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CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<i>continued</i>)	
Speech by Mr. Alarcón (Cuba)	1
Speech by Mr. Swaran Singh (India)	5
Speech by Mr. Boutaleb (Morocco)	9
Speech by Mr. Shevel (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)	13
Statement by the representative of Costa Rica	18
Statements by the representative of Nicaragua	19
Statement by the representative of Cuba	20

President: Mr. Edvard HAMBRO (Norway).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I should first like to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly and to assure you of our complete co-operation in the discharge of your functions.
2. This Assembly meets a quarter of a century after the Charter was signed and the United Nations created. This occasion prompts us to take stock of the results achieved, to assess the effectiveness and utility of the Organization and to analyse the means and action required to help it achieve the aspirations and ideals for which it was created.
3. This Organization was created to promote a new international order based on respect for the equal rights of all States large and small, and on the age-old determination of the peoples of the world to live in peace, to establish international co-operation and to develop. Those desires remain valid 25 years later.
4. The fight against imperialist aggression, the fight to do away completely with colonialism and neo-colonialism, to ensure that all the peoples of the world may enjoy their sacred right to self-determination and independence, to create conditions in which backward nations can develop economically and socially and overcome the barriers between them and the achievements of science and technology—these continue to be the most important tasks before us, and they have prompted most of mankind to join together in a common front.
5. However, as a result of factors that have nothing to do with the Charter, and which may be summed

up as the failure of certain imperialist Powers, and particularly the United States, to comply with its purposes and principles, the United Nations has been unable fully to carry out its lofty mission of guaranteeing international peace and security.

6. An item that has remained on our agenda since the last session as a result of an initiative of the delegation of the Soviet Union—the strengthening of international security—has unquestionably helped to bring that preoccupation into focus. Cuba shares the concern expressed by that delegation and by other socialist countries in the draft declaration that has in this connexion been submitted to the First Committee for consideration [A/C.I./L.513].

7. Cuba has unswervingly maintained that peace is an indivisible and universal value and can be guaranteed only when it is enjoyed by everyone without exception. So it is that the successful efforts to bring about peace in today's world depend both on the fight against imperialist aggression and on militant solidarity with any people facing imperialist aggression, weapons in hand. Stopping the aggressor and cutting off its claws wherever he may be trying to use them is the best way of guaranteeing the security of those who may fall victim tomorrow.

8. The peoples of Indo-China, the Middle East and Africa are therefore in the vanguard of efforts to achieve peace and universal security.

9. The situation in Indo-China seems about to be resolved. American imperialism, after a long and cruel war in which almost all the resources of its criminal arsenal have been used, not only has been unsuccessful in taking away the freedom and independence of the people of Viet-Nam but also has suffered at their hands, one of the greatest military and political defeats in its history. Its infamous cause in Viet-Nam having been irretrievably lost, the only way out now for the United States is immediately, completely and unconditionally to withdraw its troops, equipment and military personnel—and its allies and lackeys must do the same. It has no other alternative unless it wishes to continue to accumulate defeats on the battlefield and dishonour and repudiation throughout the world.

10. Cuba once again expresses complete solidarity with the people of Viet-Nam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, which has just commemorated the twenty-fifth anniversary of its heroic and exemplary existence, with the Revolutionary Provisional Government of South Viet-Nam and the popular armed forces for the liberation of South

Viet-Nam, which in their just and courageous struggle have shown all oppressed peoples the way to complete emancipation. International solidarity with the cause of the Viet-Nameese people has become ever stronger with the passing of each day. This bears witness to universal repudiation of the innumerable crimes by American imperialism and its overseers in Saigon. The Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held last month in Lusaka¹ was a clear indication of the sweeping movement of sympathy and solidarity with the Viet-Nameese people. Participation by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam in the person of Foreign Minister Comrade Nguyen Thi Bin is a great stride forward in the movement of non-aligned countries who in this way have demonstrated their unswerving commitment to the struggle of the people of the world against imperialism and colonialism. The ovation given by the participants to Mrs. Bin was the longest and loudest of the entire Conference. The resolution which was adopted on Indo-China is an unequivocal warning to American imperialism that the peoples of the third world are standing by the Viet-Nameese and other people of Indo-China in their heroic struggle against aggression and in support of their full enjoyment of independence and self-determination, and they demand an immediate and unconditional end to American aggression.

11. But this solidarity is not shared solely by those who have experienced the harsh realities of colonialism. In Western metropolitan countries and in particular in the United States itself people have been expressing their determined support for heroic Indo-China.

12. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam submitted to the Paris Conference on 17 September last an important proposal designed to resolve the Viet-Nameese problem and to bring about progress in talks. The Government of the United States must put an end to its so-called policy of Viet-Namization of the war and must formally declare that it will withdraw all its troops and all those of its allies before 30 June 1971. It is also proposed that a provisional coalition government be set up consisting of members of the present Provisional Revolutionary Government, members of the Saigon Administration who genuinely want peace, independence and neutrality, and persons of various political and religious persuasions including those who reside abroad for political reasons. Obviously such a government will not include the traitors Thieu, Ky and Khiem. This Government would pursue an independent foreign policy, one of friendship and respect for the territorial integrity of the Kingdoms of Laos and Cambodia.

13. The present American Administration with low profile demagoguery has promised peace while expanding the war. Imperialist aggression has extended to the kingdom of Cambodia in the plot against Prince Samdec Norodom Sihanouk and there is now greater use of Yankee and Saigon troops against Laos. An

imperialist move is now afoot to use Asians against Asians or—and this amounts to the same thing—to organize the military riff-raff of their lackeys to defend the interests of their imperialist masters against the patriotic forces of the people. This move met with failure in the past when imperialism undertook the so-called “special war”. Starting the whole thing once again today shows that the criminal strategy of the Pentagon has run out of ideas. The present course can lead only to an even greater defeat for imperialism. The Yankee slogan of “Asians against Asians” is one which the people of the region will turn into “Asia against American imperialism and their traitors and mercenaries”. The Conference of the peoples of Indo-China made an historic commitment and expressed its unanimous determination to fight until it has completely done away with American intervention.

14. A particular cause for indignation is aggression against Cambodia. The neutral Cambodia of Prince Sihanouk defended its independence and sovereignty in exemplary fashion in difficult circumstances. Its conduct earned it the admiration of the whole world, particularly of the independent Asian and African nations. At the third conference of non-aligned countries the opinion of the third world on the situation in Cambodia was set forth with utmost clarity. After a lengthy debate in which 40 countries participated, 21 unequivocally stated that the only legitimate representative of Cambodia at the conference was the Royal Government of the National Union presided over by Prince Sihanouk. Only seven delegations defended the spurious representation of Lon Nol and 12 abstained. The figures could not be more eloquent. It is indeed scandalous that in this Assembly the lawful seat of the Government of Cambodia has been usurped by spokesmen of a puppet régime created by the Central Intelligence Agency, propped up by foreign bayonets and guilty of the crime of genocide against its own people. This Assembly must heed the call of the people of the third world, expressed at the Lusaka Conference, and must expel the Lon Nol clique and restore the rightful place of the legitimate government which together with its armed branch, the National United Front of Cambodia, has liberated a large part of the territory and represents the right of the people to an independent and peaceful life.

15. In the Far East the tensions provoked by the aggressive policies of American imperialism against the Popular Democratic Republic of Korea continue. This problem has been considered by the General Assembly for many years. It is high time that it was resolved in the only way consistent with the principles of the Charter. The immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea must be called for and the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea must be dissolved. Once and for all an end must be put to United Nations interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people. The peaceful and independent unification of Korea is a matter for the Korean people alone. Using the United Nations as an instrument in the anti-Korean policies of the Government in Washington is a gross violation of the principles of the Charter and seriously impairs the prestige of this Organization.

¹ Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka, Zambia, from 8 to 10 September 1970.

16. The conflict created by imperialist aggression in the Middle East continues unresolved. Cuba reaffirms its support of the Arab peoples and once again calls for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied territories in the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan. Once again we express our solidarity with the Palestinian people in their heroic struggle to exercise their legitimate rights.

17. We express once again our feelings of grief over the death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser, the great leader of the Egyptian people and hero of the Arab nation. His passing is a particularly severe blow for it has occurred at a time when the imperialists are threatening fresh aggression against the Arab people while Nixon is engaged in sabre-rattling around the Mediterranean.

18. Young African nations, working hard to bring about progress, justice and independence, must cope with the growing threats of the forces of colonialism and racism which, disregarding all the resolutions adopted by this Assembly and the Security Council, wish to keep Africa in slavery and serfdom. The Lusaka Conference once again demonstrated that there is unity among all non-aligned countries defending the rights of the African peoples. It called on this Organization to adopt effective measures to put an end to colonialism and racial oppression and it condemned the military support which South Africa has been receiving from Western Powers. My delegation will co-operate with whatever efforts are made here to support the just fight of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

19. The right to self-determination is a universal one; it is an inalienable prerogative the exercise of which must be guaranteed for all peoples in all regions of the world. Therefore, my delegation once again would denounce the inertia of this Organization regarding the case of Puerto Rico. Five years ago my country called for consideration of the subject in the Special Committee on decolonization. But the Special Committee has not yet been able to consider it due to the stubborn opposition of the United States—the administering Power. Puerto Rico is, has been, and will always be a Latin American nation. American military occupation since 1898, and pressure which has been brought to bear by all the resources of its empire to absorb it in the metropolitan country, has not been able to undermine the desire for independence of that sister people. Cuba would call on those who are opposed to colonialism to express their solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Puerto Rican people for national independence.

20. Now when many delegations are concerned with strengthening the effectiveness of the Organization the question of its universality acquires fresh importance. However, there still remains a problem which has been hampering our activities for more than 20 years—the representation of China. Our position is very well known and I need now only confirm it. Cuba will once again request that the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China be restored in this Organization and that the usurper Chiang Kai-shek clique be expelled.

21. The work of our Organization would be more effective if more States which could make an important contribution to international relations could participate. That is true of the German Democratic Republic. Discrimination against that independent State is unjust and harmful to the international community for it deprives it of the co-operation of a peaceful country which has achieved a high degree of economic development.

22. As we begin the Second United Nations Development Decade the problem of promoting economic and social progress in the countries of the third world has become more pressing. We shall be considering that item in detail when it is taken up in the appropriate Committee, but we should now like to state a few important considerations which on more than one occasion have already been put forward by representatives of Cuba. The general picture outlined in various United Nations documents suggests that the effects of under-development have been only slightly lessened. It is necessary to emphasize that development demands as its primary requisite profound structural changes in countries which wish to develop. That in turn inevitably requires revolutionary changes in the structure of power and social relations before injustice and inequality can be eliminated. Without such changes it would be illusory to imagine that the people can be mobilized or that the masses can make the sacrifices needed to develop the country.

