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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. SAKKAF (Saudi Arabia):¹ In the name of God the merciful and compassionate, Madame President, my delegation tenders to Your Excellency its whole-hearted congratulations on your election as President of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly. We also wish to express our congratulations to our African brothers on this occasion.

2. The passing away of the late President of the Assembly, Mr. Emilio Arenales, in the prime of his life and activity, has saddened us all. We not only esteemed him for his wisdom and dedication to the United Nations, but also marvelled at the exemplary courage which he manifested by resuming his duties when all the odds were against him in the mortal disease that snatched him from amongst us. May God in His mercy let his soul rest in peace.

3. Before embarking on the substance of my statement I should like to take this opportunity of applauding our indefatigable Secretary-General U Thant for the tireless efforts he has exerted for world peace ever since his election to the post.

4. It would be banal for me to repeat what has time and again been mentioned by others, namely, that there is no alternative for the United Nations as the best international organ for establishing world peace and security. On the other hand, I would be failing in my duty if I were to ignore the fact that the United Nations has not, so far, succeeded in averting wars from which small nations have principally suffered; nor has the United Nations been able to eradicate racial discrimination and some forms of classical colonialism in Africa. We do hope that it will not

be long before South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal realize that it is in their own interest to liberate the peoples that are still unjustifiably under their control.

5. We also regret that the policy of spheres of influence still prevails, especially among the great Powers. The great Powers which had a major role in drawing up the United Nations Charter are still more or less acting in the same way as the erstwhile great Powers did during the days of the League of Nations, whose Covenant was ignored whenever it did not serve their narrow national interests. Likewise today we find that the principles set forth in the Charter, instead of transcending the national interests of States, are subjected to all kinds of dialectical interpretations and rationalizations. It is for these reasons that we have hardly made any significant progress towards paving the way to world peace, and it becomes evident that some world leaders have learned very little from the harsh lessons of two world wars.

6. The Treaty of Versailles, no doubt, sowed the seeds of the Second World War by flagrantly flouting the principles of the self-determination of peoples and nations. The leaders of the victorious nations which, to a large extent, imposed the terms of peace on the defeated nations and dictated the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, gerrymandered certain parts of Europe without due regard to ethnological origin or the rudiments of justice. The spoils of the First World War were also divided among the victors in both Asia and Africa.

7. A mere glimpse at the world map after the Second World War reveals that the same gross mistakes were committed by the leaders who won the war for themselves but left a legacy of perpetual conflict for small nations and peoples. Motivated strictly by national interests, they may blindly have sown the seeds of a third global conflict, even before the Charter of the United Nations was signed. What did these leaders do? They bisected countries and partitioned lands without due regard to the wishes of the people. They even went as far as dividing the capital of one of the defeated nations into four zones, which they garrisoned with their own troops. They drew an imaginary line dividing the people of a South-East Asian country. All this and similar arbitrary arrangements were made shortly before and immediately after the United Nations Charter came into being. All this was done by these leaders since they thought this was the best way of establishing international security. In fact, what was done simply duplicated what had happened at Versailles—new spheres of influence were created.

8. This is not all. In spite of the fact that the principle of self-determination was enshrined in the Charter and later elaborated into a well-defined fundamental human right, we

¹ Mr. Sakka¹ spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

find that the great Powers and their clients learned nothing from the blunders of recent history because the right of self-determination was entirely forgotten. Palestine was partitioned in 1947; and in 1953 a South-East Asian country, inhabited by one people, was divided into two separate States that are at war with each other—all this in the name of international security and democracy.

9. All that has happened in the post Second World War era in Europe and South-East Asia is nothing compared with what has befallen the indigenous people of Palestine. While colonies were emerging as free countries in the continents of Asia and Africa following the fall of empires, an alien people from Central and Eastern Europe, most of whom had embraced Judaism in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., and were far from being Semites, usurped the homeland of the indigenous people of Palestine. In 1947, the year of the perfidious Balfour Declaration, the indigenous people of Palestine constituted 94 per cent of the whole population of that country. It is superfluous to mention that neither Balfour personally nor his Government had any right whatsoever to promise an alien people from Europe a homeland in Palestine on the grounds of their religion. Nevertheless, we must state that the dictators at the Versailles Conference endorsed the treacherous Balfour Declaration at the expense of the Palestinian people when President Wilson clamoured for the principle of self-determination.

10. In 1939, the Jewish population of Palestine, which had been placed under a British Mandate, grew by massive immigration, mostly illegal, to one third of the whole population. When the British mandatory Power tried to regulate the immigration that had swollen in the thirties and immediately after the Second World War on account of the resistance of the indigenous people of the land, the Zionists organized several terrorist gangs who literally got away with murder by hanging British Tommies, killing Lord Moyne, as well as massacring Palestinians who persistently resisted this new invasion from Europe under the banner of Zionism. This invasion was not dissimilar to the religious wars of the Middle Ages which were motivated by religion for political and economic ends. The Zionists have claimed Palestine on false and baseless grounds. Time and again our delegation has asked that the usurping State of Israel produce the title deed to Palestine which, it is claimed, the Creator gave to the Jews. By the same token, we ask, did Balfour and those who implemented his foul promise have a power of attorney from God to transfer Palestine to these usurping Zionists? It is indeed ludicrous to put up such claims on the grounds of which these alien Zionists, mainly of Khazar origin, have been granted the right to rob the Palestinians of their land and patrimony.

11. The usurping State of Israel, abetted as it has been by the great Powers and their clients who voted for the partition of Palestine and the ultimate introduction of a foreign element in the body politic and body social of the Middle East, will remain an abscess in the area causing a high fever of tension and perpetual conflict which may, God forbid, plunge the world into another world war. If the Jews, as a persecuted people in Europe, had taken refuge in Palestine and the Middle East, motivated by religious sentiments and not by false political claims, they would have lived at peace with the Semitic indigenous people of

Palestine. Instead, they invaded the land with false claims and intimidated the whole population by crimes such as those perpetrated in Deir Yassin and other localities. When these usurping Zionists suspected that Count Bernadotte might level some criticism at them for their dastardly acts, they shot him with impunity.

12. Over a million Palestinian refugees who fled in terror and now live in camps on six or seven cents a day per person, together with compatriots of theirs scattered in many countries, have finally awakened to the fact that all the United Nations resolutions concerning the Palestine question have been futile, having had no impact whatsoever on the usurpers.

13. Consequently they have organized themselves to regain their homeland, as it has dawned upon them that the whole United Nations family is not willing to or capable of rendering them justice and redressing the grievous harm done unto them. These freedom fighters are called terrorists by the Zionists and their cohorts. On the other hand, the forces of resistance that went underground against the Nazis in occupied Europe have been dubbed heroes; so were the Irgun, Zvai Lumi, Stern, Haganah and other gangs who massacred the indigenous people of Palestine, destroyed their homes, killed their cattle and cut down their trees. The Arab people have been galvanized into action by the sacrificial resolve of the people of Palestine to regain their homeland.

14. Neither the late Mr. Churchill nor the late Mr. Roosevelt, nor the late Mr. Stalin for that matter, considered the nazi conquest of European territories as a *fait accompli*. I can assure the General Assembly that the occupation of Palestine by these alien people, the non-Semitic Khazars of Central and Eastern Europe, will never be considered a *fait accompli* by the whole Arab people—a hundred million of them who are steadfast in their faith that, as in the past, usurpers come and usurpers go but ultimately the Palestinian people will regain their homeland.

15. As far as Jerusalem is concerned, let me be explicit once more about our position, which has repeatedly been made clear since the desecration of that Holy City by the invader. This is not the first time that Jerusalem has fallen into the hands of alien conquerors. Where are these conquerors now? They are but names in the annals of history. Jerusalem is as holy to Islam as it is to the other monotheistic religions. If the Christian nations, whose populations number about a billion, do not care about Jerusalem falling into the hands of Zionists, who, incidentally, are a mere fraction of world Jewry estimated at about 17 million, let me make it patently clear that over 600 million Moslems will not continue to remain with their arms folded and accept the spurious claims of those Zionists who are unwittingly creating a world problem which may very well make a scapegoat of innocent Jews, especially in the Western world, where Zionist activists have wormed themselves into the policy-making machinery of governments, including legislative bodies, quite apart from controlling the mass media of information.

16. The Islamic Summit Conference held from 22 to 25 September 1969 in Rabat has shown the whole world that the Islamic world has been jolted into a consciousness of

the danger that threatens its first *kiblah*. The sincere solidarity and the fervent fraternal spirit manifested at Rabat is only the beginning. It is the dawn of Islamic unity all over the world. The millstones of Islam may grind slowly but they will grind and grind and grind until, God willing, Jerusalem and the whole land of Palestine is restituted to its legitimate owners, who have been denied their right of self-determination by pressures and conspiracies inside and outside the United Nations.

17. While we are aware of the multifarious problems facing this Assembly, my Government wishes to reiterate its unequivocal position regarding Jerusalem and Palestine because of its deep concern with this question, which, as you may have noticed, constitutes the theme of my statement before this Assembly. If peace with justice is to bypass the peoples of Palestine, we predict a continuous state of conflict and turmoil in the Middle East. Should this be the case, we also fear that a third world war may be inevitable. The turn of events in the Middle East will, therefore, determine the fate of the United Nations. Either this Organization will follow the same pattern as that of the League of Nations, which led to its disintegration, or it will muster enough courage to rise above petty national interests and the policy of spheres of influence pursued by the super-Powers irrespective of the aspirations of peoples struggling for their independence and the redemption of their sovereignty.

18. In conclusion, I should like to state that His Majesty King Faisal and my Government still hope that, before it is too late, the better part of wisdom will prevail, especially among the great Powers, which, if they wish, can pave the way for peace in the Middle East by having real justice done unto the indigenous people of Palestine.

