

95. In the field of public administration the State is being provided with an efficient, competent, honest and dynamic organization which is fitting for a government worthy of the name, rooted in the most genuine Panamanian traditions, in order to guide the nation along the upward road of progress in all spheres of life.

96. With respect to the economic aspect, a policy designed to restore the rate of development and promote higher levels of living, with well-defined objectives, is already being carried out. The necessary foundations are being laid to promote the development of new sources of income through private enterprise. Through our own efforts we are trying to organize, institutionalize and also stabilize economic activities in the country, which, with timely and wisely channelled aid, will enable us to progress from a level of low income and poverty—causes of social and political instability—to a level of greater well-being within the next decade. An attempt is being made to achieve economic integration by continuous and planned channeling of resources generated around the transit zone to the other parts of the country and by improving the physical and human infrastructures of the whole interior of the isthmus.

97. The social integration of our community is being carried out through a series of programmes designed to

extend the benefits of the wealth generated to the whole population and particularly to those sectors which are most poverty-stricken, all this within a system which does not reduce the productive capacity but rather supplements and strengthens it, so that the total production helps the population to the maximum extent and develops the potential, and which requires that those who have more should contribute more to that effort, without detracting from the incentives to produce or impairing the right to fair compensation for individual efforts.

98. Today we have a *de facto* régime. We do not deny this, but we are supported by the tacit consent of the large national majorities which see, almost with astonishment, long cherished hopes of salvation looming up on the horizon.

99. Many people think that we are an experiment in America: military support for the action of professional civilians, the merging of the efforts of youth who are equally worried by the great problems facing the country; we do not wish to create a new caste, but to introduce a genuine democracy, one of substance not form, with the exercise of power in the true interests of the people, with equal opportunities for work and education and not merely the appearance of freedom destined to perish through hunger and inertia under the pretext of complying with the already discredited patterns of international political conventionalities.

100. In the sphere of international relations, the Government of Panama, which from its inception announced its firm determination to fulfil the commitments entered into by the Republic, has also resolved to fight tirelessly to secure for the nation and for future generations the abrogation of the Hay-Bunau Varilla Treaty,³ an unjust international agreement on the basis of which the inter-oceanic waterway was constructed through Panamanian territory, and with its abrogation to achieve a new agreement which would establish a completely different canal statute, of limited duration, satisfying, in justice and equity, the rights and interests of the two nations which made possible the construction of the Panama Canal.

101. The history of that struggle is already long. It was reflected first in periodic revisions of the Convention on the isthmian canal which resulted in the treaties of 1936 and 1955, revisions that failed in their objective of rectifying that unfair treaty, which violated the most elementary principles of international morality, because of the biased and unilateral interpretation given to the text by the more powerful State, which later led to the insistent demand by the Republic for the abrogation of the Convention governing the canal régime on the basis of previous experiences, which showed the ineffectiveness of any isolated revision of its clauses.

102. In January 1964, as a result of the existing state of affairs, unfortunately events occurred which led to the breaking off of relations between Panama and the United States of America. In April of that year, when those relations were re-established, the authorized representatives of both countries agreed that the Governments of Panama

and of the United States of America should appoint special plenipotentiary ambassadors to engage in negotiations to eliminate the existing causes of the dispute between the two nations. Almost five years have passed since the special ambassadors of the two countries were accredited. Starting with the negotiations, they have moved on to consideration of a possible single-level canal which would replace the existing multi-level canal.

103. The Panamanian Government, aware of these facts and of the importance to the country both of the effective exercise of its sovereign rights and of the optimum exploitation of its geographical position, which is its principal natural resource, is confident that through proper negotiations the necessary agreement will be reached to eliminate the causes of conflict between Panama and the United States of America and finally to establish its relations with the great nation to the north on equitable bases which will ensure to both countries the benefits which they are entitled to expect from life now and in the future, if something else is built, so that, while serving the cause of international trade on the basis of a realistic approach, the needs and aspirations which have been felt for so long by the Panamanian people can be fully satisfied.

104. There is also a corollary of tears, mourning and graves in our struggles to secure fair treatment in these relations; and the memory of these sorrows will make manifest at all times a complete unity of spirit among all Panamanians without differences of colour, race or creed, whenever we have to line up in defence of our legitimate rights.

105. Only a few days ago, on 18 September, the President of the United States of America stated in this Assembly of nations:

"Our aim is to encourage the creative forms of nationalism; to join as partners where our partnership is appropriate and where it is wanted, but not to let a United States presence substitute for independent national effort or infringe on national dignity and national pride.

"It is not my belief that the way to peace is by giving up our friends or letting down our allies. On the contrary, our aim is to place America's international commitments on a sustainable long-term basis, to encourage local and regional initiatives, to foster national independence and self-sufficiency, and by so doing to strengthen the total fabric of peace." [1755th meeting, paras. 52 and 53.]

We welcome those words with sympathy because we will never allow the action of any foreign country to replace our own efforts, and because, just as we reaffirm our determination to carry out international agreements, we shall vehemently reject any attempt to ignore our right to self-determination and any denial of the elemental principles of morality and equity which are as valid for men as they are for nations.