23. In the circumstances, therefore, it is impossible to expect that the Second Development Decade will achieve more than the first unless there is a radical change in international trade relations and in the generally prevailing ideas about foreign financing and its conditions.

24. Furthermore, Cuba has said that the projected growth rate corresponds not even remotely to the plight of the developing countries. An annual *per capita* growth rate of between 3.5 per cent and 4.5 per cent in those countries means that the average annual income of the inhabitants of the countries of the third world would be approximately equivalent to 10 per cent of the average income of people in the developed capitalist countries and 5 per cent of the *per capita* income of the citizens of the United States. Such a prospect is hardly satisfactory for millions of men and women who live in poverty and who are prepared to fight for a more dignified existence.

25. A number of delegations have expressed their concern over the hijacking of civilian aircraft. Cuba's position was very clearly set forth in the statement made by the delegation of Cuba in the general debate last year [*1705th meeting*] and in Cuba's Act 1226 promulgated by the Revolutionary Government to deal with this new form of crime. Allow me to say once again that Cuba has suffered more than any other country from the effects of these criminal activities which were invented, organized and promoted by the imperialist Government of the United States and its lackeys on this continent in an attempt to place our revolution in jeopardy. Since 1959 dozens of planes

and hundreds of ships have been taken from our country and directed to the United States using violence leading on many occasions to the death of crew members and innocent passengers. Many of those planes and ships never came back to our country. They were literally stolen by the imperialists or their henchmen, and the end result, because of the bounty taken, has been tantamount to an act of piracy. The people responsible were never punished and even appeared on television and in the United States Congress where the legislators today who are complaining about such acts held them up as heroes. No international body raised a voice in protest. This Organization did nothing in the face of the reiterated denunciations of our delegation. At the time it was felt that we were a small country with very few planes and ships. But today an attempt is being made to mobilize the international community, for the effects of these crimes are precisely turning against those who promoted them before in such an irresponsible and criminal way.

26. But the facts are there, eloquent and unassailable. No country has seized so many ships and planes in acts of piracy as the United States. No other country has provided a reception, protection and encouragement for those responsible for these misdeeds as the United States has done.

27. Cuba, for its part, has rigorously applied a policy of immediately allowing these ships and crews to continue to their destinations and we have never encouraged such activities. Our Government was the first to pass a law establishing sanctions for those responsible for hijacking ships or aircraft. Our position is set forth in that law. We have not modified it nor do we intend to do so.

28. We reject any attempt at pressure or boycotting through multilateral agreements and we would repeat that we are prepared to discuss the question of bilateral agreements to resolve this problem with those countries which are prepared to take exactly the same action that we have taken as regards the hijacking of ships and planes and as regards other violations of laws and norms which govern international traffic—and this on a strictly reciprocal basis.

29. In connexion with this problem and to dispel certain tendentious interpretations, I will read the statement made on 28 September last by the Foreign Minister of Cuba, Dr. Raúl Roa:

“We hope that the Government of the United States will not try an American citizen, Robert J. Labadie, for this is a case of mental alienation which has been established both in the United States and in Cuba.

“Mr. Robert J. Labadie is in a psychiatric hospital in Cuba. The Government of the United States, through the Swiss embassy, in a note dated 27 August of this year, expressed its willingness to receive Mr. Labadie in view of the fact that he was under psychiatric treatment in the Valley Forge Hospital in Phoenixville, Pennsylvania. The Government of Cuba agreed to return him for humanitarian reasons.

“The authorities of the United States concealed this circumstance from public opinion. To apply the penal law to this person who is mentally ill would be a dishonest and illegal act.

“Through mere publicity the problem of the hijacking of planes cannot be solved.

“If the Government of the United States seriously wishes to deal with this problem, the Government of Cuba is prepared to sign immediately an agreement on the basis established in Cuban Act 1226, promulgated on 16 September 1969, which includes, in addition to the hijacking of aircraft, the hijacking of ships and other violations of laws and norms governing international traffic.

“We also wish to say clearly and categorically that we will not accept or endorse any international agreement on the hijacking of aircraft unless it specifically includes all other forms of piracy and violations without any exceptions.”

30. Of course, during the present debate an attempt was made to blame Cuba for these incidents. The self-styled prosecutor has been a lawyer with the United Fruit Company and the Allied Chemical Company; he is at present a representative of the Aluminum Corporation of America, United States Steel and other United States companies, and in his leisure hours acts as the Foreign Minister of Costa Rica.

31. Mr. Facio tried to divert the attention of this Assembly in his futile attempt to cover up aggressive plans against Cuba involving the Government that he personally represents. For a few months now, American imperialism has been hatching new aggressive plans against Cuba for which it is using the territories of Costa Rica and Nicaragua. This is a secret to no one. With the effrontery typical of pirates they even preach this to the four winds.

32. Let us see what that gentleman said in Miami on 7 June last, according to the American press agency UPI:

“Gonzalo Facio, Foreign Minister of Costa Rica, suggested last night that the time had come ‘to promote internal turmoil’ in communist Cuba to overthrow the régime of Fidel Castro. He said that ‘a few immediate blows from the defenders of freedom’ would precipitate the defeat of Castro’s control on the island.”

He went on to say:

“First, Cuban military forces which are prepared to rebel must be guaranteed that they will be given the necessary means to do so.”

33. On 5 August last, when receiving two counter-revolutionary ringleaders who were organizing mercenary forces to be used for aggression against Cuba, President José Figueres of Costa Rica said:

"We must undertake a crusade to do away with all these ills and perhaps even to reply to one blow with one hundred blows, including armed action against Cuba for only our Latin American offensive can reverse the roles and bring everything into play to restore and strengthen our democratic system in America."

This is a direct quotation of Mr. Figuéres' words which appeared in the newspaper *La Nación* of San José, Costa Rica, on 6 August 1970 and is taken from a report by the Associated Press, dated the same day.

34. The stateless persons who have lost Cuban citizenship were so pleased with promises of aggression against Cuba that one of them said, according to the same newspaper: "When we go back to Cuba on 5 August 1970, that is, the day of the interview with Mr. Figuéres, this will be a day which will go down in history as the first day of the Cuban liberation."

35. A few days later Mr. Somoza, who is the present titular leader of the dynasty of Nicaragua and who on 26 July last exhorted other Nicaraguans to go and fight for the liberation of Cuba, received them in the same bellicose frame of mind.

36. Our Government is familiar with the activities being carried out by mercenaries in the Caribbean and particularly in Florida, Costa Rica and Nicaragua. Our people, united and strong as ever, are prepared to put down, with an iron fist, any aggressors that dare to tread Cuban soil with their dirty boots.

37. It would be regrettable indeed if these "crusades", paid for by the United Fruit Company, Allied Chemical, United States Steel or the Aluminum Corporation of America, were to forget the lessons of history. They should recall that almost 10 years ago, at the Bay of Pigs, our people put down the mercenary invasion organized, financed and directed by the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States Government.

38. The Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, Fidel Castro, issued a clear warning to the puppets planning aggression against Cuba, in his statement on 23 August last:

"Let none believe that they have the right to organize expeditions within their territory against our country, for we shall feel that we have the right, with the means available to us, to bring the war to the territory of the country that lends itself to such invasions against our country."

He added:

"We do not feel obliged to show any respect for the lackey Governments that organize bases for aggression against Cuba."

39. That is a reply worthy of a people who achieved its independence and sovereignty at the price of much sacrifice and heroically faced the most powerful empire

of the world. This is the position of a people prepared to defend its rights no matter what the circumstances, no matter how powerful the enemy. This is the unshakeable policy of a people determined to live in peace but not fearing combat, one that will victoriously repel any act of aggression. This is the position of a people that will never return to being the prey of imperialists and will always raise high the banner of socialism in the heart of the Caribbean, at the very gates of the worst enemy of mankind. Fatherland or death. We shall prevail.

40. Mr. Swaran SINGH (India): Mr. President, I offer you our congratulations on your election as the President of the current session of the General Assembly. You represent Norway, a country which can take pride in its reputation as peaceful, just and progressive. Your personal qualifications and your family's dedication to international effort are well known. I should also like to express our appreciation of the services of your distinguished predecessor, Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph. I would also repeat our admiration for U Thant, whose skill and dedication have won him our respect.

41. Today is Mahatma Gandhi's one-hundred-first birthday, and we in India will take a fresh pledge to dedicate ourselves once again to the ideals for which the Mahatma lived and died, peace and non-violence being the foremost among them. We may not fully succeed in living up to his ideals but we must continue to try.

42. There are many developments in India which give us satisfaction. Our people are expecting a better life through our development plans. We have had a sizeable increase in agricultural and industrial production. Our trade is also showing signs of improvement. India has once again demonstrated its faith in full-fledged democracy. Alongside this there is a growing desire of the common man to share more equitably in the distribution of national wealth.

43. Twenty-two days ago a great conference ended at Lusaka, and in 22 days from now we shall be celebrating the signing of the Charter of the United Nations. The Conference of Lusaka owes much of its success to the efforts and organization undertaken by the Government and people of Zambia, and once again we should like to thank them. The final declarations and resolutions of that Conference are being circulated as United Nations documents. They represent the consensus of 53 Members of the United Nations, representing about half the human race. I would urge that everyone read them.

44. The Conference at Lusaka highlighted several key points. These are: international peace and security, peaceful coexistence and friendly relations, solution of international problems by negotiations, the value of the United Nations as a universal forum, decolonization, development, disarmament and the pursuit of the principles of non-alignment. In order to fulfil the objectives we subscribed to at Lusaka, we seek the widest support and co-operation of the Members of the United Nations.

45. In assessing the achievements of the United Nations over the past 25 years, the major factor that strikes us is that, while another world war has been avoided, insecurity still prevails and that, while tension between the great Powers has eased and negotiations between them in certain fields have begun—developments which are welcome—armed conflicts are still raging in many parts of the world. This situation requires attention from the world community. A positive step in that direction that has been taken is the adoption by the Sixth Committee last week [1184th meeting] of the Declaration on Principles of international law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [A/8082, para. 8]. A further step to strengthen the edifice of peace that this Assembly could take is to adopt a declaration on the strengthening of international peace and security.

46. Such a declaration should particularly include prohibition of the threat or use of force to settle international differences, scrupulous respect for existing international frontiers, inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by military conquest, settlement of disputes exclusively by peaceful means, regional co-operation, reduction of the gap between the developing and the developed countries, disarmament, and the right of self-determination for people under racist and colonial régimes.