19. I cannot bring this statement to an end without invoking God's guidance to us all.

20. Mr. BELOKOLOS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): Madam President, I should like to congratulate you on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly and to express our confidence that under your able guidance the Assembly will succeed in solving the important problems confronting it.

21. We associate ourselves with the condolences expressed here in connexion with the death of Mr. Emilio Arenales, who presided over the previous session.

22. The processes of contemporary international life are complex and contradictory, and this is fully reflected by the debate which is taking place in this hall. The speakers are representatives of States with dissimilar social and economic systems, with different outlooks and different problems and needs. Yet nearly all of us seem to agree that the world situation is characterized by acute tension and that developments in international relations have reached a dangerous stage.

23. As though expressing our accumulated common alarm and concern, the Secretary-General stresses in his annual report [A/7601/Add.1, para. 41] that the "world now stands at a most critical crossroads" and calls for special efforts for the maintenance of peace.

24. The time has therefore come for the most far-reaching and, I would say, radical efforts to prevent mankind from slipping towards a world war and to strengthen world peace and international security. We, the representatives of the socialist countries, have a clear-cut goal and absolutely definite intentions in this respect. In this connexion, I should like to quote a highly important extract from the "Appeal in Defence of Peace" adopted by the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in June this year:

"Under all trials, we Communists have retained our unflinching devotion to Leninist ideas of peace and friendship among nations. Today as before, we shall strive towards these lofty goals, which are common to all mankind, side by side with all those who oppose the policy of militarism, aggression and war. To these ends, we are prepared to develop contacts and to co-operate with the widest variety of social and political forces."

25. We see a real threat to peace in the imperialist policy of activating military blocs and the arms race, in whose service the latest achievements of technical progress and the results of the scientific and technical revolution are being placed. We also see a real threat to peace in the aggressive imperialist strategy directed against the socialist States and against socialism as a social and political system. Finally, we see a real threat to peace in the imperialist policy of fomenting conflicts and local wars in various parts of the world, in the suppression of national liberation movements and in the policy of revanchism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

26. The Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic has instructed us to concentrate our efforts at this session of the General Assembly on preparing, together with other delegations, measures directed towards the prevention of war and the strengthening of universal peace. We regard this as the primary condition and main prerequisite for the solution of all the other problems with which the United Nations is confronted. That is why we wholeheartedly support the proposal of the Soviet Union concerning the strengthening of international security, set out in the draft "Appeal to all States of the world" [A/7654]. It is hardly possible to over-estimate the political and practical significance of this document, which can and must become the most important component of the United Nations programme of action in forthcoming years. It opens up vast opportunities for co-operation among States with different political, social and economic systems on the most burning problems of the day and creates the necessary conditions for the preparation of effective plans and the adoption of realistic measures to prevent mankind from slipping into a world conflict.

27. It is a generally accepted truth that peace is indivisible and that a breach of peace in one region of the world can give rise to a chain reaction and to a world-wide conflagration. To safeguard international security is to safeguard peace in every region of our planet.

28. Accordingly, no special proof is needed that the path to international security in our time lies in the peaceful settlement of such acute problems as those of Viet-Nam, the Middle East and Korea. We are all aware that each of

these problems is many-sided, comprises a whole complex of issues and is a unique blend of contradictions. Each of these problems requires a specific approach and calls for specific means of settlement. But they also have something in common. This common denominator lies in the fact that imperialism is standing in the way of the Viet-Name, Korean and Arab peoples, which at one time were crushed under the colonialist heel and rose up to fight for their national liberation, for political and economic independence and for the integrity of their native lands and their national territories. As the result of wars, part of Viet-Nam, part of Korea and part of the territory of the Arab States have been occupied by the troops of foreign Powers. That is a decisive fact and, in the light of that fact, the struggle of the peoples against interventionists is a just struggle to which all progressive forces lend their solidarity and support.

29. That is why the United Nations should declare itself in favour of certain principles which alone can serve as a basis for achieving and consolidating universal peace. We are deeply convinced that the most important of these principles is the withdrawal of troops from territories occupied as the result of military action by certain States against other States and peoples fighting for the independence and territorial integrity which they have attained as the result of the collapse of the colonial system. Attempts to bring about a peaceful settlement by any other means are ultimately doomed to failure.

30. In this connexion, Viet-Nam provides the most convincing and irrefutable proof that in our time the process of the national and social liberation of peoples cannot be arrested by means of force, including military force. It is well known that the war in Viet-Nam has already surpassed the Second World War with regard to the quantity and weight of bombs dropped, and the Korean war with regard to the number of American killed. But what has the United States achieved? Defeats on the battlefield and increased isolation on the international scene. The United States of America has found itself powerless before the courage and resistance of the Viet-Name, people, before its will and resolve to ensure the victory of its just cause and to expel the foreign invaders and before the active international solidarity of the socialist States and of all peace-loving forces.

31. We recently heard from this rostrum an appeal to the 126 Members of the United Nations for efforts through the diplomatic channel to persuade the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to hasten the end of the war. We do not, however, recall the United States of America making any appeal for advice to all Members of the United Nations at the time it began its aggression on Viet-Name, territory. But that is not the point at issue, particularly since those who dragged the American people into this war obviously expected a different turn of events.

32. The point is that there is no need to persuade the Governments of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and of the Republic of South Viet-Nam of anything whatsoever. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam have agreed to negotiate with the United States of America and have submitted a programme for the solution of the

Viet-Nam problem which fully corresponds to the principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreements and meets the national aspirations of the Viet-Name, people and the interests of peace throughout the world. If there is any need to persuade anyone of anything, it is the United States of America that has to be persuaded of the need for the complete and unconditional withdrawal of its troops and those of its allies from South Viet-Nam, so as to enable the Viet-Name, people to settle its own affairs in its own territory. The people of Viet-Nam is fighting to defend its native land and is thus exercising the sacred and inalienable right of all peoples to self-defence.

33. The United States of America declares that, at the Paris talks, it is willing to discuss all problems except one, namely, the right of the people of South Viet-Nam to determine its own future without external interference. But there is one and only one instance of interference in the affairs of Viet-Nam and that is American interference. And there is one and only one means of eliminating interference with the self-determination of the Viet-Name, people, namely, the withdrawal of the troops of the United States of America and its allies from this country. The sooner this takes place, the better for the Viet-Name, people, for the United States of America and for peace throughout the world.

34. So far as the Ukrainian SSR is concerned, it is wholeheartedly on the side of the heroic Viet-Name, people. We are convinced that its just cause will triumph. The workers of Viet-Nam, true to the precepts of the President of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, Comrade Ho Chi Minh, that outstanding leader of the international Communist, workers' and national liberation movement, will carry their struggle for the happy future of their country to a victorious conclusion.

35. Although the United Nations has been dealing with the Korean problem for over twenty years, tension in and around Korea is not easing, but, on the contrary, is becoming more acute. Why is the Korean nation still divided, despite its clearly expressed desire for the unification of the country? Why does the situation in Korea still represent a threat to universal peace? It is because of flagrant outside interference in the affairs of the Korean nation, which was liberated from colonial dependence as a result of the Second World War. The armed forces of the United States of America continue to occupy South Korea.

36. The Ukrainian SSR, together with the other socialist countries and a number of Afro-Asian States, has submitted to the General Assembly for discussion an item entitled "Withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations". We appeal to all those who are struggling for the national liberation of peoples from the imperialist yoke and to all those who support the ideals of the United Nations in deeds, not in words, to take a decisive stand against the continued military occupation of South Korea. The path to peace in that peninsula will not be opened until there are no interventionists in the southern part of Korea, just as there is not a single foreign soldier in the northern part of the country. Can there be a task and purpose more in keeping with the principles of the United Nations than that of giving the Korean people an opportunity to settle its domestic affairs by itself, without external interference?

37. The United Nations has the duty to play a decisive part in the establishment of peace in the Middle East and in ensuring the security of all its peoples.

38. Nearly two years have passed since the Security Council adopted its well-known resolution [242 (1967)]. Instead of using this resolution to bring about a peaceful settlement, Israel, intoxicated with chauvinistic dreams, has completely sabotaged the efforts of the United Nations throughout this period. It continues to occupy Arab territory and to provoke incessant exchanges of fire and armed clashes in the areas of the Suez Canal, the river Jordan and the Golan heights. Its acts of armed provocation have lately become more frequent and are assuming an increasingly dangerous and threatening form.

39. It is perfectly obvious that this provocative behaviour by the Israeli aggressors would not be possible but for the fact that Israel has enjoyed and continues to enjoy protection and support from the United States of America. The United States is not only giving political and economic aid to the Israeli aggressors, but is continuing to supply them with arms. Israel recently received from the United States aircraft of the most modern type which are being used for pirate raids against Arab countries.

40. It is therefore not surprising that the representatives of Israel behave so insolently here in the United Nations. The statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs during the general debate [1757th meeting] proved Israel's unwillingness to take United Nations decisions into account. The main object of that statement seemed to be to prove that the United Nations is not in a position—is not able—to solve the problems of the Middle East.

41. Israeli leaders often make speeches about their desire for peace and security, but these are empty words. If the real aim is to promote the peace and security of the countries of that region, the main and essential prerequisite for this is the liberation of the occupied territories. But Israel prefers to follow a different and extremely dangerous course, that of consolidating its annexation of foreign territories. Its appeals for "direct negotiations" while parts of the territory of Arab countries are still occupied simply represent a manoeuvre to camouflage its refusal to comply with the Security Council decision.

42. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR considers it essential to make renewed efforts to end the critical situation in the Middle East.

