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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*concluded*)

1. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*translated from Spanish*):
Madam President, I wish to begin my statement by expressing to you the warm congratulations of the Cuban delegation on your election as President of this twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

2. On this day, as on many earlier days, we have before us items of great interest to all the peoples of the world. They come up monotonously again and again, but the international Organization cannot solve them, because they go beyond the narrow limits of existing possibilities. Problems of peace and war, aggression and under-development, colonialism and racial discrimination, international co-operation and disarmament, trade barriers and the struggle for independence—to mention only some of the problems of greatest concern to mankind—are not being adequately solved through the United Nations, despite our constant repetition of good intentions year after year, despite our references to commitments assumed under the Charter which regulates our activities, and above all despite the clamour of public opinion and our daily contemplation of the drama of peoples suffering military aggression and overwhelmed by poverty and ignorance.

3. The reasons why the United Nations is so sterile is that it reflects all the factors that make up the complex world situation. The forces that attack peoples seeking their independence; the factors which hamper and impede development and domestic trade for the benefit of an insatiable minority; the policy which seeks to stifle nations unwilling to accept a foreign yoke; the power motives which maintain a climate of insecurity, conspiracy and

pressure in the world and intrude in our debates with a hypocritical rhetoric—all these act within the international Organization to keep it from doing any useful work on the vital matters it is called on to consider.

4. This situation becomes much graver when the United Nations is transformed from a passive and useless body into a covert or overt accomplice of actions condemned by the Charter itself and by international morality. The history of recent years offers many examples of its frustration, or of its complicity by omission or commission in conflicts and situations which have called for solution in the interests of the peoples and not of the aggressors.

5. These weaknesses and shortcomings must be denounced so that we can view the situation realistically and not contribute to a farce which in any event deceives nobody. When attitudes inspired by the loftiest and purest interests of the peoples predominate in the membership of the United Nations, and when it no longer responds to strategies of aggression and plunder; when the correlation of forces makes passivity impossible in the face of the use of force to settle international disputes, and utterly prevents complicity in aggression to serve powerful economic groups or a policy of military domination, then will the United Nations be able to give full effect to the principles it proclaims.

6. This basic situation in no way contradicts the value of the United Nations as a forum of exceptional importance in which to discuss the essential problems of our times; nor does it exclude the possibility of partial gains within the Organization in the internal struggle to prevent the imperialist Powers, largely and principally the United States, from imposing their will.

7. One point that has been mentioned in the Assembly this year is the climate of insecurity in aerial and maritime navigation, due to the forcible diversion of craft from their normal routes and activities. This is a grave problem which has already existed for 10 years, although it has not received the attention it deserves until quite recently, when its consequences began to affect those who had originally given it criminal encouragement.

8. The Government of the United States and the lackey Governments of Latin America promoted and encouraged the hijacking of Cuban aircraft and ships as part of their policy of blockade and aggression against Cuba, welcomed as heroes the vulgar assassins involved, and often took possession of the hijacked vessels. On many occasions those piratical actions, which were encouraged and praised by American imperialism and its servants, caused the loss of valuable Cuban lives; but those criminal acts found no echo in the international organizations.

9. Throughout those years the Revolutionary Government of Cuba denounced from this very rostrum the misdeeds and violations of international law and standards promoted by imperialism as part of its policy against the Cuban revolution, without evoking a single condemnation of conduct which from every point of view infringed international order and expressed a gangster approach to the handling of differences between civilized countries.

10. The atmosphere of illegality created by that policy necessarily encouraged proliferation of the new acts of violence which today disquiet the international community and which the Revolutionary Government of Cuba considers must be opposed in order to re-establish security of navigation on the seas and in the air and to purify the unhealthy atmosphere engendered by the imperialist policy of force and coercion, supported by Governments which now fear the consequences of this piratical policy which they had been applying to the Cuban people.

11. For the last 10 years, without truce or respite, United States imperialism, followed in its tortuous manoeuvres by the lackey régimes of Latin America, has encouraged an illegal exodus from Cuba with complete disregard for the lives and safety of the persons involved in the adventure. United States imperialism has never hesitated out of any consideration or respect for universally-accepted standards of coexistence, legal commitments or questions of sovereignty. Its purpose has been to harm the Cuban revolution at any cost and in any way, particularly through the United States naval base at Guantánamo which has been used as an advanced base on Cuban soil itself for gross imperialist provocation.

12. And what has happened now? The violence which they have encouraged has turned upon them. The pirates who thought they could sail the seas with complete impunity, sheltered by their own force, are now victims of the same climate of illegality they irresponsibly created in order to damage Cuba. The Government of the United States and the lackey Governments of Latin America are now suffering from insecurity and are in their turn affected by the criminal procedures which they fostered by their deeds; and now with characteristic hypocrisy they are expressing indignation through their press organs and through international news agencies, and are maliciously trying to evade responsibility for the origin and development of those acts.

13. It is a well-known fact that the Revolutionary Government of Cuba has invariably followed the policy of paying for the return journey of any aircraft or ships brought by force to our national territory and of permitting the passengers to continue their journey as soon as possible with maximum guarantees for their safety, and has rejected any kind of publicity or propaganda which could encourage such acts. It was the imperialists themselves and their lackeys who engaged in scandalous conduct. It is they who started and continue this dirty game. With their depredations and kidnappings they have outdone the pirates and corsairs of old on the very scene of their misdeeds, the Caribbean.

14. The attitude of Cuba has always been crystal clear and in keeping with the international principles governing

relations between States. Hijacked ships and passengers have been returned without hindrance, and at no time have we extolled either the deeds or their perpetrators. Our conduct, as is evident, contrasts with that of the Government of the United States and the Latin American Governments which abjectly follow its orders. We view the insecurity of air and maritime traffic with the same concern as world public opinion, and do so all the more intensely because our country has suffered most from this criminal imperialist invention and because our territory forms the usual background for these acts of violence.

15. Solutions cannot, however, be found by way of multilateral agreements or through boycotts or blockades. In the first place, the Government of Cuba is not prepared to comply with the decisions of international organizations such as the Organization of American States (OAS), which, in addition to being an altogether discredited institution, whose agreements are completely devoid of morality, has, in the specific case of aerial and maritime piracy, frequently been an accomplice of the United States Government. As for the United Nations, has it not remained silent with folded arms when faced with cases of piracy against Cuba? By what right should the United Nations take up this question at the present juncture, seeing that in the past it has allowed illegal acts to pass without the slightest show of concern?

16. It is obvious that no solution to the problem can be found by this means. As far as other means are concerned, such as pressure and threats of international blockade or boycott, what self-respecting Government could accept these conditions when such measures are exclusively within its own sovereign prerogatives? Furthermore, was there ever any talk of a blockade or international boycott when the imperialists and their lackeys were the ones causing the trouble? Is anything said even now when they are encouraging and assisting illegal departures from Cuba, hijacking Cuban ships and causing the deaths of valuable Cuban citizens?

17. The Government of Cuba wishes to put clearly on record that it will accept no compulsion based on multilateral agreements but will firmly maintain its position that Cuba will adopt measures based on bilateral agreements only with countries prepared to adopt exactly the same rules relating to the hijacking of aircraft and ships and similar violations of the laws governing international traffic.

18. To this effect the Revolutionary Government of Cuba has just adopted Act No. 1226 on the diversion of aircraft or ships, which gives a broad coverage to breaches of the law and provides for the return of perpetrators of such illegal acts to the States concerned, if these have agreed bilaterally with Cuba to apply the same policy. That is Cuba's appropriate reply to the concern of the international community. It is our clear and equitable response to the promoters of the climate of violence which has brought about the present insecurity of navigation.

19. There have recently been many editorial statements and conjectures about the hypothetical possibility of Cuba returning to the so-called Organization of American States. In this very Assembly some representatives of Latin American Governments have felt bound to make statements on this matter.

20. The position of Cuba has been stated time and time again and in very clear terms, but time and time again attempts have been made to cloud it. What interest could Cuba have in re-entering an international organization that lacks the most elementary qualifications for the discharge of its supposed mission? If there is any institution in the world which exemplifies the most ignominious subordination to the policy of a great Power, it is undoubtedly the so-called Organization of American States. In the constellation of organizations operating today in the international system of relationships, OAS stands lowest in prestige and effectiveness. It is universally and quite correctly regarded as a mere appendix of the State Department in Washington.

21. The history of OAS with regard to Cuba is embarrassing. In the first place it cravenly closed its eyes when, in open violation of the Bogotá Charter,¹ economic aggression was committed against Cuba. Next, when the military invasion of Playa Girón was notoriously organized and launched by the Government of the United States, it not only closed its eyes but lowered its head in cowardly shame. In the last 10 years of revolution it has been used by the imperialists time and time again to set up ministerial meetings against Cuba. With unprecedented hypocrisy it has lent itself to the whole policy of aggression against our people and has on numerous occasions been an open accomplice. It has been called the colonial office of the imperialist United States Government. That, we think, is an exaggeration. It does not reach that level. It is merely a low-ranking bureaucratic office for the transmission of orders.

22. The shamelessness of OAS knows no bounds in its service of imperialist policies. It endorsed the aggression of the Yankee Marines against the Dominican Republic without the slightest repugnance. It associated itself with the naval blockade of Cuba and with the economic sanctions. As a regional organization of the United Nations it thereby violated both the letter and spirit of the Charter, not to mention its own constitutional documents, by inventing and applying the strange theory of incompatibility in order to exclude Cuba from its deliberations. Never has it spoken out against the subversion of imperialist espionage agencies in Latin America, against acts of military intervention, army take-overs or the exactions levied by monopolies on the Latin American peoples. Never has it raised its voice for any purpose, but has tamely followed the orders given to it.

23. Cuba will not return to the Organization of American States while that organization continues to be what it now is. We shall not enter any regional organization except the Organization of Revolutionary States of Latin America, as our Prime Minister, Commandant Fidel Castro, recently declared. As for Cuba's alleged interest in resuming diplomatic relations with the countries of Latin America, it should be remembered that those countries themselves broke off diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba, not in exercise of sovereignty but in compliance with a policy dictated by imperialism, since it suited the strategy of isolation and encirclement of the Cuban revolution. Those

Governments, the very ones which belong to OAS, accepted imperialist propaganda accusing Cuba of promoting subversion. At the same time, with the most astonishing effrontery, they invited CIA and its mercenaries to use their countryside for training and for attacking Cuba, placed themselves at the service of the Yankee spies, offered bases in their territory for piratical attacks against our production centres, helped saboteurs to steal in, echoed the worst calumnies against our people, and called in chorus for military intervention. They carried out the whole of this criminal policy precisely at the time when they were accusing Cuba of the crimes they were committing against our people.

24. Taking cynicism to its extreme, they rushed to distribute the Cuban sugar quota among themselves when the imperialists deprived our people of it. Those crumbs were the payment for their complicity and involvement, for the historic crime they had committed against a people which was gaining its independence and assuming its full national dignity.

25. Over the last 10 years Cuba has constantly had to defend itself against the attacks and intrigues of the imperialists and their Latin American lackeys, while at the same time making heroic creative efforts in the midst of an economic blockade and of a diplomatic isolation which in the long run has been a resounding failure. Today the Governments that are isolated are those very ones which took the road of servility and blackmail, of faithlessness to their own peoples, the road to disgrace.

26. They conspired together in the Organization of American States to vilify and attack us, trampling underfoot every moral principle and violating even the articles they themselves had drafted when they thought that a legal mantle could be drawn over their total subjection to imperialist policy.

27. The picture which the imperialist press and those governed by it have attempted to present of a repentant Cuba seeking diplomatic relations with those Latin American Governments is a perfidious, calumnious and ridiculous lie. In a speech made on 14 July last, when referring to this question, our Prime Minister expressed himself very clearly as follows:

"Those who believe that we are here to beg for favours are mistaken. Those who believe that this country could ever flinch are wrong. Those who believe that we shall go round pleading for relations are mistaken. This country has resisted for 10 years with its head held high. It has lived through its most difficult hour. . . . It has had to endure crimes, blockades, aggressions, connivances with its head held high. We are very much aware of what we have achieved during these 10 years, of what we are doing now, of what is worthy and of what is significant; and we are making ready for another 10 years with our heads held higher than ever! "

He added, unequivocally:

"And any Latin American country wishing to have diplomatic relations with Cuba must begin by declaring that the OAS agreements were arbitrary and unjust and

¹ Charter of the Organization of American States, signed at Bogotá on 30 April 1948, by the Ninth International Conference of American States (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 119, No. 1609).

that, above and beyond these agreements, and as reparation for the crime committed against our homeland and for their complicity with the Yankee imperialists, they are prepared to disregard those agreements.”

28. That is the Cuban position. Our foreign policy is guided by principles and not by opportunism. The OAS agreements instituting sanctions against Cuba are morally invalid, because Cuba was not the aggressor but the victim of aggression; because OAS, even in the face of the world scandal of the invasion prepared by the United States Government, gave not even a sigh of disapproval, thus making a mockery of the Bogotá Charter and of all the commitments that had been signed with all pomp and circumstance over the years; because, when the imperialist Government eliminated the Cuban sugar quota, shamelessly violating article 16 of the Bogotá Charter, not only did OAS keep its mouth shut but its members even opened their hands to take advantage of the economic sanctions against Cuba and to share in the spoliation of our people; because OAS invented the legal monstrosity of the incompatibility between the social régime established in Cuba and the so-called inter-American system in order to exclude us; and because the Cuban presence there, in the midst of imperialists and their lackeys representing gangsters, oligarchs and corrupt politicians, was a perpetual denunciation of the tortuous shifts and manoeuvres of the masters of OAS.

29. The arbitrariness and injustice of those agreements can be neither forgotten nor condoned. Those decisions must be revoked. Cuba has corrected nothing and has nothing to correct. What we have done will be done by other peoples, by the force of history. To save the country's wealth for our own people, to offer alliance to those struggling for their own welfare, to defend our national independence, to work for a higher degree of development, to rid ourselves of exploiters and parasites—these are things which need no correction. The amendment must come from those Latin American Governments which have been and are accomplices in the arbitrary, unjust and immoral measures dictated by the imperialists.

30. Now that preparations for the Second United Nations Development Decade are occupying a prominent place in the work of this Assembly, we can draw conclusions from the first Decade and see that its most noticeable result was the disillusionment it produced in the countries of the third world, including those of Latin America, which are daily becoming more and more convinced that the road to development does not pass through an illusory co-operation with the former exploiters but presupposes, above all, a radical transformation of internal structures and mobilization of the efforts of the whole population.

31. It is an interesting coincidence that the years of the first Decade have been those during which the Revolutionary Government of Cuba was being established, and also coincide to a large extent with the unhappy existence of the Alliance for Progress. It is easy to draw up a balance-sheet at this juncture, since not even the most naïve have any illusions left concerning the plan conceived by the imperialists to counter the example of the Cuban Revolution, while the results of the first Decade are before us. For our people this decade has been one of profound change

and of intense and vigorous creative activity. We were obliged to begin our march towards development with a distorted economic structure, without financial resources, without technical or scientific staff, with a great demand for imports and without the necessary export earnings; while at the same time we bore the brunt of the aggressive policy of United States imperialism with its savage economic and commercial blockade, constantly threatened with aggression and subjected to provocation, harassment and pressures.

32. The hostility of United States imperialism and of its Latin American lackeys has roughened Cuba's road towards a prosperous and independent economy, and has compelled our people to bear an additional burden of sacrifice; but the goal they sought, to weaken and strangle us, they have not achieved. The difficulties have tempered the character of the Cuban people and have strengthened its will to resist and to overcome, aware that on its labours will depend the future of its country and that its efforts will be decisive in winning a better tomorrow.

33. On this the threshold of the Second Development Decade, Cuba has resolved basic social problems in education, public health and human relations for once and for all. It has rapidly developed its merchant marine and fishing fleet; laid the bases of its technological and industrial development; recovered all its wealth for its people and eliminated unemployment; it will shortly harvest the fruits of these years of work. The present sugar crop, which for the first time in history will reach 10 million tons, will demonstrate the organizational progress, the technical advance, and the masses' ability to achieve great feats even in the most adverse circumstances. The impetus given to agriculture will begin from 1970 to be reflected in continuous growth in the production of food-stuffs for domestic consumption and in the expansion of our export capacity. The imperialist blockade will go down in history as a futile example of arrogance and impotence.