47. The developing countries particularly face innumerable threats to their independence and identity. They also face impediments in their economic development. Pressures continue from countries better organized, better developed and better equipped militarily. This has come to be known as neo-colonialism and one of our efforts in the coming years should be to arrest these trends. In this context may I draw your attention to what our Prime Minister said at Lusaka about intellectual and cultural emancipation. She said:

“Those who dominated the world’s political affairs and manned its economic controls also imposed a monopoly of ideas. For years we accepted their values, their image of the world and, strangely enough, even of ourselves. Whether we liked it or not, we have been pushed into postures of imitation. We have now to break away from borrowed models of development and evolve models of the worth-while life, which is more relevant to our conditions—not necessarily as a group but as individual countries with distinctive personalities.”

48. There has been a great deal of success in the United Nations programme for bringing new territories and new countries to independence, but much remains to be done. Portuguese colonialism in Africa, South Africa’s illegal occupation of Namibia, defiance by the racist régime in Rhodesia and the continued colonial status of a large number of territories and areas remind us of how much more needs to be done.

49. South Africa denies the fundamental rights to the majority of its citizens and its policy of *apartheid* poses

a threat to the peace. The alliance which has emerged there between the forces of colonialism and racism in an effort to preserve “white supremacy” is an affront. We deplore the attitudes and actions of certain countries which encourage the régimes in Salisbury, Pretoria and in the Portuguese possessions.

50. We are concerned at the declared intention of the Government of the United Kingdom to resume the sale of arms to South Africa. Any accretion to the military strength of South Africa will increase the threat not only to the neighbouring countries in Africa, but also to the Indian Ocean area. We should like this area to be a zone of peace free from great Power rivalry.

51. Much has been said about the United Nations peace-making and peace-keeping operations. We believe that in the changing and evolving political scene of the world, the United Nations should occupy a central place. The expectation of the Charter that in the field of peace and security the great Powers would work in concert has not, unfortunately, materialized. We hope that in the coming years this co-operation will be forthcoming for the benefit of all.

52. We believe that in order to bring about a better atmosphere and eliminate many difficulties which persist it will be necessary to give all Members in the United Nations a feeling of participation in all decisions that may be made. Whether it be the issues of war and peace, economic development or independence and sovereignty, all Member States should participate in decision making. We welcome the co-operation among the great Powers, but are anxious that whatever decisions they may arrive at should be subject to discussion among all of us and that no decision should be implemented until it has received significant support, or consensus, if you like, of the United Nations as a whole.

53. We regret that the universality of membership of the United Nations has not been achieved. In particular, there is a general realization that without the rightful participation of the People’s Republic of China this Organization will continue to face difficulties in solving several basic problems.

54. It is a matter of concern that the United Nations and the Secretary-General have been handicapped for lack of adequate funds. We would, therefore, urge that all Members should co-operate in ensuring that the important problems in various fields undertaken by the United Nations do not suffer for paucity of funds. The Indian delegation will do whatever it can to strengthen the hands of the Secretary-General in this respect. Equally, we are concerned about our procedures and methods of work. We would support any steps which may be suggested to bring about improvements in these matters. We attach great importance to suitable geographical distribution, not merely for the Organization as a whole, but in all its departments and at all levels.

55. We consider that the Charter, if faithfully implemented, would overcome many difficulties which

the Organization faces. Mr. Lester Pearson, a noted winner of the Nobel Peace Prize and a former Prime Minister of Canada, said recently that "It is the sheerest hypocrisy for Governments to flee from their own responsibilities by blaming the world Organization". We regret that it is becoming increasingly a fashion to denigrate the importance of the United Nations by what Mr. Pearson calls the tendency of Governments "to flee from their own responsibilities".

56. India has made its contribution to the various United Nations peace-keeping operations. We hope that the differences on the initiation, control and financing of United Nations peace-keeping operations will be speedily resolved so that the United Nations can contribute more effectively to preserving peace. India accepts the principle of strengthening the machinery of peace-keeping by the United Nations and would consider concrete action after the modalities have been agreed upon.

57. General and complete disarmament under international control is even more urgent today. The nuclear arms race and innovations in sophisticated delivery systems are making life on the planet daily more precarious. It deflects resources and energies from constructive work. It also leads to deadly competition, military blocs and spheres of influence.

58. The Indian delegation will strive to ensure the success of the Disarmament Decade through a comprehensive programme of disarmament for the next 10 years. We must concentrate our attention on general and complete disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament. We realize that it may not be possible to achieve progress all at once and that collateral measures are expedient. We are aware of the tremendous contribution which the technology of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, including peaceful nuclear explosions, can make to the economy of the developing world. The benefits of this technology should be available to all States without any discrimination. At Lusaka the non-aligned nations indicated a general order of priorities which should be followed in drawing up the programme for the Disarmament Decade.

59. It is obvious that measures of nuclear disarmament such as cut off in the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes, a comprehensive test ban, reduction and destruction of stockpiles of nuclear weapons and so forth, should receive the highest priority. The next priority should be for other measures in the disarmament field, such as an agreement prohibiting the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and biological weapons and providing for their elimination from the arsenals of all nations.

60. I should like to refer briefly to the denuclearization draft treaty relating to the sea-bed and ocean floor². The approval of the agreement on non-emplacement of weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed beyond the twelve mile limit is to be welcomed, but it is only a limited disarmament measure in this field.

² *Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1970, document DC/233, annex A.*

61. My delegation is convinced that the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes and that the potential wealth of the area and its resources should be developed and used for the benefit of mankind as a whole. I should like to appeal to all representatives to make a sincere and determined effort to define the régime of the seas and to create an international machinery to regulate it before a mad rush to expropriate the resources of this last frontier sets in.

62. As regards the conference on the law of the sea, my delegation supports the viewpoints expressed at the non-aligned summit in favour of convening a conference on the law of the sea at an early date, after adequate preparations have been made for it by a preparatory committee. We are of the opinion that all the questions, namely, the régimes of the high seas, the continental shelf, the territorial sea and the contiguous zone, fishing and conservation of the living resources of the high seas, etc., should be dealt with at the same time in a comprehensive manner, rather than in a piecemeal fashion.

63. On the occasion of this twenty-fifth anniversary session of the United Nations we can derive some satisfaction from the contribution of this Organization in placing economic co-operation for development on a sound, rational and dynamic basis. We have a long way to go, however, in order to realize the fundamental objectives of the Charter for creating conditions of stability and well-being and for ensuring a minimum standard of living necessary for human worth and dignity.

64. The gap separating the affluent and the poor nations has been widening rapidly; this is a serious threat to the independence of the developing countries and to international peace and security. Some of the recent trends in the field of international economic co-operation indicate that there has been a retreat from the high ideals of the 1950s. Despite the endeavours of the developing countries to contribute their due and rightful share in the world economic life, the process of their continuous alienation from the mainstream of the world economy remains unabated.

65. India views with favour, and looks forward with great expectation, to the effort of the international community to adopt an international development strategy for the seventies as a basis for solving the problem of poverty in a concerted manner and on a rational and comprehensive basis. My delegation would, therefore, commend to the Assembly the strong recommendation of the non-aligned nations that the General Assembly, at its commemorative session, should adopt a declaration on international development strategy for the 1970s.

66. Such a concept does not admit of half-hearted measures undertaken in an isolated manner. What we need is a definition of goals and objectives and time-bound policy measures to achieve them. The adoption of a mere declaratory resolution by the General Assembly, launching the Second United Nations

Development Decade, would not—I repeat, not—represent any point of departure, and hence our plea for a strategy of development which not only would provide for policy measures to enable the developing countries to overcome their current economic difficulties, but would also be a decisive move towards the objective of restructuring international economic relations on a just and equitable basis.

67. The primary task for the implementation of the strategy would rest on the developing countries themselves. One of the most hopeful features of the past decade has been the determination shown by the developing countries to try to achieve economic and social progress through their own efforts. At the same time they have progressed also towards broadening and diversifying economic relations among themselves, with a view to imparting strength to their national endeavours. It is our sincere hope that, consistent with the commitments undertaken by the developed countries in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and other forums, and as reflected in the draft international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [A/7982, para. 16] now under consideration by the General Assembly, the developed countries will assist in the implementation of concrete and specific schemes to be put forward by developing countries in the field of economic co-operation, and regional and sub-regional integration among themselves.

68. While we attempt to build the edifice of a secure peace at the United Nations we cannot overlook the conflicts that are currently raging in the world. The situation in Viet-Nam continues to cause us deep concern. We recognize that all parties to the conflict have declared their adherence to the Geneva Agreements and their desire to achieve a peaceful solution in Viet-Nam. The cessation of the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam has been appreciated generally, as also the desire of all sides to continue the talks in Paris to find a peaceful settlement. In our view those talks can progress if there is an indication that all foreign forces will be withdrawn from Viet-Nam. The United States Government already has withdrawn some troops, and we believe that a firm time-table, together with a date for final withdrawal, will help the negotiations in Paris. A broad-based Government, comprising all elements of South Viet-Nam, would be another factor which could contribute to the success of the negotiations.

69. The eruption of fighting in Cambodia has increased the tension in that area. We earnestly hope that the people of Cambodia, with whom the Indian people have historic ties of culture and friendship, will be able to overcome all their internal difficulties and will be allowed to live in peace and friendship with their neighbours, without any interference from outside.

70. In Laos the proposed negotiations between the parties are not making much headway.

71. The conflict in the States of Indo-China has brought much distress and suffering to their people.

As a result of this series of conflicts the people of those countries have suffered grievously through death and destruction over the years. India has an abiding interest in peace and stability in that area. Everything should be done to put an end to this human misery.

72. At present it would be difficult to discuss separately the problems of the States of Indo-China, and we believe that once the fighting in Indo-China is stopped it would be necessary to have an international conference to resolve the complex situation now gripping those States. India is prepared to join other States and interested parties in working out arrangements to ensure respect for the independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and neutrality of all the States of Indo-China.

73. West Asia is another region which is torn by bitter conflict and has not seen peace for many years. Israel continues to occupy large Arab territories seized in the 1967 conflict from which they must withdraw. The human problem of Arab refugees exiled from their homeland cannot be ignored and the just rights of the Palestinian people must be respected.

74. The determination of the international community to take concrete steps to respect and protect the just and reasonable rights of the Palestinian people would provide the most effective and durable check against many desperate measures, including hijacking, which we all deplore and which cause much needless suffering to so many innocent people. We are glad that all the hostages have been released.