43. The consultations between the four great Powers which are permanent members of the Security Council and the efforts of Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, the representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, have shown that to leave the situation in the Middle East as it now is would be to endanger world peace. The Government of the United Arab Republic at one time submitted constructive proposals for a stage-by-stage implementation of the Security Council resolution. The Soviet Government has also taken the initiative in drawing up proposals designed to promote a political settlement in the Middle East. Responsibility for the fact that no appreciable results have yet been achieved lies wholly with Israel and its protectors.

44. Israeli leaders are not defending the right of their State to an independent national existence, but are trying to retain the Arab territories they have seized. It is the duty of the United Nations to put an end to this, to support constructive efforts and to promote a political settlement in that region.

45. During the First and Second World Wars, the Ukraine was the scene of fierce fighting and was subjected to German occupation. In their struggle against the aggressor, the Ukrainian people lost many millions of their sons and daughters and suffered enormous material damage. That fact alone should suffice to show how deep is our concern for the establishment of a system of collective security in Europe. The Government of the Ukrainian SSR is a firm advocate of regional security systems, based on the common efforts of all the States in the regions concerned. We are compelled to draw attention to the absurdity of a situation in which certain States wish to exclude the German Democratic Republic, whose twentieth anniversary will be celebrated in a few days' time, from decisions on European affairs and from participation in international life.

46. This ostrich-like policy with regard to a State whose establishment marked a turning-point in European history gravely hampers the cause of the peace and security of nations. Since the earliest days of its existence, the German Democratic Republic has considered that it has a national mission and a responsibility to the peoples of Europe to ensure that war can never again be unleashed from German soil. It has declared itself in favour of collective security in Europe, of a stable world order and of general disarmament. In all its practical activities, it carries into effect the ideals of peace, progress and socialism.

47. The peace-loving policy of the German Democratic Republic is earning it increasing authority and respect. The German workers' and peasants' State is also gaining increasing recognition in international law. Its foreign political, economic and cultural relations are being strengthened. That is why we are strongly in favour of giving the German Democratic Republic its rightful place in the United Nations.

48. The main condition for peace and security on the European continent is recognition of the inviolability of the existing frontiers in Europe, including the Oder-Neisse line and the frontiers between the two German States, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany.

49. But this, together with other political realities of modern Europe, is something they do not wish to recognize in Bonn. The policy of Greater German chauvinism, militarism and revanchism which is being pursued by the ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany, hard though they may try to conceal the fact, is still one of the main sources of tension on the European continent. It is this policy which is providing a propitious background for the resurgence of fascism, with its present shock force, the National Democratic Party.

50. It is an inescapable fact that, a quarter of a century after the defeat of the fascist Reich, there have been

flagrant violations of the obligations laid down in the Potsdam Agreements concerning the need for a consistent struggle against attempts to revive militaristic, revanchist and nazi activities in any form whatsoever on German soil.

51. The lessons of history cannot and must not be forgotten. We cannot stand by dispassionately while those very forces which plunged Europe and the whole world into the maelstrom of the Second World War grow in strength. The peoples of Europe know from the experience of their own history what the result of a policy of appeasing nazism can be.

52. We note with satisfaction that an awareness of the dangers of nazi ideology and practice has manifested itself in the United Nations. On the initiative of the Ukraine and Poland, the Commission on Human Rights, at its recent twenty-fifth session, adopted a resolution² calling upon all States to take effective measures for the complete prohibition of nazi, neo-nazi and racist organizations and groups and for their prosecution in the courts. I should like to express the hope that the General Assembly will approve that decision at its twenty-fourth session.

53. The Ukrainian people supports the policy of the countries of the socialist community directed towards securing all-European co-operation and the appeal by the States members of the Warsaw Treaty to all European countries for the convening of an all-European conference on problems of security and peaceful co-operation. Our delegation is convinced that the adoption by the General Assembly of the "Appeal to all States of the world" to approve and support the idea of establishing effective regional security systems would intensify efforts to this end. This could only be of benefit to the cause of peace.

54. Disarmament problems are in the foreground at this session of the General Assembly, as at previous sessions. Nothing can relegate them to the background, for the means of mass destruction which have been stockpiled more than suffice to destroy all life on earth. The urgent need to put an end to the unbridled arms race is perfectly obvious. Nearly all the speakers in this hall have made this point quite convincingly.

55. We attach great importance to the conclusion of agreements on the limitation of the arms race and on disarmament, especially on such problems as the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, the cessation of their production, the limitation and elimination of stockpiles of such weapons, the prohibition of underground tests, the establishment of nuclear-free zones, the elimination of military bases in the territory of other States and the prohibition of the use of the sea-bed and ocean floor for military purposes.

56. We note with satisfaction that the United Nations had adopted the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*General Assembly resolution 2373 (XXII)*]. In advocating its entry into force as soon as possible, we were guided by the belief that it can become an important link in a chain of measures leading to nuclear disarmament. But

the fact that a number of potential nuclear States are still refraining from acceding to the Non-Proliferation Treaty is creating serious difficulties. We are particularly concerned by the attitude of the Federal Republic of Germany, where highly influential circles are trying to obtain access to nuclear weapons.

57. The Ukrainian delegation considers that this session of the General Assembly should appeal to all States to sign and ratify the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons as soon as possible.

58. An important aspect of the disarmament problem is the question of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons. We all know how alarmed world public opinion was by recent reports on the further intensification by certain States of the race for chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons and on the accumulation of stockpiles of these weapons in the territories of other States.

59. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR agrees with the following main conclusion drawn in the Secretary-General's report on chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons and the effects of their possible use:

"Were these weapons ever to be used on a large scale in war, no one could predict how enduring the effects would be, and how they would affect the structure of society and the environment in which we live."³

60. The Government of the Ukrainian SSR consistently and resolutely advocates the prohibition of the use of chemical and bacteriological methods of warfare, the accession of all States to the 1925 Geneva Protocol and the strict application of that Protocol. But this is no longer enough. The time has come for measures of a different character.

61. Together with other socialist countries, the Ukrainian SSR has submitted to the General Assembly a 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*]. We are deeply convinced that the adoption and implementation of such a convention will eliminate the threat of the outbreak of a chemical and bacteriological war, will promote the strengthening of the peace and security of nations and will create a favourable political climate for the solution of other disarmament problems.

62. In seeking to unite the efforts of all States and peoples to strengthen international security, we cannot overlook the vitally important problems of the final elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. We consider it essential to take effective international action in support of the patriots of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, and in support of all oppressed peoples. No effort should be spared to ensure that 1970, the year when the United Nations will observe the tenth anniversary of the proclamation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries

² *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Forty-fifth Session*, document E/4621, chapter XVIII, resolution 10.

³ *Chemical and Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons and the Effects of Their Possible Use*, United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.69.I.24, foreword.

and Peoples, should become a milestone on the road towards the full implementation of the Declaration. This aim would be furthered by the Assembly's adoption at this session of the "Appeal to all States of the world" [A/7654], which stresses the need for the cessation of all measures for the suppression of the liberation movements of the peoples still under colonial rule and for the granting of independence to all such peoples.

63. In the desire to consolidate their sovereignty, many independent States of Asia, Africa and Latin America are striving to overcome their economic backwardness and to create an independent national economy. How should this problem be solved? What means and forms of social development should be chosen? What role should be played by international economic relations? What contribution should the United Nations make to the preparation and execution of social and economic development programmes throughout the world? The immediacy of these problems is beyond all doubt.

64. The concerns and needs of the developing countries are familiar and comprehensible to the Ukrainian SSR. Many of the problems which are now causing anxiety to these States confronted us in one way or another and were solved in the not too distant past. A little over 50 years ago, the economy of the Ukraine was grasped in the tentacles of foreign capital, which controlled 70 per cent of coal and ore production, 90 per cent of pig iron production, 70 per cent of manganese production and so forth. The farmers suffered from the survivals of feudalism and from merciless capitalist exploitation. Most of the people were illiterate, and the necessary capital and skilled personnel were lacking for the development of industry and transport and for undertaking scientific research and applying its results in production.

65. The situation has since undergone radical changes. We carried out a revolution, but vast material resources were required and people had to be trained to develop our economy, science and culture. We boldly embarked on the road to social and economic transformations. The guiding principle was reliance on our own sources of development. As a result, during the years of Soviet rule, the volume of industrial output has increased 52-fold; Ukrainian products are now exported to 88 countries and the Ukrainian SSR is taking part in the construction of 183 industrial and educational centres in the developing countries. About 3 million experts are now working in the national economy and the number of scientific workers exceeds 100,000. Every third person employed is studying to improve his professional qualifications and general education.

66. For this reason, the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic feels obliged to make a number of comments on certain economic development problems and to share its experience, some aspects of which, in its opinion, might usefully be taken into account in the preparation of national and international development programmes.

67. We consider that international efforts should be concentrated on the consolidation of developing countries' independence, the rapid elimination of the economic

aftermath of colonialism, the struggle against neo-colonialist trends, and the economic, social and cultural advancement of these countries. The United Nations should promote the establishment of an international atmosphere in which it would be impossible for neo-colonialist forces to prevent the peoples of the developing countries from carrying out fundamental social and economic changes and democratic land reforms, abolishing feudal and non-feudal relations, ending the dominance of foreign monopolies, and reviving and developing their national culture.

68. The main condition for successful economic development is the exercise by the peoples of full sovereignty over the natural resources of their countries. We cannot regard as normal a situation in which the foreign indebtedness of countries liberated from colonial domination increases year by year and now amounts to nearly \$50,000 million, with loan repayments already accounting for two thirds of the new influx of public foreign capital. This complicates the foreign exchange situation of the developing countries, increases their financial dependence and deprives them of vast sources of capital accumulation for the development of their own economies.