106. The Republic of Panama will endeavour to maintain the most active participation in those international organizations of which it is a member, since it is convinced that the cause of international peace and security will be served

³ Convention for the Construction of a Ship Canal, 18 November 1903, signed by John Hay and P. Bunau Varilla.

better by increasing the existing machinery and its capacity to promote the economic and social progress of all peoples, which is the only thing that will really eliminate the causes of friction which, as they grow in magnitude, turn into threats to the peace and actual aggression.

107. We firmly restate our faith in regional unity, in the joint development of efforts by the Latin American countries which will enable us to overcome the state of under-development that, to a greater or lesser degree, is stifling the upward movement of our peoples. The immortal thoughts of Simón Bolívar have never been so clear and pertinent as they are today, and when we all have interpreted his message correctly we shall have an America united in peace and progress. Regional unity in each continent will one day ensure peace in the world.

108. I represent one of the smallest nations in the world, but it is great and vast for us in the feeling that cements our nationality. We are weak in physical terms, but it is the intensity of our spirit that will delimit the bounds of our efforts.

109. Today we, or tomorrow other Panamanians, will have to govern our country. In this lofty forum of all the nations, on behalf of every Panamanian who was born near the murmuring waters of the seas which bathe our shores or those who in the silence of the mountains are steeped in their eternal solitude, I renew once again the promise which, although it has been repeated, will not fail to be dogma and guide, namely that neither today nor at any other time will there be any government in my country which dares to compromise the national dignity, unless it intends to unleash the fury of a people which, on the sacred altar of the love of country, renders perennial and undying respect to its own dignity.

110. May all in this *sanctum sanctorum* of all nations give heed to this, and may all my countrymen when they hear these words in their own homes feel strengthened by this reaffirmation of our nationality.

111. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the United Kingdom in the exercise of his right of reply.

112. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): I wish to speak shortly and respectfully and very positively in reply to the Foreign Minister of the Irish Republic. In the Security Council [1503rd meeting] and in the General Committee [180th meeting] I have already made the position of my Government on the principle of domestic jurisdiction perfectly plain. I have no reason to vary anything I have said. In Northern Ireland we are dealing with a situation which is difficult and delicate and potentially dangerous. We are directing our urgent endeavour to the purposes of easing tension and stimulating confidence. So we hope to press on urgently with the necessary reform.

113. We are dealing with an immediate situation—an immediate situation which must preoccupy our efforts. We believe that what is now required is practical progress on the ground and not controversial debate here. Such controversy could do great harm by inflaming fears and feelings. For these reasons, I shall be careful not to enter into any argument or dispute on any matter of substance

with reference to the speech which we heard this afternoon from the Foreign Minister.

114. I would only say now that none of us, I believe, could possibly accept any suggestion that the Secretary-General would himself act in breach of the basic principle of domestic jurisdiction set out in Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. Neither the Assembly nor the Security Council would do so, nor I feel sure would the Secretary-General. I would make my reply and conclude our proceedings today by giving three short quotations. First, I quote from the declaration of the United Kingdom Government and the Northern Ireland Government issued from 10 Downing Street on 19 August. This is the quotation:

“The two Governments at their meeting at 10 Downing Street today have reaffirmed that in all legislation and executive decisions of government every citizen of Northern Ireland is entitled to the same equality of treatment and freedom from discrimination as obtains in the rest of the United Kingdom, irrespective of political views or religion.”

115. In those words we have confirmed our policy. It has been announced today that the Home Secretary, Mr. James Callaghan, is to return to Northern Ireland on 9 and 10 October in continuation of his previous initiative and in urgent pursuit of our declared policy.

116. My second quotation is from the statement made by Cardinal Conway, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland, on 29 August. He said:

“If these reforms are carried out, and I feel confident they will be, then they will really amount to a new deal for the minority in Northern Ireland. I believe that they should be welcomed by all sections of the community, majority and minority, because they should bring not merely justice but peace. Justice is the foundation of peace.”

117. I take my third quotation from the very remarkable speech made by the Prime Minister of the Irish Republic, Mr. Lynch, only last week. I am glad that the Foreign Minister has today referred to that speech and indeed quoted from it. I should like to complete and endorse, if I may respectfully do so, the quotation from that most important declaration by the Government of the Irish Republic. The Prime Minister said, as the Foreign Secretary told us just now: “The real barriers are those created by fear, suspicion and intolerance.” He went on:

“Every responsible person must hope that early and adequate reforms will bring peace and security to the people of the North of Ireland so that they may live together in neighbourliness without fear, sharing fairly in improving social and economic conditions and with fading memories of past dissensions.”

118. Those are the words of the Prime Minister. Similar words were spoken to us today, I am glad to say, by the Foreign Secretary of the Irish Republic. I am sure that this Assembly would wish to echo and endorse those words. When the Prime Minister of the Irish Republic speaks to us of the need for goodwill, patience, understanding and

forbearance—those are the words he used—every one of us warmly welcomes the wise words which he has put to us. That is the spirit in which we confidently hope to make progress. We have set out on the road to peace through good sense and goodwill and fair dealing. That is the road we are determined to follow.

119. The PRESIDENT: I should like to take this opportunity to thank the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Yemen, Colombia, Ireland and Panama for the compliments that they have paid me.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.