75. The foundations of a just and lasting peace in West Asia were laid three years ago when the Security Council adopted resolution 242 (1967). This resolution must be fully implemented. My delegation hopes that the talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General's Special Representative will take place without further delay or procrastination. We share the general concern for peace in this area and hope that the proposed talks will result in the implementation of the Security Council resolution of 1967 and a just and lasting peace in the area.

76. While conflict and tension continue in Asia, there have been certain positive developments in Europe which we welcome. I refer to the non-aggression Treaty recently signed between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany.³ We hope that this development will open the way for further agreements to strengthen security in Europe. I should also like to express the hope that the bilateral talks between the United States and the Soviet Union on the limitation of strategic arms will bear fruit. This will not only be an important arms limitation measure but also a positive contribution to the general relaxation of tension in the world.

77. International relations are entering a phase characterized by increasing interdependence on the one hand and the desire of States to pursue independent

³ Signed in Moscow on 12 August 1970.

policies on the other. Scientific and technological innovations, rapid communication, increased commerce and ecological considerations are lowering the barriers between States and encouraging co-operation. Side by side, the international community remains separated by political, economic and racial barriers and prejudices; the weak continue to live in the shadow of the more powerful, and neither peace nor prosperity nor the right to independence and equality have yet become the integral attributes of all mankind. The United Nations is at the centre of the world, attempting to restrain the aggressor, fighting greed and prejudice and promoting international co-operation on a just and equal basis.

78. I am certain that the Heads of State and Government attending the commemorative session, beginning in a fortnight's time, will give the requisite lead to make our Organization more effective.

79. The world today seems full of strife. Conflicts and conflagrations are unfortunately continuing. This naturally saddens us all especially when we meet to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. However, the situation is not entirely full of gloom and despair. Let us not fail to take note of the many areas in which significant progress towards peace and prosperity is being made. World peace has been maintained for a quarter of a century even though we have been unable to stop local wars. The pace of development in many parts of the world is gathering momentum. The threat of starvation has been lifted. The production of food grains in countries like India is not only matching current needs but also rising faster than the growth in the population. Each year more and more countries are throwing off the colonial yoke and declaring their determination to play their full part as independent, free nations.

80. As the United Nations completes its twenty-fifth year, we can look to the future, not with despair and despondency but with hope and confidence.

81. Mr. BOUTALEB (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, on the threshold of this twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, which we hope will be not just a commemorative anniversary, but a pause for deep and fruitful reflection in order better to assure and adapt the progress of the international community towards peace, justice and progress, my delegation is glad to welcome warmly the unanimous choice which has brought you to the Presidency of the Assembly at this historic session.

82. This choice is undoubtedly an indication of the will to seriousness and the intention to succeed. Your thorough skill in international law, your long experience of this Organization, and the fact that you belong to a family and a country which have given distinguished statesmen to service in the League of Nations and the United Nations should assure us, that we have indeed chosen, for exceptional circumstances, a man who will raise our debates to the level of the hopes that the international community justifiably places in this twenty-fifth session of our General Assembly.

83. May I, Mr. President, add my personal satisfaction in addressing these words to the representative of a country whose relations of friendship and co-operation with Morocco are marked with an exemplary spirit in international co-operation, in esteem and in mutual respect.

84. Our Organization is completing its first quarter century of existence and embarking on the last decades of a century during which mankind has lived through what are perhaps the most decisive events of its destiny. The international community must courageously take stock of this Organization's years of existence, not to lament what it has not done or what it should have done, but above all to seek ways and means of ensuring effectively the realization of the hopes to which it gave expression 25 years ago, some of the most legitimate of which are far from having been brought to fruition.

85. Our Organization has undoubtedly been an adequate instrument for preventing or stopping grave crises in the post-war years. It is also true that the Organization has gone far toward eliminating the concept of the supremacy of force, of the hegemony of power, and toward introducing into international relations certain concepts that were unknown or that were deliberately ignored before its creation.

Mr. Pardo (Malta), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

86. During the many international crises of the past 25 years, the United Nations has provided a meeting place, direct or indirect, for antagonistic forces whenever confrontation interrupted dialogue and led the parties to the edge of the abyss. It has, above all, been platform and tribunal, a hearing place and also a factor of encouragement in the face of persistent colonialism, whose conscience it has stirred and whose grip it has weakened in the greater part of the world where it held sway. It has attempted to be a court of appeal, a guide and a helping hand to States whose first steps in the international community have been difficult. It tries, as part of the restoration of national sovereignty and the equality of States, to reduce persistent injustices and to close the real gap that still exists between the privileged part of mankind and the rest, whose poverty and ignorance still remain, and will remain into the indefinite future, the lot that the selfishness of the great Powers continues to inflict on them.

87. One of the paramount future tasks of the Organization must be a continuing concern to ensure the ever-increasing primacy of law and international morality, to ensure all States the means to secure respect for the prerogatives of their sovereignty in international equality, and to ensure all citizens of the world peace, freedom, prosperity and justice.

88. What our Organization has already accomplished is undoubtedly immense when one considers the anarchy that international relations might have been if power and violence had been the only law. But if we consider the present state of international affairs and what the situation is likely to become, we realize

with anguish what the fate of mankind would be if the Organization should fail to awaken to the imperative need to be more dynamic, more firm and more scrupulous as to the validity of its principles.

89. Most of the international crises now confronting the Organization are chronic crises that began years ago. Solutions to these crises, found for better or worse at the time they arose have remained a dead letter — a fact that, with the passing years has increased their gravity and correspondingly weakened the authority of our Organization.

90. Three years have passed since the Israeli aggression of June 1967 and it is an illusion to suppose that the war in the Middle East lasted only six days. In actual fact it has scarcely ever ceased. Indeed, Israel has almost constantly intensified military operations inside the occupied territories, against Jordanian territory, has carried the war across the frontiers and into the villages of Lebanon, and has undertaken a series of aerial bombardments against the towns and industrial installations of the United Arab Republic. The war has continued without surcease on both sides of the Suez Canal and the opposing artillery batteries in that zone have caused more damage than on certain fronts in the Second World War.

91. Yet in the United Nations and in several capitals many efforts have been made to ensure respect for the cease-fire and to start things moving towards the quest for a solution.

92. The Tel Aviv Government and its military chief of staff have continuously opposed all these initiatives and have often created political and military situations which made the quest for peace even more difficult and more remote.

93. The Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)] nevertheless defined the framework within which this quest for peace might be successfully pursued. But through its rhetoric the Israeli Government, which has chosen to give that resolution as many interpretations as it has members, has blocked the numerous efforts that the international community optimistically attempted to maintain.

94. During these three years of continuous warfare and tireless efforts, the Israeli Government's policy has revealed at least one constant: rejection of peace and determination to consolidate its present conquests as one stage in an expansion that some of its members unabashedly proclaim from time to time.

95. Early in August this year the international community welcomed with hope the latest initiative the result of great and concerted efforts. It may be said today, with deep conviction and in the light of the latest events, that the dilatory manoeuvres of Tel Aviv are the source of the deteriorating situation in the region. Since the acceptance of the Security Council resolution by the Arab States concerned, nothing has been forthcoming from the Israelis to encourage them in their will to peace. Indeed, the intensification of

military operations on the one hand, and diplomatic intransigence on the other, have justified the Arab world in its substitution of despair for hope.

96. The new situation created by the tragic death of President Nasser at a time when he was courageously doing everything possible to bring peace closer renders still greater the responsibility of the Tel Aviv Government, which has done everything — and in the most irresponsible fashion — to delay any move towards a political solution. In paying tribute to the statesmanship of President Nasser the whole world has unanimously recalled his desire to restore peace in the region and his courage in having tried to do so. The Egyptian leader's death is not only a profound sorrow for the Egyptian people; in him, the Arab world has lost one of the most outstanding figures of its recent history; the international community, too, has lost one of the most dedicated architects of the policy of peaceful coexistence and international co-operation.

97. The trial period of the cease-fire is now drawing to a close. Must we again let it pass, to the satisfaction of Israel? If so, what future might be expected after 7 November? Must the international community be a helpless witness first to aggression, then to provocations compromising all peace efforts, and tomorrow, perhaps, to the resumption of a war that could only be more violent still? But we must however repeat here what we for our part have constantly emphasized at all times and what His Majesty the King has also repeatedly reaffirmed, namely, that the quest for a just and lasting solution in the region must necessarily be built on respect for the rights of the Palestinian people as such.

98. The principles set forth in the Security Council resolution and in the latest peace initiative should indeed make it possible to eliminate the consequences of the aggression and to secure respect for the principles of the Charter. But any peace effort, no matter how praiseworthy, would remain inadequate if it ignored one of the most pertinent realities of the Middle East situation, namely, the existence of the Palestinian people and their legitimate determination to shoulder their own destiny.

99. It is because the peace-makers persist in regarding the Palestinian factor as a mere refugee problem, to which a so-called humanitarian solution could be found by assembling them in camps and assuring them, for better or worse, of a marginal existence, that they were more or less taken by surprise by the tragic events that lately rent Jordan. It would be criminal, above all after that tragedy, to fail to recognize that the refugees have become combatants and that those combatants are a people who wish to recover their native land.

100. Resolutions that approach this problem with euphemisms and peace plans that try to ignore it will remain futile endeavours. If it is really desired to bring back peace in the Middle East, the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people must necessarily be envisaged.

101. The rapid and dangerous development of the situation in the Middle East requires lucid and energetic decisions in the days ahead. Our Organization has a legal and political framework within which to seek a solution; the Secretary-General has a personal representative whose qualities have been acclaimed throughout the world; the great Powers are aware of what is at stake in this development; must Tel Aviv alone insist on perpetuating a territorial occupation which is incompatible with the restoration of peace, and must the international conscience continue to disregard the rights of the Palestinian people whose tragic fate no longer allows their existence to be ignored?

102. As crucial as the crisis in the Middle East is the situation prevailing in Africa, where thousands of Africans are still undergoing the most backward and degrading forms of colonialism and of racial discrimination entered into a system of state.

103. In the years immediately following the Second World War the United Nations played a remarkable role in accelerating the process of decolonization and the accession of many countries to independence and sovereignty. But progress in this field has been halted by the systematically negative attitude adopted towards the United Nations by those who practise colonialism and *apartheid*, particularly South Africa and Portugal.

104. Despite the universal condemnation of *apartheid* by the United Nations as a crime against humanity, despite resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960 on the granting of independence to countries still under colonial domination and resolution 2145 (XXI) terminating the South African Mandate over Namibia, despite the economic sanctions ordered against Rhodesia, South Africa and Portugal, these countries continue with impunity their work of exploitation and oppression in South Africa, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau).