34. What results can the puppet Governments of imperialism in Latin America present to their peoples and to the world? In the last 10 years the social, economic and political crisis of that continent has become more acute. Political instability and social insecurity are inseparable parts of the Latin American drama. At best the economy of Latin America remains static with a growing demographic burden; and in most countries it is deteriorating. Rates of illiteracy are still high; and poverty, disease and unemployment are certainly not hallucinations in the minds of those peoples, but rather heart-breaking tragedies.

35. The magical formula of the Alliance for Progress, heralded as the panacea for all the ills of Latin America, has become a resounding failure. It was claimed to be the imperialistic counterpart of the Cuban revolution, so that the governing classes of Latin America, in the imperialist service, could retain their power without the threat of radical changes. In the long run it had been useful in that our new society's achievements are set off against its gloomy background in an ever brighter light, and the eyes of the peoples are thus opened to their real road towards the destiny to which they aspire.

36. Within the context of backwardness, poverty and exploitation of Latin America into which the Alliance for

Progress has been inserted, important events are taking place in our sister country Peru, where the new Government has adopted some measures which we welcome, in that they are aimed at developing the economy and raising the country from its prostration. Logically, the first measure adopted was against an imperialist company, an oil company with a long history of exploitation. Next came a radical law on agrarian reform. The Peruvian oligarchy and the imperialist press have already begun to vilify the Peruvian Government, to raise obstacles and to exert pressure. It is natural that this should happen; and, as the Government of Peru moves forward on a patriotic and revolutionary road, the net will tighten round it and the lackey Governments of the continent will begin to echo the imperialist policy.

37. The bankruptcy of United States policy, which in the Western hemisphere already presents the imperialists with these alarming symptoms, has become even deeper in South-East Asia. During this year the armed forces of the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam have achieved some important military victories which demonstrate the spirit of constant offensive of that heroic people. The establishment of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, recognized by a large number of States and by all the peoples of the world as the sole authentic representative of the people of South Viet-Nam, is a far-reaching step towards the complete liberation of the country and reflects full support and patriotic union of all social levels and sectors for resistance against the aggressors.

38. Assailed by the solidarity of the whole world with the people of Viet-Nam, a solidarity which has even been expressed in the United States itself, the Washington Government has found itself compelled to declare the suspension of the criminal bombardment of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, though in actual fact it continues to violate that country's sovereignty, since the United States Air Force still attacks many areas between the seventeenth and the nineteenth parallels, as the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam has just charged. At the same time, imperialism has manoeuvred under cover of a feigned peaceful intent while all the time its aggression continues.

39. The partial withdrawal of troops described by the Head of the United States Government in this General Assembly as a peace initiative is a complete farce. Both the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam have clearly stated that what the Washington Government is trying to do is to prolong the United States military occupation and cling firmly to the corrupt puppet administration in Saigon, in an attempt to continue its domination of South Viet-Nam and perpetuate the division of the country.

40. The imperialist manoeuvres cannot conceal their criminal basis. References to a "mutual withdrawal of troops" are an attempt to place the aggressor and the victim on a footing of equality and deny the right of the people of Viet-Nam to defend its country and its dignity. Despite the denunciations of the two Governments of Viet-Nam, the United States has also persisted in its demand that the people which is the victim of aggression should lay down its

arms and submit to the treacherous puppet administration, opposing the establishment of a provisional coalition government.

41. Clearly, to set conditions for the withdrawal of the Yankee troops is to demand a reward for aggression. The 35,000 men which the United States has allegedly withdrawn are insignificant in comparison with the more than half a million United States soldiers in South Viet-Nam; and to demand that the puppet administration of Saigon should be the one to organize fraudulent elections in the presence of United States troops is unacceptable from every point of view. In his appeal of 20 July 1969 President Ho Chi Minh stated that:

"The people of Viet-Nam demands the withdrawal of all United States troops: not the withdrawal of 25,000, 250,000 or 500,000 men, but total and unconditional withdrawal. As long as United States troops and the puppet administration remain in South Viet-Nam, genuinely free and democratic general elections will be absolutely impossible."

42. That is the only honourable attitude, the only one supported by all peoples. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam has denounced the attempts of the United States at the Paris talks to distort the truth by every means and to conceal its aggressive actions and the treachery of the puppet administration in Saigon. These diplomatic ploys are obviously in line with the purpose of denying the people of Viet-Nam its independence and freedom. That is why the peace talks in Paris cannot make progress, as the representatives of the people of Viet-Nam have stated.

43. The global 10-point solution presented by the National Liberation Front and later adopted by the Provisional Revolutionary Government is the only political way out guaranteeing the fundamental national rights of the people of South Viet-Nam. The people of Viet-Nam has an undeniable right to self-determination and to live in independence. Yankee imperialism has no right to intervene in problems that fall exclusively within the competence of that people. The immediate withdrawal of the aggressive troops and a guarantee of the independence and freedom of Viet-Nam are a vital interest for all States which, like that heroic people of South-East Asia, wish to be masters of their destinies.

44. No one doubts that the people of Viet-Nam will continue their struggle until complete victory is achieved and that every day they will be able to count on greater and more militant solidarity among all the peoples of the world. Our own people, through the Revolutionary Government, wishes to renew its complete solidarity with them in the battle they are waging against the aggressors and to reiterate its complete identification with the just stand taken by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam.

45. We consider it a duty to pay from this rostrum a heartfelt tribute to President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of the nation of Viet-Nam in its long fight for independence. For half a century Ho Chi Minh has fought for the freedom of his country. He led it to the victory over the

Japanese occupation which culminated in the establishment, 24 years ago, of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam; and later he fought against the French colonial occupation. He also led his country during its heroic resistance to United States aggression, which is now close to total rout. Ho Chi Minh died before he could see his country reunited and free of foreign soldiers; but he will be reborn very shortly in the glorious victory of his people and will live eternally in every battle, sacrifice and victory of the peoples of the third world in their fight for independence, and will remain for ever in the memory of all oppressed peoples as a symbol of purity, abnegation and nobility.

46. In another part of the world, the Far East, the warlike activities of imperialism continue also. In recent months this has been expressed particularly through the increase in the number of acts of armed provocation and hostility against the territory of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. United States troops continue to occupy the southern part of Korea and to keep its population in colonial subjection under the usurped banner of the United Nations.

47. During the last year the patriotic movement in South Korea against Yankee domination has gained strength. Hundreds of workers, farmers, students, teachers and intellectuals have fallen victim to the repressive fury of the puppet régime for the sole crime of endeavouring to unify their country. The Washington Government is constantly increasing its war potential and supplying every type of military equipment to the Seoul clique as part of its preparations for a new war of aggression.

48. Nevertheless, pressures exercised by the United States delegation prevented this Assembly at its twenty-third session from adopting proper resolutions with regard to the so-called Korean problem. They are more necessary this year than ever, in view of the increasing frenzy of the Yankees in their acts of warlike provocation.

49. A just solution of this problem is, moreover, of the utmost importance for all States desirous of preserving their independence and sovereignty. In connexion with this question, two matters arise which affect the cardinal principles of our Organization. In the first place there is the right of the Korean people to self-determination and independence, its inalienable right to resolve, by itself and without any type of external interference whatsoever, all its problems, including the reunification of the country. In the second place there is the shameful fact that for almost two decades the United States Government has been using this Organization as a tool for its aggressive and colonialist policies against the Korean people.

50. This is why, for most of the States represented here, it is an urgent task to change the policy which the General Assembly has thus far followed with respect to Korea. There is only one possible alternative: to decide upon the immediate withdrawal of all United States troops and troops of other States that are now trampling upon Korean sovereignty, to dissolve the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, and to put an end once and for all to United Nations interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people.

51. The problems of Africa have taken up the attention of the Assembly in recent years. Numerous resolutions have been adopted with the aim of defending the independence and freedom of its peoples. However, the forces of colonialism and racism refuse to abandon the positions they have gained as a result of past exploitation and infamy. Recent events in Rhodesia and Namibia have caused mounting indignation in public opinion, which demands decisive action against the minorities of fascist settlers who in the mid-twentieth century are trying to maintain the most odious practices of slavery.

52. Cuba reaffirms its complete support for the struggle of the African peoples for full national independence, and declares its militant solidarity with the liberation movements in Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique and with the oppressed African peoples in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe.

53. Another typical case of the anti-colonial farce being staged in the United Nations, another indication that this Organization cannot possibly act as an instrument for the liberation of oppressed peoples, is that of Puerto Rico. Since 1965 the representatives of all the patriotic forces in Puerto Rico and our own delegation have demanded that the Committee should consider the case. Despite the time that has elapsed, however, the Committee has not succeeded even in beginning to consider the substance of that request, owing to the stubborn opposition of the United States delegation. The Yankee refusal to discuss this matter constitutes the best proof that Puerto Rico is a classical example of colonial oppression and denial of the right of peoples to self-determination.

54. The crisis in the Middle East continues to be a cause of concern to the international community; and this Organization has been incapable of restoring peace and guaranteeing the rights of the Arab States that were attacked in 1967.

55. The struggle of the Arab peoples, and particularly that of the Palestinian people, against the interference of United States imperialism is a key link in the movement towards the emancipation of the third world and enjoys the sympathy and support of all progressive forces.

56. Another problem which has not yet been resolved after two decades is that of the representation of China in this Organization. As in the past, my delegation requests the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the expulsion of those who usurp its seat.

57. The increasingly intense antagonism between the under-developed peoples and imperialism has been a characteristic of the past years of international life. The failure of reforming experiments and the growing aggressiveness of the imperialist forces is teaching the peoples how to discover their enemies, even when they are disguised in the apparel of saviours.

58. Nor have the peoples any more illusions about the fertility of the international organizations, whose incapacity to solve the vital problems of mankind runs parallel with an exaggerated production of useless documents and of exuberant rhetoric. Political freedom, eco-

conomic independence and an end to exploitation will not be won either by promises or by debates in deliberative bodies manipulated by the aggressors and by those who benefit from exploitation.

59. At this session of the General Assembly the subject of peace is possibly the one that has been mentioned most from this rostrum. We all speak of peace. Reference is made to peace by those who need peace in order to devote their efforts to creative purposes, and also by those who constantly disturb the peace in order to maintain their privileges. We hear about peace from countries which are victims of aggression and from aggressor countries, particularly the latter, since what they seek from the peoples is calm and tranquillity so that these will not rebel against injustice; but they do not seek a harmony based on equality and mutual respect.

60. Peace is talked about by the colonialists who forcibly maintain veritable systems of slavery in Africa; by neo-colonialists who work for the monopolies in Asia, Africa and Latin America; by the Powers that maintain military bases in foreign territories; by those that have moved their guns and bombers to Viet-Nam, and by those that have committed aggressions against Cuba and blockaded and provoked it. But the false redeemers will no longer be able to hide behind hypocritical policies or behind prolific principles inscribed in the documents of the international organizations.

61. As long as there is no solution in favour of the peoples to the antagonism between them and their exploiters, as long as there is no reciprocity in the solution of international conflicts, and as long as the Powers continue to discuss from positions of force, it will be illusory to expect genuine peace which will be of benefit to all without exception and without discrimination.

62. Mr. TUDOR (Barbados): Madam President, the delegation of Barbados is happy to join those who have spoken before in paying a tribute to you on the occasion of your election to the high office of President of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly. We see you as a representative, not only of Liberia but of all Africa, and I do not think I need stress the strong attachment which my country has both to Liberia and to the great continent of Africa. Speaking of this, on the last day of the general debate, not only can I congratulate you on your election to the presidency, but I can bear witness to the wisdom which you have brought to your tenure of office.

63. I should also like to pay tribute to your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Emilio Arenales, whose passing has been a severe blow to the Americas and to the entire international community. My delegation would also like to take this opportunity to thank all those members of the Organization who demonstrated their confidence in my country by voting to elect Barbados to one of the Vice-Presidencies of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

64. Madam President, in your inaugural address you spoke very forthrightly of the "gradual decline of the United Nations in the eyes of public opinion" [1753rd meeting, para. 47]. It is a theme which has been echoed by other contributors to the general debate. It is right and natural

that we should concern ourselves with the basic question of the effectiveness of the Organization to which we belong and in which we place so many hopes. Indeed, it seems to us that the essential purpose of these annual gatherings is precisely to cast a cold eye on the previous year's performance and to offer our own views on how to improve its business in the coming year. Where my delegation parts company with some of the perennial critics of the United Nations is at the point where it is suggested that the Organization has, in some quite mysterious way, failed the peoples of the world.

65. It seems to us that this kind of criticism is based on either ignorance or ill will. The ignorance involved is usually of the utopian kind, with its assumption that the United Nations is some sort of omnipotent and unreliable giant who withholds the use of his magic wand whenever he is in a bad mood. On the other hand, my delegation can see nothing but ill will in the criticisms which are based on the assumption that the Organization's usefulness declines in direct proportion to its universality; we cannot accept the old-boy theory of international organization.

66. We categorically reject both interpretations of the role of our international Organization. We also reject the spurious analyses that flow from these interpretations. I am confident that we in Barbados have no illusions about what this Organization can do and what it cannot do. It is certain that in the major areas of international politics no organization can do what its members resolutely prevent it from doing. The United Nations cannot take a major role in the solution of the Viet-Nam conflict, because the Powers which are directly and indirectly involved have, more or less bluntly, told the Organization "hands off". The United Nations has declared Namibia an international territory, but it cannot enforce this declaration until Great Britain and the United States are prepared to exert their considerable power, in any one of the many ways open to them, to turn the arrogant racists in Pretoria away from their squalid policies.

67. There is a certain irony in recalling that in the debate on Namibia held in this hall a little over two years ago, it was the representative of the United States who called on the international community to take concrete, effective and practical measures in order to implement the Assembly's resolution on what was then called South West Africa. The unwary must be asking indignantly why the United Nations has never responded to that eloquent call. No doubt, as a result, the Organization has declined one more notch in the public opinion of which you spoke, Madam President. Of course, the true answer is that the United States and Great Britain are not presently disposed to take concrete, effective and practical steps to dispossess South Africa, even though they are fully aware that such steps would have the moral backing of virtually the entire international community. But somehow, that is never the answer which "public opinion" receives.

68. That is not to say that my delegation considers that it is the exclusive business of the so-called great Powers, or the medium Powers, or any other group of Powers, to look after the security and advancement of the world. That is the business of the entire international community. We must not deny the very special responsibilities of the more

powerful countries in nearly every matter that goes to the heart of the world's peace and prosperity. Although sometimes the smaller countries may be justifiably criticized for what has been called "posturing", it is very rare to hear of occasions in which their posturing has caused widespread devastation of human lives and property or systematic deprivation of human rights.

69. Now that the publicists are tiring of the miniskirt, the mini-State has taken over the limelight. Speaking as the representative of an unabashed mini-State, I am not certain whether to be frightened or pleased by this sudden prominence. It is frightening, in terms of our hopes for a world of increasing interdependence, when we think of some of the implications of this new fashion. For example, what will happen to some of the very small and scarcely viable territories when the mini-State debate is over? Will they be left, isolated from the mainstream of international concern, to be swallowed up by larger, more powerful neighbours who will then answer every inquiry about their fate with a bland reference to Article 2, paragraph 7? Will a new doctrine evolve for an international concept, by which any group of people with a population smaller than X thousand, inhabiting an area of less than Y square miles, and with a *per capita* income of less than Z dollars, would automatically fall below the horizon of international concern?

70. On the other hand, it is tempting to imagine that the new limelight will perhaps help to illuminate some of the less-known aspects of the Charter, such as Article 1, paragraph 2, which I take the precaution of quoting verbatim: "To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples..." If the debate on mini-States can help in strengthening international concern for the self-determination of peoples, my delegation will be among the first to welcome it. It has certainly not escaped the attention of my Government that the "mini-State" question has arisen in the very year in which no newly independent countries are seeking admission to this Organization. Some great Powers apparently want to close the Ark even before every species of animal is safely in. My delegation cannot support the doctrine of limited sovereignty, which is now becoming so fashionable, since we believe that this Organization has within it resources enough to accommodate all those sovereign States whose Governments express their desire to be guided by our Charter.

71. Those who feel that the little State has no place in a world assembly of equals, are doing harm to a sound democratic principle. In my own country and among my own people, our whole philosophy of government rests on the principle that the ordinary man, the little man, is entitled to all the opportunities for development which the Constitution and the economy of our country provide. We have no second class citizens and we take particular care to see that all our citizens have free access to the highest courts in our country. We even provide for their defence in criminal cases, if necessary. Each citizen has access to the best education and the best medical care we can provide.

