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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. MIKI (Japan):¹ Mr. President, on behalf of the Japanese delegation, I wish to extend my heartiest congratulations to you on your assumption of the Presidency of the General Assembly at its twenty-third session. I am confident that with your knowledge and your wealth of experience in the field of international diplomacy, you will no doubt lead this session to many fruitful accomplishments.

2. I should also like to take this opportunity to express my profound appreciation to the former President of the Assembly, His Excellency Mr. Corneliu Manescu, the Foreign Minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania. As an international statesman, with high skill he successfully brought to a close the very difficult period of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly, including its resumed part. It is my great pleasure to note that the United Nations, under his leadership, was able to enhance further its authority and prestige.

3. At the same time, I wish to pay a high tribute to His Excellency Secretary-General U Thant and express my appreciation for his zeal and devotion to the maintenance of world peace. It is my hope that he will continue his efforts from an impartial standpoint towards the establishment of peace based on freedom and justice.

4. To the delegation of Swaziland, I offer my heartfelt congratulations; we welcome the admission of that country to our Organization. The Japanese delegation holds high expectations and expresses its confidence that Swaziland will contribute to the maintenance of world peace in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

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

5. At the beginning of this twenty-third session of the General Assembly, after twenty-three years of alternating hope and despair since the end of the Second World War, I should like to ask the question: do we find ourselves today in the kind of international environment we earnestly hoped to bring about twenty-three years ago, when we pledged ourselves to the cause of everlasting peace and thought we had made a fresh start towards building a secure world again? Are we at least coming closer to what we hoped for at that time?

6. Is it not, regrettably, true that we cannot give a fully affirmative answer to that question? Was not mankind supposed to have set out on the tasks of building a new and peaceful world, transcending our animosities of the past?

7. If we start enumerating examples which run counter to the tide for peace, we cannot help thinking of what happened in Czechoslovakia last August. We recall that a further relaxation in international tension and the strengthening of mutual trust among nations had been expected to come about as a result of the accumulated efforts of many nations. This expectation, however, suffered a severe set-back because of the recent events, and our disillusionment was profound.

8. This military intervention, though unaccompanied by large-scale bloodshed, was indisputably an act incompatible with the spirit and the letter of the United Nations Charter. Japan appeals for the earliest withdrawal of the armed forces involved and the attainment of a genuinely peaceful and amicable settlement of the grave situation.

9. Can the problems of our international community be solved only by force? I do not think so. In this nuclear age, abuse of force risks entailing the total destruction of all mankind. I am convinced that the basis of the world order today should never be sought by sheer force, but in the rule of law and justice, responsive to the requirements of our changing times.

10. What should we do and how should we act to achieve an international community in which the rule of law and justice will prevail and thus ensure peace and security in this world? This Organization of ours, the United Nations, is based upon the principle of the sovereign equality of its Members. The Members have also pledged themselves to respect the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. It is self-evident that all Members shall mutually respect, and shall refrain from interfering with, the sovereignty and independence of other Members.

11. Many nations in this world live under differing social systems. The major premise for peace is that each and every country should endeavour to live in coexistence with its

neighbours on the basis of the principle of non-intervention, transcending differences in social systems and respecting each other's sovereignty and independence. Our Charter expressly lays down the principles that international disputes shall be settled by peaceful means, and that the threat or use of force against the sovereignty and independence of another State shall be refrained from. Only when all the countries of the world faithfully observe these principles will an international order based upon law and justice be established, and the maintenance of national security and international peace become possible.

12. The Charter of the United Nations binds the Members to join forces and co-operate for the establishment of an international order where the dominant principle should be "law and justice", instead of an international order ruled by force, where "might is right." In this nuclear age, charged with the peril of mankind's annihilation, all the nations of the world, both large and small, must share the common responsibility for securing the peace of the world. But I wish to stress that, above all, the great Powers, those who sit permanently on the Security Council and who possess the right of veto, are those who shoulder the gravest responsibility for the establishment of international order and the maintenance of peace in our world. I emphasize this again and again.

13. Abuse of force by a great Power inevitably threatens the peace of the whole world, involving the gravest risks. It is the great Powers that must awaken to their grave responsibility for maintaining world peace. They must exercise rigorous self-restraint in the use of their power. They must strictly abide by the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations. I wish to underline these points as strongly as I can.

14. Is it not high time for us to revive our aspirations and to renew our pledge of twenty-three years ago, to recall the spirit of the Charter and carefully to read over its solemn provisions, for our renewed guidance?

15. Until quite recently we were able to discern signs of a *détente* in East-West relations—a very welcome development indeed. But as a result of the recent unfortunate events, distrust and suspicion have been created among the nations. Nevertheless, we must now absolutely avoid any turn of events which would nip the trend towards *détente* in the bud and bring about a reversion to the cold war. I wish to urge most strongly that to prevent any such reversion nations continue to strive for the establishment of a genuinely lasting peace in the world, not subject to the expediency based on the self-interest of the big Powers.

16. Today the United Nations is criticized as not being effective enough to solve serious international disputes by itself. It is also evident, however, that the United Nations can claim credit for making steady progress in removing the seeds of many a potential dispute from the scene of international affairs, and for keeping situations from deteriorating when conflicts have already broken out; it has successfully prevented the recurrence of hostilities in many cases. This fact should be accorded due and full appreciation. Whether or not the United Nations can be further strengthened depends solely on the attitudes and efforts of the Member States.

17. Japan possesses a Constitution which renounces war and is dedicated to peace. Moreover, the foundations of Japan's very existence depend upon peace and stability in the world. I wish to emphasize here, therefore, that Japan is determined to observe faithfully the principles of the United Nations and will spare no efforts nor co-operation towards further enhancing the effectiveness of the function of the United Nations in the maintenance of peace.

18. Now that we are living in the nuclear age, the gravest threat to world peace is the danger of nuclear war. Nobody can doubt this. It is a matter of utmost urgency for mankind to take the measures necessary to prevent this danger from becoming a reality. It has been in the light of this knowledge that, in the forums of the United Nations and the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament during the past several years, efforts have been concentrated towards the conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. It is highly significant that at last this year such a treaty has been opened for signature [see resolution 2373 (XXII)]. Japan subscribes to the spirit of this Treaty and is now carefully studying all questions relevant to its possible participation in it.

19. I think the significance of the Treaty can be discussed from various aspects. One is the expectation that it can be a threshold to nuclear disarmament by the great Powers. Another is the fact that it will keep the number of nuclear-weapon States from increasing above the present five, and will lessen the danger of the threat of nuclear war becoming even greater than at present.

20. There is one more aspect that I should like to emphasize, and that is that this treaty must become a new starting point for promoting international co-operation for research and development in the field of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Japan, poor in energy resources, yields to none in the great hopes which its people place on the future development of nuclear energy. While we have no intention of developing nuclear weapons, we do wish to become one of the leading nations in the field of peaceful uses of nuclear energy. From this point of view, I look forward to the future role of the Treaty in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, and wish to stress the importance of the principle of equal opportunity in this field.

21. With the conclusion of the non-proliferation Treaty, the nuclear-weapon States must demonstrate an ever greater willingness to achieve nuclear disarmament. The Japanese Government welcomes the fact that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America have reached agreement to conduct negotiations for the limitation and reduction of strategic nuclear-weapon delivery systems and hopes that, in spite of recent developments in the international situation, these negotiations will commence at the earliest opportunity, and that they will produce tangible results.

22. At the same time, now that universal hopes have been placed on moves towards nuclear disarmament, it is our strong desire that France and the People's Republic of China will change their previous attitude and willingly participate in international talks on the subject of nuclear disarmament.

23. At its session which ended on 28 August, the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament agreed on its agenda for future discussions on disarmament questions and also established the order of priority for each item. Japan, for its part, places the greatest importance on the question of a comprehensive prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests as the next measure to be taken in the field of nuclear disarmament following the non-proliferation Treaty. The conflict of views between the countries concerned regarding the necessity of international control, matters such as on-the-spot inspection, verification, etc., is the main obstacle to the conclusion of a treaty to prohibit all nuclear-weapon tests, including those conducted underground. My delegation cannot but wish that these problems be solved and that a comprehensive test-ban treaty will come into being as soon as possible.

24. The major points of discussion at the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States, which closed a few days ago in Geneva, were the security of those States, nuclear disarmament, and the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Every one of these issues is an important problem that has a bearing upon the non-proliferation Treaty. Unless efforts are made to solve them, the high aims of this Treaty—to bring about the maximum utilization of nuclear energy in the interest of the welfare and prosperity of mankind, while lessening the danger of nuclear war—are sure to be lost in the wilderness.

25. As the only nation which has had physical experience of the horrifying disaster of nuclear explosions, the Japanese people fervently hope that nuclear weapons will come to be completely eliminated from human society. The question of nuclear disarmament presents itself to the Japanese people as one of the most important questions to be tackled by those living in this modern age. We consequently hope to make a positive contribution to future discussions on disarmament questions.

26. One of the problems of the greatest concern to many countries in our present world is the future course of the conflict in Viet-Nam. It is encouraging that talks for a peaceful settlement have begun between the United States of America and North Viet-Nam. However, the fighting in Viet-Nam is still going on. Having arrived at this stage, a political settlement in a spirit of compromise on both sides seems after all to be the only way that will lead the Viet-Nam war to a solution. I expressed my hope in this forum last year that both parties would move together for peace. I do not think that the gap still remaining between the parties at the Paris talks is so wide that it can never be closed. I consider that, if both sides take a step forward towards each other, the door will be opened for contacts and substantial talks among all the parties concerned. There has never been a time when the high statesmanship of leaders of the parties concerned is required so badly as today for the securing of peace in Asia. I repeat my appeal to both sides for further moves to close the gap.