105. The most alarming factor in this situation is the economic and military assistance that certain States Members of the United Nations continue to extend to South Africa and Portugal. This economic and military assistance, and more particularly the increase in foreign investments in the territories under colonial domination in southern Africa, are helping politically to strengthen the colonialist régimes and constitute a more and more specific threat to the independent African countries and Africa generally.

106. The alliance between Portugal, South Africa and the Salisbury régime confirms that the colonial régimes in power in southern Africa are attempting to encircle independent Africa.

107. Two years ago our Secretary-General called attention to the gravity of the situation and addressed the following remarks to the African Heads of State:

“ I must recognize that the destiny of the world will be influenced greatly if not decisively by the future development of events in Africa. Peace and progress throughout the world depend on peace and progress in developing Africa.”

108. It is a fact that the force and authority of the principles of the Charter — which brought about the decisive event of this century, namely the emancipation of many peoples of the earth — have lost some of their hold on much of world opinion. Whether in South Africa or other parts of Africa still under colonial rule, the tide of colonialism in that part of the world, so far from ebbing, is clearly gaining strength.

109. On the occasion of its twenty-fifth anniversary, our Organization should reaffirm the spirit and principles of the Charter and strengthen the world's confidence in it by taking specific steps to impel all States to support it in its struggle against racist and colonialist régimes and its material support of peoples still struggling to recover their freedom and independence.

110. The process of decolonization as defined by the United Nations has in the course of the last decade helped many peoples of the third world more or less peacefully to recover their nationhood, to reconstitute their territorial integrity and to join the international community, bringing to it their deep conviction as to the primacy of peaceful settlement for all problems — even where their rights are self-evident and their highest interests directly at stake.

111. Morocco has completely endorsed the value of this process and the virtues of this method. Since the proclamation of its independence, my country has patiently pursued the settlement of outstanding problems, particularly with Spain. In so doing, we have been prompted by the desire to maintain our age-old historical links with our neighbour to the north and to build the closest possible co-operation for the future, in respect for our many mutual interests. No one was happier that we were to see Spain in its turn quit the dwindling group of Powers opposed to the freedom of colonial peoples and formally give its support to the principle of self-determination, which it has actually implemented in Equatorial Guinea. Unfortunately, so-called Spanish Sahara continues to be denied the benefits of this principle. Nevertheless, for several years now the United Nations has been adopting resolutions on the future of the Territory and has urged Spain to apply these resolutions which it has always supported.

112. In the spirit of these resolutions and the better, to facilitate their implementation, Morocco and its neighbours concerned for the peace of the region and development of co-operation among themselves have decided to do everything possible to facilitate the application of self-determination to the Sahara, in collaboration with the United Nations and the administering Power. But we deeply regret the negative attitude of the Spanish Government whose policy in the Sahara gives ground for daily growing anxiety and ever-increasing doubt as to its sincerity about applying the resolutions. Spain is called upon, within the framework and the terms repeatedly specified by the General Assembly, to hold a referendum giving the populations of the Sahara an opportunity freely to express their choice.

113. However, no steps have been taken to reassure the populations, their neighbours and the United Nations as to Spain's intention to hold this referendum in the required conditions, that is to say, under the guarantees specified by the United Nations and restoring conditions in the Territory in which the indigenous populations and all Saharans — now temporarily exiled from the Territory by a climate of fear and coercive measures — may freely choose their future.

114. For our part, we have consistently reiterated our determination to foster the most peaceful solutions, facilitating the Territory's transition from the status of a colonial country to that of freedom, in which the whole region and Spain can establish sincere co-operation to preserve the interests that are vital to the future of the whole region.

115. Turning to the Asian continent, the prospects for peaceful settlement of other vestiges of the past seemed at one point to hold out the possibility of peace in South-East Asia. Unfortunately, the Paris talks, begun after such patient international effort, are now bogging down almost without hope of results in the near future. Meanwhile the war has spread to other countries of the region, making an approach to a solution far more complex and for the moment creating a situation with unforeseeable consequences.

116. It is deplorable and even tragic that during this session of commemoration and stocktaking the international Organization is being bypassed in the search for a solution. It is only fitting to pay tribute to the courage of the Secretary-General who has tirelessly endeavoured to remind everyone whenever necessary of what the logical outcome of this situation must be if peace in Asia is to be restored and international security strengthened.

117. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the problem of disarmament constitutes a stumbling block to an international relaxation of tension. As the delegation of Morocco is a member of the Committee on Disarmament, it will set forth its views at length on this particularly important question during the debates in the First Committee. However, I feel I must make the point, albeit briefly, that there is a contradiction between the general desire to stop the arms race and the increasingly alarming progress of technology which with the development and the stockpiling of ever more dangerous weapons poses a growing threat to the survival of humanity. That is why we believe that the problem merits greater efforts by everyone to bring home to the Powers directly responsible that competition in this area has brought about a very special kind of crisis of confidence in the international community.

118. Of course, certain treaties on some aspects of disarmament have been signed and the dynamics of that process might, if we remain constant in our efforts, broaden agreement to other aspects of the problem, thereby realizing the universal desire to achieve agreement on general and complete disarmament in the course of this decade. In that spirit, the Government of His Majesty the King submitted the instruments

of ratification to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*] and acceded to the Geneva Protocol of 1925 banning chemical and bacteriological weapons. During the debate in the Disarmament Committee in Geneva our delegation, in a series of suggestions, contributed to the draft treaty on the partial demilitarization of the sea-bed⁴, and we earnestly hope that the First Committee will endorse that draft treaty.

119. The problem of international security seems to us to be increasingly related to progress on disarmament. Indeed, it is impossible to speak seriously of establishing international conditions favourable to security without eliminating, or at least reducing as much as possible, political considerations which have given rise to the arms race. It is true that that question is not the only one which requires an appropriate and rapid solution to speed up the process of reducing antagonism and to bring about conditions conducive to a universal dialogue on the problem of international security. Last year the delegation of Morocco set forth in the First Committee [*1667th meeting*] certain considerations, which were brought to mind as the result of the present state of international affairs and potential conflicts which are serious obstacles to progress and need to be removed, to restore that confidence which is indispensable at all levels of the international community.

120. In fact, however, an understanding between the great Powers alone is not sufficient grounds for optimism on the prospects of peace in the world. Even such an understanding, if it were based only on the idea of replacing the concept of confrontation with that of hegemony, would be not only inadequate but would also constitute a particularly serious danger to the rest of the international community. We can be justly proud of progress being made in any area of the world to put an end to a conflict or to reduce tensions. However, to be truly international a relaxation of tension must be contagious and encompass all continents. In that connexion and in so far as the situation in Europe directly after the Second World War constituted one of the major obstacles to the solution of problems arising from the war itself, we welcome the signing of the Moscow Treaty on the non-use of force between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union. That Treaty opens the door to the settlement of a number of problems which arose in the area in 1945 to which a peaceful solution now seems feasible.

121. Is it necessary to say that a solution to political problems cannot alone bring about miracles and usher in an era of understanding and harmony after a quarter of a century of more or less constant crises? The existing economic and social disequilibrium between the continents continues, in our opinion, to be a fundamental obstacle to efforts to bring about a permanent relaxation of tension. Many Powers do not seem to give that reality the attention it nevertheless deserves. A minority maintains and still has in its hands the economic potential of the entire world and therefore

⁴ *Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1970, document DC/233, annex A.*

determines the future of the rest of mankind. This situation requires permanent and effective action in order to ensure a change of direction in international relations.

122. The disparity in economic and social development requires the same struggle as the one being waged to do away with political supremacy. It is not impossible that a widespread effort may ensure in the not too distant future the replacement of domination and exploitation by co-operation and assistance. We are convinced that such problems will find some of the necessary solutions within the framework of equal exchanges at the multilateral, regional and bilateral levels. We firmly believe that while such co-operation may seem remote at the international level, its realization on the regional plane would constitute an effective encouragement.

123. We are pleased that this idea, which we have constantly put forward in all the organizations in which Morocco is a member, was clearly enunciated in the Organization of African Unity and the Conference of non-aligned countries at Lusaka.

124. In this connexion, we believe that the question of the use of the sea-bed and the ocean floor for peaceful purposes must be an indispensable corollary to that international co-operation. The idea of a common heritage which is supported by most States is one which we also agree with, as indeed we agree with the principles that the resources obtained from the exploitation of the sea-bed and the ocean floor must be considered the heritage of all mankind. Although we are today pleased that those principles are broadly shared, it remains no less necessary to reach agreement on a clear and precise definition of the limits of the continental shelf and of the areas where sovereignty and national jurisdiction may be exercised. In this connexion, a re-examination of the 1958 Geneva Convention on the continental shelf seems to us to be necessary, and the delegation of Morocco would join many delegations which would like to see that international instrument brought more into line with present-day realities of which the developing countries in particular have become keenly aware as a result of the progress made in the field of research and underwater exploration.

125. The considerations I have just set forth on international security, disarmament, economic development and international co-operation were at the forefront of the Lusaka meeting of the Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries. They underline the devotion of the participating countries to the conditions needed to ensure their unity and harmony in international relations. They also demonstrate their determination to make a broader contribution to the general effort to reduce the causes of international tension in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

126. The primary political result of the Lusaka meeting was to call in question again the present structures of the international community dominated as it is by the great Powers and characterized by political,

economic and racial barriers which obstruct the determination of a large segment of the world's population to improve the quality of life for the individual and ensure that nations will develop free from oppression, insecurity and anxiety.

127. It continues to be our profound belief that in spite of everything, the United Nations constitutes an instrument capable of protecting the international moral principles which were proclaimed 25 years ago.

128. It is the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council to be the first to maintain and promote the rule of law and to promote and ensure respect among States. Only such an attitude can encourage the small- and medium-sized Powers, which form the majority in this Organization, to maintain their confidence.

129. In spite of the wars and tragedies which beset our strife-torn world, we wish once again to express to our Organization, on the occasion of its historic commemoration, our confidence and our support. We whole-heartedly hope that the theme of this twenty-fifth anniversary, "Peace, justice and progress", will be henceforth the sole objective and the main source of inspiration of mankind, as much in its thoughts as in its actions.

130. Mr. SHEVEL (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): Mr. President, I should like to offer my congratulations to Mr. Hambro on his election to the responsible post of President of the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the General Assembly and wish him success in discharging this important mission.

131. Speaking from this rostrum for the first time, I should like to extend my greetings to you, Mr. Secretary-General. The great efforts which you are making for the fruitful activity of our Organization are universally known.