72. Since our foreign policy is an accurate reflection of our domestic system, it would not be possible for us to

accept an arbitrary distinction between sovereign States, a distinction at variance both with the Charter and with the principles of our own Constitution. We feel that the people of the Seychelles or of Nauru have as much right to exercise their sovereignty in this Organization as any other Member State, and we also feel that it is incumbent upon all of us to devise the appropriate machinery to enable this to be done without placing onerous burdens on these States. My delegation also believes that even if such States choose not to join this Organization, they should still be entitled to full enjoyment of its services and resources.

73. In short, we must look forward to a world assembly of equals. It is perfectly true that the great Powers do not relish this, but that is only because each of them has its own reservations about the usefulness of this Organization. Each of them can resort to the veto when this device is judged to be convenient. The middle and small Powers enjoy no such luxury, but must contain their impotent fury at the use of this strange mechanism which makes some States more equal than others. My delegation is perverse enough to believe that world peace and security are better guaranteed by the accession of new States, however small, than by the unconscionable use of a device by which the great Powers protect their special interests.

74. There is a basic distinction to be made between self-determination of peoples and membership in the United Nations, and too many of the arguments which have been advanced in favour of a caste-system of States seem to ignore this. In our view, the Organization must be very careful that its consideration of the genuine problem posed by the emergence of very small States does not slow down the urgent process of decolonization.

75. In the Caribbean, we are only too familiar with this question. Every single territory in that area which is waiting on the threshold for full self-determination is an eloquent argument for creative and imaginative action by this Organization. We would suggest that the time has come to put an end to the rather rigid and doctrinaire approach to decolonization in which the United Nations now seems to be deadlocked. We do not think it enough to demand of the administering Powers for the traditional accounting of their stewardship. As we see it, the Organization is sufficiently experienced, and the Secretary-General's authority and prestige sufficiently strong, to permit the Secretariat to play a more active role in the psychological decolonization of the peoples for whom the Organization has a clear moral responsibility.

76. For example, my delegation would like to see this Organization make a start on long-range economic and social planning for such territories, even if only by way of blueprints. This would serve to show up the deficiencies of the administering Powers in this respect and help to focus international attention on the real needs of the peoples. We hope that the administering Powers will eagerly co-operate in such a project. If they do not, and if they content themselves with the Pavlovian reaction regarding intervention in matters of domestic jurisdiction, then the international community will be able to draw the obvious conclusions.

77. The whole world applauded the scarcely believable achievement of the United States in landing a man on the

surface of the moon. It was an event full of significance for all humanity, and it demonstrated, in the most dramatic way possible, the tremendous progress which mankind has made towards mastering his environment. It was also a dramatic demonstration of the distance that separates some nations from others; the distance that has been described as the "technological gap". It is a fact of life that the world is divided into the rich and the poor. It is our understanding that it is one of the major concerns of this Organization to find the means of harmonizing these discrepancies so that all may live in peace, independence and prosperity together. What seems to us to be happening, year after year, is that not only the "gaps" are growing, but totally new gaps are being created.

78. The small and under-developed countries need a greater and more imaginative effort by the Organization to help close the gaps. We wonder, for example, how many technicians from the under-developed areas of the world contributed to the success of the American moon shot, and to many of the other brilliant achievements of science in other developed countries. I do not know the figures and we do not grudge the developed countries the use of these talents. I make the reference merely to point to one of the underlying and perhaps insoluble difficulties inherent in under-development, which was first highlighted by a leading, if somewhat unorthodox, economist many centuries ago: "Unto every one that hath it shall be given, and he shall have abundance. But from him that hath not shall be taken even that which he hath."

79. Not only are the rich becoming richer, but they are acquiring an astonishing variety of keys by which to unlock even further riches. Unless this process is rationalized, the day may soon come when poor nations will be permanently consigned to the role of helots. The Consensus of Viña del Mar,² to which my Government was a signatory, sets out this danger very clearly in the fields of trade and aid. It is a danger that takes other forms as well, and my Government is especially proud that it was the initiative of a mini-State, Malta, which led this Organization to undertake, for the first time, a study of the uses of the sea-bed and the ocean floor.

80. This is, of course, a matter of prime importance for an island-State like Barbados, and we look to the United Nations as the sole forum in which the matter can be debated and discussed with a view to removing this important resource from the catch-as-catch-can arena of power politics. It would be disastrous if the juridical anarchy over marine rights, which prevailed in the seventeenth century, were to be allowed to prevail in this century in the areas under the sea. We know that it is only a question of time before large-scale exploitation of the sea-bed begins, and the technologically advanced countries are obviously the best equipped to glean the rich prizes which are waiting to be gathered from the ocean floor. It seems to us that there is literally no time to be lost in asserting a claim to these vast potential riches on behalf of all mankind and we hope that this Organization, acting as the conscience of the international community, will be able

to offer a constructive substitute for marine imperialism and oppose those who would wish to fish in troubled waters. For these reasons my Government firmly supports the internationalization of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. My delegation will also lend its support to any convention which prohibits and outlaws the improper use of the seas and oceans for military experimentation.

81. My Government has consistently deplored the fact that the world's wealth is so inequitably distributed. Far from proving a satisfactory solution to this pressing problem, the performance of the 1960s, so often referred to as the decade of development, has been for many developing countries a decade of disillusionment. We are persuaded that the forthcoming decade of development will be no less a disappointment and that the intentions of Article 55 of the Charter will be no nearer fulfilment, unless there is sufficient political willingness on the part of those countries whose dynamism, power and resources are greater, to come together and rescue the hundreds of millions of humans in Asia, Africa and Latin America from their long torment.

82. We know that ingenuity is not lacking in devising new methods for going forward together, and we know that resources and technology are available. Their effective application will be best achieved through the knowledge that the safety of each is dependent on the safety of all, and by the exercise of good faith which is more valuable than the most binding treaties, especially treaties in which, in the words of Thucydides: "The strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must."

83. We should not delude ourselves that the resources needed for development can be effectively mobilized, unless existing conflicts which threaten world peace can be speedily terminated and potential conflicts smothered before they develop. If we cannot do this, the resources which we wish to command will continue to be dissipated in military adventures, which in themselves increase the chances for a third world war. My delegation, therefore, earnestly appeals to all our brothers in Nigeria to lay down their arms and hasten to the conference table. We also urge the contending nations in the Middle East to seek, in a spirit of compromise, an early settlement to a dispute which has for so long impoverished their countries and permitted the great Powers to keep these countries in pawn and, at the same time, to fight their own wars by proxy.

84. You yourself, Madam President, have given this Assembly an inspiration to continue the search for peace. In placing your indefatigable service at the disposal of both sides in the Nigerian conflict, you have taken an initiative which deserves the whole-hearted support of the General Assembly. My Government welcomes your timely gesture and offers to you all its resources for the undertaking of this urgent business of bringing peace to an African country. My delegation, further, invites all States to give public support to your efforts, with the same unanimity which summoned you to preside over the destinies of this Assembly with such grace and distinction.

85. Mr. KHUMALO (Swaziland): First of all, I should like to express to you, Madam President, the cordial and sincere

² Latin American Consensus of Viña del Mar (Chile) adopted by the Special Commission on Latin American Co-ordination, which met in Viña del Mar from 15 to 17 May 1969.

congratulations of the delegation of the Kingdom of Swaziland and of myself, on your election as President of this twenty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly. Your election to this high office in the community of nations is not only a tribute to your person and to your country, but also an accolade to the women of the world in general, and to those of Africa in particular. We, of Swaziland, particularly rejoice over this recognition of the status of womenfolk, a tradition that has existed from time immemorial in Swaziland and is enshrined in our Constitution.

86. We are confident that with your wide experience in the field of international diplomacy, your long association with the work of the United Nations in a number of capacities, your wise counsel, able guidance and charm in discharging your duties, you will be able to deal constructively with the very important issues which we are faced with at this time when, it seems to me, the United Nations must prove its worth in the face of the many challenges that face it. On this note, I should like to express the hope that our deliberations will be blessed with a satisfactory realization of the objectives of this twenty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

87. Let me, at this early stage of my address, express, along with those colleagues who have preceded me, my profound grief and that of my delegation and my country, over the death of the former President of the General Assembly, Mr. Emilio Arenales, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala. We were all very happy when we saw him resume his office, after his sudden illness during the twenty-third session of the General Assembly last year, and we sincerely hoped that he had completely recovered, but, alas, death took him away before he had accomplished his important task.

88. He was a man of rare ability, with a dedicated and devoted enthusiasm for the affairs of his country and those of the international world. Alas, "Whom the Gods love die young." Despite the pain he suffered, Mr. Arenales led the deliberations of the General Assembly with such skill and consideration that he successfully brought a somewhat difficult session to a happy close. We shared the sorrow of the Secretary-General and those Members of the General Assembly who had worked closely with him and had to accomplish their task without their leader. Our condolences go to the Government of the Republic of Guatemala. My delegation feels grateful that, while Mr. Arenales lived he discharged his responsibility for the betterment of all mankind.

89. I would not fulfil my obligation and the wishes of my delegation if I failed at this point, to join the other numerous delegations in congratulating the United States of America on the epic journey and the landing on the moon of the two astronauts on 20 July of this year. All over the world, it was a supreme historical moment that transcended all differences when men from Earth went out into hitherto unfathomed parts of space. Indeed, all men exult in the glorious success of these American astronauts. It has been said that their success was the result of scientific progress throughout the world for over a century. We believe, therefore, that this act was accomplished for the benefit of all mankind and in the name of humanity. We hail the three

men for their courage, we hail the United States of America for its stamina, and we hail the world.

90. We are happy to say of the three men, in the beautiful words of an English poet:

"Born of the sun they travelled a short while towards the sun,
And left the vivid air signed with their honour."³

91. My delegation is aware that the Soviet Union also contributed positively towards that scientific feat. Our tribute goes to them as well.

92. Since last year, when my Prime Minister addressed this Assembly [*1674th meeting*] and my country had the pleasure of a unanimous welcome from this community of sovereign nations and took its place, as an equal partner, in this world Organization, new attitudes, new interests, new ambitions and priorities, new hopes and aspirations, as well as new goals have been revealed to us, and a new determination was born with each of them.

93. Since we emerged from the chains of colonialism, events have taken on a more realistic dimension to us. Time is a great leveller, and through time's correcting lens, what was born of independence will, we are convinced, one day bear wholesome fruit. To this end we cherish our political independence, and in the name of peace and justice we will not permit any departure from the noble principles that we uphold: a non-racial democratic State, governed under a constitution which recognizes fundamental human rights and guarantees maximum freedom for the individual, irrespective of race, colour or creed. We reiterate our unswerving belief in, and our uncompromising attitude towards these principles.

94. It has been rightly asserted that political independence without economic independence is meaningless. Our struggle for economic independence began when we regained our political freedom and national sovereignty. My delegation notes, however, that no country can be economically independent in the modern world. It is true that some countries, by their strategic position and geographical situation, are better able to regulate their terms of trade and gain tremendously compared to others, but all countries are, as they must be, interdependent.

95. Ours is a land-locked country with all the limitations which such a situation naturally imposes on trade. On this issue I can say no more than quote my Prime Minister when he addressed this Assembly last year:

"Of necessity we co-operate economically with these neighbours, for, apart from our local arrangements, we reach the outside world through them. Consequently, we feel that if economic sanctions were applied by the United Nations against our two neighbouring countries, they would adversely affect our economic development.

"This does not, however, mean, that we subscribe to these countries' political beliefs, as we are totally opposed to racial discrimination . . ." [*1674th meeting, para. 124.*]

³ From Stephen Spender's poem "I Think Continually of Those".

May I add that we are equally opposed to any form of perpetuation of colonialism and minority rule in any part of the world.

96. On the question of land-locked developing countries, my delegation is encouraged by the initial steps taken at the resumed eighth session of the Trade and Development Board held in Geneva from 5 to 20 May 1969 in accordance with resolution 11 (II) adopted by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at its second session,⁴ and resolution 50 (VIII) by the Trade and Development Board at its eighth session. My delegation hopes that this problem will be given a prominent place in the priority list of urgent United Nations undertakings, and that those Member States of the United Nations which are neighbours of land-locked countries will find it possible to accede, as Swaziland has acceded, to the International Convention on Transit Trade of Land-locked States.⁵ This should be done, if, only by so doing, a sense of security, so essential for trade and stability in developing countries, can be generated and maintained.

97. Earlier in my statement I referred to the majestic adventure of man's epic journey to the moon, a dream that came true within a decade of its inception. The then President of the United States of America, the late John F. Kennedy, on 25 May 1961 said:

"I believe this nation should commit itself to achieving the goal of landing a man on the moon and returning him safely to earth."

98. By a combination of scientific knowledge, courage, dedication, genius and ingenuity, the human spirit, as indefinable as faith or love, has, in the incredibly short time of man's progress, achieved an apparently impossible task. Indeed, a giant step for man, in the words of the first man on the moon. While my delegation applauds this successful venture, as indeed does the rest of the world, some concern is felt, by the fact that this achievement itself relates to man's daily needs here on earth. It has political, moral, social and philosophical implications. We ask most humbly: will this achievement increase technological progress or help desperate social needs? Will it help to bring about closer co-operation between technologically advanced countries or will it simply spur them on to work in competitive secrecy for world domination? Will it form a base for a joint venture by all nations for the exploration of outer space for peaceful uses by all mankind or will a great deal more expenditure go towards duplicating the efforts of power-bloc leadership? These are questions that my delegation puts to this august Assembly and indeed before the rest of mankind. How very encouraging it would be to see answers to these questions provided in deeds and not merely in words.

99. In the year 1961 another programme was initiated: the first United Nations Development Decade. When the General Assembly designated the decade [*resolution 1710 (XVI)*], it noted that "in spite of the efforts made in recent years the gap . . . between the economically developed and the less developed countries has increased . . .".

Here again, my delegation does not wish to draw unnecessary analogies from the success of the Apollo programme except in so far as both the Apollo and the first United Nations Development Decade were initiated in the same year. One has been successful and the other has failed. In spite of all efforts and in spite of minimal achievements registered here and there, we recognize that the Development Decade has so far failed in its principal objectives, namely, that of raising, to an appreciable degree, the standard of living in less developed countries and narrowing the gap between the "haves" and "have-nots". My delegation can only suggest that the failure of the first United Nations Development Decade programme was mainly caused by the lack of political will on the part of some of those nations which could have invested capital in this programme.

100. I now turn to the troubled spots of the world. We live in a divided world which has political and ideological divisions and these are a source of danger in the affairs of man. Regrettably, they have not been lessened, even after 24 years of United Nations activities. There is division in Europe and there is division in Asia. Yes, there is also division in Africa and Central America. My delegation would be happy if all the Member States of the United Nations began, right here and now, a combined deliberate effort to give momentum to a *détente*, and also co-operate more to consolidate universal peace. It appears to us that the pledges made, some 24 years ago, to promote the cause of peace and harmony among nations, have not taken man much further from the miseries of war than he was then. If anything, the road to peace is being made more difficult by those nations which say one thing at the United Nations here and do just the exact opposite of what they have said in the practical execution of their home policy towards their neighbouring or other States. Without a rule of law, justice and respect for one another's sovereignty, we remain far from the objective which we have pledged ourselves to achieve; realization of world peace, guided by the principle of mutual respect and sovereign equality.

101. However, my delegation is nevertheless encouraged by the efforts of those concerned to end the war in Viet-Nam, although the Paris peace talks have not gained ground as effectively as one had expected to save human lives that are being lost daily.

102. The Middle East situation remains a source of grave concern to us and to all other peace-loving nations. My country has faith in the role of the United Nations as an effective means for bringing about peace and happiness in that troubled area, as well as among other nations. We also hold the view that all nations, big or small, have a God-given right to exist and that the sovereignty of each State is indivisible. Consequently, in all our international operations we have to be guided by the principle of respect for the dignity, independence and sovereignty of all States of the globe.

103. We do not regard the Nigerian tragedy lightly. Indeed, it weighs heavily on Africa. It is an ominous cloud of evil over our cherished and hard-won freedom. Because we realize that many innocent lives have been and are being lost, and because we hate to see that situation continuing to undermine African independence, we urge all men of

⁴ Held at New Delhi from 1 February to 29 March 1968.

⁵ Signed in New York on 8 July 1965.

goodwill to support the Organization of African Unity in its endeavour to find a negotiated peace.