27. I believe that, for the solution of the problem of Viet-Nam, peace should be realized on the basis of the Geneva Agreements under appropriate international guarantee. Once peace is realized, then all the people of Viet-Nam should determine their future themselves without any foreign influence or intervention.

28. In any event, a settlement of the Viet-Nam war cannot be a true settlement unless it is conducive to the lasting peace and security of Asia. Of course, the basis for such a settlement must be connected to the stabilization of the life of the people. Japan is, therefore, deeply interested in the rehabilitation of the area after the war. After peace is restored, international co-operation on a wide scale will be required for relief and rehabilitation, not only in Viet-Nam itself, but in the other countries affected by the war as well—indeed in the whole of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. It is my hope that an international fund for this purpose will be established through which nations will be able to channel their co-operation in a joint and concerted effort. Japan is prepared to contribute its share to such multilateral co-operation up to the limits of its capacity.

29. Japan, as a nation of Asia, is determined to co-operate to the fullest possible extent to promote the economic and social development of the whole region of Asia. As Members are well aware, Asia embraces more than half the population of the world; yet the total national income of Asian countries is only a very small fraction of the world's aggregate income. It is my view that development for Asia should be to promote, first of all, the modernization of the agricultural sector, thus consolidating the groundwork for industrialization, and to implement over-all development programmes covering, *inter alia*, the advancement of education and the promotion of technology. However, we recognize that there are limits to the self-help capacity of the developing countries. Therefore, together with aid from developed countries, regional co-operation is strongly needed for the accomplishment of economic development.

30. It is gratifying to note that in recent years efforts have been made among some Asian countries to achieve their common objectives by their own hands, and that there has been a strong tendency towards regional co-operation, as demonstrated by the birth of such organizations as the Asian and Pacific Council, the Association of South-East Asian Nations, and the Regional Co-operation for Development. We heartily welcome such forward moves and, for our part, have co-operated in the regional development of Asia through our positive contributions to the work of ECAFE, the Ministerial Conference for Economic Development of South-East Asia, the Asian Development Bank, etc.

31. Japan recognizes that promotion of the economic and social development of Asia relates directly to the peace and stability of the whole world. Therefore, despite various difficulties at home, it has made every effort to promote trade with Asian countries and to strengthen its aid to them. Japan's aid to nations in Asia totalled approximately \$570 million in 1967, representing an increase of 2.2 times in comparison with the \$260 million in 1964. Also in the trade field Japan has made particular efforts to expand imports from Asian countries. Our imports from those countries in 1967 amounted to \$3.3 billion, showing a 50 per cent increase from \$2.25 billion in 1964, and accounting for 30 per cent of Japan's total imports in 1967. We intend to continue to explore all possible ways, such as the promotion of develop-and-import schemes, to expand our trade with those countries.

32. At present, Asia receives considerably smaller amounts of aid as compared with the other developing regions. The

average *per capita* amount of aid received by Asian peoples during the three years from 1964 to 1966 was a low as \$3.1 per year, as compared with \$5.7 received by the African and \$4.3 by the Latin American peoples. The needs of the South-East Asian countries, in particular, have been sadly neglected, and they have been receiving annually less than \$2.00 per person. The needs of Asia are so great that they exceed by far the contribution Japan can make despite its best efforts. I earnestly hope, therefore, that the amount of world aid to Asia and, in particular, to South-East Asia will be greatly increased.

33. I believe that peace and prosperity in Asia can be accelerated only when mutual co-operation among the Asian countries themselves is combined with the further co-operation of the developed countries in the Pacific region. Looking forward to long-lasting peace and stability in Asia after the war in Viet-Nam, what is needed is to further strengthen the foundation for co-operation among the countries in the wider region of Asia and the Pacific. As a nation situated at a point where Asia meets the Pacific, and sharing our destiny with the countries in the region, we will make our utmost contribution to this important long-range task of Asia-Pacific co-operation.

34. The Middle Eastern conflict was one of the most serious international issues of the past year, and it was one of the major achievements of the United Nations in that year that this Organization, through the Security Council, was able to reach an agreement last November on how the solution of this international conflict should be achieved. We note with deep regret, however, that the Security Council resolution has not so far been implemented, while tensions between the parties persist in the troubled area; armed clashes, though small in scale, still take place from time to time in violation of the cease-fire.

35. Japan maintains the view that any territorial expansion by force is unacceptable, as it constitutes a violation of the principles of peaceful settlement of disputes and of the non-use of force, and that therefore Israeli armed forces should be withdrawn from the occupied territories. Withdrawal of Israeli forces, however, should be accompanied by solutions of such questions as the termination of the state of belligerency and mutual respect of the rights of the nations concerned to live in peace in the area. Japan's view is that a fair and equitable solution should be reached on the basis of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). It is earnestly hoped that the parties to the conflict will co-operate with Mr. Jarring, Special Representative of the Secretary-General, to establish as soon as possible a basis for an enduring peace in the Middle East. A fair and effective solution which would form the basis for a lasting peace in the area should be one approved in the forum of the United Nations, one for the implementation of which this world Organization should continue to bear responsibilities. Considering the hardships of more than twenty years which have been borne by the Arab refugees, who, I believe, number more than a million and a half, I should like to point out once again to all nations the urgency of solving the Middle Eastern problem.

36. In our international community, numerous difficult problems still remain. The China question is one of the most important among them, exerting a far-reaching in-

fluence upon other Asian countries. The problem is further complicated by the confrontation between the People's Republic of China on the mainland and the Republic of China in Taiwan.

37. The question of Chinese representation in the United Nations is only one aspect of the complex China problem. This question, therefore, should be treated in such a way as to serve for the solution of the whole problem of China. It is, accordingly, our position that the representation question is not a mere procedural matter but is an "important question" under Article 18 of the Charter which, like many other questions, requires a two-thirds majority for decision.

38. At the present moment, the People's Republic of China is maintaining in its external affairs a rigid posture based on its particular ideology and judgement. Japan, being geographically a neighbour to and having historically maintained close relations with the China mainland, feels more strongly perhaps than any other country in wishing that mainland China would be able to adopt a conciliatory attitude in its relations with other countries of the world. The attitude of mainland China, with its vast territory and its over 700 million people, has a serious impact on Asia, and indeed on the whole world. In this sense, we hope for the day when the People's Republic of China will willingly come to play a constructive role for world peace, realizing its duties and responsibilities in the international society.

39. Among the very difficult problems confronting the United Nations today is the problem of southern Africa. At the heart of this problem lies racial discrimination, a violation of the principle of equal rights of peoples as prescribed in the United Nations Charter. Japan has deep sympathy for the African nations which advocate the abolition of the policies of *apartheid* and the independence of colonial territories. Once again I strongly appeal to those Governments which administer southern Africa to renounce their policies of racial discrimination, which is the root of the problem.

40. I consider that a realistic approach to this problem will become increasingly necessary in the days ahead, and the understanding and patience of the countries concerned are essential. Japan wishes to continue to make such contribution as it can towards a peaceful solution of the problem.

41. Respect for human rights is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world, as proclaimed in the opening paragraph of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The persistence of armed conflicts and racial discrimination in today's world is regrettable indeed from the point of view of respect for human rights. The United Nations has been engaged in various activities to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It is particularly significant that the Organization has designated this year as the International Year for Human Rights. We noted with special interest that an International Conference on Human Rights was held at Teheran as the main event of the International Year to discuss the problems of human rights and freedoms and peace in the world.

42. The protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms is one of the basic principles embodied in the Constitution of my country. We have adopted the policy of

active participation in the International Year for Human Rights, and various programmes and activities have been organized to promote further among the Japanese people an understanding of the principles contained in the Universal Declaration and the idea of respect for human rights. I am confident that the International Year for Human Rights will greatly contribute to international co-operation in this field and the furtherance of the well-being of the peoples of the world.

43. In this connexion, the sight of the tragic victims of conflict in a part of the African continent evokes our deepest compassion. We cannot but express deep concern over the situation. It is only natural that already from many quarters the hand of assistance is being extended from a purely humanitarian viewpoint quite removed from any political considerations. It is my sincere wish that the parties to the conflict, from the lofty standpoint of love of humanity, will make further efforts to bring this tragedy to an end at the earliest possible date.

44. I believe that the promotion of economic and social development, conducive to the elimination of poverty and the advancement of welfare, constitutes the foundation for peace. The United Nations family of organizations has made significant contributions towards furtherance of the economic development of the developing countries.

45. May I say, first, that I fully recognize the significance of the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held in New Delhi from February to March this year. In my view, the second UNCTAD should be appraised not from a short-term but from a long-term perspective. From this viewpoint I find it particularly important that the second UNCTAD made a significant step forward towards modest but realistic international co-operation for the solution of such problems as preferential treatment for products of the developing countries, technical and financial assistance, the food shortage, regional co-operation and so on. Much credit is due, and I should like to pay a tribute, to the distinguished Secretary-General of UNCTAD, Dr. Raúl Prebisch, for his untiring efforts in guiding the Conference along realistic paths. I should also like to express our sincere hope that UNCTAD will continue to make a useful contribution to the solution of problems which are the common concern of all mankind. Japan, for its part, has committed itself to spare no efforts in this common undertaking.

46. I should now like to refer to the problem of the United Nations Development Decade. The Economic and Social Council and other related organs have already begun the work necessary to establish the targets for the second development decade, to follow the first Decade of the 1960s. We, for our part, are participating in this work and are determined to make every possible contribution to the search for truly effective programmes for development.