69. The shortage of qualified national personnel is a serious obstacle to the economic advancement of many Asian and African countries. The problem of training personnel to accelerate industrialization in the developing countries has already been discussed in the United Nations. As one of the sponsors of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic has given practical evidence of its desire to give the necessary aid to the countries of the third world. Nationals of these countries are being trained in sixty higher educational and technical institutions of the Republic. Permanent United Nations courses for training metallurgists are being conducted in the town of Zapirozhye. During the past eight years, over 10,000 specialists from the developing countries have been trained or have improved their qualifications in the Ukraine.

70. International efforts should be continued in this field. Our delegation therefore considers it essential to intensify activities to promote the training of higher- and intermediate-level specialists for the developing countries, especially those who can be employed in the production sector, as well as specialists in the ordinary trades and occupations.

71. These are our views on some of the economic problems which will play a prominent part in the discussions at this session.

72. The interests of strengthening peace and international security call for an increase in the role and significance of the United Nations as an instrument of international communication and its responsibility for the solution of urgent problems. What is needed to enable the United Nations to fulfil this high mission effectively is not a reform of the Organization or a review of its Charter, but the utilization of all the political opportunities and resources embodied in that Charter, the strict and undeviating observance of its letter and spirit by all Members of the United Nations without exception and the transformation of the Organization into a genuinely universal body.

73. Important steps in this connexion should be an enhancement of the role and efficacy of the Security Council as the organ on which primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security is conferred by the Charter, the further study of ways and means of increasing the efficiency of United Nations peace-keeping operations and the intensification of work on the definition of aggression and on agreed principles concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States.

74. Recognition of the importance of the present stage in the Organization's development should be translated into new collective efforts, new initiatives and new activities. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations should serve as a further incentive to this end.

75. The proposals of the Soviet Union on the strengthening of international security, as well as other proposals which the socialist countries have submitted for consideration at this session of the General Assembly, serve as examples of that very approach. Not only are these proposals not directed against any State or group of States but, on the contrary, conforming as they do to the basic and vital interests of all peoples, they are directed towards the maximum unification of the efforts of all States without exception with a view to achieving and strengthening universal peace. We hope that their full discussion will prove fruitful and will serve the purpose of the United Nations.

76. The Government of the Soviet Ukraine has consistently followed the precepts of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, who declared in the early days of Soviet power that "... we promise the workers and peasants to do everything for peace. And we will do it."⁴ Our delegation intends to exert the maximum effort during this session to promote the strengthening of universal peace and the security of nations. This fully corresponds to the aspirations of our people, which is preparing, together with all progressive men and women, to celebrate the centenary of Lenin, a man whose name is linked with the most important events of our era and a tireless fighter for social progress, for the liberation of the working masses from oppression and for the triumph of peace and fraternity among the peoples on this earth.

77. Mr. Lara BUSTAMANTE (Costa Rica) (*translated from Spanish*): Madam President, I should like to begin my statement in this general debate by tendering to you the respectful greetings of the Costa Rican nation, which regards your election to the august office of President of the General Assembly of the United Nations as a symbol and a tribute—a tribute to your outstanding personal merits, which enabled you to win academic laurels despite the adverse circumstances which stood in the way of your thirst for achievement, and to accomplish your tasks as capably as you have done in the distinguished offices which you have held in other sectors of this international Organization—and a symbol of the progress achieved by the constant striving, maintained through several decades, for the recognition of equal rights for men and women in all fields of human endeavour, whether public or private. Your election, Madam President, is also a well-deserved tribute to a country, a continent and a race.

78. You represent in this Assembly a nation which came into being less than 150 years ago, impelled by a thirst for freedom, when the first beings who could call themselves free men after suffering the rigours of slavery arrived on your shores—at what is today your national sanctuary. And so the fact that you are filling this high office also symbolizes the aspiration of the United Nations and the continuous struggle by this Organization and its specialized agencies for the total, final and lasting abolition in every corner of the globe of that archaic and monstrous institution which recognizes some men as the property of other men, in savage disregard of the inherent, natural and inalienable rights which render every human being the equal of his fellow-men in dignity and status, regardless of race, sex, nationality or social origin.

79. Costa Rica records with pride that in 1823 it freed all persons in slavery on its territory, in 1888 recognized the full legal capacity of women in private life, and sixty years later admitted women to all public offices on a footing of complete equality with men. Therefore, in voting for your election and in seeing you perform the duties of your high office with the ability and distinction you bring to it, the delegation of Costa Rica greets you warmly and wholeheartedly and extends to you the expression of its deepest homage, as it does to all women everywhere who are today sharing with men the responsibilities for transforming the world into a happier home, a place less troubled and one with better prospects for all those who live in it.

80. I have also to pay a heartfelt tribute, on behalf of my delegation and my country, to the memory of the President of the twenty-third General Assembly of the United Nations, Mr. Emilio Arenales, whose irreparable loss while yet in the prime of life we still mourn. He was the first statesman born in the Central American isthmus to achieve the distinction of election to the Presidency of the General Assembly, and although the work he was beginning was cut short, first by grave illness and then by death, his speech of acceptance still echoes in this hall and points to the course which we should follow and the mission we have to perform in terms which have lost none of their freshness. His words were stamped with the authority imparted by his exceptional gifts as an eminent statesman and by his long experience of the Organization's work, and we should therefore cherish them as a lasting message of imperishable value, which should serve us as both a stimulus and a guide in performing the important functions entrusted to this Assembly and to each of its Members.

81. As the Assembly is aware, my Government, well acquainted as it was with the talents displayed by Mr. Emilio Arenales in his lifetime and desirous, too, of paying a fraternal tribute to the Republic of Guatemala, had the honour to nominate him for the Presidency of this Assembly as a natural token of our sense of Central American identity. We took this step with the enthusiasm inspired by a man who, we knew, would fully and faithfully carry out the task entrusted to him and would prove a credit to the Central American isthmus and to his own country. I cordially greet U Thant, the Secretary-General, whose indefatigable and efficient work as head of this Organization deserves the gratitude of every people and every Government represented here.

⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th edition, vol. 27, p. 343.

82. The programme of work adopted by the General Assembly for its twenty-fourth regular session is just as heavy as it has been during the last few years, and the variety of the items on its agenda reflects the manifold and complex problems which still vex mankind a quarter of a century after the first steps to set up this Organization were taken against the inspiring background of the gardens of Dumbarton Oaks in a corner of Georgetown, the historic suburb of Washington, D.C. They are the same problems of war and peace with which the United Nations has been dealing throughout the years in its laudable desire to ensure to men of all continents and of all races a destiny happier and more secure than they enjoyed in earlier ages. The continuing struggle and the victories that have been won have not been enough to bring a lasting solution to these problems. But this should not discourage us; it should rather stimulate us to continue seeking, with deeper devotion and greater energy, ways and means of attaining peace for the nations, tranquillity for men's minds and better living conditions for the human beings who obtain the smallest share of the national product in the different parts of the world.

83. Only a few months before the United Nations completes the first quarter century of its existence, it is saddening indeed to consider that the blood of young men is still being shed on the banks of the Jordan, the Mekong, the Niger and the Suez Canal. But we took heart from the fact that two fraternal nations in our Americas have set the world an example in complying with decisions of bodies set up for the same purposes as the United Nations by calling a cease-fire and withdrawing troops when their Governments were invited to do so by the Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Organization of American States, held at Washington on 26 July 1969.

84. This laudable action by the Governments of El Salvador and Honduras in setting an example by accepting our regional organization's invitation to order a suspension of hostilities and the withdrawal of armed forces to their normal peacetime quarters deserves to be mentioned in the annals of this august Assembly. The two fraternal Governments, whose calm, generous and noble attitude should be emulated whenever the threat or scourge of armed conflict brings two or more States of our Organization face to face, deserve a tribute of gratitude and fellow-feeling, a tribute of admiration for allaying passions, curbing inflamed emotions and complying with a resolution adopted by a peace-keeping organization.

85. There are very few successes to record in the past year with regard to disarmament problems. It is not surprising that the year's accounts are closing with a barely favourable balance. So long as the States with the greatest economic and military power maintain positions which set some against others in the wide field of international politics, they will not agree upon a reduction in their armed forces or in their expenditure on equipment and weapons produced for the purpose of destruction and death. We regret to have to acknowledge this. We regret it because these arms programmes are in themselves the effective cause of the increase in tension and because the astronomical sums lavished upon engines and weapons of war are at the expense of programmes which might be devised to lead the peoples of the whole world into an era of better food,

better housing, more comfortable clothing, more and better schools, an era, in brief, of less personal anxiety and greater personal happiness.

86. We can only note with satisfaction that in consequence of the Treaty of Tlatelolco,⁵ which came into force a few months ago, the greater part of the geographical area of America and the majority of its States have been safeguarded from the appalling devastation which would be caused by a clash between armies equipped with short- or long-range nuclear weapons. This first victory in the efforts of the United Nations to curb the race to acquire larger and more potent means of destruction in itself suffices to make the year 1969 a milestone in the history of mankind. It is with particular gratification that Costa Rica recalls the names of Tlatelolco and of the principal artisans of this remarkable instrument for peace so that they may be placed to the credit of our Organization.

87. It would be a grave mistake to think that in outlawing the use of nuclear weapons on the soil of Latin America, we in our part of the continent are overlooking or are unaware of the importance which atomic energy and nuclear power may come to have for the peaceful purposes of progress and advancement. Like all mankind, we are interested in the favourable outcome of scientific research carried out for such purposes and we welcome the steps which our Organization is taking to keep abreast of new information on the contributions which nuclear technology can make to the economic and scientific development of the developing countries and also to establish an international service for nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes under appropriate international control. The prospects opened up by the achievement of control over the energy contained in the atom are, it appears, far-reaching, and the hopes placed in the use of this energy to harness rivers, level mountains, modify soils and relieve the most painful diseases are an earnest of better times for the developing countries. The delegation of Costa Rica takes note of the encouraging progress achieved at this stage of initial action in matters of such importance and pledges its continued support for the efforts to make the specialized bodies which have been or are to be set up for these purposes more vigorous and more efficient.