132. The delegation of the Soviet Ukraine has learned with profound sorrow of the untimely death of that outstanding political figure and statesman, Mr. Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic. On behalf of the Government and people of the Ukraine, we wish to convey our very sincere condolences to the Government and people of the United Arab Republic and to the family of the deceased. Gamal Abdel Nasser will remain in our memory as a tireless champion of the just cause of peoples fighting for their freedom and independence and as a steadfast advocate of the strengthening of friendship and the development of co-operation in every possible way between the people of the United Arab Republic and the peoples of the Soviet Union.

133. Our purpose in evaluating the work done by the United Nations over the past quarter of a century is to learn the necessary lessons and to do everything possible to ensure that the United Nations becomes a really effective and reliable instrument for strengthening international peace and security and co-operation between States and peoples in every possible field.

134. At the time of its establishment, the United Nations proclaimed the truly democratic objectives of safeguarding universal peace and the security of peoples by all possible means. The fact that 25 years have passed without a world war does certainly do some credit to our Organization.

135. Nevertheless, we are still living in conditions in which dangerous tension exists, the arms race is still going on and conflicts fraught with dangerous consequences occur from time to time.

136. The complex nature of the international situation confronts each session of the General Assembly with a multitude of problems. Many of them will have to be considered at the twenty-fifth session also. There is no doubt, however, that we must concentrate our attention on questions which are decisive for the fate of world peace and, consequently, for the future of the United Nations.

137. In this connexion we should like to recall that the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, in its reply to the Secretary-General on the question of international security [see A/7922/Add.2] expressed the view that the development of international relations in recent times urgently required that the United Nations should intensify its efforts to solve fundamental political problems, primarily those of strengthening peace and security. This means that the United Nations must take effective steps to eliminate hotbeds of armed conflicts, to stop the use of force against national liberation movements, to put an end to the seizure and military occupation of the territory of other States, to halt the continuing arms race and to bring about agreement on general and complete disarmament.

138. The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic believes that, on the occasion of its twenty-fifth anniversary, the United Nations should approve a political document setting out a programme for the strengthening of international security. We are convinced that the draft declaration on the strengthening of international security [A/C.1/L.513] submitted by the delegations of the socialist countries could well serve as such a document. Practical measures to give effect to it will be in the interests of all States, large and small.

139. The year which has elapsed since the last session of the Assembly has been marked by certain favourable changes in the international political climate. There is increasing awareness of the need to solve controversial problems by negotiation and to recognize the realities of the modern world. And when we speak of favourable trends of this kind, we are referring primarily to the European continent.

140. The special interest of the Ukraine in the strengthening of European security hardly requires explanation. Facts illustrating the truly terrible consequences of wars, for the Ukrainian people — particularly the consequences of the war unleashed by Hitlerism — have repeatedly been cited from this ros-

trum. It is therefore easy to understand the genuine satisfaction with which our people supports any practical proposal, any reasonable initiative, aimed at ensuring peace in Europe.

141. At the same time, our position cannot in any way be interpreted as a position based on narrow national interests. In a recent speech Comrade Shelest, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, quite rightly pointed out, as reported in the *Ukrainian Pravda* of 18 April 1970, that:

“The processes which are taking place in Europe to a greater or lesser extent determine the direction and nature of the development of events in all parts of the world. That is why European problems have a truly world-wide significance and European security is rightly regarded as a key issue in world politics.”

142. The world is indivisible. That was true yesterday, and it is particularly true today.

143. The people and Government of the Soviet Ukraine warmly approve of the proposal to prepare and convene a pan-European conference on questions of security and co-operation.

144. It is common knowledge that the countries parties to the Warsaw Treaty have advanced some specific proposals regarding the agenda for the pan-European conference and the preparations for it. We consider these proposals to be important and highly constructive. A characteristic feature of these proposals is that they relate to the problem of the security of all European States without exception. They take into account the positions of States which are interested in the establishment of lasting peace in Europe, and they create very favourable conditions for the practical preparations for the pan-European conference.

145. From the point of view of strengthening European security, the signature of the treaty between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany in Moscow on 12 August this year is most encouraging. The treaty is based on the realities of our time, rejects absurd attempts to revise the results of the Second World War and recognizes as inviolable the Oder-Neisse frontier and the frontier between the two German States.

146. It was the entire development of European realities which paved the way for this treaty, and its significance certainly extends far beyond the context of bilateral relations. It will undoubtedly play an important part in improving the international situation. This point has, in fact, already been mentioned by many speakers in this debate.

147. The Ukrainian people regard the conclusion of this treaty as the result of the creative, consistent, peace-loving Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union. This extremely significant event further strengthens our conviction that, in spite of differences

in social systems and membership of opposing military and political alliances, peaceful coexistence and peaceful co-operation between States are both necessary and realistic.

148. Speaking of the possible consequences of the changes which have taken place very recently on the European continent, we believe that the day is drawing near when, in the words of the President of France, quoted here by Mr. Schumann [1842nd meeting] "all Europe" will be represented in our Organization.

149. In this connexion, the simultaneous admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations is a long overdue requirement of European and international co-operation. Indeed, the German Democratic Republic now maintains diplomatic relations with 25 countries and other relations at the Government level with another 18 countries, which together account for 60 per cent of the world's population. A positive solution to the problem of the admission of the German Democratic Republic to the United Nations would undoubtedly be a manifestation of political realism. It would help to ensure the universality of the United Nations, which is an essential prerequisite for improving its activities.

150. When we speak of the need to strengthen international security, we cannot ignore the fact that the aggressive forces of imperialism are not shrinking from any available means to aggravate international tension and create dangerous hotbeds of military conflicts which threaten to expand into a new world war.

151. One example of this is the present situation in the Middle East, which is passing through one of the most dramatic and difficult periods in its history.

152. The legitimate struggle of the Arab countries against Israeli aggression and for the elimination of its consequences clearly demonstrates the futility of the policy of acting from a position of strength, a policy which is being pursued by Israel and encouraged by certain imperialistic circles.

153. The basis for settling the Middle East crisis is well known: it is the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)].

154. The temporary cease-fire and the resumption of the conciliation mission of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Gunnar Jarring, were encouraging steps, made possible mainly by the peace-loving and constructive attitude of the United Arab Republic.

155. But the noble mission of the United Nations is in fact being blocked and undermined by the obstructive action of Israel, which is supported by influential circles in the United States and certain other countries. The imperialist forces are now using every possible pretext to aggravate the situation and are counting on fostering discord between individual Arab States. They are trying to use the outbreaks of civil dissension in

Jordan for their own sordid ends and are threatening direct armed interference.

156. In these circumstances, the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic would like to point out that all peace-loving forces must maintain a high degree of vigilance and firmness, in order to prevent outside armed interference in the affairs of the Arab countries and to accomplish a peaceful political settlement in the Middle East.

157. We express the hope that their tragic loss will not break the will of the people of the United Arab Republic and of other Arab peoples to strengthen their unity on an anti-imperialistic basis. This will help their just and legitimate struggle for independence and territorial integrity, for the elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression and for the establishment of a lasting peace in the Middle East.

158. The serious consequences of the continued aggression by the United States of America in Viet-Nam are well known. For the past quarter of a century, the Viet-Nameese people has not known what peace is. The Paris conference is now in its twentieth month, and yet the aggression of the United States of America is not only continuing, but has spread to Laos and Cambodia.

159. However, neither the notorious "Viet-Namization", nor the Cambodian adventure nor the gross intervention in Laos will produce the desired results for the aggressor, who is sinking deeper and deeper into the quagmire of a "dirty war". The peoples of Indo-China are more anxious than anyone else for the restoration of peace in their land as soon as possible, but they are legitimately demanding that this should be a peace under conditions of independence and freedom, without any outside interference.

160. The liberation struggle of the peoples of Indo-China enjoys the resolute support of our country and of all progressive mankind. The United States has no other solution but to recognize — in deeds, and not in words — the inalienable right of the peoples of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia to be masters in their own house and to decide the future of their countries for themselves.

161. The recent peace initiative taken at the Paris conference by the delegation of the Republic of South Viet-Nam opens up new possibilities for a just settlement of the Viet-Nam problem.

162. The situation in Korea also continues to be a source of international tension. United States forces are still occupying South Korea, and more and more United States weapons are being sent there. The delegations of a number of countries, including the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, again proposed for inclusion in the agenda for this session an item on the withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations [A/8044 and Add. 1-3] and an item on the dissolution of the so-called United

Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea [A/8045 and Add. 1-3].

163. We are still convinced that the adoption of these proposals will contribute to the peaceful reunification of the country in accordance with the aspirations of the Korean people.

164. At this session, we shall again have to deal comprehensively with the problem of disarmament. General and complete disarmament, as a means and reliable guarantee of achieving lasting peace and security, is the most important problem facing the world today. As we all know, this was stressed as long ago as the fourteenth session of the General Assembly in resolution 1378 (XIV). The urgent need for agreement on general and complete disarmament is dictated by the entire course of developments in the present-day international situation, especially by the ever-increasing rate of the arms race.

165. Here are just two figures which have a truly dreadful significance: in 1962 total world military expenditure amounted to \$120,000 million, but now it already exceeds \$200,000 million. It does not need any particular feat of imagination to foresee the future course of events if we do not unite and use our utmost energy to stop the advance of this ever-growing avalanche. The danger which threatens mankind is so formidable and all-encompassing that any effective efforts that can move us forward towards a solution of the disarmament problem should be supported with the full authority of the United Nations. We must be guided by the consideration that the halting of the arms race and the attainment of general and complete disarmament would establish a solid foundation for world peace, and would make it possible to divert immense resources to constructive uses and ensure the genuine progress of mankind.

166. The very core and the basis of general and complete disarmament is, of course, nuclear disarmament.

167. Our country has declared more than once that it is strongly and consistently in favour of banning atomic weapons, excluding them from the arsenals of States and then destroying existing stockpiles.

168. The obstacles to a solution of this problem are considerable, but we should be inspired by the successes which we have already achieved in disarmament. These include the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water⁵, the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies [resolution 2222 (XXI)], and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)].

169. The time has come to take the next step in this field and to prohibit the emplacement of devices with nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction

on the sea-bed and the ocean floor, and in the subsoil thereof.

170. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, which has a long coastline, attaches great importance to the exclusion of the sea-bed and the ocean floor from the arms race. It is essential to ensure that the sea-bed and the ocean floor are exploited and utilized exclusively for peaceful and constructive purposes. The Ukrainian delegation considers that the draft treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof⁶, which the Committee on Disarmament has submitted for consideration by the General Assembly, should be adopted by the Assembly and opened for signature.