47. There are some who tend to belittle the achievements of the first Development Decade. Yet I am of the view that the powerful stimulating effect which the first Decade has already had and is still having should not be underestimated. We see examples of this in the establishment of a series of such organizations as the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the United Nations

Industrial Development Organization, the United Nations Development Programme, and the World Food Programme. We also find it encouraging that there are a number of developing countries that have positive prospects of attaining the growth target of the present decade. In planning for the second development decade, we should try to find a set of realistic targets. The main and very difficult task will be how to reflect in the form of over-all global targets the divergencies in economic conditions in each region and the differences in the stage of economic development. Furthermore, in our view, in the formulation of targets for the second decade a well-balanced, over-all development plan embracing the social as well as the economic sector should be sought. And a wide range of development programmes must be promoted simultaneously, covering not only industrialization but also modernization of agriculture, population control, advancement of education, promotion of science and technology, and so on.

48. This year, the United Nations has further extended the scope of its activities to areas where human endeavours for development have been so far comparatively restricted. In the course of the year, the *Ad Hoc* Committee to Study the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor Beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction had a number of meetings, and the United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space was held in Vienna. It is certainly true that today's highly advanced science and technology enable the human race to extend its domain to the remote reaches of outer space and to the farthest depths of the seas and the ocean floor. The efforts of the United Nations towards ensuring only for peaceful uses such ever-expanding new fields of human activity should be highly appreciated.

49. To that end it is necessary that we emancipate ourselves from the conventional yoke of national concepts and, through constantly greater international co-operation, develop these newly explored fields for the benefit and prosperity of the human race as a whole.

50. Not only with regard to the areas I have just referred to, but also with regard to the numerous kinds of activities in the economic and social fields, in which a growing number of international bodies are engaged, we know that there is a substantial tendency towards overlapping and duplication of organization and function. I wish to express the hope, therefore, that every effort will be made to avoid such overlapping and to attain the objective of maximum efficiency with minimum cost by means of harmonious co-ordination among the various activities of the United Nations and its related organs.

51. Twenty-three years ago the United Nations came into being for the purpose of maintaining peace and establishing an international order based on law and justice. And we declared that "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed".

52. As the process of nation-building begins with the education and training of the individual citizen, so also it is the human element that is vital to the strengthening of the United Nations. What is needed today is the nurturing of persons who could devote themselves to the task of

realizing the spirit of the United Nations, consistent with the needs of the times. In this sense the efforts of such organizations as the United Nations Institute for Training and Research should be enhanced and strengthened. The Member States, on their part, should respond to the efforts of those bodies by striving themselves to develop internationally-minded people with such resolve and philosophy.

53. What is fundamentally necessary for us today is to adapt our very way of thinking, the way we look at things, to this modern age, as we approach the brink of the twenty-first century. I am confident that bringing into being more people who embody the spirit of the United Nations will provide a strong driving force and will not fail to infuse a vigorous freshness into our future efforts for peace in this world.

54. Let us go back again to what we pledged twenty-three years ago, let us transcend the tragedy of war and our animosities, let us proceed with the building of the peaceful world envisaged in the United Nations Charter. And let us bequeath to the young generation of today a better world tomorrow.

55. Mr. GUERRERO (El Salvador) (*translated from Spanish*): El Salvador considers the honour paid to Mr. Emilio Arenales, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala and President of the General Assembly at its twenty-third session, to be among the most gratifying events which have occurred throughout the history of its participation in the work of the United Nations, in which it has displayed an unswerving devotion to the principles and rules governing the international organization.

56. The international community has bestowed this supreme honour upon Mr. Arenales in recognition of his qualities, his outstanding efforts in a wide variety of international activities, and his devotion to the principles of the United Nations, particularly peace and security, development as the common responsibility of all mankind, and recognition of the rights to which every human being is entitled. That acknowledgement does honour to Guatemala, a country which plays a constructive role in the international community and in the process of integration in Central America, and to which my country is tied by bonds of common interest and sincere friendship.

57. We also wish to join other nations in expressing our appreciation for the efforts of Mr. Corneliu Manescu, President of the General Assembly at its twenty-second session. He led the Organization with the required objectivity and calm, he directed the work of the General Assembly with singular skill, and has fully earned the praise of all the delegations to the United Nations.

58. The aim of universality of the United Nations comes steadily nearer achievement as new Members are admitted. During its twenty-second and twenty-third sessions, the General Assembly admitted Southern Yemen, Mauritius and Swaziland. I am pleased to express El Salvador's satisfaction at the admission of these States, for they come to contribute to a task which requires the co-operation of all peoples if the vast and complex programme outlined in the Charter is to be carried out under the pressure of economic problems unique in the history of mankind. We

welcome Southern Yemen, Mauritius, Swaziland and their Governments and representatives to the United Nations and sincerely hope that they will maintain constructive relations with this Organization.

59. The year 1968 will go down in the history of the United Nations as one in which important peace proposals concerning the threat of atomic catastrophe reached fruition when steps were taken to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, but that same year local conventional wars continued and certain principles which had been the backbone of international coexistence for several decades were put to the test. The record of some problems solved, of others still unsolved and of the breach of the principles of coexistence is factual evidence of the immense difficulty of the task facing our Organization and of the urgent need for perseverance, cautious constructive innovation and creative spirit if the purposes enshrined in the Charter are to be achieved. The fact that in 1968 the United Nations has 125 Members working together, formally committed by a system of principles and rules, is a sign of wide agreement on the essential features of a certain type of international society and of the inexorable, necessary and justified process which is leading former colonies and protectorates to independence.

60. We are being optimistic, and not generous, when we state that the negative aspects of the record I have mentioned represent different ways of applying to specific cases principles which have been solemnly accepted and shared. However, to explain certain facts as in large measure the result of the inertia of old practices, is not to justify them. To throw the pious mantle of oblivion over certain events which have shaken this Organization is not the best way to serve it or to strengthen it.

61. The principles and rules of international coexistence must be examined whenever applied, whether rightly or wrongly, and all States without distinction have a right to do that, as participants in joint undertakings, principally the joint undertaking of the United Nations. The idea that nothing human is alien to man has become a basic principle of contemporary international society through the work of numerous world-wide organizations. That is why the United Nations is so important, as a forum for world public opinion where the interests of all peoples converge, as an expression of friendliness in their relations fostered by the natural sympathy of man for man, and as a reflection of practical needs in the light of social and economic interrelationships and increasing cultural exchanges. All countries, big, medium and small, have something to gain from an institutionalized international society. When international principles and rules are flouted, the result is confusion in which the offenders find themselves caught in a trap from which, in the long run, there is no escape, even with all the resources of *realpolitik*.

62. The United Nations was established primarily to organize and maintain peace and security, but peace and security considered in relation to the social, economic and political factors on which they are founded, in other words, as the result of international coexistence, not as an isolated phenomenon.

63. The United Nations has achieved a major triumph with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

[*resolution 2373 (XXII)*], which has crowned earlier efforts to reduce the field in which atomic weapons remain uncontrolled, such as the Antarctic Treaty of 1959, the Treaty on the Exploration and Use of Outer Space [*resolution 2222 (XXI)*], the Moscow Treaty of 1963 on nuclear weapons tests and the Tlatelolco Treaty.² However, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is not enough, for the great nuclear Powers still continue their atomic weapons race without restraint and keep the tragic threat of total destruction hanging over mankind. We believe the solemn promises which the nuclear Powers made during the discussions of the draft treaty in the First Committee of the United Nations and in the effectiveness of article VI, which lays down that "each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control".

64. When the draft treaty was discussed in the First Committee, my Government officially presented its views and supported the draft by voting in favour of it for the reasons set forth at that time. Of course, if the Treaty is not followed by other agreements and if no agreement is reached on international control of the production of nuclear devices and the eventual and necessary reduction and even destruction of atomic stockpiles, the results we were led to expect will not materialize. Even so, the Treaty will be of some benefit, since the risk of a nuclear holocaust is greater if there are fifteen or twenty nuclear Powers than if there are just five as at present. But the existing threat due to there being already five nuclear Powers is more than enough to wipe out the human race from the earth in a single day.

65. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons was preceded by the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. During the debate on this item at the twenty-second session of the General Assembly, some countries expressed doubts as to the scope of that instrument, but debate may have helped to clarify that inertia, so that the States outside the region which have *de jure* or *de facto* international responsibility for territories in the region may at some future time sign Additional Protocol I and those possessing nuclear weapons may sign Additional Protocol II, thereby supporting the firm and repeated decision of the Latin American countries to remain free from nuclear weapons.

66. We must remember that a number of centres of tension or open hostility have remained active during 1968 and that, while their influence may be localized for the moment, they constitute potential dangers to world peace. The United Nations has made its presence felt and has helped to try to solve the problems, but for a variety of reasons, the results have not been commensurate with its efforts. We hope that in 1969 the fires still raging in the Far East, the Middle East and Africa will be extinguished, on terms which will allow of stable settlements. The United Nations, of course, is not frightened by such conflicts: it was created to deal with them. However, there is cause for

concern in the increasing tendency to live with such hotbeds of hostility or tension and in the tacit failure to attempt to settle them, in the hope that the international community will tolerate them as the body tolerates chronic illnesses. However, since the international community will survive indefinitely, diseases have the time which they do not have in man, because of his short lifetime, to become chronic and produce their harmful effects. The habit of accepting certain problems as inevitable could in the long run have very serious consequences, despite all the efforts made to keep them localized. The fact that those malignancies have not spread or proliferated must be acknowledged as a relative achievement of the international community. Nevertheless, they are still potentially dangerous, and efforts should be made to cure them without waiting until they become acute or grow chronic and weaken the society of States.