88. My delegation offers similar support for the work which has continued since the twenty-second session of the General Assembly to ensure that the mineral and other resources of the sea-bed and ocean floor and the subsoil thereof are regarded as the common heritage of mankind and are exploited for its sole benefit, especially in order to better the lot of the less-developed countries, their use, accordingly, being reserved exclusively for peaceful purposes. We are not unaware of the difficult legal and financial problems which the United Nations will have to tackle and solve in examining this stimulating proposal, but they are certainly not greater nor more difficult than those which the scientists, technicians and astronauts had to solve in preparing and carrying out the first flight from the earth to the moon. We must continue in faith our efforts to solve these thorny problems in the hope that one day—a day not too distant, we trust—mankind may benefit from the

⁵ Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, signed at Mexico City on 14 February 1967.

inexhaustible wealth which apparently exists in the sea-bed and ocean floor and the subsoil thereof and apply them to the betterment of living conditions in the countries which are the poorest because their economic development still lags behind that of the industrialized nations.

89. The General Assembly has made the recognition and protection of human rights its continuous concern and the delegation of Costa Rica has lent its support on every occasion that has offered. Beginning perhaps with the early colonial period, when there came to our valleys men whose way of life had been formed by the egalitarian and democratic ideals of the townships founded in the valley of the Duero after the expulsion of the Moors, the Costa Rican nation has maintained an abiding concern for observance of the natural, immanent and inalienable rights of men; and at every period in the development of the concept of human rights, Costa Rica has taken a leading place among the States enacting laws to protect them. As a natural consequence, Costa Rica has also made a point of taking the lead in the United Nations programmes in this field; it was the first State to sign the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Optional Protocol to the latter. It was the first State, too, to ratify these instruments and the first to deposit the ratifications with the Secretary-General.

90. We consider that social peace in every country rests essentially on the effective respect for these immanent rights of the human being and that nothing that this Organization does goes deeper or has greater implications for the future than its repeated efforts to bring about the contractual recognition of these rights and to broaden the scope of the human relationships covered by them. Because of these convictions and of our interest in this subject, which so closely concerns the welfare of large masses of human beings, we are disturbed by the delay in the ratification of these Covenants, whose adoption was the outstanding event at the twenty-second session of the General Assembly. All the work of previous Assemblies and the devotion and persistence of the many eminent statesmen who took part in the preparation and final drafting of these instruments of modern international law will have been in vain and come to naught if it proves impossible to induce the Governments represented in our Organization to ratify, by their own particular constitutional processes, the Covenants opened for signature by States at the end of 1967.

91. The creation of the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights has been under discussion for many years in this Organization, originally as a result of a proposal by Uruguay and at recent sessions on the initiative of Costa Rica. The item is on the agenda of this session, too, and though it proved impossible in previous years to press the proposal to a vote in the plenary meetings of the Assembly, we cherish the hope that it may be adopted this year in its new form so that this high United Nations official can shortly embark on his important task of watching, with due tact and discretion, over the observance of fundamental human rights.

92. Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly have decreed that the mandate of the Republic of South Africa over South-West Africa, now known as Namibia, is termi-

nated. Costa Rica has supported the contention that the mandate is not legally valid and considers that the Assembly must take a firm stand in face of the disdain with which the South African Government has treated the international community's repeated demands for Namibia's independence.

93. My Government is strongly in favour of the proposal for convening a conference on the human environment in 1972. The serious problems presented by the increasingly rapid growth of the world's population, together with the ecological imbalance caused by an unregulated increase in the use of technology, are matters which should be of concern to all the world's countries.

94. We believe that colonialism or its vestiges are still a danger to peace, and in view of the grave social and political problem presented by the inhabitants of colonial territories, we strongly support action by the United Nations to implement the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We eagerly await the day when colonialism has vanished from the face of the earth and when every territorial and political association of nations is the result of a voluntary process.

95. The plight of certain religious or ethnic minorities whose fundamental rights are denied in some countries is serious and unjust. We cannot overlook the plight of these groups of human beings whose sufferings are increasing not only because their freedom is restricted but also because at times they are subjected to cruel persecution. More resolute action by the United Nations is urgently needed and a more flexible and humanitarian approach by the countries which harbour these minorities. The right to freedom of worship, to freedom of movement, to a share in the political process, to tranquillity and to the conservation of minority customs and cultural identity is guaranteed by the Charter of this Organization. Any discrimination against human beings is odious, and my country repudiates it as contrary to the principles upon which human dignity is based.

96. If a brief definition of the United Nations were needed, it would have to be described as a first, rudimentary but felicitous expression of the world government without which peace among nations cannot be achieved or conserved. But is peace of such a desirable aim? A climate of peace is conducive to progressive achievements and that is why we desire it. Efforts at development without peace are doubly arduous and ultimately doomed to sterility. A climate of peace without development is merely the prelude to a subdued unrest that may erupt into chaos. It is for this reason that the small countries view the United Nations as the instrument in which they place their hopes of achieving greater well-being and a peaceful life. How far is the United Nations fulfilling these aims? For various reasons, it has not been able effectively to settle the disputes between nations which threaten or disturb the peace. No matter whether they are major or minor disputes, between many countries or few, with hundreds or only a handful of victims, the United Nations, confined as it is within the strait jacket of the great Powers' political interests, has not been able to extinguish the blaze or damp down the conflagration. The great Powers can indulge in the luxury of participating openly or covertly in creating these disputes and they can also take the liberty of

intervening in the solution of those problems of lesser scope which arise in the course of an international confrontation or rivalry. Peaceful intentions are, therefore, being frustrated by the world-wide competition between ideologies, the passion of fanaticism or the territorial claims of the victors. The small countries not only suffer as the result of the unrest but also bear their share of the misfortunes involved, since, obviously, great Powers at war cannot give thought to small countries at peace.

97. Furthermore, to keep the arsenals ready and growing makes it harder to supply ploughs to the countries which need them. The promise to devote at least one per cent of the gross national product to assistance to countries on the fringes of progress has not been kept—far from it—by the countries which bear the greatest responsibilities for the world's well-being because they are both the wealthiest countries and those which most frequently jeopardize that well-being.

98. While, on the one hand, very little is being done within the institutional framework of this Organization to maintain and strengthen peace and eliminate the obstacles in its path, on the other, the task of development is being pushed into the background of the wealthy countries' concerns. It is now a euphemism to talk of wealthy countries and poor countries and to say that the wealthy are becoming wealthier and the poor poorer. There is one country whose gross domestic product will, it is said, amount to a million million dollars next year. When we talk in such astronomical figures, the word "wealth" loses all meaning and we have to resort to figures of speech to express ourselves adequately. A few days before I left my country I read in a newspaper that the International Red Cross and Joint Church Aid estimate that a million and a half people have died of hunger and malnutrition in Biafra. When we talk in such figures, do the words "poverty", "inequity" and "backwardness" have their usual meaning? Here too we have to take leave of plain language and resort to literary language if we wish to be precise.

99. We have before us, then, a world of super-developed, gigantic, Cyclopean countries and a world of countries with no development whatever, which may consider the word "under-development" provocative and even injurious. The distance between the two sets of countries is becoming enormous. The gulf seems to be growing deeper and deeper. But they all live on this globe, just as those who live the easy and comfortable life of the wealthy in the great cities and those who live the hard and deprived lives of the poor in the belts of poverty round them are citizens of the same country. Are we doing anything to alleviate these problems, these tensions, these explosive contradictions?

100. Wherever we look, the attitude of the super-rich countries is one of indifference. These countries all seem so remote, so alien and so cold that we often wonder whether we are not closer to the moon. Protectionism is revived among them when it is a matter of buying from us, but they all invoke free enterprise and economic liberalism when it is a matter of selling to us. When our single crops grew larger than the world demand for them, they advised us to diversify, but now that economic diversification has taken place, we find that the new crops are not strong enough to overcome the barriers of tariffs or quotas.

Financial and technical assistance for infrastructural projects or for the better training of human resources is being watered down and meted out in such a way that the interest we are paying already amounts to more than we are receiving for these purposes. The international agreements for the regulation of certain commodity markets ensure us a steady income, but they also tie us to an obsolete production structure. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which took place at Geneva from 23 March to 16 June 1964, held out hope of the adoption of a more equitable system of world trade, but this hope did not materialize, and all we are left with is yet another bitter experience to remember.

101. The United Nations, then, will always be subjected to a test beyond its capacity and resources while the clamour of the poor neighbours is liable to disturb the quiet digestion of the rich countries. And so long as this danger exists, so long as there is neither peace nor development and so long as countries continue this struggle, it must be recognized that the dream of the founders of this Organization remains unfulfilled.

102. Mr. GUERRERO (El Salvador) (*translated from Spanish*): Madam President, it is with real satisfaction that I take the floor in the general debate under your Presidency, for you represent a friendly country, Liberia, and you have been elected to your office by the international community after years of devoted and effective work in the United Nations. Your personal and intellectual abilities have earned you the respect of all the States which have concerted their activities through the United Nations and you have upheld the tradition of Liberia as a standard-bearer in this continuous search for new methods of international co-operation and the reaffirmation of civilized principles and rules of community life.

103. It is barely a year since we welcomed Mr. Emilio Arenales, the Foreign Minister of Guatemala, as President of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly. We never thought then that his untimely death would plunge this Assembly into mourning. We wish to place on record once again our admiration for his outstanding accomplishments in inter-American and world political affairs.