104. The intolerable situation in Rhodesia continues to haunt the conscience of free Africa. That situation has been brought about by the puzzling failure of the British Government to assert its ultimate legal authority over Rhodesia, and these circumstances have been ruthlessly exploited by a dominant white minority against the legitimate interests of the African majority. It is indeed sad that Britain's past record of decolonization should now be marred by this final eclipse of its power to further the cause of freedom. We cannot rest under this inertia but will take up the cause of the United Nations in its efforts to bring down the illegal Smith régime and to restore justice to Rhodesia.

105. We have been very distressed by the Portuguese Angola-Zambia border disturbances. We sincerely hope that the facilities of the United Nations will enable a peaceful solution to be effected before further incidents occur,

106. We, in the Kingdom of Swaziland, are now engaged, as I said earlier, in a serious economic struggle. We truly hope that, with the help and co-operation of Member States of the United Nations, our economy may, before long, take proper shape. We have, of course, serious problems and set-backs which beset us, but these are not insurmountable. Already, with the encouragement and tangible participation of the United Nations in Swaziland, at least some ground of our development programme is being covered, and I should like to record my country's appreciation and gratification to the United Nations for the assistance already made available.

107. In conclusion, allow me to repeat my delegation's conviction regarding the United Nations. We regard it as a collective instrument for international peace, and not merely as a platform where we can air our grievances and our differences in complete disregard of the provisions of the Charter and its objectives. We believe, as is stated in the Charter of this family of sovereign nations, that force has no place in modern society, that this generation and the generations to come should suffer war no more, but that they should learn to love, and to eliminate ignorance, poverty, hunger, disease and discrimination.

108. Mr. GAYE (Senegal) (*translated from French*): Madam President, I am happy to offer you the congratulations of the delegation of Senegal on your unanimously welcomed election to the presidency of the United Nations General Assembly. Your election at this twenty-fourth session has a significance of its own, in that Liberia, together with Ethiopia, has for more than a century been a living symbol and an embodiment of certain hope, a symbol of Africa's hope for recovery of independence. The confidence which the representatives of the nations gathered here together have shown in you is reinforced by the encouraging presence among them of the representatives of 41 African States.

109. I should like to take this opportunity of paying a tribute to the memory of President Emilio Arenales, who, withstanding the disease which was already afflicting him, conducted the work of the twenty-third session with a self-denial and courage worthy of our respect.

110. The novelty, if any is to be sought, in this session will not be solely connected with the importance of the problems raised. Obviously it is not likely to be found in such agenda items as peace and international security, or the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Seek it rather in the nature of certain matters which suddenly seem more immediate and under your presidency cannot fail to rouse an echo. First comes the granting of independence to countries and peoples still dependent; secondly, the grave matter of violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms; and, as always, the practice of *apartheid* and discrimination, which, despite everything, we must believe will be overcome in the end by the mutual understanding and respect of humanity. The mere interest of the communities concerned demands it, because the solidarity to bind them and their own aims together cannot be achieved in a spirit of hatred; and a people cannot become great by oppressing the weak.

111. Our session opens at a time when the most trying problems facing the international community seem to be those of the younger States, those least firmly rooted and therefore the most vulnerable. Not that it could be suggested that other States have no obstacles to overcome, no external pressures or internal contingencies to allow for; or that prosperity can be achieved without hard work and innovation, without boldness and risk, without continuous effort at reflexion, research and imagination. This is clearly to be seen in the nearest developed countries to Africa, those for instance of Europe.

112. Europe has, before our eyes, emerged from the ruins of the Second World War, dressed its wounds, rebuilt its economy; in a framework of multilateral co-operation it is building an extended economy with the groups of States that compose it. Beyond its own frontiers, in co-operation with the Africa it spent so long in discovering, it is building new links based on mutual respect of legitimate interests.

113. In spite of all Europe's acquisitions, its resources in men and capital, its industrial capacity, its high level of development—in spite of all these factors together, or perhaps as a result of them—Europe is now undergoing visible changes in its political institutions, its internal organization and even its economic and social structures. These changes are affecting even its educational system, untouched by time until now; but their most striking feature is that they are the fruit of an aspiration which seems characteristic of modern societies. Their purpose in these countries is simply a rise in the standard of living; but this, if one thinks about it, in the last analysis means an improvement in the condition of mankind. Is not this lesson even more important for the nations we call the third world, no doubt by analogy with the "third estate" of former times? What should these nations derive from the example offered by the developed countries, their political and economic structures, if not the help necessary for their people's progress towards peace and justice, and, I might add, for correction of the economic disparities between them and those countries?

114. The first United Nations Development Decade is drawing to a close. What are now the major trends or prominent features of the world economy?

115. The industrialized countries are still in fact absolute masters of the economy. They dominate it by their technology, their equipment, their production and the intelligence and efficiency of their organization. They hold in their hands an infrastructure of transport, communications and contacts covering the whole world, while the developing countries are often still restricted by a predominantly agricultural economy. In more than one respect they still depend on the industrialized countries which control the markets alike for commodities and for manufactures.

116. During the first Decade the richer countries have managed to increase their annual incomes by 400,000 million dollars. Over the same period, all the incomes of the developing countries added together have been less than that sum. Their annual income, rarely more than \$200 per head, seems very low when we remember that in the industrialized countries the average is between \$1,000 and \$1,500, and in some countries even \$3,000. Africa, at its present rate of growth, would need more than 50 years to double its income per head.

117. What the young countries expect from the international community is a new definition of economic relationships and a new form of participation in their development.

118. We know that there have been considerable changes on the world market in the relative positions of commodities and manufactures. While the index of agricultural prices has scarcely gone up by 10 or 15 per cent, the price of some finished goods has risen by 100 per cent. Is not the remedy, as has already been said, reorganization of the commodity markets? At any rate, it is closely bound up with the revaluation and stabilization of agricultural prices. Greater flexibility in some economic and financial legislation would by itself be of some help. But might not the solution one day be found in adopting a "correction index" between agricultural prices and the prices of manufactures?

119. It has often been asserted that during the first Decade there was no development policy. Surely the aim in the second Decade should be to hasten the incorporation of the developing countries in the circuit of the modern economy. In place of the traditional exports of raw materials from under-developed countries, there should be a policy for the exploitation and industrialization of their resources on the spot. The aim should be to build, with the industrialized countries, an integrated economy inspired by a will for understanding and co-operation, mutual assistance and solidarity between all nations.

120. The first Decade had as one of its aims an annual economic growth rate of 5 per cent. It seems to be accepted that the second Decade might achieve an increase of 6 to 7 per cent in *per capita* income and of 8 to 9 per cent in industrial production. Undoubtedly any such progress would depend in the first place on the effort at development made by the countries concerned, but also on the contribution of the richer countries to this effort. To be more effective, the 1 per cent of the gross national product devoted by certain industrialized countries to development assistance needs to be associated with a policy of increased investment and economic promotion.

121. The community of nations certainly has the resources and technology needed to solve the problem of

under-development; and seeing that it has those resources the contrast is striking between the successes and achievements of technology and science and the slow progress of humanity.

122. Certainly we do not regret the success of the new human organ transplants, still less the tremendous achievements of the American astronauts. There has never before been such an impressive revelation of the human intelligence and of the extent of its creative power; but shall the great nations that have triumphed over space be powerless in face of the cruel inequalities here on earth, among men?

123. When I was speaking a moment ago of the special problems of the young States, I was thinking of the peace hoped for by millions of men in various regions of Africa and in the Middle East, still heavy with menace. I might add also South-East Asia, and remark that after the halt in the bombing of North Viet-Nam the withdrawal of non-Viet-Nameese troops might give new reason to hope for the main goal—that is, peace—so eagerly desired from the present negotiations.

124. The most sombre situation, however, is in Africa, particularly in the territories still under the domination of Portugal and still more in Rhodesia and Namibia. What does the presence of Portugal in African territories stand for, apart from the vicissitudes of history that have engendered all other forms of colonization in the world, even before Africa? But since the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples the United Nations has been devoting ceaseless effort to establishing new relations for these peoples, based on the free expression of their will and on respect for the human personality. It would be sad indeed to continue to ignore that fact and not to realize that the freedom fighters of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), now struggling for national liberation, do not regard Portugal as an enemy for ever. The Portuguese repression is in a sense worse than obstinacy: it is blindness. Recourse to violence cannot be a constructive solution. Repression must cease, and then a healthy confrontation and fruitful negotiation can take its place to resolve the disputes which weapons cannot settle. Has not the time come for Portugal to ponder on the example of other peoples who have been colonizers and, closer at hand, on the quite recent example of Spain and Equatorial Guinea?

125. Another subject of preoccupation is the Rhodesian question. Two communities are involved: 250,000 European immigrants to Africa, and 4 million Africans, a minority set against the authority of the country that has given it its strength; four years of fruitless negotiation, an arsenal of economic and diplomatic sanctions that are more symbolic than effective. And the greatest mockery is that the world no longer condemns unanimously a constitution which gives a handful of 250,000 immigrants rights superior to those of 4 million Africans! When all has been said—complicity in weakness, collusion of interests, solidarity between régimes which have a strange resemblance to other pre-war régimes—our Organization certainly cannot forget that abandonment of the weaker countries of Europe to martyrdom did not in the event serve the peace.

126. As you have observed, I have taken a long time to reach the painful conflict in Nigeria, that fratricidal struggle

which causes so much concern to all African States, since all are aware that within them is the seed of a similar tragedy. African statesmen realize this, and have constantly urged an unconditional cease-fire and negotiations which would finally guarantee security of the person and property of all, in a Nigeria which would retain its personality. How can the division of any country and opposition between its component parts be accepted today when everywhere we have to think in terms of "economic units", "large-scale enterprises" and "regional groupings"?

127. My delegation's feeling is that it is essential, above all, to support the efforts to bring about reconciliation and mutual understanding between those who are today in conflict. This is surely in the first instance the task of the Organization of African Unity. Nevertheless, it might be asked whether an effort should not be made to dam the supply of armaments and so silence the guns.

128. I have purposely left to the end the consideration of two complicated situations, each in a country formerly under League of Nations Mandate. I refer to the situation in Namibia, and also, through a strange coincidence, to the situation in the Middle East; for was not the situation there virtually a result of the removal of the Palestine Mandate? Is it not a result of the confrontation between Israel and the Arab countries, created by the partition of Palestine?

129. Of course analysis is easier with hindsight. All the same, we must admit that the course of events would have been different if Arab Palestine had not been occupied. We are likewise led to observe that the choice between compensation and repatriation offered to the Palestinians and the subsequent setting-up of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East have never reassured anyone. However, 20 years after the vote on the resolution which gave birth to Israel, a Security Council resolution [242 (1967)] of November 1967 has just defined the bases for a settlement which could put an end to the Israel-Arab crisis.

130. Those bases lay down a framework which we must never tire of repeating: respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States; unconditional rejection of the annexation by force of the territory of one State by another, and hence the withdrawal of the Israeli armed forces from the occupied Arab territories; a just solution of the Palestinian problem; and freedom of navigation on the international waterways of the region.

131. The Arab States have bowed to the authority of the Security Council of the United Nations. We must ask Israel to respect international law. There is no other way to guarantee to all a just and durable peace.

132. Recent events in Jerusalem and the criminal arson of which we are all aware have brutally reminded the world that to safeguard and protect the Holy Places the status conferred by 13 centuries of history on the Holy City of Jerusalem must be respected.

133. In conclusion, I will refer to the situation in Namibia. Everyone knows that this territory was placed under League of Nations Mandate in 1920. Everyone is aware that, since the demise of the League of Nations, the United

Nations has assumed an identical role vis-à-vis the international community. Accordingly it is easy to understand the stupor provoked by the incredible judgment handed down by the International Court of Justice in 1966.⁶

134. South Africa's attitude towards the United Nations Council for Namibia is well known; the deliberate violation and infractions of the population's rights are no secret to anyone; but none of these things can affect the legitimacy of those rights.

135. My delegation does not believe there is any need for greater emphasis in stating that Namibia is entitled to independence, and in stating it with the serene conviction of those who know that their cause is just.

136. Mr. CARIAS CASTILLO (Honduras) (*translated from Spanish*): Madam President, at this twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, I venture on behalf of the delegation of Honduras to convey to you my warmest and most sincere congratulations on the honour conferred on you both as an illustrious lady and as a worthy representative of your country Liberia, a prominent member of the African community.

137. In wishing you every success in the delicate functions entrusted to you, I recall with deep emotion the name of your illustrious predecessor, Mr. Emilio Arenales, who quite literally gave his life in the service of this Organization.

138. In beginning this statement I cannot hide that I am not as optimistic as in past years, since in the melancholy history of the United Nations few sessions have been heralded by so many and such ominous portents for the peace of the world. It is undeniable that mankind has always been in a state of crisis. Nevertheless, it is no less true that the crisis we face today is the most general and most serious that we have ever encountered.

139. Some years ago the dominant political and economic ideologies were virtually polarized in two great Powers. More or less peaceful coexistence had been maintained because of the well-grounded fear of bringing about mutual destruction on such a scale as to amount to collective suicide. Today one of those ideologies has become divided, creating a greater danger with the emergence of a third great Power.

140. Moreover, the unjust differences which exist between the developed countries and those striving to emerge from under-development become deeper every day. Solutions have been proposed to narrow the vast gap separating the wealthy nations from those which have been called the third world; but twentieth-century man maintains his utilitarian and selfish attitude, his attempt to postpone what all countries desire: a more stable and balanced world resulting from better and greater opportunities for happiness and well-being. In this connexion may I be permitted to pay a tribute to the great work and praiseworthy efforts of the United Nations, particularly through the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development? May I also be allowed to pay a just tribute to the active and

⁶ South West Africa, Second Phase, Judgment, ICJ, Reports 1966, p. 6.

constant labours of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant?

141. Colonialism, despite the efforts of this Organization, has not yet disappeared from the face of the earth. In various forms desperate efforts are still being made in this world by Powers which, although they have largely risen above feudal systems as internal legal régimes and the law of the strongest as the only means for international coexistence, have not succeeded in adapting their political systems to the historical epoch in which we live, in which the less fortunate peoples of the world constantly advocate, with greater awareness, the strict application of the universal principles of law.

142. Nine years have already elapsed since the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted at its fifteenth session, with the ostensible purpose of speeding up decolonization, resolution 1514 (XV), which states that "the peoples of the world ardently desire the end of colonialism in all its manifestations", proclaims "the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations", and declares that any "attempt aimed at ... disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations".

143. We all know that, based on the principles and purposes of the Charter signed at San Francisco, a new international law has come into being. In it mankind places its hopes for peace and justice; and on the basis of those universal principles, principles that we ourselves created with the firm intention of acquiring for them a positive legal character, we today demand acceleration of the decolonization process.

144. Three years ago we submitted to the General Assembly a statement regarding our rights over the Santanilla or Swan Islands, a territory which has legitimately belonged to us since the discovery of America. The question of sovereignty over the Santanilla Islands, and our recovery of that sovereignty, has a profound effect on public opinion in my country and has created a national awareness of the need to reach a favourable solution. Direct negotiations initiated between our country and the United States of America appear more encouraging since that country, in a fine gesture of continental brotherhood, accepted Mexican claims to the territory of El Chamizal. This attitude leads us to hope that the example will be repeated, all the more easily this time, for the benefit of our own country, America and the world.

145. Once again Honduras expresses its solidarity with the Republic of Argentina in its just claim to the Islas Malvinas. It likewise supports Spanish claims for the implementation of General Assembly resolution 2429 (XXIII) regarding the Territory of Gibraltar.

146. Odious racial differences typified by the policy of *apartheid* continue to be a source of shame for our world, but despite the strong repugnance expressed by most nations, there unfortunately seems to be no prospect of the early disappearance of this policy.

147. In the Middle East conflict our position remains unalterable: we support United Nations decisions making for a stable peace in that region, whereby the States involved would abandon any attitude of permanent belligerency and at the same time withdraw all military forces which have occupied by force territories that do not belong to them. The Charter of the Organization of American States, that of the United Nations, and the rules of international law establish the principle that conquest gives no rights.

148. It is fitting to recall here the thoughts of Mr. Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States of America, as expressed recently in this Assembly:

"The test of the structure of peace is that it ensure for the people of each nation the integrity of their borders, their right to develop in peace and safety and their right to determine their own destiny without outside interference." [1755th meeting, para. 47.]

149. It is painful to recognize that since the end of the Second World War, supposedly the war to end all wars, the world has not lived a single day in complete peace, and violence has relentlessly assailed Europe, Asia and Africa. The rights of nations and men have been trampled underfoot in the four corners of the earth. Nevertheless, one continent proudly proclaimed its respect for law as a standard for international coexistence: the new world discovered by Christopher Columbus, whose destinies were forged by Valle, Bolívar, Washington, San Martín and so many other paladins of freedom and justice. Yet the honour of America, the continent of hope and peace, has also been sullied by the frustrated ambitions of a bellicose country desirous of conquering territories and lacking the most elementary sense of legality.