67. My Government continues to follow with anxiety the events in the Middle East, which has remained a hotbed of tension with recurrent sporadic outbreaks of violence. The negotiations undertaken by Ambassador Jarring—so delicate, but most discreetly and intelligently conducted, and fraught with so many difficulties—maintain a United Nations presence in the region. Furthermore, the Security Council is keeping watch over the situation and the Observers of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization play an important role on the ill-defined lines separating the belligerents. We feel that this problem must be solved, for the people involved in the conflict cannot live indefinitely under the present conditions. The situation in the region continues to be serious and some solution must be found since none of the parties wishes large-scale hostilities to break out. Sceptics will say that there cannot be a miracle; nevertheless, the catalytic effect of the persistent efforts of the United Nations, supported by circumstances preventing the indefinite persistence of insecurity in the region, is making itself felt. My Government supports the efforts of the United Nations to bring the parties directly involved closer together, and hopes that a breakdown of this complicated problem into its various components—the questions of the Holy Places of Jerusalem, refugees and navigation—will pave the way for the restoration of peace. Because such tremendous stores of emotion are involved—greater, in fact, than the stockpiles of weapons—some time will be needed to assess the situation carefully and arrive at a stable solution in that important part of the world.

68. World public opinion has always been moved by the upheavals and suffering attendant upon all armed conflicts, whether domestic or international. In Africa we are now witnessing a civil war with characteristics that everyone, and particularly those involved, would have liked to eliminate. It would appear that the international community cannot give an appropriate answer to the situation through institutional channels. Every State, of course, offers its own answer; however, taken together, these answers do not yield a broad common denominator which can be considered an expression of the view of the international community. There is agreement, however, that indifference cannot be tolerated when the civilian population is exposed to the horrors of war.

69. The activity of the Organization of African Unity deserves our praise, for it represents the effort and

² Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, signed at Tlatelolco, Mexico, on 14 February 1967.

responsibility of the States which are closest to the situation, without prejudice to the spheres of interest common to all members of the international community. There can be no doubt that that Organization is in a position to take the most effective action.

70. The international community is in a quandary because of its humane interest in the consequences of the conflict, the lack of broadly-recognized and accepted channels to express that interest, and the need scrupulously to respect the principle of non-intervention. If to this dilemma we add the lack of any attempt to devise an organic method of co-ordinating the principles of international coexistence, we see that there will be no appropriate legal recourse when other situations similar to that civil war arise. It is known that international rules have evolved in the heat of urgent situations which have revealed the inadequacies of existing rules. For those reasons my Government feels that it would be worth while to study the principles and rules of humanity, how they operate and what their limitations are, within the system of international principles and regulations.

71. My Government takes an interest in all the problems facing the international community and still feels the concern it expressed in the general debate during the twenty-second session of the Assembly about the war in Viet-Nam. Of course we are gratified to see a new development: the fact that the conflicting countries have at last come to the conference table in Paris. Although the negotiations may be long and difficult, the existence of the conference table does open a door, although a very narrow one for the moment, for a way out of the conflict. The conflict, according to persons who have studied it thoroughly, among them representatives of the belligerents, cannot be ended by a military but only by a political solution, and the only way to reach a political solution is through negotiation. We hope that the conflagration in South-East Asia will have abated by the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, for the good of the people involved and for the tranquillity of those who look on in fear that it may spread.

72. My Government is distressed by the fact that the principle of non-intervention was violated in recent months with the occupation of Czechoslovakia. We are concerned not only by the fact itself, but also by the theory behind it. It was claimed that the United Nations was not competent to deal with the matter because it was a domestic problem within the meaning of Article 2 (7) of the Charter, which states that "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State". Domestic problems were interpreted not as those affecting States, but rather as those affecting blocs or groups of States with somewhat similar régimes or which belong to economic associations. United Nations membership refers to States, and therefore the domestic affairs referred to in the above-mentioned paragraph of the Charter are the domestic affairs of each State, and not of groups of States, no matter how close the ties between them may be. The doctrine of blocs, if officially recognized, would change the structural foundations of the United Nations, would alter most profoundly the principle of international coexistence, and would place medium- and

small-sized States, deprived of legal defence, at the mercy of the great Powers' interpretation of their spheres of influence. The principle of non-intervention is as important today as it was in 1928 when, at the Sixth International Conference of American States, the Foreign Minister of El Salvador, Mr. José Gustavo Guerrero, defended it at a time when Latin America was going through one of the most critical periods in its history with respect to relations within the continent. The defence of non-intervention is the defence of medium- and small-sized countries, and therefore in defending Czechoslovakia's right to determine its own political destiny, we are defending the right and the interest of all medium- and small-sized States, without distinction of political régime or geographical location. The line of defence of the principle of non-intervention extends through all continents and all periods in history, and at times has extended through the American continent; but in August of this year that line of defence ran through Prague.

73. We maintain that the Security Council is competent to examine situations such as that which developed in Czechoslovakia. The action taken by the Council is in keeping with the provisions of the Charter and had the support of many Members of the United Nations. World public opinion has been aroused by the occupation of Czechoslovakia, and we hope that that reaction will have some effect on the course of events.

74. My Government notes the progress of the inexorable process that is putting an end to colonial rule, which a few decades ago held much of mankind in bondage. We maintain our traditional policy in support of decolonization and condemn foreign intervention and overt or covert protectorates, as well as discrimination of all kinds.

75. My Government supports the measures which the Security Council has adopted with respect to Southern Rhodesia and hopes that it will demonstrate strong determination to ensure compliance with its resolutions and that the States Members of the United Nations will honour the formal commitment they have undertaken in accordance with Article 25 of the Charter. My Government also hopes that South-West Africa, or Namibia, will be able to attain the political status its people desire, that the decisions of the General Assembly concerning the expiry of the mandate which the defunct League of Nations granted to South Africa will be fulfilled, and that as a result the other United Nations resolutions and recommendations concerning Namibia will be implemented.

76. At its twenty-second session the General Assembly opened a new chapter in international co-operation when it decided to establish an *ad hoc* Committee to Study the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction [*resolution 2340 (XXII)*], for the benefit of mankind. That Committee, composed of thirty-five States, including El Salvador, has submitted an important report [*A/7230*] to the General Assembly. It would appear fitting that the United Nations should include among its long-term activities a study of the development of the sea-bed, and eventually that it should take part in that development, for the benefit of all the peoples of the world. If we acknowledge that there is a large part of the sea-bed which is not subject to the sovereignty of States and which constitutes a reserve of

natural resources, there is a real and imminent possibility that its development may be financed in large part by States themselves and that the existing system of international assistance may be modified. El Salvador places great emphasis on the international programme for the development of the ocean floor and is keenly interested in it because we feel that it can bring about a profound change in international assistance for development and alter present trends in the assistance system, in which the commendable efforts of international organizations and bilateral and multilateral assistance programmes have thus far been unable to effect the desired changes.

77. As I have said, El Salvador has the greatest interest in ensuring that the United Nations should organize the exploitation and development of the sea-bed. Still, without detriment to the support the programme deserves, we cannot of course hide our feeling that it gives rise to some concern. Indeed, if the ocean depths are exploited in the same way as the biological resources of surface and medium-depth waters are exploited the technologically-advanced countries would have the advantage and the developing countries would derive nothing from their right to equal access to the sea-bed, since they lack the technical and financial means to take advantage of that right. The United Nations could devise a system for the development of those resources which would ensure that they were used for the benefit of mankind. If an appropriate means is not examined for utilizing the sea-bed for the agreed purposes, the tangible and imminent possibility of restructuring development programmes will become just one more factor which will widen the relative gap between the technologically-advanced and the developing countries; and the absorptive capacity of the great industrial cordon of the northern hemisphere will quickly remove it even further, in terms of development, from the rest of the countries of the world.

78. An equal record cannot be compiled with respect to development in all parts of the world during the past year; however, a good many countries were unable, for many reasons, to fulfil the programmes they had mapped out for themselves. Generally speaking, the results obtained in the struggle against illiteracy, malnutrition, unemployment and the subsistence economy are meagre, for they are far below the quantitative and qualitative levels required in this era of rapid change and increasing technological and scientific impact.

79. Although there are prospects for a better-regulated international community than the one we know today, we must not underestimate the possibility that the world may become divided over the years into two fixed categories of advanced and backward countries. Technological and scientific dependence is an imminent reality for a large part of the world, and the compelling attraction of the great industrial cordon of the northern hemisphere is reflected not only in the purely economic sphere but also in the attraction of the most talented and productive individuals to areas offering better material living conditions and opportunities for them to exercise their talents.

80. El Salvador has embarked energetically on a policy of economic association with its Central American neighbours which has yielded significant results; and we shall shortly

extend our ties to the rest of Latin American countries as a means of establishing local development centres large enough to meet the requirements of modern life. Besides establishing these zones of economic association, co-operation will extend to areas supporting the economy in the form of educational, financial and political ties.

81. The United Nations is an association of States. At present, some States—at least those which, for reasons of size or population or because they are technologically backward, have not the means to take advantage of the opportunities of science and technology—are establishing co-operation centres to stimulate their development. We feel that the United Nations should make every effort to encourage and assist those centres. It would appear that in the world of the coming decades, in addition to States, socially and economically integrated regions also will co-exist, established to take advantage of an economy of scale and to have at their disposal the vast territorial areas and the large populations required by science and technology. My Government therefore favours increased international assistance to areas undergoing integration.

82. We have noted that the Second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at New Delhi in 1968, achieved only very partial results which, had they been attained fully, would have paved the way for definite progress towards multilaterally recognized and supported objectives. Development has taken on a new character in recent years because it has ceased to be a purely national problem and has become a definite objective of the international community. All peoples of the world are playing their part in the process, and all States are accepting their share of the responsibility. Interpreted generously, the statistics may show some achievements; but over and beyond those achievements the most important accomplishment of the past few years has been the acceptance of development as a problem for which all members of the international community bear a collective responsibility.

83. Many countries are experiencing serious economic problems this year because of the constant decline in the prices, or because of the overproduction, of their exports, and the constant increase in the prices of the exports of the industrialized countries. International financing has attempted to compensate for this growing imbalance; however, it is a temporary measure, useful and necessary at certain times, but by no means a permanent method of supporting development.