104. This year the General Assembly has a fairly heavy agenda and will probably have difficulty in completing its consideration in the period of barely three months that is available. Some of the items have been included year after year and the relevant arguments have been exhausted and positions have crystallized; nothing will come of considering them, for they no longer rouse any passion, since charges and counter-charges have been repeated so often that even the opposing parties are no longer moved by them.

105. Other items, though of long standing, are of great current interest and warrant the Assembly's full attention, such as the problem of the Middle East. Others are new and affect the future of the Organization, which, in political matters, is apparently developing into a forum for the expression of opinion with little practical effect, while in technological, scientific, social and legal matters, it is moving into fields of potential benefit to all countries. This development is to no one's credit or discredit, for it is due

to the forces at work in recent years and primarily to the way in which the Charter was conceived, its key provision being the presumed agreement of five great Powers. Its machinery, however, operates in such a way that agreement among five great States is required for decisions in important political matters to be effective, the effectiveness of decisions depending on whether or not they meet this requirement of agreement. We do not wish to discuss at this point whether this structure is appropriate or inappropriate for fulfilling the purposes of the Charter, but simply to re-emphasize a decisive aspect of the Organization's internal machinery which accounts for its difficulties in every major political issue.

106. United Nations activities with regard to outer space, natural resources and in particular the exploration, exploitation and use of the sea-bed and its natural resources for peaceful purposes and for the benefit of mankind will place the United Nations in the forefront of the promotion of new broad programmes of international co-operation. The representative of El Salvador served as Chairman of the Legal Sub-Committee of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, and El Salvador has done and is prepared to do its utmost to ensure that the United Nations establishes a régime for the sea-bed which truly reflects the unanimously agreed aim, namely, that the resources of this great reserve shall be used for peaceful purposes and for the benefit of mankind. Formulation of the legal principles of the régime for the sea-bed calls for an unlimited capacity for negotiation and a genuine desire to reconcile interests. This is a delicate matter and must be tackled with great care, because if the technology of exploitation continues to progress and the international community delays too long in establishing the régime for this area, it may find itself faced with many accomplished facts which will engender interests likely to oppose a general agreement on the subject.

107. The year 1969 saw a significant advance in international law with the culmination of eighteen years of work by the International Law Commission in the negotiation and signing of the Convention on the Law of Treaties at Vienna. This Convention reflects the antagonistic and competitive forces in the contemporary international community, but it has succeeded in codifying general practice and has achieved some important legal advances, since it has opened up new and valuable paths in certain directions. At the Vienna Conference⁶ El Salvador maintained that it was essential to adopt a convention which provided for effective means of ensuring compliance with international obligations and preventing their evasion, because international organizations move so slowly that they intervene only when problems have become acute and beyond control, and they are so heavily influenced by a militant policy that States can cold-bloodedly calculate that a large measure of non-compliance will have no consequences.

108. The international community must realize that the prospect of violence increases in proportion to the lack of rapid means for settling disputes and, as in earlier times, when there is no place for reason, recourse is had to

blackmail, propaganda that distorts facts and figures and the flouting of solemnly convened obligations. Such practices are no longer consistent with what appears to be the prevailing trend in contemporary society. The United Nations and the regional systems cannot, without serious risk, continue to be completely lax in the matter of compliance with legally constituted obligations and of respect for and protection of fundamental human rights. The international community and the regional communities will have no moral authority whatever to complain in specific cases unless they ensure the performance of international obligations and the safeguarding of human rights—the declared foundations of peaceful coexistence and international co-operation.

109. Despite claims to the contrary in official statements, the protection of human rights has not received the substantive and resolute support of a solid majority of national policies, and it must be borne in mind that it is the conjunction of national policies that makes up the policy of the international organizations. The protection of human rights is still embryonic and contains a large element of romantic intent, with a plentiful admixture of hypocrisy and political expediency wrapped in the tinsel of fine phrases. Unless the international community and the inter-American community ensure respect for human rights, solemnly proclaimed and guaranteed in specific cases, they will devalue their political capital for the maintenance of international peace and security. Article 1, paragraph 1, of the Charter of the United Nations uses the following words:

“... to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace”.

Peace must be established and achieved as the result of a definite policy of equitable coexistence. Anything else is the mere language of international courtesy speeches which toy with the convictions and rights of the people and ultimately achieve nothing, because reality is not created by talking, still less by thinking about it.

110. A definition of aggression is urgently needed, and here the work done by the Special Committee set up by the General Assembly under resolution 2330 (XXII) of 18 December 1967 is most important. The Committee's records show the deep differences which divide the international community on this subject, but the conclusion nevertheless can be drawn that, according to the dominant view, aggression assumes the most varied forms and consists both of armed aggression and aggression of other types which may inflict irreparable economic and moral damage. One form of aggression is the commission of acts of overt hostility against the nationals of a particular country solely by reason of their nationality. Such aggression is armed aggression when the agents of the authorities or crowds incited or tolerated by those authorities resort to violence for the purposes of physical destruction or the creation of an atmosphere of terror that drives the group subjected to it to mass flight from territory where it had settled. Armed incursion into a territory prompted by this form of aggression and reasonably restricted to putting an end to the aggression constitutes an exercise of the right of self-defence that cannot be declined, waived or negotiated.

⁶ Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, signed during the Conference held from 9 April to 22 May 1969.

111. The principle of national sovereignty is not absolute and cannot be used as a pretext for establishing enclaves in which excesses against the nationals of a particular country are a matter of daily occurrence. A State is entitled to defend its nationals residing abroad, and any attack on those nationals by reason of their nationality is an attack on the rights of the State to which those nationals belong and aggression against it.

112. International principles and rules of law are interdependent and dovetail and interlock; their co-ordination is the key to a flexible and harmonious international order propitious to peace and co-operation. The principle of national sovereignty does not preclude the performance—and the demand for performance, if need be—of the obligations of sovereign States, one of which is respect for resident aliens.

113. Another case should be recalled in connexion with aggression, a case famous in the annals of the League of Nations, in which it was contended that frontier incidents cannot be regarded as aggression. This contention has not been generally accepted, and it needs elaboration and qualification if it is to serve its purpose and to be correctly applied. Occasional incidents, regrettable actions by frontier guards do not constitute aggression, but they become armed aggression when, owing to their frequency and scope and the manifest absence of any desire to prevent them on the part of the central authority, they are the expression of an unlawful and deliberate harassment of a neighbour.

114. The definition of aggression will be a factor making for security in international relations, and it will not only make it easier for the competent organs of the United Nations to determine in each case whether a breach of the peace exists, but will also help to guide the conduct of the regional organizations and of each State individually. As an intelligence sharpened in the search for means of harassing other States will find means of committing direct or indirect aggression, this definition must be broad enough, must be adapted to contemporary experience and must make it clear that no territory may be a *hortus conclusus* in which, on the pretext of sovereignty, the rights of other States are breached and the fundamental rights of individuals are violated. Rights are not absolute nor do they exist in a void; all of them are interdependent, interlock and make up a harmonious whole. A definition of the concept of direct and indirect aggression followed by an illustrative but not exhaustive list of the commonest cases will provide valuable support for the accomplishment of the purposes of the United Nations and the regional organizations.

115. In studying the definition of aggression, we must bear in mind that the purpose of Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations is not to recognize the right of self-defence, but to clarify decisions on collective self-defence. The right of self-defence is inherent in the human person and in the State, and its existence does not depend on its recognition in an international instrument. Collective self-defence needs to be proclaimed and recognized, but not the individual self-defence of the State, which arises from the mere fact of its existence. It is absurd to contend that the aggressor must have discharged its defensive potential against another State or that there is an obligation to fold

one's arms before a deliberate assault on fundamental rights.

116. The technological, scientific and economic gap between industrial countries and the countries which are called developing—an obvious euphemism—is widening yearly and no international policy so far has been able to narrow it. The First United Nations Development Decade and the regional and bilateral programmes, though meritorious, have not been able to prevent the gap from growing. Recent studies show that the gap is widening at the rate of 5 per cent yearly, and consequently in fourteen years the distance between the two groups of countries will have doubled. The developing countries' economic and social progress should not be discounted, but, even so, the distance between the two groups of countries will have doubled by 1984. This is the sober and objective prospect that emerges from the analyses of recent years and from the trends in world development. With this prospect before us, we may well ask whether it may not be necessary to rethink all the relevant programmes from the ground up, because the imbalance between the regions, with its attendant train of tension, is increasing rather than diminishing. In planning the Second United Nations Development Decade, which will be one of the items on the agenda at its twenty-fourth session, the General Assembly will have to evaluate the successes and failures of the course so far followed and to set itself the goal of narrowing the development gap between the two major groups of countries.

117. Among the most recently tested instruments for development are the integration programmes, which in recent years have had care, study and commendation lavished on them and have opened a way to be exploited by technology through large-scale production, wider markets and large geographical areas. Integration is making headway in several regions. Central America is making an effort to integrate, and the events of 1969 will make it possible to reassess and redirect this process and to give it the appropriate means of fulfilling its purpose, the means at present available being of doubtful efficacy.

118. In contrast with European integration, Central American integration has placed the emphasis on goods, and the human element has been neglected. The underlying assumption was that economic resources would spontaneously generate conditions conducive to peaceful co-existence and produce the necessary legal and political institutions. Political factors were disregarded, at this stage at least. The powers of the integration bodies are derived from unanimous agreement among the Governments concerned and these bodies have no rapid and effective means of preventing arbitrary actions and distortions of the process. The system is completely oriented towards the Governments, because it has no organs vested with powers of their own or any capacity to overrule members which dissent from majority decisions.