171. The negotiations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on the question of strategic arms limitation — the second stage of which has recently been concluded in Vienna — also have an exceptional significance which is obvious to every one of us.

172. Our delegation expresses its satisfaction at the useful exchange of views that has taken place in Vienna. We are sure that the United Nations ardently hopes for a positive development of these negotiations, which are of primary importance for limiting and halting the nuclear weapons race.

173. Another immediate and pressing task is the adoption of urgent measures to ban chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons. The Ukrainian delegation, which together with other socialist countries is sponsoring a draft convention on chemical and bacteriological weapons⁷, proceeded from the premise that the adoption of a general document covering both types of weapons would be a logical extension of the Geneva Protocol of 1925 which, as we know, is based precisely on the concept of a single approach to the prohibition of such weapons. We note with satisfaction that this approach has found support both in the Committee on Disarmament and here, in the Assembly.

174. The purpose of the draft convention proposed by the socialist countries is to protect mankind from the danger of a chemical and bacteriological war and to eliminate completely these weapons of mass destruction.

175. Many of the delegations which have already spoken from this rostrum have referred again and again to the immense significance of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Declaration, which was adopted ten years ago on the initiative of the Soviet Union and was drafted in close co-operation with representatives of the young independent countries, was indeed a historic landmark in the work of our Organization.

⁶ *Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1970*, document DC/233, annex A.

⁷ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Annexes*, agenda items 29, 30, 31 and 104, document A/7655.

⁵ Signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

176. By outlawing colonialism, this document has not only inspired oppressed peoples to struggle for their independence, but has also contributed to the recognition of the legitimacy and justice of this struggle in international law.

177. As a result of the blows struck by anti-imperialist and national liberation revolutions, dozens of independent States have emerged in the place of the old colonial world.

178. While we sincerely rejoice at this revolutionary process of liberation, we cannot forget for a moment that approximately 30 million people are still suffering under the yoke of colonial slavery. The main obstacle to the final elimination of colonialism is constituted by the forces of imperialism. It is they that are trying by all available means to suppress the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe and of the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). It is with this aim in view that the imperialist Powers and international monopolies are strengthening their economic, political and military ties with the Republic of South Africa, with the Smith régime in Rhodesia and with Portugal.

179. We associate ourselves with the position of the non-aligned countries, which at their recent conference at Lusaka expressed their profound indignation at the violation by the Governments of a number of Western countries of the embargo on the supply of arms to the South African racists. The peoples understand perfectly well that the Republic of South Africa is using these weapons to expand its punitive operations within its own frontiers, to support the Portuguese colonialists and Rhodesian racists and to commit aggressive acts against the independence of African countries.

180. The United Nations, having adopted the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, cannot allow the last strongholds of racism, *apartheid* and colonial oppression in southern Africa to be strengthened.

181. The interests of peace, justice and freedom insistently demand that we should have done with colonialism once and for all and should purge our planet of the evils of racism and *apartheid*.

182. This session of the Organization coincides with the end of the First United Nations Development Decade. We have to admit with regret that its practical results have been insignificant. Indeed, what real success in this regard can be claimed if, in the 1960s, certain developing countries have become the victims of direct imperialist aggression which has brought them ruin rather than development, while many others have been deliberately deprived of the opportunity to participate on a basis of equality in a just system for the international division of labour? It is essential to bear in mind that the programmes of the First Development Decade were implemented in conditions in which the exploitation of the developing countries by the developed capitalist States not only failed to cease but was, on the contrary, intensified; in which the gap

between the levels of economic development in these two groups of countries widened; in which the arms race continued, and thousands of millions were consequently diverted for military purposes.

183. The joint statement by eight socialist countries on the second decade of development and social progress [A/8074] expresses support for the idea and objectives of this decade and declares that it "can become an important factor in the improvement of international economic relations". But for this it is essential that its programmes should be based on principles which will ensure a genuine acceleration of social and economic development.

184. The socialist countries are convinced that it is essential to bear in mind above all the paramount significance of measures for the general improvement of the international situation and measures for disarmament, which would make it possible to release enormous resources for solving serious economic and social problems and raising the standard of living of millions of people.

185. It is also perfectly obvious that the effective development of any country must be based on national planning and on the rational utilization of domestic material, financial and human resources. The experience of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the other socialist countries has confirmed the productivity of precisely this course of development.

186. It therefore follows that in the national plans of the developing States provision should be made first for measures to ensure the maximum mobilization and rational use of domestic resources. This in turn calls for improvements in budgetary and tax legislation, and for measures to restrict the activities of foreign capital and to establish and consolidate the State and co-operative sectors in important branches of the national economy. To achieve success, it is also essential to train skilled national personnel.

187. It is perfectly obvious that real progress in social and economic development during the Second Decade will be possible only by observing the sovereign right of the developing countries to make full and comprehensive use of their natural and human resources.

188. An analysis of modern economic relations shows that many developing countries resort to external sources of financing to clear off their indebtedness on earlier loans and to make current payment of returns, interest and dividends on private foreign investment. At the present time, their national debt payments exceed \$5,000 million a year, and the total indebtedness of the developing countries amounts to \$50,000 million.

189. The situation will become even more difficult in the future. According to calculations by experts, the total indebtedness of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America will reach \$90,000 - \$100,000 million by 1980, and payments on these debts will exceed total annual receipts from external sources.

190. Our delegation fully shares the view that the developing countries have an incontestable right to receive compensation from the colonialists and neo-colonialists for the material damage caused to them by these countries.

191. It is clear that the socialist countries cannot assume the burden of responsibility for the plunder which the liberated peoples suffered at the hands of the colonial Powers.

192. The obligation to make an annual contribution of 1 per cent of the gross national product of the economically developed countries to assist developing countries cannot, of course, apply to the socialist countries.

193. At the same time, I should like to stress that the socialist countries, conscious of their international duty, will continue their policy of providing assistance in every possible way to the young independent States in establishing and strengthening their independent national economies.

194. In evaluating the work of the United Nations over a quarter of a century at this anniversary session, we consider it important to stress the following: the Organization's successes are linked with consistent and strict observance of the Charter. As for its failures, they have as a rule been the result of violations of the fundamental principles of the United Nations as they are laid down in the Charter.

195. During the years of the existence of the United Nations, great changes have taken place in the world. As the result of the strengthening of the world system of socialism, the collapse of colonialism and the formation of independent States which have joined the ranks of the United Nations, the positions of the peace-loving forces in the Organization have become stronger. But the changes that have taken place do not in any way call for a review either of the basic provisions of the Charter or of the structure of the United Nations and the principles governing its activities.

196. In this connexion, I should like to refer to the words of Mr. Almadoú Ahidjo, President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon, who stressed in his statement on 22 September that:

“...it would be wrong to seek the cause of the weaknesses of the United Nations in the uselessness or obsolescence of the principles of the Charter which we feel still to be fully valid today...” [1845th meeting, para. 27].

197. The way to improve still further the effectiveness of the United Nations is not to disrupt the Charter but, on the contrary, to observe its spirit and letter and all of its provisions strictly and absolutely and to make full use of the opportunities it offers for the adoption of measures for the maintenance of peace and the development of international co-operation.

198. Even now, a quarter of a century after the establishment of the United Nations, we can still see in

the Charter of the Organization unused political resources which must be brought into action. One example which is certainly significant in this connexion is the recent decision of the Security Council [1544th meeting] to hold special periodic meetings in accordance with Article 28 of the Charter.

199. Our delegation considers that the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations should be marked by the mobilization of the efforts of all Member States to achieve the full and effective implementation of the purposes and principles of the Organization's Charter. We think it would be useful for the United Nations in its twenty-fifth anniversary year to reaffirm in an appropriate document their full relevance and urgency in present-day circumstances.

200. The United Nations bears a heavy responsibility for the cause of peace. This calls for the solidarity and unity of all progressive forces. The socialist countries are in favour of increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations and are demonstrating this by their positive action.

201. This anniversary of the United Nations should be famed in history not for expansive statements, but for important, far-reaching and constructive solutions of international problems and, above all, for the strengthening of international peace and security.

202. Our common task is to strengthen the United Nations in every possible way and to work unremittingly to make it a genuinely universal organization and an authoritative and active centre of collective action in the cause of genuine peace and the security and progress of all peoples.

203. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who have requested to speak in the exercise of their right of reply. In view of the lateness of the hour I would appeal to them for the greatest possible brevity.

204. Mr. MOLINA (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have come to this rostrum to exercise my right of reply under the United Nations Charter. I should like to comment on certain aspects of the statement made from this rostrum by the representative of Cuba on matters concerning the Government and people of Costa Rica.

205. The representative of Cuba said that Costa Rica at the present time is a base for aggression against the security and the existence of the Cuban régime. He said that the territory of Costa Rica is at the present time being used to plan aggression against the Cuban Government. Such an assertion is completely untrue.

206. Costa Rica and its Government are peaceful in nature. The cornerstone of our foreign policy is the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States. President Figueres in the address referred to by the representative of Cuba made it quite plain that any support from Costa Rica on matters which he referred to would be of a moral nature, for we are

a peaceful nation. Our security is related to the existence of international conventions and norms which must govern relations among States.

207. Under our Constitution there is no army in Costa Rica. The army as a permanent institution is forbidden. The security of our State depends not on the force of arms but on the conviction and belief of its citizens in the need for a democratic régime. We are strongly in favour of the principle of the self-determination of peoples, together with the concept of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States. We believe that the States which cherish peace and justice must use international channels to resolve differences that may exist among them. In his statement President Figueres furthermore only expressed the feelings of the Costa Rican people and their desire to defend their democratic régime.

208. The most significant part of our budget is assigned to education, the building of schools and salaries for teachers and professors. We are a peaceful nation. We are in favour of the right of all the men and women in the world to choose freely, by means of the vote, whatever government they wish to have, without any coercion or violence of any kind. We are in favour of a régime under which men have the right to freedom and social justice and a piece of land where they can freely set up their tents in the pilgrimage of life.

209. Our Foreign Minister clearly referred to acts of aerial piracy and commented on a Security Council agreement [*resolution 286 (1970)*] recommending that all States take the necessary steps to avoid a repetition of acts of piracy in the air. Here we would repeat the clear position of the Costa Rican Government that without the aggressive complicity of countries which grant asylum, the crime of aerial piracy could not be committed so easily. Hijackers are encouraged to commit these crimes because they are confident they will go unpunished and indeed be treated as heroes of violence, as the Foreign Minister of my country said, instead of as persons guilty of a crime against humanity.