84. Relations within a community based on equality should be so organized that each country, or each region associated in common markets, free trade zones or economic unions, finances its development out of its own sources of production. We shall be told that this can be achieved only by countries which are already developed; that the capacity to finance development can even be considered one of the most significant indications of development—even more than *per capita* income, a figure which actually says nothing—and that the developing countries must therefore resign themselves to an increasing debt. That debt, however, has limits which seem to constitute an iron law, since it reaches a saturation point and, apart from its economic consequences, exerts a psychologically depressive effect on a people.

85. We believe that it is necessary to re-examine the debt policy and to insist on a review of international trade policy. In that connexion we have taken note of the work done by the Trade and Development Board and the two United Nations Conferences on Trade and Development.

86. When a relative decline in the export prices of the developing countries occurs, international financing improves the balance-of-payments situation but jeopardizes it in the long run. It stimulates the economy and maintains the level of employment, but cannot reverse the trend which, from the standpoint of development, separates the zones into which our contemporary international society is divided. International trade agreements are certainly necessary, and El Salvador accedes to them though aware of their weakness—for instance the International Coffee Agreement negotiated within the United Nations system. They act as a parachute to slow the decline of prices, or to keep them at a certain level by stocking. They do not, however, solve the wider problem of trade, because the goods and services of the industrialized countries constantly grow more expensive and the developing countries can purchase less with their exports and have to cover the deficit by borrowing. The international approach to development has thus far been inadequate, and the less-developed countries find themselves in a closed circle in which they scurry back and forth and end up where they started.

87. El Salvador is a party to the International Coffee Agreement. With the adoption of the Agreement it was granted an export quota much lower than its actual output and was requested to accept sacrifices far beyond its capacity, with the result that it is now forced to retain a coffee surplus beyond its economic capacity to absorb. That sacrifice is relatively greater than those requested of countries with more diversified economies and greater potential in terms of territory and population. El Salvador should have been asked to accept a sacrifice of 10 per cent; but a much greater sacrifice was imposed that does not correspond to its real productive capacity or to the relative importance of coffee in its economy.

88. Certain principles are gaining ground and, if properly applied, could bring a greater measure of justice to international relations. My Government is particularly pleased to take note of the document entitled "A general agreement on commodity arrangements", submitted by the Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, in which it is proposed that when provisions for controlling the growth of production are adopted they "should take into account, as far as possible, differences in costs of production of the commodity in question in the countries concerned, and differences in the costs of transferring resources to other lines of production".³ We consider it of the utmost importance that this principle should be incorporated in commodity policy, as that would take into account the real burden of each commodity in the economy of each country, instead of applying the same yardstick to all producer countries. It has been known since ancient times that wise justice lies not in arithmetical but in proportional equality, applied in the light of circumstances peculiar to the parties. Thus, we are not inventing anything or discovering a new world; we are

simply anxious to ensure that we are treated justly at the international level in accordance with our particular territorial, demographic and economic position; we are asking that careful thought be given to practical and responsible international treatment. That has been and will continue to be our position at the coffee meetings, the trade conferences and all other United Nations forums.

89. El Salvador wishes to reaffirm its intention to accept a sacrifice quota proportionate to that borne by other countries. We cannot fail to point out that our country is in a truly difficult position and that important currents of opinion are beginning to suggest that friendly countries—although unwittingly and in good faith—are guilty of implicit economic aggression against El Salvador.

90. In connexion with new ideas which are gaining ground with respect to development, it is very significant that the General Assembly, in its resolution 2215 (XXI) of 19 December 1966, requested a report on the world social situation⁴ with particular reference to the first half of the United Nations Development Decade. The report indicates that development problems are being re-examined with a view to giving priority to social aspects; for the object is not merely to record high figures for production, gross national income or favourable balances of payments, but rather to ensure that those economic advantages really benefit the peoples concerned in the form of educational and welfare services and insurance against the vicissitudes of life, and that they receive real wages and benefits which constitute the material requirements for the enjoyment of culture. The economy is not an end in itself; rather it is at the service of mankind; thus the social aspects of economic development are coming to the front.

91. One might consider whether it would be appropriate to define the general question of development as such, and, rather than break it down into its various aspects, view it as a whole, considering its broad social, economic, scientific and technological ramifications within present and predictable guidelines and regulations governing the international community. It has become a cliché to observe that every national undertaking is backed by a supporting activity. In recent years national policies have become centred on development, as a result in some instances simply of methodical study and in others of actual programme implementation; a similar procedure could well be followed at the international level. No new institutions would have to be set up or existing ones replaced; rather, a global policy for development could be devised and eventually implemented through established channels. From that unified policy there would emerge formulae applicable to the various fields of international activity.

92. The year 1968 was designated by General Assembly resolution 1961 (XVIII) as the International Year for Human Rights. The important work of the Teheran Conference⁵ in that area is particularly noteworthy. The Teheran declaration, which is contained in the Final Act of the Conference, is a document of high quality which will

⁴ 1967 Report on the World Social Situation (United Nations publication, Sales No.: S.68.IV.9).

⁵ International Conference on Human Rights, held at Teheran from 22 April to 13 May 1968.

³ Document TD/30, para. 24.

guide international and national activity in the field of human rights. The General Assembly would do well to follow up the proposals of the Teheran Conference on human rights in case of armed conflict.

93. It would be the highlight of the International Year for Human Rights if the General Assembly agreed to appoint a High Commissioner for Human Rights, as was proposed at the previous session. El Salvador favours the appointment of such a Commissioner, but hopes that the necessary steps will be taken to give him a concrete task to perform; for the valuable methodical programme in which the United Nations has been engaged in the field since its establishment would be undermined rather than strengthened if the appointment proved merely to be an attractive promise. Consideration of the Commissioner's functions and of the means he would be given to carry them out must go hand in hand with the establishment of that new post.

94. My Government views with concern any event which weakens agreements governing international or regional coexistence. It is well known that diplomatic asylum has become a traditional institution on the American continent. El Salvador has made the defence of diplomatic asylum—a humane institution which mitigates the consequences of political instability and has protected persons of all creeds and positions—a fundamental point of its foreign policy. For that reason we regret that certain friendly countries, which deserve our full respect, have renounced the relevant conventions.

95. The activities of the United Nations aimed at perfecting contractual international law and means for the peaceful settlement of disputes deserve our warmest support. The Conference on the Law of Treaties,⁶ held at Vienna, the work on the definition of aggression and consideration of the legal principles concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States, are important stages in the great task facing the United Nations. We should earnestly study the definition of aggression and overt or subtle forms of economic aggression. The time has come, with more than fifty years of experience behind us, to re-examine the means of ensuring the peaceful settlement of disputes, the original lines of which were drawn in respect of contractual law at the memorable peace conferences held at The Hague early this century.

96. El Salvador feels that after more than twenty years of existence our Organization should reassess its programmes and the means it has employed to carry them out, guided by the fundamental objective of giving effect to the Charter. It would be inopportune to consider a further revision of the Charter; however, it would be fitting to devise executive means of putting it into effect which might lead to results commensurate with internationally-accepted objectives. At the private level, the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations was an occasion for men from all continents to meet in seminars and colloquia to share their experiences and common intellectual concern and to ponder the role of the Organization in the immediate future. Such an evaluation could lead to a thorough analysis of present circumstances, which of course are no longer exactly what they were in the memorable days when the

San Francisco Charter was signed. It is not because we are a small State but rather because of our devotion to our cultural values that we declare our support for the international régime of peace, equality and justice which has been winning wider acceptance, though not without frequent difficulties and set-backs, over many years. A general evaluation of an institution is the ideal way to determine, from experience and in the light of new circumstances, what should be supported and developed and what needs to be readjusted and expanded, provided that that evaluation is carried out in accordance with principles which the international community has recognized and is obliged to put into effect. It is not the principles which are in crisis, but rather the means to implement them.

97. Mr. President, in your inaugural address you emphasized the role which the hope for a better world plays in people's lives. This Assembly has the duty to nurture their hope in the United Nations with concrete achievements.

98. Today, 4 October, is devoted to a great representative of mankind, Saint Francis of Assisi, whose prayer for peace has come down to us through the centuries. Speaking to God, his creator, he offered a prayer which began: "Lord, make me an instrument of your peace". I invite all representatives of all nations to join me in that same prayer: "Lord, make me an instrument of your peace".

99. Mr. PLESKOT (Czechoslovakia) (*translated from French*): Mr. President, allow me first of all to congratulate you on behalf of the Czechoslovak delegation, on your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly. The Czechoslovak delegation is certain that under your leadership the twenty-third session of the General Assembly will be animated by a constructive spirit and will thus greatly further the high ideals of understanding and co-operation on which the United Nations Charter was founded. I should like to tell you what great personal pleasure it gives me to see as President of the twenty-third session yourself in particular, who have been long acquainted with Czechoslovakia and have, as I know, always had friendly feelings towards my country.

100. In coming before the General Assembly, the Czechoslovak delegation has a feeling of great responsibility. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, as a founding Member that has, since the birth of the Organization, championed and furthered progressive ideals with regard to international co-operation, is in a good position to assess the role that the United Nations is playing in the world of today. And it is especially because of the exceptional conditions of our country's development that we wish to express Czechoslovakia's opinion on certain basic questions clearly and unequivocally before the world. We are a socialist country that is following the path of social progress, peace and solidarity along with all the progressive forces in the world, according to the unanimous will of its people. We shall never deviate from that path, and shall continue to strengthen our sovereignty and our international alliances on a socialist foundation.

101. It is likewise in that light that we view the complex situation of the present-day world and formulate our attitude towards the fundamental problems of today.