119. To restrict the integration programme to goods and some investment in the infrastructure is reasonable enough as a first step, but disastrous if this first step becomes an end in itself. The Central American Bank for Economic Integration acts as a channel for external resources, together with some local resources, but there are no investment programmes using funds wholly derived from the area on a Central American scale.

120. The economy also generates competition, and if there are no channels for the speedy settlement of disputes and if the area integrated is too small for a system of internal compensation to operate, crises must inevitably occur; and if there are no organs vested with sufficient powers to bring the recalcitrant to heel, retaliation is the only form of defence. Integration cannot be timorous and hesitating, nor can it be governed by the obsolete spirit of economic nationalism; it must be bold and total, though carried through in stages.

121. Central American integration exemplifies a process which has been much lauded, outside the area more than within it. As a result of the self-satisfaction engendered by this applause, criticisms of its weaknesses and forecasts of crises have fallen on deaf ears. It is, however, a mirror in which other similar processes should be viewed, and it should be examined objectively and reconsidered, re-planned and reorganized in order to give it consistency, depth and effectiveness.

122. El Salvador supports integration, but it does not applaud the process in its present state, which permits capricious management, the practice of bargaining, the representation of private interests by Governments and arbitrary action in restraint of trade. What El Salvador desires and proposes to the parties concerned is a genuine integration which would provide the opportunity to plan a sound economy and which would not be managed in the old parochial spirit. Integration calls for uniform labour, social, monetary, economic and financial policies. Either it is a total process or it is just one more of those inflated fairy-tales to amuse the grown-up children of the technological age. It must be carried through in sections and stages and at a certain pace, but when the stages are unduly protracted, when they become an end in themselves and lose their significance as links in a long process, when there is no authority to enforce decisions and retaliation therefore becomes the ordinary method of bringing people to reason, and when there are no rapid means of preventing arbitrary action, the integration process is definitely suffering from a chronic disease. Worse than the disease itself is the lack of concern for the patient's recovery.

123. Examples abound to prove what I have just said. The most recent—but not the only—example of the arbitrary violation of the Central American treaties and inter-American agreements is the Honduran decree closing the Pan American Highway to the passage of Salvadorian goods and vehicles bound for Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama. This is the Pan American Highway, planned many decades ago as a continental undertaking and financed by a co-operative effort. The closing of this highway is yet another abuse of sovereignty and constitutes deliberate aggression. Here you have an example how the Central American Common Market operates, despite the existing legal instruments.

124. This is, I repeat, the Pan American Highway, which was conceived and planned to serve all the countries on the continent and was in fact financed internationally. One of its links cannot legitimately be cut to a country's detriment. Early in this century the American countries planned a Pan American railway, which was later replaced by the Pan American Highway. The construction of the Highway

was the subject of a Convention⁷ signed at Buenos Aires on 23 December 1936.

125. Article 1 of the Convention on the Regulation of Inter-American Automotive Traffic,⁸ in force among all the Central American countries, recognizes "that each State has exclusive jurisdiction over the use of its own highways, but agrees to the international use as specified in this Convention"; article 4 lays down that "the Contracting States shall not allow customs measures to be put into effect that will hinder international travel"; and article 7 states that "...Evidence of compliance with the conditions of this Convention shall entitle motor vehicles and motor vehicle operators to circulate on the highways of any of the Contracting States".

126. Moreover, article XV of the General Treaty of Central American Economic Integration⁹ states that "each of the Contracting States shall maintain full freedom of transit through its territory for goods proceeding to or from any of the other signatory States, as well as for the vehicles transporting the said goods".

127. The Charter of the Organization of American States states categorically that "no State may use or encourage the use of coercive measures of an economic or political character in order to force the sovereign will of another State and obtain from it advantages of any kind." The economic aggression by Honduras flagrantly violates this provision of that Charter and therefore calls for immediate collective action by the American States. This aggression is, in accordance with article 5 (f) of the same Charter, an act of aggression against all the other American States.

128. In conformity with existing inter-American instruments, the Organization of American States adopted resolutions to the effect that El Salvador and Honduras must revert *in toto* to the situation prior to the conflict of June and July 1969. This reversion to the *status quo ante* entails the maintenance of free transit through the territory of the two countries. The return to the previous situation and to normal thus decreed by the Organization of American States is not compatible with the Honduran contention that no contractual obligation of any sort exists between the two countries. This return to normal is not compatible with the economic aggression involved in the closing of the Pan American Highway to Salvadorian vehicles, goods and nations, nor is it compatible with the measures of pacification adopted by the Organization of American States, because it violates them and renders them null and void. Other Central American integration agreements provide for road vehicle traffic, such as the Regional Agreement for the Temporary Importation of Road Vehicles, signed at San Salvador on 8 November 1956 and the Central American Agreement on Road Traffic of 10 June 1968.

129. The Declaration of the Presidents of America at Punta del Este¹⁰ on 14 April 1967 refers to the need to

⁷ Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, 1 to 23 December 1936.

⁸ Signed at Washington on 6 October 1943.

⁹ Signed at Managua on 13 December 1960.

¹⁰ Meeting of American Chiefs of State, Punta del Este, Uruguay, 12 to 14 April 1967.

eliminate or reduce to a minimum restrictions on international travel.

130. Economic aggression, though mainly taking the form of the closing of the Pan American Highway, is also evident in the freezing of all Salvadorian bank accounts and in the pressure which the Honduran authorities and national banks have brought to bear on Salvadorian undertakings to sell their interests on terms so onerous as to be tantamount to confiscation.

131. Though Central American integration has neglected the human element, some of its legal instruments, signed, ratified and in force, deal with migration. I mention this point because the myth has been created that the Central American conflict in 1969 was due to the population explosion. The Treaty of Economic Association between the Republics of Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador, signed on 5 February 1960 and ratified by these three Central American States, provides for the free movement of persons between the Parties, for article II states that "the nationals of each signatory State shall enjoy the right to enter and leave the territory of the other contracting Parties with no restrictions other than those established for nationals of such Contracting Parties," and, further on, that "the nationals of any contracting Party shall enjoy national treatment in the territory of the others".

132. The General Treaty of Central American Economic Integration,¹¹ signed and ratified by five Central American countries, leaves in force those parts of the Treaty of Economic Association that are not subject to new regulations. Within what seemed to be a clear-cut Central American policy, specific bilateral agreements were concluded to facilitate the application of the legal rule I have mentioned, which is clear and binding and whose validity and force do not, of course, depend on any regulations which may subsequently be agreed upon to facilitate its application. Moreover, in conformity with the region's policy, one of the decisions taken by the Central American Presidents, meeting at San Salvador, was to accelerate the stage-by-stage development of the capital market and to take steps to facilitate the free movement of persons.

133. I am quoting this legal history and this background to official regional policy to show that migratory movements in Central America are not the result of a country's political misconduct towards its neighbours and that the mass expulsions of Salvadorian nationals constitute a violation of clear legal obligations, a flouting of solemnly declared policies and, furthermore, a disregard of the duties of States and of the fundamental human rights set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man. A State may establish regulations to govern particular aspects of migration, but it may not rescind acquired rights of residence and property or impair the freedom, the right to work and even the physical integrity of residents. An undesirable alien may be expelled from a territory, but he may not be deprived of his property; his house may not be ransacked nor may he be beaten or killed. The rules of international law do not allow of the mass treatment of cases of migration, because injustice then becomes the rule

and engenders a policy of overt hostility to the State whose nationals are being inhumanly treated and mistreated.

134. This year 1969 will go down in the history of El Salvador as a bitter year, marked by very serious problems which had not arisen in the more than a hundred and fifty years since it became independent. There had been civil strife and every sort of rivalry in Central America, the expression, by means that were not always appropriate, of a spirit of rivalry or dissent. But the events of 1969 are marked by features which some observers have been unable or unwilling to discern. If anyone had prophesied a year ago what was going to happen, we would have been incredulous because we sincerely believe in the depths of our heart that systematic persecution on grounds of nationality alone could never occur on American soil, which seemed to have a special affinity for fundamental human rights.

135. When put to a substantive test, the system for the protection of human rights has proved to have huge gaps, and the means of enforcing it have been shown to be defective. This is an experience which must be examined objectively by participants, parties and observers, and the examination must pave the way for reflexion and reform. The past must be subjected to rigorous analysis; lessons must be drawn from it and appropriate reforms devised. The international community and the regional communities are not yet sufficiently developed to accomplish their aims speedily and fully; the facts speak for themselves only too plainly in the Middle East, in Viet-Nam and in Central America.

136. El Salvador has become an entirely different country since July 1969; its outlook has changed and it is now no longer prepared to sacrifice words and deeds on the altars of many of the myths which have been invented to lull consciences. Speaking as an observer, I must say that my country had swallowed the tales of declarations of human rights, brotherhood, solidarity and integration. The circumstances experienced by the Salvadorian people were so harsh and moved so rapidly to extremes that it had to improvise the defence of its rights and did so in admirable fashion, achieving its identity in a prodigious and single surge of national unity. El Salvador has decided, in the prevailing political and social circumstances, to maintain its identity as a people and to revise its national and international policy in order to adapt it to current realities.

137. El Salvador is fighting, has fought and will continue to fight for the protection of its nationals' fundamental rights within and beyond its borders. A policy of renunciation has never paid off in terms of peace and security, because it is unfortunately misinterpreted; it is construed as weakness and consequently encourages hostile acts. El Salvador still hopes that the Organization of American States will succeed in overcoming the problems of its internal operation and will honour the solemn undertaking signed and endorsed by the American Foreign Ministers in the resolutions adopted on 30 July 1969.

138. El Salvador is prepared to abide by the rules of the international community, but it is not prepared to pass beneath the yoke nor to learn to bend the knee and beat the breast to appease the policy of other States.