150. I have said once before in this august forum that at this point in time it is no longer conceivable that semi-sovereign States should continue to exist under protectorates; but an undeniable reality shows us, to the sorrow of mankind, that States do exist which under the influence of their totalitarian doctrines endeavour to impose their interests and to destroy the self-determination of peoples by force of arms and a reign of vandalism and terror.

151. I have recalled my past statements because Honduras, whose respect for international legal standards is traditional and whose sincere belief in Central Americanism has been constantly reiterated at the cost of many sacrifices, was—I say this with indignation and sadness—recently the victim of a treacherous and cruel aggression. It was treacherous, because it was carried out without any declaration of war and because, oblivious of the fraternal, political and economic links among the Central American peoples, it threw away to the boom of cannon and the rattle of machine guns all the progress that had been made in Central American integration. It was cruel because, ignoring the international rules governing armed conflicts and not as an act of war, it carried out a mass destruction of property and, from the beginning to the end, crime and pillage were daily and constantly perpetrated by the invading troops against the civilian population of Honduras.

152. Indeed, on 14 July of this year the Republic of El Salvador carried out a surprise bombing attack against eight Honduran cities, while at the same time its land forces invaded the territory of my country. After five days of battle, during which the invading army was unable to break through our defence lines, the Organization of American States by an appropriate resolution put an end to hostilities at 10 p.m. on 18 July. The same resolution established a 96-hour deadline for the departure of the Salvadorian troops from the portion of Honduran territory which they had occupied illegally by force. The deadline was ignored by the Government of El Salvador, which on the contrary took advantage of it to move forward without opposition from our troops, which faithfully observed the cease-fire that had been decreed.

153. In view of the manifest violation of the regional organization's injunctions, the Council of the Organization, acting provisionally as an organ of consultation, convened on 26 July 1969 the Thirteenth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs to examine the case put forward by El Salvador against the organization under article 7 of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance.⁷

154. The Government of El Salvador sought to justify its reprehensible conduct by setting up, in parallel with its military aggression, a vast propaganda machine operating both inside and outside its territory. Within the territory its purpose was to produce an explosion of hate among the Salvadorian population against everything Honduran; and this was widely and systematically fostered. Outside its territory the purpose was to give international opinion a false image of Honduras by distorting the facts. These publicity tactics recall the practices used in the recent past by the notorious Nazi régime, when it was setting the stage and preparing a propitious atmosphere for aggression against a country.

155. In both the Commission on Human Rights and the Organization of American States El Salvador presented slanderous accusations against the people and Government of Honduras, even alleging that they had committed the crime of genocide against Salvadorian immigrants living in Honduras. It made that accusation to justify its planned aggression, seeking to use the argument that the army of El Salvador had the obligation to defend its fellow citizens in Honduran territory. This again is reminiscent of the philosophy of the Nazi régime: the living space theory and the rights of the German minorities in the Sudetenland.

156. Honduras, in its turn, denounced before the Organization of American States the crimes committed on 13, 14 and 15 June by El Salvador against thousands of Honduran citizens, both men and women, as well as the outrages inflicted on its national symbols, the flag and the anthem, and requested an investigation of the facts. The Commission appointed a sub-committee to visit Honduras and El Salvador to carry out the investigation which had been requested.

157. In Honduras the international officials of the group were unable to find any traces—and how could they?—of

the non-existent crime of genocide. Hence, they gave a resounding refutation of the monstrous Salvadorian slander, a refutation backed by their moral status and integrity. Continuing this policy of defaming Honduras, the Government of El Salvador alleged that, in my country, the funds of Salvadorian persons and companies had been frozen and confiscated. That allegation, like so many others, is totally false. Neither the Government nor the Central Bank of Honduras has adopted any such measures.

158. As a result of the military aggression to which my country was subjected on 14 July last the Central Bank of Honduras placed the accounts of Salvadorian individuals and companies in Honduran institutions under a special régime for the purpose of preserving the stability of the banking system, which was threatened by the fact that El Salvador was encouraging its nationals in Honduras to transfer their funds to El Salvador on the ground that Honduran banks belonged to American companies and that the funds were being transferred to the United States. It is not only the accounts of Salvadorian citizens that have been subjected to the special régime, but also the accounts of those Hondurans who listened to the insidious campaign of El Salvador.

159. The funds of the Branch in Honduras of the Salvadorian Investment Bank have not been frozen, nor has any action been taken which would prejudice Salvadorian interests in that institution. On the contrary, to safeguard those interests the Central Bank of Honduras repeatedly stated that the Investment Bank was operating normally. It was, however, considered necessary to guarantee that that Bank's reserves would remain in the country so that the deposits of Honduran citizens would not be left uncovered, particularly when it was observed that on 3 July, in a departure from its customary practice, the branch had transferred a large sum of money to its central office.

160. What is certain is that in El Salvador the funds of Honduran residents have been frozen and—a most unusual fact—it has been confirmed that the governing boards of Salvadorian companies with branches in Honduras have given instructions from El Salvador to United States banks to refrain from making payments to those branches. Financial operations cannot be normalized as long as El Salvador is unwilling to guarantee the payment of more than \$4 million advanced in credit to Salvadorian citizens and companies by various Honduran national institutions, apart from \$3 million in commercial credits.

161. It is likewise false that there still exist, or have existed, any official restrictions on Salvadorian companies such as to cause them to close down or to transfer their businesses to Honduran citizens. What happened was that the owners, aware of the situation created for them by the Salvadorian military aggression against Honduras, decided of their own accord to sell their businesses. We see, therefore, that all these problems were created for the Salvadorians by the warlike actions of their own Government. Neither is it true that the Government of Honduras has confiscated any equipment or materials from Salvadorian companies engaged in road works in Honduras.

162. Honduras has full confidence in the regional organization and complete faith in the results of its action. It

⁷ Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, signed at Rio de Janeiro on 2 September 1947.

must now perform the painful but ineluctable duty of explaining very briefly some of the circumstances and causes of the present situation between Honduras and El Salvador. First, the frontier between the two countries has never been determined, an anomalous situation which my Government has tried to resolve by the civilized procedures laid down in international law and required for the harmony which should exist among the countries of the world. To that end, and in fulfilment of previously contracted obligations, Honduras submitted to El Salvador almost two years ago a draft of bases and procedures for drafting a frontier treaty, but received no reply or comment whatsoever from the Government of that country, despite repeated requests. Secondly, there has been for more than 50 years a constant and indiscriminate emigration of many groups of Salvadorians, which is manifestly directed against our country, to get rid of this economically unproductive and socially dangerous part of El Salvador's population.

163. Honduras has demonstrated its desire to co-operate in finding a solution to El Salvador's socio-economic problem, and to that end presented to the Fourth Meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Central America in January this year a plan for a rational and balanced demographic integration of the Central American isthmus.

164. El Salvador claims that the Government of Honduras has expelled thousands of Salvadorians who have returned to their own country, where, of course, they are described as "refugees". In answer to this further calumny my Government has repeatedly explained that the Honduran authorities have never given any order for the expulsion of Salvadorians. Those who have left our country have done so of their own free will, prompted by one of the following reasons: the first is that they know they have no identity documents. This group which has returned to El Salvador is made up of individuals of very low social status who fall an easy prey to the cunningly-devised instructions given to them to make themselves appear as victims. Moreover, because of their low cultural level and their minimal or non-existent economic productivity they have easily been able when so ordered by their Government to pretend to have been victims in Honduras so as to receive in El Salvador what they hoped would be gratuitous assistance to them as "refugees". This is all the more likely since a type of person has come to Honduras from El Salvador who in his own country is condemned to be a social pariah. An attempt has been made to impress the world by the return of these false victims to their own country.

165. Others have left because they are aware that the present situation, provoked by El Salvador, has meant that their residence in Honduras cannot be the same as before the conflict. They are no longer welcome to the Honduran people. This is a natural and readily explicable reaction to the affronts and physical and moral harassment which, to begin with, thousands of Hondurans suffered in El Salvador. These difficulties were later compounded by the murders, violations of women and slaughtering of children, together with the looting and depredation of property, desecration of churches and other acts of pillage committed by the Salvadorian troops and hordes of Salvadorian civilians during the days following the cease-fire.

166. These and no others were the causes that led the Government of El Salvador to take the extraordinary step

of breaking off diplomatic relations with Honduras and launching, for its own advantage, a premeditated and undeclared war of aggression, throwing overboard the entire inter-American legal system. It was for that reason that the organ of consultation of the Organization of American States was on the verge of declaring it an aggressor, with all the consequences applicable under the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance.

167. Although its crime was specified, for sentimental, politico-economic and not strictly legal reasons it was not declared an aggressor. Nevertheless, I believe that the majority of the Foreign Ministers attending the Thirteenth Meeting of Consultation were convinced that there was an aggressor State, El Salvador, and a State victim of aggression, Honduras.

168. At the end of the Meeting of Consultation his Excellency, Mr. Juan B. Martín, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Argentina, stated:

"I should like to point out that, as is stated in two articles of the documents we have just approved, there is a cause underlying the confrontation between them and that, if we go away from here with any feeling that we have done a good job, we shall be mistaken. Our work must continue, since the principal reason for this confrontation and its deep-rooted cause obviously lie in the under-development of some of our Latin American countries; and unless we are all capable of meeting this challenge, we shall soon see another of our countries in the same situation. We can unequivocally say that want, misery and under-development generate violence. Only if we are fully conscious of this fact can we seek the road to a solution."

169. These words of the illustrious Argentine Foreign Minister were part of a statement he made when submitting a draft declaration to the Thirteenth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of America. Paragraph 3 of that draft declaration, which was adopted by acclamation, establishes that the "status of immigrants is regulated by the laws of the countries in which they reside and to whose jurisdiction they are subject".

170. The underlying causes in El Salvador are implicit in the inordinate concentration of the ownership of that country's arable lands in a few hands and in the unequal distribution of the national income, circumstances which keep more than 3 million inhabitants in humiliating living conditions, as the official documents of the country itself reveal.

171. For the sake of a better illustration, allow me to quote the following ideas contained in the paper "Lands and Settlement" written by Dr. Abelardo Torres, former Minister of the Economy of El Salvador, and published by the university of that country in 1961:

"State-Planned Settlement. History.

"After these distributions of State lands, made for the purpose of increasing the cultivation of coffee, the liberal agrarian reform was carried out which abolished the common lands and the indigenous community properties

and decreed that thenceforward all common and community lands would become the private property of their occupants on payment of a given sum. On the other hand, the State 'dispossessed' itself of the lands it owned for the benefit of their occupiers. Those reforms were put into effect by the Commons Abolition Act, 1882, and the Indigenous Community Properties Abolition Act, 1881.

"The peasants were thus degraded to mere wage-earners, with no resources other than their hands to work as seasonal labourers on the estates of large or middle-sized landowners.

"The discontent among the rural masses, deprived of their lands and exploited on wretched wages, began to manifest itself in a violent form at the same time as the Commons and Indigenous Community Properties Abolition Acts were put into effect. Thus there were uprisings in the west of the Republic on 12 August 1872, on 16 March 1875, on 2 January 1885 and on 14 November 1898. The relation of cause to effect, of the loss of their lands to the rebellion of the peasantry, is manifest. Thus in the 1898 revolt, several judges who had subdivided the common lands had their hands cut off as a punishment for measuring and distributing the land and dispossessing its former occupants.

Mr. El-Farra (Jordan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

"Yet, despite the rumbling discontent of the rural masses and sporadic local uprisings, things never became as grave as they were in the events of 1931 and 1932. In the first of those years, during the Presidential electoral campaign, one of the opposition parties systematically harangued the peasants on the idea of land distribution, thus sowing the seed of a revolt. The revolutionary movement acquired an extraordinary impetus and at one time very nearly triumphed.

"To put it down, all available armed forces had to be mobilized and a civilian militia established. Repression was remorseless and probably excessive. It is estimated that 17,000 farm workers perished, most of them being executed after they had surrendered or simply slaughtered *en masse*.

"Those facts show, moreover, that the liberal agrarian reform has had harmful social consequences by uprooting the peasant from the land he had cultivated for centuries and by creating that mass of wage-earners who work when they can as season farm hands and see every day a further shrinkage of the lands they are allowed to cultivate as sharecroppers or tenants."

That is what a Salvadorian citizen, Dr. Abelardo Torres, stated in his paper "Lands and Settlement".

172. I take the following information from page 46 of the National Plan for the Economic and Social Development of El Salvador, 1965-1969, prepared by the National Council for Economic Planning and Co-ordination and published in December 1964:

"Income distribution is as important as average income; since if wealth is highly concentrated the great majority

suffer even though the average income may appear high. A recent study has shown that only 8 per cent of families have an income of 400 colones (\$160) or more per month, while 60 per cent of families earn less than 130 colones (\$52) per month. Approximately 8 per cent of the population receives approximately 50 per cent of the national income.

"Thirty per cent of the total population of El Salvador, approximately 750,000 persons, spend less than 12 colones (\$4.80) per month on consumer goods, and 58 per cent spend less than 24 colones (\$9.60)."

This is a quotation from the document "The National Plan".

173. With this basic information it will be readily understood that the aggressive policy of El Salvador has as one of its primary origins the serious and deep social imbalance which compels its Government to adopt a bellicose attitude endangering the peace and tranquillity of the Central American region.

174. This conflict between two States members of the Central American Common Market showed that in time, even in contractual and voluntary economic unions imperialist attitudes may emerge which lead a member State to impose its will by threats and pressures.

175. In this connexion the illustrious Foreign Minister of Mexico said in his statement in the General Assembly on 24 September 1969 that:

"...the economic integration of several countries, though undoubtedly valuable in creating larger areas where industry can develop on an adequate scale, may also create grave tensions which paradoxically inflame nationalist feelings even between States which are really part of one nation . . .". [1763rd meeting, para. 25.]

176. Because of the foregoing you will understand the lack of optimism to which I referred at the beginning of this statement. Although I have repeatedly stated that war is the negation of all values, and although my country has always had and still has faith in the means of peaceful settlement of disputes provided in international treaties, I wish to make it perfectly clear that the Government of Honduras is now on the alert and fully prepared to exercise its right of self-defence at any time it should become necessary. The price of freedom is eternal vigilance.

177. Yet, despite the sombre outlook and the apparent frailty of legal standards, I should be failing in my duty as my country's Minister for Foreign Affairs and as a lawyer if I did not end my statement by reiterating the staunch faith of Honduras in international law and its steady confidence in the effectiveness of the regional and world organizations, on whose existence depends the very life of our world; since, as I said on another occasion, there meet in this forum all the anxieties and aspirations of mankind.

178. Madam President, your wisdom and skill are a lofty and firm guarantee for the best success of this session of the General Assembly.

179. Mr. KOMBOT-NAGUEMON (Central African Republic) (*translated from French*): Madam President, the unanimity surrounding your choice as President and the moving tributes paid to you on your august election point to the respect and confidence which you inspire in the members of this Assembly. The Central African delegation, too, is gratified at your election, which is a tribute not only to your great experience and your outstanding qualities, not only to your beautiful and dynamic country Liberia, but also to the whole African continent. Your election symbolizes the active part which the African woman is increasingly called upon to play in the great task of African renovation and in international institutions.

180. Speaking for the first time before this Assembly, I could not fail to associate my delegation and myself whole-heartedly with the sincere congratulations addressed to you on your elevation to the Presidency.

181. My delegation also wishes to pay a tribute to the late Mr. Emilio Arenales, the President of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly, whose untimely and sudden death deprived our Assembly of a diplomat whose tact and outstanding competence we so greatly admired.

182. Lastly, I turn now with real pleasure to the Secretary-General, U Thant, to tender to him on behalf of the Government of the Central African Republic our admiration for his courage and integrity as a public servant, and also the valuable moral support of which he stands in such need in his daily efforts to safeguard international peace and security.

183. Peace among peoples and nations; respect for human dignity; respect for the right of self-determination of peoples; increased co-operation and solidarity in all activity throughout the world; equality among all men whoever they may be, among all peoples and all nations, so that mankind can progressively wipe out that shame of the twentieth century—under-development with its retinue of misery, disease, ignorance and famine; such are the fundamental aims that the founders of the United Nations set for themselves. The Central African Republic under the direction of its President, General Jean Bedel Bokassa, reaffirms its attachment to those principles, which it means to respect in both the spirit and the letter.