⁶ United Nations Conference on the Law of Treaties, held at Vienna from 26 March to 24 May 1968.

102. The indivisibility of peace and, in consequence, support and aid to all peoples threatened by imperialism and colonialism, the struggle for democracy and progress and therefore an unequivocal stand against backward forces—those are the attitudes adopted in the past, adhered to today and to be applied in the future in Czechoslovak foreign policy.

103. We feel a deep regret at finding ourselves obliged to state to the General Assembly at its twenty-third session that during the past year there have been few improvements in the international situation as a whole.

104. After the long and difficult negotiations that took place during the resumed twenty-second session, we at last reached agreement on the conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*]. That was truly a sure advance and was welcomed with satisfaction by the peace-loving nations of the world. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, whose representatives had worked actively from the outset to that goal, regarded that outcome as proof that an understanding could be reached even on very complex matters.

105. At present the basic task is still to rid mankind of the threat of thermonuclear warfare. The American aggression in Viet-Nam, the situations in the Middle East, Korea and other areas of the world, are all examples of a global strategy of force, links in the chain of threatening phenomena with incalculable consequences that endanger the security of nations.

106. During recent months the world has welcomed with relief and hope the opening of direct talks between the United States and representatives of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam on the chances of ending the war in Viet-Nam. Those hopes, however, were very soon dashed by the intransigent attitude of the United States delegation, which is refusing to cease bombing the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and committing other acts of war against that State. It is absolutely necessary that the United States should realize that the sole road leading to end of the bloodshed in Viet-Nam is that of respect for the just demands, based on the 1954 Geneva Accords, of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and of the National Front for the Liberation of South Viet-Nam. Until those demands are met, the Government and people of Czechoslovakia will continue to lend their support and assistance to the Viet-Nameese people in their heroic fight against American aggression.

107. Nor was the past year notable for any change in the Middle East situation. The hope raised by the Security Council resolution [*242 (1969)*] adopted on 22 November 1967, and its offer of a good road towards a solution of the complicated situation in that region, was not fulfilled. The Arab States, and in particular the United Arab Republic, accepted that resolution, which they considered to offer an opportunity for a settlement. To that end the Government of the United Arab Republic suggested the drafting of a plan designed to implement, by stages, the settlement of the situation. We give our fullest support to that initiative. Israel, on the contrary, is evading the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 and refusing to implement it. In the face of that fact even the untiring action of

Mr. Jarring, the Secretary-General's Special Representative to the Middle East, whose efforts to reach a political settlement in accordance with the Security Council resolution deserve, we feel, to be admired and encouraged, has not for the present borne fruit.

108. We still consider political settlement to be the only path towards a solution of the chronic Middle East crisis. That settlement, based on the Security Council resolution, entails first of all the withdrawal of the Israel armed forces from the occupied territories of the Arab States and stresses the need for every United Nations Member State of that region to recognize that each country has the right to exist as a national, independent State, as well as the right to live in peace and security.

109. In accordance with the policy of peaceful coexistence among States having different social régimes, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is for the elimination of any element that can lead to increasing tension in the world. In that connexion it is giving special attention to the European situation. It is attempting, through its policy, to establish normal relationships and to contribute to mutually-advantageous security and co-operation among all the European nations. Likewise in that spirit it is encouraging positive trends in Europe; and it sees evidence of them in the efforts that are being made to deal constructively with the pressing problems of European security. Stabilizing and creating the conditions for an effective system of security depend above all, in our opinion, on recognizing and respecting the situation created in Europe after the war. In that respect the need to recognize the existence of two German States is still paramount.

110. The Czechoslovak Government has already stressed several times that any attempt by militarist circles in West Germany to obtain access to nuclear weapons is incompatible with the interests of peace and security in Europe. Unfortunately, we have sufficient information on the activities of the militaristic and neo-nazi revanchist forces in the Federal Republic of Germany to prove that they have not abandoned their plans for altering the results of the Second World War. They must be combated with resolution, for their resurgence poses a serious threat to the peaceful evolution of Europe.

111. During these autumn days, in the present rather complex situation, the Czechoslovak people are remembering other important anniversaries.

112. Fifty years ago, on 28 October 1918, the Czech and Slovak peoples, by renewing ancestral revolutionary traditions, especially the famous Hussite movement of the fifteenth century, set out upon the path of independent political, economic and cultural evolution. However, as early as the 1930s Hitler fascism appeared on our frontier and, exactly thirty years ago at Munich, deprived Czechoslovakia of its sovereignty and independence. The Munich *diktat* imposed on the Czechoslovak State earned a permanent place in history as an act of treachery by the great signatory Powers and their sacrifice of a small State to serve their own interests.

113. It is an historical fact that, in those times that were so difficult for our two peoples, only the Soviet Union of

all the great Powers stood up completely and unequivocally in defence of Czechoslovak independence. We recall the Munich pact today because it was one of the acts that led to the outbreak of the Second World War, with its tragic consequences for all mankind.

114. Our people never submitted to the Munich *diktat* nor to the occupation that followed it. That is proved by its resistance and its active struggle. During that struggle against fascism, close co-operation was established with the other enslaved peoples that had suffered the most severely from nazism, as well as with other States. At the same time the foundations of the new social and political organization of the Czechoslovak Republic were created. For it must be recalled that before 1938 the Czechoslovak Republic had not found the solution to all the problems with which it was faced, particularly its social and nationality problems. The hopes placed in their new State by the Czechoslovak people and reinforced by the great Socialist October Revolution had not been fully realized.

115. The liberation of the territory of the Czechoslovak Republic, thanks in particular to the Soviet Army, gave our peoples a chance to fulfil the revolutionary dreams that the pre-Munich Republic could not. By nationalizing industry, mining and banks, by organizing agriculture on a co-operative footing and by adopting other measures, the Czechoslovak people set out to transform their economy and build a socialist society. That has been a difficult and complicated process and has inevitably led to problems that have had to be overcome and to a search for new ways of organizing economic, social and political relations. The irrelevant and distorting factors hindering the construction of the new social system in the past, some of which were due to our difficulties during the years of the cold war and of acute international tension, convinced the Czech and Slovak peoples that they must erase the contradictions that the years had increased. At the beginning of this year the leading political force in our Republic—the Czechoslovak Communist Party—took the lead in a movement aimed at great changes, for it was convinced that, founding itself on the Marxist-Leninist concept of the building of socialism and respect for the broad principles of socialism, and taking into account the special conditions of Czechoslovak development, it could transform our country into a modern and prosperous socialist society, firmly attached to the community of socialist countries. That entire process which since January 1968 has developed in complex circumstances and has had to avoid the extremes of both right and left—including attempts to exploit it harmfully—has opened the way for the unparalleled creative drive of our people. It has been proved that the socialist path of our development, based on the historic traditions of the workers' movement, has become an accepted fact for the overwhelming majority of our population.

116. During the current session of the General Assembly some delegations have referred to recent events in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. I therefore feel I must say a few words on that subject.

117. Last August our country's Government was confronted with a new factor. Troops from five socialist States entered Czechoslovakia. In that new situation the Czechoslovak people maintained their composure and displayed

exemplary unity and discipline, thereby demonstrating their full confidence in and support for their constitutional representatives, headed by Ludvik Svoboda, the President of the Republic. The Czechoslovak Government was aware of the gravity of the occasion and of the fact that our nation's future was at stake.

118. The newly-created situation was the subject of talks held between the political and constitutional representatives of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Soviet Union leaders in Moscow from 23 to 26 August to reach a political solution. They resulted in a document whose implementation will bring about the complete normalization that is planned and the departure from Czechoslovak territory of the troops from the five socialist States. The Czechoslovak Government stated, and reiterates, that it will for its part scrupulously observe the agreements that were concluded.

119. We expect the Governments of all States and their representatives at the current session of the General Assembly to understand that situation and to take no action conflicting with the Czechoslovak Government's desire to settle the existing situation in accordance with the decisions arrived at in the Moscow talks. The Czechoslovak Government has therefore also asked that the item concerning the situation in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic that was placed on the Security Council agenda at the instance of certain States be withdrawn. It would serve the interests neither of the United Nations and its goals nor of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic if the situation in Czechoslovak were exploited in an attempt to revive the atmosphere of the cold war. On the contrary, we consider that the systematic pursuit of a policy of relaxing tension is integral to a settlement of the situation in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

120. The recent events in Czechoslovakia gave rise to widespread reaction throughout the world. Allow me to recall the words spoken by Prime Minister M. O. Černík in his government statement to the National Assembly on 13 September 1968, thanking all those who during that time openly bore in mind the well-being of the Czechoslovak people and the future of socialism in Czechoslovakia. We are grateful to them for their expression of sympathy and their sincere advice. On the other hand, we have no illusions about the motives that impel some representatives of the imperialist States and their friends to show the sudden concern for the fortunes and the future of socialism in Czechoslovakia which we have also witnessed in this hall. In that connexion we once again assure all our friends, and our opponents, that Czechoslovakia is and will remain a socialist country and that the essential direction of its policy will not change.

121. The Czechoslovak Government has set up a programme aimed at strengthening the socialist system within the country and developing its international relations. In this regard particular attention will be devoted to future increased co-operation with allied socialist countries in accordance with the principles adopted in the Bratislava statement of 3 August 1968.⁷

⁷ Statement of Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries.