¹¹ Signed at Managua, Nicaragua, on 13 December 1960.

139. The problems of the Central American region have remote and immediate causes. One of the remote causes mentioned is under-development. Rather than a cause, under-development is the background to certain phenomena. Or rather, not under-development as such, but an unbalanced process of development, which places some countries at a temporary and relative advantage in which others acquiesce. As meteorologists do, we must investigate not only the climate but the microclimate, and then the process of unbalanced development appears against the background of under-development, forming an integral part of it.

140. We made our contribution to a policy for remedying the process of unbalanced development in Central America, having approved the protocol on preferential treatment for Honduras to that end. Through that protocol El Salvador showed that it is prepared to shoulder the burden of solidarity by artificially creating competitive advantages for one of its partners, Honduras. But El Salvador is not prepared to broaden this preferential treatment, because it would be unfair for it to have to bear the burden of the development of a country with vast natural resources, which will shortly be able to rise to El Salvador's own level of production and to compete on equal terms.

141. Technology, too, produces problems and sometimes generates a violence which is no less than that in the developing countries. There is no clear-cut relationship between conflict and violence, on the one hand, and under-development, on the other. The categories of development and under-development were devised for the purposes of the analysis, originally in economic and later in more comprehensive terms, of a world thrown out of balance by the simultaneous existence of a great absorptive industrial belt and of a situation in which two-thirds of the world's population is reduced to producing raw materials and gathering the crumbs of industry and the dregs of technology.

142. Attributing every evil to under-development is not at present making the powerful countries more receptive to the notion of a balanced world development. They will probably become more receptive to this notion when they realize that the development of the other parts of the world will benefit everyone, including themselves.

143. We should distinguish between the remote and the immediate causes of problems. From the political and legal standpoint, immediate causes are of direct importance; the other causes should also be dealt with, and should not be left solely to the schools, the professors and the trained speculative scientists, because all the social sciences are notoriously immature and what they tell us contains a great deal of the speculative with an unknown admixture of reality. If we immerse ourselves in the study of the chain of causation, we may discover what happened in the original molecule or the original nebula. Some will claim to tell us by means of electronic computers what concatenation of causes brought us together here and why we say what we say, but such speculations tend to remove problems from their true context and perspective.

144. Such study is useful as a guide to political action, but it must be preceded by conduct consistent with existing

obligations and with the civilized rules of community living. The fact that causes may be of one kind or another, remote or not so remote or interrelated to a greater or lesser degree, does not exempt any State from its obligation to fulfil the agreements it has entered into and to comply with the rules governing the international community. The remote causes of events too must be dealt with, but this cannot usefully be done so long as a policy of deliberately and intentionally harassing or even destroying other States is being pursued.

145. An exaggerated optimism has gained circulation about the efficacy of the pacification measures adopted by the Organization of American States during the outburst of violence which began on 15 June 1969. The Organization adopted a great many measures of pacification based on existing treaties, but it has not so far been able to ensure their complete implementation. It is not a matter of being optimistic or pessimistic, but realistic; we must draw up a cool and objective balance of the results of the pacification activities and determine at what points they have met with resistance, so that we may adopt additional measures as urgently as necessary in conformity with earlier treaties and resolutions of the Organization. I assert emphatically and categorically that El Salvador has complied with every one of the pacification measures, but that the other party, Honduras, has not responded in the same way and, accordingly, a lack of balance has occurred which is putting the prestige and efficacy of the Organization of American States to the test. What is more, Honduras is again escalating the dispute by means of economic aggression in the form of the closing of the Pan American Highway and confiscatory measures against Salvadorian businesses legally established in its territory.

146. The case is under consideration by the Organization of American States. Advantage was taken of the presence of the American Foreign Ministers in New York to hold informal conversations, which are continuing, but since, during these conversations, it has not proved possible to reach any agreement at all likely to lead to the early cessation of the economic aggression to which my country is being subjected, I have requested on behalf of my Government that the consultative organ of the Organization of American States should be convened so that we can submit to it the relevant complaints with the urgency which the situation dictates.

147. The dispute between El Salvador and Honduras has been raised in the plenary of the General Assembly through statements by representatives who have expressed an interest in its settlement. It might be submitted to the decision-making organs on the proposal of El Salvador, if the Organization of American States proves unable to ensure the survival of the country, which is being overtly threatened by economic aggression, taking unjustified advantage of purely geographical circumstances. The United Nations is vested by its Charter and the inter-American instruments with the higher and final competence for the maintenance of international peace and security.

148. El Salvador will wage an unflagging struggle for the guaranteeing of fundamental human rights. It will never commit itself to a policy of abandoning its nationals abroad or of waiving the rights inherent in it as a State. It neither

seeks nor desires any extreme or irreparable situations; it is prepared to make use of any channels provided by the international community, though these have not as yet been indicated, and it hopes to contribute to a policy calculated to establish conditions of peace and security, on the understanding that the dissociation of peace from justice, which has on occasions been the basis for international compromises, runs completely counter to the objective of a peaceful world, since justice is the essential ingredient of a lasting peace.

149. Apart from any views that may be held on the modern international community, geographical proximity is a fact which imposes certain consequences and which must be taken into consideration in establishing a coherent and realistic policy. El Salvador recognizes geographical proximity as a fact, but is not prepared to surrender to it rights whose renunciation would jeopardize its very existence.

150. I have referred to treaties which are in force and impose multilateral obligations established by law, treaties which have not been denounced and for whose termination in conformity with international law no grounds have arisen. Honduras opened the dispute on 15 June 1969 with a merciless mass persecution of Salvadorian residents carried out by mobs and agents of the authorities, with the connivance and condonation of the Honduran Government. Since El Salvador has the right to defend its nationals abroad, it considered that this right had been violated and that, in the persons of its nationals, it was the victim of an aggression which assumed the character of genocide. I should like to know whether there are any States which can conscientiously, seriously and responsibly affirm that they would stand idly by and witness the mass persecution of their nationals abroad solely by reason of their nationality. El Salvador confined its actions strictly to halting this aggression and the Organization of American States has assumed a solemn undertaking to protect Salvadorians resident in Honduras.

151. The international obligations of the two countries to one another have not lapsed. El Salvador is fully entitled to demand that the continuing aggression by Honduras should cease and to denounce in this world forum that country's plans for the physical extermination of El Salvador and the Salvadorians. Its policy of provocation and pressure is accompanied not only by the infliction of unlimited damage but also by something really sinister, which it is cunning enough to conceal beneath the submissive and humble manner it affects when it appears at inter-American meetings.

152. The Organization of American States will have to take cognizance of the most recent expression of this continuing aggression—the arbitrary closing of the Pan American Highway. El Salvador can plead the justice of its claim before any international tribunal and express its absolute repudiation of the Honduran contention that it is not bound to El Salvador by any rule of international law, a contention which is the legal basis for its policy of aggression and its plan against El Salvador.

153. The year 1969 has brought about a radical change in the life of El Salvador, a change which will necessarily be reflected in all its domestic and international acts. In some

cases and in some relationships, it will mean a withdrawal, in others a search for new channels of communication, commercial and diplomatic. The scrutiny of the past will serve to open its eyes to reality, not to record debts for future recovery.

154. El Salvador is no longer and never again will be what it was in May 1969. It has suffered a profound upheaval, an awakening to the realities of Central America, and a great many myths have shattered in its hands. It had been participating out of solidarity in a series of activities because it had hoped that the reality was approaching the splendour of the rhetoric. Now it has learned all too well the meaning of such words as "solidarity", "human rights", "brotherhood" and the like. It has affirmed its intention of maintaining its identity, and for this it is stronger than ever, thanks to the total unity of its people. It is prepared, then, to face, in circumstances which may well become even more adverse, the hazards of this contemporary international society which still lacks maturity; but in settling its disputes, it intends to make use of the means, incomplete and often inadequate though they are, provided by the inter-American regional system and the world system of the United Nations.

155. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of India, who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

156. Mr. Dinesh SINGH (India): I am sorry to have to intervene again for the third time within twenty-four hours, but after I had spoken last evening [1776th meeting] the Foreign Minister of Pakistan took the floor again to repeat his oft repeated positions. I should like to say only that our position on all these matters is well known and I would not wish to take up the time of the Assembly to repeat them again. I have extended my hand in friendship.

157. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Honduras, who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

158. Mr. CARIAS CASTILLO (Honduras) (*translated from Spanish*): After listening to the words of the Foreign Minister of Costa Rica, so full of optimism and undoubtedly prompted by the bonds of brotherhood which fortunately unite our two countries, I find my duty to speak at this time distasteful. I am very briefly exercising my right of reply to repudiate as false and defamatory the charges levelled against my country and my Government by the Foreign Minister of El Salvador in his statement.

159. On 14 July 1969 Honduras was the victim of a dastardly and cruel aggression, when, without any prior declaration of war, El Salvador bombed eight towns in Honduras which were not military targets. And at the same time as its bombs were falling on hospitals, schools and homes, its land forces invaded our territory. Whatever the situation in El Salvador today, it is simply the logical, natural and inevitable result of its aggression. It is the punishment which, in one form or another, the criminal receives for his crime.

160. Each and every step taken by my country's Government was a reaction to an act by El Salvador, and none of

the Honduran Government's measures, taken in accordance with the law, morality and justice, went further than what was necessary, unquestionably necessary, for the defence of our country, just as the right of every nation to self-defence is unquestionable.

161. When in due course I take the floor in this general debate I shall explain clearly the situation that exists

between Honduras and the Republic of El Salvador, and this Assembly will then know who was the aggressor and who was the victim of aggression, whose life and conduct was in conformity with the rules of law and who in Central America violated all the rules for living together in an international coexistence.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.