184. Nevertheless, an objective study of the world situation shows that peace among nations, equality among men and international solidarity are slow to become living realities.

185. Today human vanity has in fact made illusory any common endeavour to do away with war. A perennial insecurity hovers over mankind. We are witnessing at this very moment a frenzied race in nuclear weapons, whose proliferation can only aggravate the anxiety of mankind. Fabulous sums that could be devoted to promoting the happiness of part of mankind are being used to arm man against man and precipitate the end of the human race.

186. In my delegation's view, all nations should unite and compel not only the systematic destruction of atomic weapons but also general and complete disarmament under effective international control. That is why my delegation

welcomes the declarations recently made in this Assembly by the representatives of the great Powers, and ardently hopes that those declarations will not turn out to be fallacious promises designed to deceive the vigilance of peace-loving peoples.

187. Now that my delegation has expressed its faith in disarmament as the key to any solution of the problem of peace and universal progress, it must state as briefly as possible its views on other equally vital problems of the present day.

188. It seems to us outrageous that Portugal and South Africa should still arrogantly uphold, the one the degrading concept of colonialism, and the other the hideous policy of *apartheid*.

189. *Apartheid* torments Africa, jeopardizes peace and endangers international relations. To allow South Africa to remain in our Organization is a challenge to the conscience of mankind, treason to the United Nations, and therefore a confession of our Organization's complicity.

190. The problem of Rhodesia urgently calls for a solution. The whole world has its eyes turned on the United Kingdom, which we know to possess all the necessary means to break the resistance of that illegal Government.

191. It would not be superfluous in this connexion to recall the great African mission accomplished by France under the guidance of General de Gaulle, whose courageous policy of decolonization aroused the admiration of the world community. We are thus convinced that the liberalism of the United Kingdom, which has earned it friendships in Africa, will complete its liberating mission.

192. To sum up, we wish to reaffirm, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and especially General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), that the time has come to make every effort to help the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe to achieve full sovereignty and take their rightful place in the great world family.

193. We are deeply preoccupied over the future of an Africa which we wish to see independent, sovereign, united and prosperous; but we are no less anxious to see a rapid and peaceful solution of the burning conflicts of the Middle East and Viet-Nam. The strength of the United Nations lies in the trust that Member States are deemed to repose in its various organs, not in attempts to deprive any of these of its constitutional powers for the benefit of another, still less for the exclusive benefit of a caucus of three or four.

194. Our sense of African solidarity causes us to turn our eyes towards Nigeria. We are moved by the atrocities inflicted on civilian populations by that war. It would therefore be a welcome development if the constructive efforts of the Organization of African Unity, supplemented by those of the international community, towards a lasting peace led to a negotiated solution and to peace in a united and prosperous Nigeria with due regard for the welfare of all.

195. To return to the declaration of the President of the Central African Republic on foreign policy: my country

wishes to be a neutral, scrupulously refraining from interference in the domestic affairs of other countries and free to choose its friendships, firmly convinced that these in no way commit us and still less make us anyone's followers. His Excellency General Jean Bedel Bokassa, President of the Central African Republic, recently described that policy as follows:

"A struggle against all forms of segregation, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, co-operation with all States and establishment of diplomatic relations with all countries regardless of ideology or of political and economic régime."

196. One of the dominant features of our period is the just aspiration of the peoples of the under-developed countries to an economic and social level offering prospects of progress and welfare.

197. For the international community the Decade which is drawing to a close should have been a chance to organize a programme of action starting a process of rational development that would lead to a significant rise in the gross national product of the less advanced countries. It has in fact turned out to be nothing more than a particularly blatant demonstration of the selfishness of the so-called developed countries and of the ineffectiveness of international bodies.

198. But, although the first United Nations Development Decade has been a failure inasmuch as its concrete achievements have been few and far between, we trust that the large number of studies and surveys carried out during the last 10 years—many of which were necessary—have been rich in lessons for us all, and that the second Decade, on which so many legitimate hopes are based, will bring out a spirit of genuine co-operation, sincerity and justice in the wealthy countries. We feel that agreement must be reached on a set of urgent measures, and that the proposals for the global strategy for the second Decade must be supported by the richer nations. Indeed, without such unanimous agreement the proposals will remain a dead letter.

199. Concerning finance we note that developing countries are obtaining financial resources from abroad on increasingly unfavourable terms. This considerably reduces their currency reserves, which they need in order to import enough capital goods. It is therefore essential to break up this structure of indebtedness which hampers economic growth and bars the way to any improvement in living standards.

200. The developing countries naturally recognize the need for foreign capital, but it is absolutely imperative that this assistance shall be untainted with politics. Financial organizations, international and national, should adopt a flexible attitude to bilateral aid so as to enable the poorer countries to increase their economic capacity. But the poor countries are not expecting miracles from outside. We realize that foreign aid cannot be effective unless supported by intense national effort.

201. The Central African Republic, led by its energetic Chief of State in Operation Bokassa, has for the last four years been engaged in a sustained national effort of social and economic development.

202. In executing its social policy, my country has made major advances in its social infrastructure through an expansion of educational and health facilities, the training and education of women, and maternal and child welfare. But these national efforts will only be moderately successful unless the specialized agencies of the United Nations, which are already helping us and to which we pay a sincere tribute, redouble their activities.

203. In our economy output of the main agricultural products has doubled and even tripled, thus surpassing all hopes and making a readjustment of the Plan's forecasts necessary after two years of execution. Unfortunately all these encouraging results, achieved by much effort and sacrifice, are being purely and simply betrayed by the selfishness of the economic Powers and the disgracefully low and fluctuating prices of the main commodities on world markets.

204. In this disconcerting situation my delegation feels that our first need is a radical review of the economic relations between the developed and the developing countries, the latter being at present regarded merely as suppliers of raw materials. In this connexion we welcome and support the proposal made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belgium [1765th meeting, para. 145] that greater emphasis should be given to the processing and marketing of raw materials in the places where they are produced.

205. The Central African Republic, like many other developing countries, has hitherto given priority in its development effort to the primary sector, in order to ensure a livelihood to its people and to acquire a large proportion of its income in foreign currency. We feel that it is now time to include in that effort the secondary sector, the only real source of added value.

206. Peace and equality, more active fraternity and international solidarity—these are the ardent hopes which the Central African delegation wishes to express on the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations and on the threshold of the coming year, so that the United Nations may contribute to the creation of a world where the thirst for happiness and peace can be quenched everywhere.

207. Mr. BOUTEFLIKA (Algeria) (*translated from French*): The numerous and complex questions which we are called upon to consider at this twenty-fourth session provide so many reasons for concern and anguish that I take the liberty of beginning on a happier note by conveying my heartiest congratulations to the President on her brilliant election. There is no African who has not felt proud and gratified at seeing his continent thus honoured in the person of this daughter of the new and emancipated Africa, marching towards progress and unity. Knowing as I do her great qualities and her vast experience, I am not sure whether I should rather congratulate her or pay a tribute to the wisdom of my colleagues who have unanimously entrusted to her the heavy responsibility of presiding over our labours. Thanks to her wisdom and patience, I am certain that she will discharge this noble task in full.

208. As this year draws to a close, the international situation should incite us to make every effort to circum-

scribe the conflicts which are rending asunder the community of man and to find a way out of the contradictions paralysing our Organization. In this same year in which man has affirmed his mastery over his own planet and set out with magnificent energy to conquer others, wars are still consuming our world and causing grief, suffering and ruin.

209. Labouring under a strange curse, we seem to be condemned to reach at one and the same time the peaks of technology and science and the depths of selfishness and barbarism. Man in this second half of the twentieth century is so made that he masters his environment much better than his own desires and emotions. He has more pity to spare for animals in distress on the polar cap than for his fellow men being exterminated in the rice paddies of Asia or the jungles of Africa. How long and how far will mankind march in this state of absurdity and indifference?

210. The values which, throughout history, have enabled the human genius to develop have less and less weight in modern society where, with every day that passes, the great are increasingly separated from the small, and the rich from the poor. The sufferings of the past, the ruin and genocide of yesterday, have not put an end to the thirst for conquest and hegemony engendered by material power.

211. The year that is now drawing to a close has not brought a respite to the small countries. In South-East Asia, the Middle East and Africa colonialism and imperialism have redoubled in aggressiveness, proliferating shams and lies in order to deny the weaker peoples their natural right to freedom and progress.

212. On the eve of the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the proclamation of the Charter of the United Nations, the international community should not blind itself to the fact that the principles it solemnly affirmed are now seriously threatened and that it is facing a very grave problem: world hegemony finding its most brutal expression in the less developed continents. That global hegemony is a challenge both to peoples still under colonial rule and to progressive societies, which have no recourse but armed struggle. That opposition of imperialism, in particular American imperialism, to liberating ideologies and revolutionary movements is the source of the present tragic situation with its great dangers for international peace and security.

213. While we continue our desperate search for solutions to the conflicts rending the world, new clouds are gathering and announcing even more sombre morrows. Hotbeds of war are threatening to spread. Tension and the cold-war atmosphere are reappearing among the great Powers, particularly in Europe. The resultant sense of insecurity leads inevitably to a new arms race, multiplying *ad infinitum* the production of missiles and of anti-missile missiles, and thus increasing existing arsenals. Can this enormous waste of resources, immeasurably accelerated by competition, bring any promise of peace?

214. Thus we witness with concern an ever-widening gap between the principles which men affirm by their actions. Men speak of peace and negotiations in Viet-Nam, but multiply military operations and strengthen the murderous hand of the Saigon régime. Men speak of peace and justice

in the Middle East but continue to arm the Zionist aggressor and encourage him to treat the despoiled Arab peoples with greater intransigence and cruelty. Men speak of peace and aid to development for the third world but continue to apply to it the brazen law of colonialism, exploiting its natural wealth and the fruits of its labour.

215. In order to escape from this vicious circle we should need an organization of unquestionable authority, enjoying the trust and co-operation of all States. At first our Organization should have played that part. But we are compelled to recognize today that it can no longer compel respect for the Charter or fulfil its mandate. Deprived of the means of dissuasion and intervention necessary for any effective action, it sees its decisions systematically ignored and its authority flouted.

216. Though the great Powers are still far from renouncing their greed or resolving their own contradictions, they have been raised by force of circumstances to be guarantors of order and of something like peace. Concerned, and rightly so, to avoid a nuclear confrontation which could well destroy them, they nevertheless tolerate limited conflicts which bring fire and sword to the nations of the third world.

217. The international community must unhesitatingly reject that concept of peace by which the nuclear threat is to be banished only at the cost of endless wars in various countries of the third world. Apart from its dangers, this concept of peace is fallacious. It can provide only a false calm amongst the great Powers which foster and foment these localized conflicts. So tight is the solidarity of the various countries in today's world that, although often contradictory, their diverse interests are none the less closely interdependent.

218. It is therefore obvious that the destiny of mankind cannot be settled privately between the great Powers. The people who suffer in their flesh the consequences of international tensions must be among the chief architects of peace.

219. That peace cannot be conceived in terms of a *status quo* more or less closely linked to ideological or strategic considerations. It must be a just and living peace, compatible with the current of history and with the aspirations of the peoples to freedom and progress. It cannot result from a fortuitous balance of the interests of great Powers dividing the world into spheres of influence. In other words, to establish a true peace the tasks of the international community must be redefined in the light not only of the prerogatives of the great Powers, but also of the hitherto ignored aspirations of the peoples.

220. While none denies that the road to a just and durable peace lies through a reduction of armaments, we feel that it would not be enough to make an agreement between the nuclear Powers the absolute condition of peace. We have already pointed out in this very forum the essential incompleteness of nuclear disarmament in a world where conventional weapons have been in continuous use for over 30 years. That type of disarmament must be the work of those who variously encourage colonial adventures and expansionist enterprises.

221. A just peace cannot be made within a framework of aggression, domination, discrimination of all sorts, negation of the right of peoples to settle their own affairs, or denial of the principles of sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.

222. The rejection of a bipolar political system for the world has aroused in the countries of the third world a will to organize for dynamic participation in the maintenance of the international balance. Non-alignment can be regarded as one of the essential conditions of that quest, even though in our view it must not consist in the uniform application of a now disputed political pattern to an international situation which has undergone tremendous changes.

223. That situation, marked by a peaceful coexistence strictly limited to the great Powers, creates more tensions for the small countries, compromising both their own existence and the international balance. Hence our attitude, if it is truly inspired by these considerations, should not be confused with a base opportunism or with a comfortable neutrality which would make us utterly indifferent to anything that might affect, directly or indirectly, the interests of the third world.

224. Nothing that affects Viet-Nam, Palestine, South Africa, Rhodesia, Namibia, Guinea (Bissau), Angola or Mozambique can be squared with this position. That would amount in the end to an abdication of responsibility and an acceptance of a fait accompli resulting from the balance of the strategic, military and economic interests of the great Powers.

225. For over 20 years the Middle East has been ravaged by a conflict which is deliberately not being traced to its origins. But no amount of rhetoric can conceal the facts of history. Once more a Western Power, the United Kingdom, colonized Palestine. That same Power has acted as the metropolis of world Zionism, prepared the ground for a totalitarian take-over, and deprived a people of its right of self-determination. An occupied territory, a dispossessed people chased from their homeland: that is the problem of the Middle East, meaning the Palestine question. The chief purpose of implanting a European colony in Palestine by force and terror was to create in the region a rallying-point for a colonialism at bay, occupy a strategic position in the Mediterranean basin at the crossroads of three continents, control their natural wealth and strike at the liberation movement of the Arab peoples. That is the task assigned to the Zionist occupation and the Sixth Fleet.

226. Twenty years have passed, but justice has still not been done to the Palestinian people. Today, weary of hollow words and legal myths, the Palestinian people is coming out of its political ghetto to take its destiny into its own hands. By its irruption on to the international stage it joins in the courageous struggle of colonial peoples and of progressive members of the third world, of which it is an integral part. Algeria, always present where freedom and progress meet, brings its total and unconditional support, both material and political, to this struggle which will brook no compromise on the path to liberation.

227. We must consider the Middle East conflict in terms of Palestine. The 1967 aggression against the Arab countries

and those which have followed it have been aimed not only at giving Israel a comfortable negotiating position but also at thwarting the economic development of the countries of the region. Though the closure of the Suez Canal deprives the United Arab Republic of considerable resources for its development, the imperialist Powers do not seem to be in any a hurry to reopen this important means of communication. The pre-1967 stagnation of their merchant shipping has since given way to a feverish activity for which they had no longer dared to hope. As a result, the new trade routes are at present passing round South Africa, so that the Pretoria racists along with their imperialist allies are the main beneficiaries of the situation imposed on the Afro-Asian victims of aggression.

228. The consequences of the Israeli aggression of 1967 and the continued occupation of Arab territories call for a serious re-examination of the situation, not only by the imperialist Powers, which have just awarded an additional prize to the aggressor in the form of the most modern weapons, but also—and above all—by those smaller countries which would like to limit themselves to the illusory role of the non-involved.

229. In this respect the fire in the Al Aqsa Mosque and its repercussions, particularly in the Moslem world, have given the Middle East problem a new dimension. The recent Islamic Summit Conference at Rabat⁸ should awaken all those who support Israel to the risks which might arise from their actions.

230. Whereas before 1967 the Middle East problem was essentially to restore the Palestinian people's legitimate rights, since the Israeli aggression it has been broadened by occupation of the territories of Arab Members of the United Nations. This process seems to have been started already by American imperialism when it extended the front of aggression by the mass bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

231. The territories occupied in 1967 are now tending to become the actual subject of negotiation. This approach is aimed at legitimizing the aggression of 1947 which resulted in the creation of Israel and at burying the Palestine problem by giving it a merely human value.

232. If the occupied Arab countries are able, sovereign and unaided, to adopt what they consider the best and most appropriate means of freeing their national territories, then restoration to the Palestinian people of its lawful rights is a problem exclusively for themselves.

233. The struggle for national liberation in which the Palestinian people is engaged is in the noble tradition of peoples who have decided to fight for freedom and dignity; and Algeria, which has always identified itself with all just causes in the world, sees itself clearly reflected in the heroic struggle of its sister nation.

234. In the year which has just passed the Palestinian fighters have increased their efforts. The world now recognizes their existence and regards them as the true

representatives and spokesmen of their people. They are working to create a Palestinian society within safe and recognized frontiers of eternal Palestine, a democratic and secular State in which all citizens, without distinction of race or religion, may forget their hatreds and rancours and live collectively and individually, equal in rights and duties, as a symbol of harmony and peace in this country which has cradled ancient civilizations.