122. Allow me to turn now to some of the problems with which this Assembly will be dealing in its work.

123. The problem of disarmament is one of the major questions of decisive importance for the future of the world. The threat of nuclear war can be systematically and totally eradicated only by banning and destroying all nuclear weapons and achieving general and complete disarmament. Since that goal is for the moment still far distant, we must therefore proceed gradually through the adoption of partial measures. The results already achieved must be taken into account, particularly those connected with the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. It is true, of course, that the efforts to implement the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons are not being made in a vacuum, and are being influenced by the general world situation. Nevertheless, we consider that any attempt to associate or link accession to the Treaty on non-proliferation, or adoption of other measures concerning disarmament, to problems not directly relevant to these matters can have no useful effect at all. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic regards the approval of the Treaty at the resumed twenty-second session of the General Assembly as a triumph of good sense, and attaches great importance to its implementation in the near future. Its effectiveness depends on its adoption by the greatest number of States of all continents. Notwithstanding certain ill-omened portents that have recently been observed in that connexion, we should like to believe that the majority of countries will respond to the General Assembly's appeal and accede to the Treaty.

124. Talks on disarmament also include many other projects aimed at the execution of partial measures in the field both of nuclear weapons and of conventional armed forces and their equipment. Those projects have been broadly enumerated in the USSR memorandum [A/7134] submitted to this session of the General Assembly, and in other documents. We are convinced that those proposals could form an appropriate base for future agreement on other measures which if achieved would halt the arms race and strengthen the security of all members of the international community.

125. Another important objective is implementation of the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Our Organization is bound to work still more energetically so that the remaining colonial territories may disappear from the world map and colonialism in all its forms and manifestations be eradicated once and for all.

126. United Nations efforts are rightly aimed at solving the complex problems of the world economy and international economic co-operation. It is particularly necessary to solve the crucial problem of the present-day world economy: that is, to bridge the economic gulf that separates the developing countries from the industrially-developed States.

127. As for the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the attention of its Government continues to be focused on adapting its socialist economy to the present-day requirements of the scientific and technological revolution—on the process common to all developed economies. We are

convinced that through those efforts we shall soon be able not only to ensure the orderly development of the economy and to raise the living level in Czechoslovakia, but also to foster the future growth of economic co-operation with other States, in particular the socialist countries. We also regard as important European economic development and co-operation, the work of the Economic Commission for Europe, and the implementation of all progressive forms of world co-operation, particularly in trade with all countries and especially with developing countries.

128. We start from the assumption that the international division of labour, based on concerted world action and on the principles of equal rights and mutual advantages, can be of widespread value. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is in favour of those principles and is endeavouring to give its economy its optimal place in the world division of labour.

129. This year has been dedicated to greater efforts to promote human rights throughout the world. Czechoslovakia's participation in those efforts is widely recognized, and the Czechoslovak delegation informed the world of that participation at the Teheran Conference. The Czechoslovak Government, in the statement it made on 24 April, pronounced itself in favour of action aimed at effective implementation of human rights and civil liberties. To that end I was also instructed to sign, on behalf of Mr. Ludvik Svoboda, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights [see resolution 2200 A (XXI)]. We expect the Assembly to take at this session resolute action in other fields, such as the eradication of all forms of racial discrimination, and the completion and adoption of the draft convention on the non-applicability of statutory limitations to war crimes and crimes against humanity.

130. The General Assembly has become the cross-roads where many international problems meet. Some of those problems have to do with a few States; others concern the entire international community. Nevertheless, they make up a picture of the present-day world that no one can ignore. In that picture the United Nations has an important place.

131. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has remained and continues to remain faithful to the principles of the United Nations Charter, namely the duty of States to co-operate with each other, the principle of the equal rights of peoples and their right to self-determination, the principle of the sovereign equality of States, the principle of respect for international commitments, the principle of non-intervention, the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes and the prohibition of the threat or use of force in international relations. Those are the principles that must underlie peaceful coexistence and equitable relations among peoples. Nevertheless, our Organization must still face a whole series of unsolved problems that are impeding the full effectiveness of its action. In the first place, it is absolutely necessary to realize completely the concept of universality by restoring to the People's Republic of China its legitimate rights in the United Nations and by admitting to membership of this Organization the States that have shown a warranted interest in it. We are in favour of admitting to the United Nations both German States: the

Democratic Republic of Germany and the Federal Republic of Germany.

132. In conclusion let me say that, despite all the explosive problems existing in the world today, the constitutional representatives of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and its people not only retain an unshaken confidence in the feasibility of peaceful international co-operation, but they are convinced that only through the development of that co-operation can the conditions necessary for an honest solution to all problems be established. Political negotiations and the solutions adopted must always bear in mind the interests of all peoples and must respect above all their independence and sovereignty. Our planet's future depends on understanding and co-operation between States with different political and economic systems.

133. I should like to state the Czechoslovak Government's conviction that the work of the current session of the General Assembly will contribute towards the attainment of that goal. We believe that that work will exhibit a responsible spirit in defence of the values whose protection is one of the tasks incumbent on the United Nations. Notwithstanding the complex problems confronting our country at the present time, the Czechoslovak delegation will make every effort to contribute in a valid and constructive manner to the positive advancement of our labours.

134. Mr. RIFA'I (Jordan): I wish to start by saluting you, Mr. President, and the great Latin American peoples whom you represent in this high office to which you have so fittingly been elected. With your country, Guatemala, and with all Latin American States, we in Jordan and all the Arab homeland share a common heritage together with common aspirations. Knowing your long experience and distinguished abilities, we are confident that this session of the General Assembly will be guided towards success.

135. In this connexion I feel that I must pay a tribute to your eminent predecessor, Mr. Manescu, whose ability and statesmanship are reflected in the constructive achievements of the last session.

136. May I also be allowed to acknowledge with special appreciation the distinguished and valuable services of the Secretary-General and his associates in the cause of the United Nations and its accomplishments.

137. The entry into the United Nations of the new Member State, Swaziland, brings this world Organization closer to universality. On behalf of my Government and the people of Jordan, I welcome the new State and wish its people continued prosperity and progress.

138. This General Assembly convenes to consider a large variety of problems facing our world today. But indeed, the most serious problem that faces the United Nations is the problem of its own future and its own survival.

139. Many of us seriously fear that the coming years may witness not the growth and maturation of the United Nations, but a weakening of its effectiveness as an expression of man's hope to live in peace and prosperity

and as a means for co-ordinating international efforts towards a better life.

140. The United Nations, which was created to save humanity from the scourge of war, witnesses now, with little action on its part, bloodshed and human tragedies on African and Asian soil.

141. In Viet-Nam, war continues and greater suffering and destruction are witnessed every day. World public opinion strongly demands that this destructive war immediately stop, and that no effort or measure be spared to ensure the success of the Paris peace talks.

142. In Africa, the agony of man and the suppression of human rights are still going on as a result of repressive colonial policies.

143. In the Middle East, in my own country, a unique and, in many ways, anomalous situation exists. A Member of the United Nations, dedicated to the principles of its Charter, and recognized by all who know enough about it as a dynamic, progressive and peace-loving country—Jordan—for almost a year and a half now has been in a most exceptional situation. For almost a year and a half, half of Jordan's population has been living under foreign military occupation. Nearly one fourth of its population has been reduced to the status of refugees living outside their own homes. The economic unity and progress of the country have been violently disrupted. The holy shrines, which our people have taken historical pride in embracing and protection, have been torn away and shamelessly violated. The legitimate rights of our people, in Jordan and around it, have for the second time been stabbed in the heart, while still awaiting redress for the earlier unprecedented act of injustice and brutality. Misery, damage and destruction as a result of the continued Israeli aggression are seen in every part of Jordan. My people, despite their high morale, are reaching a point where they may lose faith in the practical effectiveness of the moral values and lofty principles that are preached and cherished in the world of today. Israel's armed aggression has, in my country, a stage on which to operate freely, with no effective international authority to repel it or curb it, or even, in many cases, to condemn it.

144. Nearly a year and a half has passed now since the creation of this abnormal situation, with little hope discernible for a gallant intervention by the world community to remove the aggression manifested in the military occupation of my country's soil and to right the wrong that has been done.

145. Since the failure of the General Assembly in June and July of last year to act in the right direction, one serious and potentially effective decision was taken by this great world Organization. On 22 November of that year the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 242 (1967) that was meant to be both decisive and reflective of the various tendencies within the Council. In the introduction to his annual report, the Secretary-General states:

“Resolution 242 (1967) adopted unanimously by the Security Council on 22 November 1967 was in itself a considerable achievement and provided a basis for a constructive and peaceful approach by both the parties

and the international community to the bitter problems of the Middle East. The resolution provided for a special representative 'to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement'. This was a heavy responsibility for one man to undertake, but in a practical sense it was the wisest of the obviously limited alternatives." [A/7201/Add.1, para. 47.]

146. The essence of that resolution was the demand for the withdrawal of the occupying forces of Israel from Jordan and the two sister Arab countries attacked by Israel, as well as the restoration of peace conditions in the area. Those big Powers which frustrated General Assembly action in June and July, this time pledged to throw their weight behind the implementation of the new Security Council resolution. So they declared publicly in the Council; and so they said privately outside the Council. They called the resolution "balanced" and "realistic" and stated that it would enable them to use their influence and political weight to ensure compliance with its provisions.

147. For our part, we, for a year now, have been co-operating with the able and dedicated representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Gunnar Jarring, in accordance with the terms of the Security Council resolution.

148. Israel, however, has not left one opening for the sincere efforts of the United Nations and its representative, not one hope that it will change its intransigent mood of aggression, its fascination with military force and its resistance to any United Nations intervention on behalf of justice and peace in the region.

149. Israel seems to believe that United Nations involvement in the solution of this problem would contradict Israel's own designs. Therefore, Israel's position in regard to the efforts of the Special Representative has been to kill by procedural, tactical and semantic games any constructive attempts to tackle the substance of the problem. It tried to replace the Security Council resolution by a so-called agenda of peace, prepared and proposed by Israel. It avoided discussing substantial issues with the Special Representative. It even regarded as unacceptable commitments in the Security Council on termination of belligerency. It made it clear in every way that the resolution was short of its demands and ambitions. The slogan of direct negotiations of bilateral agreements, repeatedly uttered by Israel, is but another tactical manoeuvre designed to break away from the obligations stipulated and emphasized in the November Security Council resolution.