210. Costa Rica and other States are preparing an agreement to repress kidnapping and hijacking, which is in line with our policy of protecting the freedom and dignity of the human person. We believe that an agreement of this kind, if adopted by the Assembly, should be compulsory for all States; we would not make the mistake of saying that we will not abide by such an agreement even if it is adopted by the General Assembly.

211. We are a peace-loving country; we are not an aggressive country. On behalf of the government of Costa Rica I must reject the assertions of the representative of Cuba who wishes to make us appear as an aggressive country whereas in fact we are defenders of peace and justice among the nations of the world.

212. For this reason we are also opposed to colonialism, neo-colonialism and *apartheid*. We are most definitely in favour of disarmament and reducing mili-

tary expenditures. All of this was made quite clear by our Foreign Minister who said that he wished to repeat that only by substantially reducing military expenditures would it be possible for the major Powers to have the necessary resources to raise the living standards of the backward areas of the world.

213. As we have also clearly stated, we are in favour of peaceful coexistence among all nations of the world. In a word, we are a country of peace and not a nation of war. We will never be an aggressive nation.

214. Mr. MONTENEGRO MEDRANO (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Nicaragua was absolutely astonished and dumbfounded to hear the distortions used by the representative of Cuba this morning in referring to the Government of my country and the democratic institutions presided over by His Excellency General Anastasio Somoza Debayle. With a cynicism and effrontery familiar to the General Assembly from other occasions, this gentleman of no moral stature has come and spoken in favour of justice, liberty, the self-determination of peoples, human rights and democracy.

215. The international community, and specifically Latin America, still remembers that the inter-American system expelled Castro's pseudo-revolutionary Cuba because it had failed to meet its obligations towards the Latin American continent and had tried through its international conduct to undermine the legitimate foundations of democracy and freedom.

216. The Government of my country was chosen through free and honest elections in February 1967. The opposition parties also took part in those elections. Our Magna Carta enshrines the right of minorities to representation. In accordance with the constitutional law of our country, there is the judicial power, the legislative power, the electoral power and the executive power, which, as is recognized throughout the world in constitutional law, make up a democratic and representative government. In our delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations there is a representative of the minority. Our country has no political exiles. There are no scaffolds, no prisons, no firing-squads. There are only tribunals of justice to try those responsible for common crimes.

217. In his litany of distortions, the representative of a pseudo-revolution, a lackey of an extra-continental imperialism, repeated the slander that has been widely disseminated concerning an alleged dynasty in Nicaragua. The fact is that the Government of Nicaragua, which gained the majority as a result of an expression of the popular will, was supported by the National Liberal Party, the victor in past elections. Our party is an organized political party, the kind that does not exist in a pseudo-revolutionary system that is nothing but a lackey of Soviet imperialism.

218. We defend the democratic institutions of our people and our country, and in the lush land of Nicaragua the militiamen of Castro's Cuba, who tried to subvert constitutional order and foment violence,

terrorism and guerilla warfare, met their doom. Ever since 1959, when, to the misfortune of Latin America, a reign of terror and oppression was set up in the Cuba of Martí, Nicaragua has been the victim of invasions. We were not the first to advocate the invasion of another territory or country. Militiamen dressed in olive green came to the lush shores of the Atlantic where they were defeated by the glorious army of the National Guard and after they laid down their arms they were tried by the competent tribunals under the laws of the Republic.

219. When the pseudo-revolutionary Castro régime was set up, our country was deceived by the proclamations of Castro, who in Central Park asked for money for his democratic revolution. We then established and maintained diplomatic relations with Cuba, but the first ambassador of that country, Quintín Pino Machado, then instigated violence and subversion in Nicaragua.

220. We were forced by the actions of that individual, who came not to foster cordial relations with our country and government but to undermine them, to break off relations with his corrupt régime that through its Prime Minister had proclaimed that it would bring its revolution to the Andes.

221. President Somoza, whose constitutional mandate is based on the will of the people and goes back to 1967, has proclaimed his support of international agreements, peace, security, harmony and co-operation among States. He has fought for the sovereignty of Nicaragua and the self-determination of peoples against those who advocate guerilla warfare, subversion, terrorism and air piracy and would deny people the right to elect their own government. In defense of the inalienable sovereignty of our country, President Somoza, after negotiations with the United States, brought about the abrogation of the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty. An agreement to that effect was signed on 14 July this year, thereby putting an end to a very sinister treaty that infringed on the sovereignty and dignity of Nicaragua, for it ceded in perpetuity a large part of the territory of Nicaragua to the Government of the United States.

222. Obvious proof of the position being taken by the pseudo-revolutionary Government of Fidel Castro against the peace of the world and the international security of Latin America was the tri-continental meeting in Havana, where quite unequivocally it was proclaimed that Nicaragua would be the principal arena of a Castro-type revolution. The world's news agencies and the publication reporting the tri-continental meeting clearly indicated who in Latin America and indeed in the world was trying to deny the right of peoples to self-determination, who was trying to interfere in the internal affairs of another country and who had given very little support to the Charter of the United Nations.

223. The representative of Cuba said that the Prime Minister of his country had referred to the right to bring a war to countries advocating invasion. In accordance with that principle, the countries of Latin

America would have brought war to the territory of Cuba, which itself has advocated the invasion of so many Latin American countries ever since that pseudo-revolutionary Government was set up. Or perhaps they think that the right of self-defence is a unilateral one, or that in this world forum only pseudo-revolutionaries and the lackeys of the Soviet Union are entitled to proclaim that they will wage war against countries advocating invasion.

224. I leave this question with the Members of the General Assembly: why is Juanita Castro traveling throughout the entire world trying to bring home to free men the evils of the lackey régime of Fidel Castro? Why has she even gone as far as to say that she would not hesitate to take his life.

225. President Somoza, the legitimate and authentic representative of the popular will of Nicaragua, delegated the duties of President to the Vice-President of the Republic and went to Japan. He will come to this rostrum and speak in eloquent terms about democracy in our country.

226. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): You reminded us, Mr. President, that the hour is late. Bearing this in mind my delegation will not take up the time of representatives by reading from the many statements and texts which are available to all representatives, including those puppets who may still understand Spanish and still be able to express themselves adequately in that language. These statements refer to activities being constantly pursued by the régimes of Costa Rica and Nicaragua which are bases for aggression against Cuba. I have quoted from statements by the President and the Foreign Minister of Costa Rica as well as by those in control in Nicaragua. If, as the representative of Costa Rica has said, they are completely untrue, the right of reply should be aimed at the Chief of State of Costa Rica and the head of the delegation. I did not invent any words but read from clippings from the Costa Rican press, from *La Nación* of 23 August 1970, in which it has been announced cynically that Cuba will be invaded by the end of the year. I have other similar newspaper clippings with me.

227. Some rather entertaining statements, to put it mildly, which the General Assembly has heard do not really deserve a reply from any delegation. It is bad enough that they should find their way into the record and take up the time of interpreters, translators and verbatim reporters.

228. The representative of Costa Rica in his statement in the general debate, and the representative just repeated this, said that the first country which encouraged hijackers was Cuba. He stated verbatim "Unfortunately it was the government of one Latin American country..." [1847th meeting, para. 27].

229. I reply to him, or perhaps rather through him to those who have not taken the floor, the United States, by quoting from our statement at the recent conference of the International Civil Aviation

Organization, which contains information in all languages which is available to all delegations. Here we have names, serial numbers, and dates of hijackings: 33 Cuban planes hijacked to the territory of the United States and some of them to the territories of its lackeys and 264 boats also seized by these criminals.

230. When all the events occurred the General Assembly had not yet had its attention drawn to what has now come to be known as a new form of international crime. To assert that the country which was a victim of these hijackings is in fact responsible for them and the first to encourage such acts, when the real culprit is a government which never once raised its voice to denounce or condemn these hijackings, is simply playing into the hands of the pirates and hijackers or assuming their role.

231. As to the other statements which have been heard by the General Assembly in the exercise of the right of reply, I do not think there is anything which need be added on this occasion. However, as regards the astonished and dumbfounded representative of Nicaragua, who treated us to a ridiculous statement which was the lush flow of his barren mind, I might remind him that I am not exercising my right of reply but referring to the President of the United States. He will appreciate what this means. The President of the United States—his President—admitted that the mercenary invasion defeated at the Bay of Pigs in 1961, organized by the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States, had been very largely organized and trained on Nicaraguan territory. I am not saying this, President Kennedy said it and he repeated it in very well-known books. If the representative of Nicaragua wishes to exercise his right of reply against the late President of the United States of America I should be glad to give him the rostrum but I remind him that as representative of Nicaragua that might have rather regrettable implications for him.

232. I simply say for the record that we are most grateful to the representatives of Costa Rica and Nicaragua, twins who came to this debate and took the same positions which have been taken in their countries against Cuba. Their two-man act against

Cuba is not without entertainment value. It is particularly entertaining when one recalls that a few years ago the representatives of Costa Rica posed as opponents of the Somoza tyranny in Nicaragua. This ostensible opposition of Costa Rican leaders was in fact nothing but a cover-up for a number of years. Now we see the two of them in this rather fine and cordial understanding coming to speak before us. I can only say whom Nixon hath joined together, let not the Devil put asunder. The warning I issued in the general debate still stands: the puppets and lackeys and pirates in the Caribbean and those who lend themselves to acts of aggression know what our position is.

233. Mr. MONTENEGRO MEDRANO (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I must apologize for this further statement, but the effrontery and insolence of the representative of Cuba makes it necessary for me to come to this rostrum, which he claims to have yielded to me. There you have an example of the pretentiousness of this representative of a pseudo-revolution. He said, as you all heard, that he would give me the rostrum.

234. But in his insolence he has gone as far as to say that my President is the President of the United States. Nicaragua, like all the free countries of America and the world, has a President who is elected by the people exercising the right of self-determination. Obviously, the ill-famed Fidel Castro has managed to overlook this because he is nothing but a puppet and a lackey of a Power beyond the continent. That became clear when, during the quarantine of Cuba, the true master of the country, the Soviet Union, replied to President Kennedy: "We are going to dismantle the bases in Cuba." But the puppet's consent was not sought nor his opinion asked in the matter of dismantling the bases. A voice from the subconscious of those poor puppets of Latin America has betrayed their guilt in this universal forum by accusing my country and the Nicaraguan people of having what they themselves are suffering from: a régime which has taken decision-making powers away from the people. In my country, the Nicaraguan people govern through their freely elected representatives.

The meeting rose at 1.45 p.m.