235. In Viet-Nam a resistance unprecedented in history has finally brought the aggressor to the negotiating table. However, the interminable talks in Paris seem more and more to disappoint the hopes aroused in the world for a speedy and peaceful settlement. The aggression is being multiplied and is becoming increasingly bitter, sowing ruin and desolation everywhere. The law of the strongest has never been so prevalent, and one wonders what glory can be lawfully gained by exterminating the people of Viet-Nam.

236. This mad enterprise gives the impression that the United States is willingly playing the game of those who in Saigon and elsewhere have as their only motive the profits they derive from operating an enormous war machine.

237. The Viet-Nam affair highlights the failure of the Asian policy of the United States and demonstrates the futility of force as a means of making peoples adopt alien ideologies. To be sure, peace is slow in coming and the responsibility for the continuation of the war falls squarely on the aggressors, who are now trying to seize through negotiation what neither their vast army nor their "special warfare" could gain on the field of battle. Against this proud and invincible people, unshakable in their will to freedom, the interventionist policy of the United States must cease. It will cease on the day when the aggressor recognizes unreservedly the right of the people of Viet-Nam to live in independence, as well as its sovereignty, its unity and the integrity of its national territory. It will cease on the day when the aggressor withdraws all its troops from South Viet-Nam and leaves the people of Viet-Nam to settle their affairs by themselves without interference or outside pressure of any kind.

238. It is vain to count on a supposed weariness of peoples to turn back their inexorable march towards freedom, peace and progress. The people of Viet-Nam certainly has enough strength to defeat the aggressor and build an independent, unified, democratic, peaceful and prosperous Viet-Nam. The programme of the National Liberation Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam remains the solid basis of a negotiated settlement.

239. I shall not tell you of the long and painful road which has led our continent to emancipation and to the affirmation of its personality, which was recently revealed in all its splendour at the First Pan-African Cultural Festival,⁹ which my country had the honour of welcoming and where African civilization astounded the world by its wealth and vitality.

240. Yet the Africa whose joy in its own rediscovery shone under the sun of Algiers was a wounded Africa, a

dismembered continent, still a bleeding prey locked in the dying throes of colonialism.

241. Our Organization has been during the last decade a helpless spectator of this unequal struggle against the forces of exploitation and oppression. Indeed, I feel somewhat embarrassed at speaking of the problems of southern Africa after the brilliant statement which the President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon made in this Assembly [*1780th meeting*] on behalf of the Organization of African Unity when he presented the Manifesto on Southern Africa.¹⁰ But how can we refrain from denouncing the intolerable sustained indifference of the human conscience to the liberation movements which still struggle against colonialism? Still less can we conceive how countries calling themselves democratic can continue to give such an anachronism financial and military support. These countries, which still reject the verdict of history and infringe this Assembly's decisions, shoulder a heavy responsibility before Africa and the world. It is no coincidence that they are also evading their duty as trustees towards the people of Zimbabwe, whom they have delivered tied hand and foot to the régime of Ian Smith. Although the international action promptly recommended against the Salisbury racists has not been taken; although the condemnations and ultimatums of the Security Council have remained dead letters and the economic sanctions, as is now clear, have failed, the United Kingdom is still bound first and foremost, as it always has been, to enable the people of Zimbabwe to accede to all their national rights.

242. Against the Pretoria régime, whose refusal to evacuate Namibia we have already recorded, it is high time that the United Nations took vigorous action, particularly as any illusion about the possibility of an agreement has been definitely dispelled. The failure of past efforts should make the United Nations resolve to take all the steps called for both by the fate of Namibia, for which our Organization is responsible before the bar of history, and by the policy of *apartheid*. The good faith and good conscience of the countries maintaining profitable but tainted relations with Pretoria will, here too, be the test of our Organization's capacity for action.

243. In any event the subjugated peoples of southern Africa are determined to be free, counting first of all on themselves and on the solidarity of their continent.

244. Africa, emerging bruised from the colonial yoke, knows that it is still a temptation for all kinds of adventurers. It is also rightly concerned with that other tragedy which is tearing Nigeria apart, to the profit only of those who covet the riches of that great country. The fratricidal conflict which we are witnessing in that part of our continent is painful enough because of the human dramas to which it has given rise. But the real issues require all African States to rise against secessionist ventures and safeguard their territorial integrity; otherwise the independence and unity of Africa will be jeopardized anew.

245. The solution of development problems and the building of the countries of the third world are one of the

⁹ 21 July-1 August 1969.

¹⁰ Later issued as document A/7754.

major tasks of our Organization, to which it is devoting a large part of its resources. The development of institutional structures in the United Nations, directed towards specialization of tasks according to study and evaluation of the needs of economic growth, has not been followed by a concomitant increase in the necessary funds.

246. There is no doubt that the prime responsibility for the development of the third world lies with the countries directly concerned. They are fully aware of this, for they are devoting four fifths of their internal resources to this task. At the same time their sacrifices, however great, will be fruitless unless those who have the necessary means and resources also take world-wide action to modify an international situation not designed to favour the development of our economies.

247. The very idea of instituting a Development Decade in which national efforts would come first cannot be conceived unless the developed countries apply consequential and simultaneous measures to sustain the action of the developing. This is indeed the very essence of the development strategy, which should be conceived as a global plan of action, a perfectly co-ordinated pattern of measures.

248. It was precisely that over all approach that enabled the Group of 77 to propose to the international community, in the Charter of Algiers,¹¹ the essential elements for genuine international co-operation. There has been no response yet to our programme of action. The preparations for the execution of such a programme have not got beyond the stage of an academic exercise; and the Trade and Development Board was recently unable to make the essential contribution which UNCTAD is expected to make.

249. We are fully aware that international co-operation will not come from pathetic appeals to the virtues of heart and mind, nor from a sudden desire to respect the principles of the Charter, but only from a long process in which the third world countries free themselves from foreign domination by their national and regional efforts and reach a position from which they can negotiate.

250. Thus we shall play our due part in hastening the advent of an era of genuine international co-operation; at the same time we shall have created in and around our countries the basis of a durable peace for the greatest good of our peoples and of mankind. Those are the motives of the regional and international policy of Algeria.

251. The agreements and treaties of friendship, of good-neighbourly relations and co-operation which have during this year set the seal on our links with our brothers in the Maghreb are further tokens of my country's adherence to the fundamental principles of the Charter, and we regard them as a contribution to the peace and prosperity of nations. Harmonious relations among the Maghreb countries are an important element of peace in the Mediterranean; and to that end Algeria will work unceasingly to eliminate all factors of tension, actively favouring every form of co-operation among the coastal countries that is

compatible with its freedom of choice and its uncompromising idea of national independence.

252. Of course, the United Nations is merely the reflexion of the preoccupations of its creators in a given international context. It can be improved if its Members agree to work sincerely to adapt it to the realities of this world. It would certainly be surprising if a world divided by antagonisms and opposing interests were suddenly to find itself firmly united and harmonious in this chamber. The gaps in development are too great, the political and ideological cleavages too deep, and the animosities too keen to permit such a miracle. The numerous anomalies and flagrant defects expose the gravity of the illness which afflicts our Organization and may one day destroy it.

253. Is there indeed a more scandalous anomaly than the occupation of South Korea for the last 20 years by foreign troops, in particular United States troops, under the United Nations flag? Thus our Organization is illegally associated with an enterprise designed to perpetuate the territorial division of the Korean nation. The withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea and the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea are the essential conditions for enabling the Korean people as a whole to solve a question which pertains to its sovereignty.

254. Is there a more scandalous anomaly than that which denies the representatives of the great Chinese people the right to take their lawful place among us? Is the Organization so paralysed that it cannot give effect to the need for universality, simply because of the obstinacy of one State which still refuses to admit the full reality of the Chinese nation?

255. In opening this session [*1753rd meeting*] the President spoke of the need to make this Organization more dynamic and readier to act on its decisions. The great danger threatening it and condemning it to sterility lies, in our view, in its inability to grasp the essential facts of a world in motion. The reality of the People's Republic of China is irreversible and does not need to be affirmed by a seat in the United Nations, though China is fully entitled to one. The United Nations is bound to build a stable, pacific and coherent world, and must therefore do what is needed to enlist the aid of that great country, which has a special part to play in any world-wide undertaking.

256. It is high time our Organization gave all the peoples that renewed hope and confidence without which nothing durable can be built. In this great space age, which is making us aware of the full though limited dimensions of our own planet and of the vanity of some of our undertakings, it is high time we regained our solidarity and our common destiny within the universe. It is high time we asked ourselves about the ultimate purpose of man. It is precisely here that our Organization's universal vocation must be unequivocally affirmed; this is the crucible in which, in an all-embracing fraternity, the great aspirations and dreams of mankind must be fulfilled.

257. Speaking as I am for a courageous people that has suffered greatly from war and is therefore deeply dedicated to peace, for a hard-working people determined to build a

¹¹ Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 (Algiers, 13-16 September 1968).

new society, I have no need to assure you again that for Algeria adherence to the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations is a cardinal principle and an irrevocable commitment, since it is rooted in the great ideals for which my country has sacrificed and fought and for which it will continue unceasingly to work.

258. The PRESIDENT: We have now heard the last speaker in the general debate. Four representatives have expressed the wish to exercise their right of reply. I will now call upon them in turn.

259. Mr. THOMPSON (Guyana): I regret that my delegation has had to seek your indulgence to speak again today, but it has been forced upon us by the remarks made yesterday by the permanent representative of Venezuela. My Minister spoke on Monday [1280th meeting] with deliberate restraint, sketching only the broad outline of Venezuela's pattern of hostility against my country, and affording the new Venezuelan administration the benefit of any doubt that may exist concerning its adherence to the threatening policies which were pursued by the previous Venezuelan Government. The statement made yesterday [1781st meeting] by the permanent representative of Venezuela has made it clear that those policies continue to hold sway in Caracas.

260. In the course of making that statement, the Venezuelan permanent representative presented to this Assembly an imaginative compound of fiction and contradiction.

261. First, he discussed the so-called inequitable colonial heritage which Venezuela cites as the basis for its claim to two thirds of Guyana. We have heard from him a new version of the historical record which, I believe, will dumbfound even Venezuelan students of history. The fact is that throughout the nineteenth century there were territorial claims and counter-claims within the region: on the part of the British, stretching to the Orinoco River itself; on the part of Venezuela, to the Essequibo. Venezuela rested its case entirely on the legacy of Spanish colonialism which it claimed to have inherited. But the British, still a colonial Power at the time, rejected the Venezuelan attempt to call in an old colonialism to redress the balance of the new. The Venezuelans then turned to the United States, and, pressured by the Venezuelan lobbyists who spent vast sums in the United States on the presentation of Venezuela's case, the United States President threatened war with Britain unless the issues were submitted to arbitration. Having succeeded in forcing the British to accept arbitration, the President of Venezuela, on the documented evidence, then proceeded to nominate United States judges to represent Venezuela on the arbitral tribunal, on the grounds that they were more capable of dealing with the British and of making a strong presentation for Venezuela's case.

262. Is there not something odd in the Venezuelan representation that Britain only acceded to arbitration when the United States, on Venezuela's behalf, threatened war in the name of the Monroe Doctrine, but that it was the same United States which then proceeded to conspire with Britain to deny justice to Venezuela? Stranger still, the permanent representative might have gone on to say, as

is the case, that it was on the posthumous testimony of a United States lawyer, employed by Venezuela, that the Venezuelan contention is founded. It is against this background that the remarks of the permanent representative of Venezuela about the tribunal must be judged. Citing itself as the heir to Spanish colonialism, Venezuela pressed for arbitration and got it. Venezuela accepted the judgement as, and I quote from Article XIII of the Treaty,¹² "a full perfect and final settlement" of the boundary. Venezuelan Commissioners demarcated the boundary on the ground. Venezuela respected that boundary for much more than half a century until, with the departure of the British from Guyana in the 1960s, Venezuela saw before it a new and weak State which seemed to present no obstacle to a revival of colonialist ambition.

263. What Venezuela is, in fact, saying is that Spanish colonialism endowed Venezuela with a legacy which British colonialism denied Guyana and that now that Guyana is free but weak, the boundary, though settled by treaty and judicial procedure, should no longer stand. It is an argument which resolution 1514 (XV) alone makes ridiculous. When viewed in the context of the boundary Treaty, a Treaty freely entered into by Venezuela some 70 years ago and implemented and observed for much more than half a century, it is an argument which is not only ridiculous but dangerous to the future of all small and new States.

264. Second, the permanent representative of Venezuela asserted once again Venezuela's peaceful traditions and intentions. He seemed unaware of the contradictions which such assertions serve only to emphasize; the contradiction between assertions of peace before this Assembly, and actions outside of it which have already permitted insurgents, trained and armed in Venezuela, to enter Guyana. Venezuela had hoped they would lead a vast area of Guyana into secession from the central Government. My Minister was careful to point out in his statement to the Assembly that the substantial Venezuelan involvement in the Rupununi rebellion was an involvement of the previous Venezuelan administration. Out of a wish not to inflame the issue he went no further. The statement of the permanent representative of Venezuela now leaves us no alternative.

265. His denial of Venezuelan involvement must be viewed against the admission of the previous Venezuelan Minister of the Interior that Venezuela had given military training to rebels from the Guyana side of the border. His denial must be viewed against the fact that the rebels having fled Guyana now live in Venezuelan villages especially created for them by the Venezuelan authorities. Those same authorities have granted them, not the traditional right of asylum, but Venezuelan citizenship. The rebellion was planned in Venezuela and it was in Venezuela that the rebels were trained and armed. The rebels killed five unarmed policemen in cold blood and among the civilians killed by them was a Guyanese of Amerindian descent who was an important member of the Board of our College of Agriculture.

¹² Treaty between Great Britain and the United States of Venezuela, respecting the Settlement of the Boundary between the Colony of British Guiana and the United States of Venezuela, signed at Washington on 2 February 1897.

266. In contrast to this, though prisoners were taken, there were no casualties whatever inflicted by the Guyana forces. Today, we have with us in our delegation to this session of the Assembly, the Parliamentary Secretary for Amerindian Affairs, himself a Guyanese of Amerindian origin, a member of our Parliament and our Government with special responsibilities for the welfare of the indigenous people of Guyana. We do not boast of these matters; there is still much more to do and so far we have had only three years in which to work. My Government's record during this time, however, is the best denial of the slanders made against it.

267. Further, the permanent representative of Venezuela, in alluding to the existence of the mixed Guyana-Venezuela Commission, has sought to imply that the complaints made by my Foreign Minister to this Assembly two days ago do not fall within the competence of this Organization because the Agreement signed at Geneva¹³ provides machinery for their determination. Let it never be accepted that the existence in force of an agreement between two Members of this Organization precludes States from exercising rights under Articles 34 and 35 of the Charter or from discharging obligations under them. The rights and obligations issuing from the Charter are overriding and cannot be the subject of disparagement. There can be no restrictions on the competence of the General Assembly to discuss any matter under Article 11 of the Charter and to make recommendations under Article 12.

268. Beyond that, it is a principle, well recognized in international jurisprudence, that a party to an agreement may not in the same breath both approve and disprove its terms. A delinquent State which has flagrantly violated the terms of an agreement cannot bring it up against the State aggrieved; far less can it do so when it seeks to prevent the aggrieved State from complaining about the delinquency. Venezuela's violations of the Agreement signed at Geneva are undeniable; indeed, they continue to this day.

269. What does the record show? What are the realities? Venezuela's several acts of hostility against Guyana have been fully documented before this Assembly. They began in 1966 when we became independent and they have increased in scale and in intensity over the years since then. Starting with a desire to break a boundary treaty of 70 years' standing so as to permit the annexation of over two thirds of my country and one sixth of our people, Venezuela has systematically violated the Agreement signed at Geneva, which was to have been the means of a search for a solution.

270. Venezuela violated it in 1966 by aggression and by the occupation of the island of Ankoko and its conversion into a military fortress. It violated it in 1967 through the clandestine activity by one of its Embassy officials in Georgetown, an activity which led to his removal. It violated it in 1968 by an infamous decree asserting sovereignty to a nine-mile belt of sea running off the coast of Guyana in defiance of any known rule of international law. It violated it in 1969 by organizing, equipping and supporting the Rupununi insurrection.

271. Throughout all these years Venezuela has continued to violate both the spirit and the letter of the Agreement by excluding Guyana from all hemispheric arrangements, and from the regional organization itself; from the security arrangements under the Rio Treaty;¹⁴ from the Treaty of Tlatelolco,¹⁵ whose only object was a nuclear-free zone in Latin America, and from the Inter-American Development Bank, the only purpose of which is the development of the under-developed countries of the hemisphere. To all this, they add the methods of economic pressure referred to in my Minister's statement, through which they seek to force Guyana to its knees by impeding development in two thirds of its territory. Let it be recognized that the Venezuelan permanent representative has not been able to deny the charges of economic aggression made by my Foreign Minister in his speech to this Assembly. This is Venezuela's record in its relations with the new State on its border during the last four years. Is it any wonder that Venezuela shows no disposition to have it revealed, least of all to this Assembly?

272. None the less, the permanent representative of Venezuela has attempted to divert the attention of this Assembly by accusing Guyana of racial hostility towards our people of Amerindian descent. This charge of racialism is not new. The Government of Venezuela has sought to make it before and it is a charge which takes different forms in different places. Before this Assembly it is a charge of discrimination against Amerindians, at another time it is a charge of discrimination against Asians, and, in quiet corners, it is a charge of the emergence of a predominantly black society on the borders of a predominantly white Venezuela. These are dangerous and explosive forces and the world's racial problem is already too alarming for new stratagems to be devised for intensifying it. Guyana counsels the Government of Venezuela against the pattern of racial hostility on which it now seems disposed to embark in pursuit of its territorial ambitions.

273. Finally, the representative of Venezuela suggested that it was necessary, on the part of my Government to find internal distractions. This Assembly is the best judge of excuses of that kind, which it has heard so often before. Let it be said, however, that in the case of Guyana, there is a Government that is assured of the majority support of its Parliament and its people. The need for distraction and diversion does not arise in my country.

274. Guyana, like every other new and developing country, indeed, like every country, has its share of economic and social problems. What country having recently attained independence does not? But to attempt to present these matters as the reason for Guyana's justified complaints in this forum against Venezuelan hostility is to seek the flimsiest pretext for preventing discussion in this Assembly and to divert attention from the real motives underlying that hostility.

275. If we are not to make a mockery of this Organization and render sterile the deliberations of this general debate, it

¹³ See *Official Records of General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Annexes*, document A/6325.

¹⁴ Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, signed in Rio de Janeiro on 2 September 1947.

¹⁵ Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, signed at Mexico City on 14 February 1967.

must never become a doctrine that the weak and defenceless remain silent so that the strong may proceed with the preparations for their destruction behind a façade of innocence and protestations of peaceful intentions.

276. In the end it is deeds, not words, that matter. No one would be happier than the Government of Guyana to see an end to this sorry chronicle of hostility which is unworthy of the traditions of the hemisphere and the great patriots of South America. Let the Government of Venezuela, by its actions, give proof of its assertions of peaceful intentions and friendship for the new State which is now its neighbour, leaving to history that which is a part of our joint colonial past.

277. Let us in South America learn, from the example of Africa, the wisdom of not reopening the boundaries of a continent which were the product of another era and the work of forces external to it, for which our generation bears no responsibility. Let this present generation of our two countries build bridges of friendship and let us begin to reinforce a mutual resolve for friendly relations by positive acts of goodwill.

278. Mr. AGUILAR (Venezuela) (*translated from Spanish*): Mr. President, I wish to thank you for calling upon me so late in the evening, but let me reassure you and all those listening to me that I shall be very brief.

279. Yesterday morning [1781st meeting] Venezuela made known its views concerning the unfounded and hotheaded accusations made by the Government of Guyana, which another of its representatives has just repeated and expanded.

280. We categorically reject both sets of accusations. Venezuela will not allow itself to be dragged into a sterile debate on problems which should be raised in the mixed Venezuela-Guyana Commission set up by the Geneva Agreement.

281. Mr. DE MIRANDA (Portugal): I should like to take this opportunity to offer to the President of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly the greetings of my delegation, and my own greetings, together with our warm felicitations, on her election to her exalted office. It is indeed a source of pleasure to us that her long and distinguished career in the United Nations has been crowned with the highest honour which this Organization could bestow on her. We sincerely wish her a very successful term of office.

282. In the course of the general debate that is about to end, references have been made to my country in connexion with its overseas policy. It is not the habit of my delegation, nor is it a useful exercise, to reply each time a speaker makes an unwarranted allegation against my country. Nor does my delegation wish to take the time of the General Assembly, particularly at this late hour, by going into details of its position once again in reply to such allegations as have been made in the course of the general debate, since they are mere repetitions of what has been said here in the past. Our reply to such allegations has been stated very clearly over the years and our statements are on record in the General Assembly. We wish those statements

to be considered as fully reiterated for all relevant purposes. If we may add a general remark with reference to the allegations heard in the course of the present debate, it is not only that there is nothing new in them but also that we do not find them relevant to the realities in any Portuguese Territory.

283. We are asked to accept certain *a priori* assumptions and standardized abstractions as if one and the same solution could be applied to situations which are essentially different among themselves. Sound statesmanship can be based only on a sound sense of the realities or else the main sufferers will be the very populations whose welfare is allegedly sought. My delegation would, therefore, suggest that the United Nations take stock of the realities in the Portuguese overseas provinces. We have no doubt that if a sense of realism were to prevail, the Portuguese overseas policy would be seen to be very different from the distorted image which is created in this Organization on the basis of abstractions, false premises and even concerted falsehood. My delegation has, likewise, no doubt that from a realistic point of view, life in the Portuguese overseas provinces would be found to be a most advanced embodiment of the ideal of human solidarity, overcoming geographical and racial differences.

284. It is neither geography nor race that determines the formation of national communities. Nor are geography and race by themselves the determining factors of colonialism, as it is falsely made out to be in this Organization. Colonialism is essentially differentiation, when a section of people are denied the rights and privileges which other sections enjoy under the same sovereignty. Such differentiation can exist even within a territory or in territories which are geographically contiguous. But no differentiation exists in any Portuguese territory. It is a well-known fact that Portuguese society is an equalitarian, multiracial society, not merely by reason of constitutional texts but by virtue of its historical formation. The legal texts have done no more than consecrate an existing reality; they have not created the reality.

285. The Portuguese multiracial society has been built up over the centuries on the basis of equal dignity of all its members and their equal rights, irrespective of race, colour or place of origin. To try to split this equalitarian, multiracial society on a racial basis would be indeed a step backward on the path which should lead to a strengthening of the bonds of solidarity in existing multiracial societies, and not to their dissolution.

286. My delegation is in a position to say a great deal on this point. We believe we can say it with unique authority and experience, it being undeniable that Portugal is the pioneer of multiracialism in the modern world and has practised it for well nigh 500 years in all its overseas provinces. We know the ground we tread. We have no doubt as to the constructive human value of the principles which form our policy and practice. We have no doubt as to their validity from every relevant point of view, moral, political and sociological. We are comforted by the appreciative testimony we constantly receive from innumerable strangers who visit our overseas provinces and observe the realities there with an open mind.

287. Having said this, I wish to add a few remarks regarding the statement made from this rostrum last Thursday [1776th meeting] by the representative of the Republic of Guinea. My delegation does not know what is most deplorable in that statement—the volubility of its abusive language or the sheer extravagance of its wild allegations against my country. Some of these allegations are as wild as they are gratuitous and irresponsible. My delegation treats them with the contempt they deserve.

288. However, my delegation deems it convenient to deal with the sole allegation which the representative of the Republic of Guinea tried to substantiate. He gave his version of an incident involving a ship, a version which my delegation rejects as false. The facts of the case are as follows: on 27 August 1969 a Portuguese river patrol came across a vessel sailing in Portuguese waters in the Inshansa or Cacete river. In reply to a Portuguese request for identification, the vessel opened fire on the Portuguese patrol. Some of the persons on board the vessel managed to escape by swimming to the territory of the Republic of Guinea. The vessel was then captured by the Portuguese patrol together with the remaining persons on board. There were no casualties.

289. The representative of the Republic of Guinea also referred to the Guinean aircraft that has been detained in Portuguese Guinea. I myself dealt with this case in the statement I made here on 25 October 1968 before the twenty-third session of the General Assembly [1707th meeting]. On that occasion I read out the text of the joint communiqué issued in Lisbon by the Portuguese Foreign Affairs and Overseas Ministries. It will be recalled that, relating the circumstances in which the Russian-made aircraft, displaying the flag of the Republic of Guinea, had been found in the territory of Portuguese Guinea, the communiqué said that its six passengers, who were found to be nationals of Mali, were given all facilities to continue their journey. The aircraft and its crew of two Guinean nationals were, however, detained. The communiqué went on to state that they would be returned as soon as the Portuguese military persons unlawfully detained in the Republic of Guinea were set free.

290. The number of Portuguese military persons unlawfully detained in the Republic of Guinea is 24 at the present moment. These Portuguese nationals did not commit any offence in or against the Republic of Guinea. They were kidnapped from Portuguese Guinea by armed raiders coming from the Republic of Guinea. They have since been held there, subject to a régime that must be regarded as one of duress, with the knowledge and consent of the Government of Conakry which, insensitive to the repeated appeals of international humanitarian organizations for the liberation of the Portuguese nationals in question, has endorsed the crime and must therefore share the blame and responsibility for it.

291. The Portuguese Government demands the return of the 24 kidnapped Portuguese nationals, unlawfully detained in the Republic of Guinea, as a condition to be fulfilled before the return of the above-mentioned vessel and aircraft can be considered.

292. Mr. GUERRERO (El Salvador) (*translated from Spanish*): I shall not claim my right of reply, but I do crave

the attention and indulgence of representatives if I take a few minutes of this long-drawn-out evening to clarify some of the points raised by Mr. Tiburcio Carias Castillo, the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Honduras.

293. Mr. Carias spoke of El Salvador's greed for conquest. I must refer to two points. First, El Salvador withdrew its troops as soon as the Organization of American States, through its organ of consultation, guaranteed the lives and property of Salvadorian citizens resident in Honduras. If we had been greedy for territorial expansion or conquest, I am sure that we should still be on Honduran territory.

294. Let me read two short paragraphs from a statement made by General Fidel Sánchez Hernández, the President of the Republic of El Salvador, a few hours after the defence operation:

"Having exhausted all peaceful means of obtaining guarantees for our persecuted compatriots in Honduras, having denounced the crime of genocide of which we were victims to the consciousness of the Americas and received no reply, having seen our frontiers repeatedly violated, we people of El Salvador had no alternative but to defend those rights with our own resources.

"The fight of the Salvadorian people has only one objective: to guarantee the personal welfare and property of our compatriots in Honduras. Neither we nor any other responsible government on earth could have permitted its own people to be massacred simply because they were beyond a frontier."

Later on in the same statement President Sánchez Hernández said:

"Our fight is not a war of conquest but a crusade for human dignity. The humble Salvadorian persecuted in Honduras is a symbol of all men and of all minorities oppressed and beset in the four corners of the world."

295. The Foreign Minister of Honduras has lamented the destruction of war. War is indeed ghastly. That is why we in this Organization condemn and avoid it. But the destruction of war to which he referred has been proved by the records prepared by the army of El Salvador and handed over not to the Honduran army but to observers of the Organization of American States.

296. I shall read a portion—they are all very much alike—in which it is stated that, in the presence of the observers from the Organization of American States, Colonel Anselmo Pilarte, Ernesto M. Gordillo and Victor Manuel Silva, who were present for the purpose of fulfilling resolution I, "the entire town"—of Goascarán, together with Aramecina and Nueva Ocotepeque—"was inspected to ascertain its physical and material state and the destruction that had been caused; it was observed that only two houses had their roofs half destroyed as a direct, natural and logical result of the artillery fire of both combatants". It was a battlefield and the combatants were not chocolate soldiers.

297. We had to fight; two armies confronted each other, but not until 14 July. On 15 June Honduras unleashed a

massive and inhuman persecution and assault against the Salvadorians. How different from war! Why do we not lament? Why do we talk about the war and not about its causes? Thousands of Salvadorian children like this one [*the speaker exhibited a photograph*], who had his left hand cut off and his right eye gouged out—I show you the photograph and can give you the names—not only aroused hatred but also entitled the Salvadorian people to defend themselves.

298. They lament when soldiers are pitted against soldiers, but they try to cover up the facts when their soldiery destroys defenceless old men, women and children. To prove these facts, before starting its defence crusade, El Salvador requested the intervention of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, whose report demonstrated that the Salvadorians resident in Honduras had been persecuted, that a veritable exodus had been caused and that there had been very serious violation of human rights. The Commission's report is here and can be consulted.

299. The Foreign Minister of Honduras has referred to the political and social situation in El Salvador. In my country—I say it with pride—we have held seven elections since 1962: two for the Presidency, by direct vote of the people and not through manoeuvres in legislative assemblies, and five for deputies and mayors. Let us see what has happened in Honduras. I shall not speak about it personally but shall simply quote the manifesto published in the Tegucigalpa newspaper *El Cronista* for 25 March:

“Urgent proclamation to the Honduran people by the Confederation of Workers of Honduras.

“To all the Honduran people: The second Regular National Assembly of the Confederation of Workers of Honduras, held in the Colonia Sitrateroco in Puerto Cortés from 21-23 March 1969, having considered in an exalted spirit of patriotism, and with full regard for the highest interests of the nation, the social, economic and political situation of the country, unanimously agrees to issue the following proclamation . . .”

300. Give me just a few more minutes so that you may have some idea of the situation in Honduras. The operative part of the manifesto reads as follows:

“Political instability in Honduras has brought about bloodshed, has exacerbated political sectarianism, has made us waste our financial resources and abandon programmes that would benefit the people, has prevented that minimum degree of co-ordination that must exist between the forces of the State and the private sector, and generally has created a climate of continual disturbance and uncertainty among all Hondurans.

“To assess the degree of political and institutional instability it is sufficient to recall that since 1950, that is over the last 18 years, we Hondurans have had three constitutions, three *de facto* Governments and, what is even worse, we have not elected a single President of the Republic by direct and secret ballot.

“In this crisis of our republican institutions, the oligarchs who lead the traditional parties have a grave

responsibility. For these cliques power is only a source of enrichment, and they wield it by monopolizing Government so as to distribute among their henchmen the various posts, sinecures, contracts and concessions.

“In order to perpetuate their hegemony, those who manipulate the political machines have conspired to establish an electoral system which deprives the citizens of suffrage and have arrogated to themselves a monopoly of the distribution of posts, the citizens being obliged to vote for the candidates selected by the oligarchies. In this way, all possibilities of democratic election are denied the Honduran people.

“Within the framework of traditional politics the parties have turned themselves into agencies for public jobbery. They traffic in the dignity of those working in the service of the State, and consequently incite hatred and resentment among Hondurans. The result has been an inefficient and corrupt system of government which subserves not the interests of the people but those of the group in power.”

301. This is not a criticism made by El Salvador, but by the Confederation of Workers of Honduras, on 25 March 1969.

302. It has been said that the Salvadorians left Honduras of their own free will. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Foreign Minister of Honduras did, indeed, recognize the fact of their departure and tried to explain it away. If the reason he gave was true, why did the organ of consultation of the Organization of American States approve resolutions guaranteeing the lives and property of Salvadorians resident in Honduras? The Commission on Human Rights has demonstrated that documents held by Salvadorian immigrants in Honduras were destroyed so it could then be alleged that they had no identity documents.

303. We categorically deny that El Salvador is an aggressor or that the hostilities of 14 July constituted an isolated act. It was an act resulting from a massive violation of the human rights of Salvadorian citizens. This is so true that I wonder, and I would ask you to do likewise, why it was that, if we occupied Honduran territory and smashed the defences of the Honduran army, we were not condemned as aggressors by OAS? It was simply because we exercised the right of self-defence; because it was understood that there were human factors and an admirable motive—an insistence on respect for human personality—behind our exercise of that right.

304. Towards the end of the statement I made a few days ago in this supreme world organization, I said that my Government and country are:

“... prepared to face the hazards of this contemporary international society which still lacks maturity; but that, in settling . . . disputes, we intend 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”. [*1778th meeting, para. 154.*]

305. I have to inform you that we have held meetings in Washington, in the organ of consultation of the Organiza-

tion of American States; and we are trying to find means of effective peace-keeping. The Organization of American States is undergoing one of its severest tests, and El Salvador is confident that it will emerge with flying colours and that, by the end of this week or the beginning of next, the problem will be on the way to solution.

306. May God guide those taking part in those meetings, so that peace may reign in future relationships between El Salvador and Honduras and that these recriminations need not be repeated.

The meeting rose at 8.00 p.m.