150. The friends of Israel who had promised support for the Security Council resolution should have foreseen this prospect. Their attitude now and in the past has helped to create the present mentality and mood in Israel's leadership. By having assisted in or been indifferent to Israel's policies of complete disregard of previous United Nations resolutions and to systematic use of force by Israel to ensure territorial expansion in the last twenty years, they have developed in Israel the arrogance of power and its continued reliance upon their support in this great Organization, and in other fields. They witness now the manifes-

tation of Israel's utter indifference to the United Nations and even to the interests of its big-Power friends in the whole area of the Middle East. Never has the acute conflict between the interests in the Middle East of the United Nations in particular and Israel's policies of extremism come into sharper focus.

151. There should be a genuine realization by the big Powers—a realization so far lacking in some—as well as by the whole United Nations, that breaking the deadlock in the Middle East necessitates pressing heavily on the aggressive party, tempering its military arrogance, awakening it to the fact that reliance on the force of arms does not construct the road to peace.

152. The Arab Governments directly involved in the crisis have gone very far in their moderation. The Arab position with regard to the implementation of the Security Council resolution has been flexible and objective. We had no difficulty in going along with the terms of the resolution since it was basically assumed that United Nations decisions and resolutions were not merely historical documents issued to be kept in the archives or to be framed as portraits on the walls of the United Nations.

153. We entered into detailed talks with the Special Representative, and in those talks we maintained a positive and constructive stand. Mr. Jarring is well aware of our helpful attitude and our support for his devoted efforts. We reviewed with him practical possibilities for the implementation of all provisions of the resolution and indicated that a time-table could be drawn up for the general and simultaneous implementation of all its items. Such a time-table could be presented by the Special Representative, or arranged by the Security Council or worked out by the big Powers, the permanent members of the Security Council.

154. This is a very natural arrangement to adopt since the problem essentially originated in the United Nations, since the responsibility has continued to be with the United Nations, and since the big Powers, the permanent members of the Security Council, are charged with special obligations towards international peace.

155. Israel, however, fascinated with its military success, refused to commit itself to the acceptance of withdrawal, which is the key point in the issue of peace in the present crisis. Had Israel been prepared to accept withdrawal it would not have hesitated to make its position clear. But Israel can neither define its position nor declare it. This is because of the fact that the concept of territorial expansion is the guiding force among all Israeli leaders no matter how great or how small the difference in their points of view may be.

156. In the light of this reality, the issue of peace in Israel becomes a problem to the Israeli leaders themselves, who seem to be incapable of solving it. Swinging between its hope to live in security and its aim of gaining more land, Israel is unable to determine the area it plans to expand to, and the line it may be willing to withdraw to. Thus, the slogan of secure boundaries which Israel keeps raising as an excuse for its failure to accept withdrawal is, in the Israeli mind, a vague and undefined concept. This explains the

failure of the Israeli Government to provide the Special Representative with a commitment on withdrawal and with a clear and definitive idea on its concept of secure boundaries. It is to be borne in mind in this respect that it is Arab territorial integrity and Arab security which have been grossly violated by Israel three times in the last twenty years.

157. The resort to procedural tactics by Israel is a mere pretext to avoid the substance of the issue. The Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report says: "It would seem to me that as a general rule the emphasis should be on the results rather than on the procedure" [A/7201/Add.1, para. 52]. What ought to be made clear and public by Israel is whether it is prepared to evacuate the territories it occupies, as provided by the Security Council resolution.

158. We have every reason now to believe that Israel is obsessed with territorial expansion and is therefore deliberately obstructing all efforts for peace. It is enough to keep in mind that while Israel was conducting its procedural and rhetorical games, it wasted no time in consolidating its occupation. It planted Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories. It expelled hundreds of thousands of inhabitants of the occupied areas from their homes, deliberately and systematically. It bulldozed into non-existence villages and large quarters of Arab cities. Israel took drastic and violent measures to swallow the Holy City of Jerusalem into its political structure by wholesale confiscation of land and property and by other radical measures. The Israeli authorities arrested, imprisoned, deported, tortured, shot or subjected to various forms of persecution thousands of Arabs in the occupied area. Israel also stepped up its wild attacks against my country, Jordan, in particular, in a systematic programme of heavy shelling and air bombardment of Jordanian villages and towns, perhaps in the hope that that would break the spirit of resistance in my people and pave the way for more expansion into Jordanian territory. It is incredible that twenty-three years after the founding of the United Nations the right of a people to live free from aggression becomes a question for debate.

159. Now the time has come for world public opinion to realize what a myth was the claim that the Arabs were planning to throw the Israelis into the sea; and what a myth was the accusation that the Arabs were the belligerent party. Now it is time for the panic in the Western world over Israel's survival to cool down and give way to more rational understanding of Israel's reality and its designs in the area.

160. It is becoming more obvious every day that, as Israel consolidates its position, extends its territory and stockpiles its advanced mortal weapons, the aim it has in sight is to become a principal Power in the Middle East, decisively influencing the future and destiny of the area, at the expense of the rights, security and future of the peoples of the region. Yet, Israel continues to seek more arms aid and continues to receive it. One, at least, would hope that in the absence of positive action to bring Israel to the mood of peace, no action will be taken which may further encourage Israel in the direction of war.

161. The United Nations membership must therefore act speedily to save the efforts towards peace and to dispel the chances of despair. The people of the area, who have suffered so long from Israel's violence and from the inability of the United Nations to support their rights and protect their destiny, have reached the maximum limit of their restraint and faith in the fairness of the world Organization. When they reach this point, invitations for moderation and restraint become irrelevant, and the call of struggle for liberation will echo all around, wide and deep.

162. It is true that the Arabs faced a military defeat by a surprise attack in June of last year, but it is also true that there is full determination on their part not to be defeated in their principles and in their rights. It was easy for Israel to occupy vast Arab territories, but it shall not be that easy for Israel to stay and to hold. Our aged citizens may live for some time with their misfortune in destitution and in refugee camps, but their sons refuse to meet death except through struggle. These young men who are meeting their death in the occupied lands are not terrorists, as cynically described by Israel. They are young patriots, from schools and universities, rushing back to a homeland torn by aggression, to resist occupation.

163. I am afraid that the absence of positive achievements may drive the feelings and thinking in the area towards a rough course which could be very costly in life and resources. It may mean a final commitment to a course that some may call too destructive, but which our people will find inevitable, having no other alternative left.

164. However, we, as responsible Governments, shall continue to believe in the cause of peace, and shall continue our endeavours to achieve peace. But a lasting peace cannot be established except on the solid foundations of right and justice. If we fail in our endeavours, then we can say that we tried.

165. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Two delegations have asked to speak in exercise of their right of reply. I call first on the representative of Guyana.

166. Sir John CARTER (Guyana): I should like very briefly to refer to the statement made this morning [1681st meeting] by the representative of Venezuela. That statement is now part of the record of this Assembly, as is Guyana's statement of yesterday [1680th meeting], and I would invite delegations to compare the feeble and specious argument put forward by Venezuela with the chronicle of fact which my delegation has advanced.

167. My Minister has set out the calculated and continued breach of the Geneva Agreement of 17 February 1966⁸ by Venezuela, which agreement Venezuela now seeks to invoke as a barrier to Guyana's discussion here at the United Nations of the aggression launched against my country. I invite delegations to note the contemptuous dismissal by no less a person than the Foreign Minister of Venezuela of an international treaty solemnly entered into and implemented seventy years ago. I invite delegations to consider the threat to peace which contempt for law must represent anywhere in the world.

⁸ See United Nations *Treaty Series*, vol. 561 (1966), No. 8192, p. 323.

168. Finally, in view of the absurd Venezuelan allegations and affirmations regarding racial integration in our two societies, I invite delegations to observe and to compare the delegations which speak for those societies and which sit in this Assembly in the seats of Guyana and in the seats of Venezuela.

169. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I recognize the representative of India, whose delegation is the second wishing to exercise its right of reply.

170. Mr. BHAGAT (India): This morning we heard the Foreign Minister of Pakistan flinging baseless charges against India. This is not the first time that a representative of Pakistan has utilized the forum of the General Assembly to spread false propaganda against my country. What has amazed us is the temerity of representatives—including the Foreign Minister who spoke this morning—of Pakistan, a country which has committed aggression against India three times in the last twenty years. The facts of the aggression are conveniently forgotten, and instead the forum of this august Assembly is utilized to besmirch the fair name of India. I would much rather have not engaged in a debate with the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, but I must put the record straight. I must remind him that the world has not forgotten the three aggressions; that we have not forgotten the malicious propaganda which Pakistan has carried on against India for the last twenty years; that we have not forgotten the almost daily interference in the internal affairs of our country.

171. Despite the three aggressions, despite all the provocations spread over a period of twenty years, India has always endeavoured to reach peaceful settlement of all our differences. India signed a Declaration of Peace at Tashkent with Pakistan in January 1966. The basic point of the Tashkent Declaration is that it provides a framework for India and Pakistan within which to improve their relations. The first step which was contemplated inevitably was the question of the normalization of relations. To this end the Government of India has made numerous proposals to the Government of Pakistan to which there has been no positive response. Let me give some concrete examples of our efforts to normalize relations with Pakistan as a prelude to the settlement of other outstanding questions:

(1) On 27 May 1966, India unilaterally lifted the embargo on trade with Pakistan. Pakistan has not reciprocated.

(2) In March 1966, we offered to open all border check-posts to civil traffic and goods. We have received no response.

(3) In June 1966, India unilaterally released all cargoes seized during the hostilities of September 1965. Pakistan has responded by auctioning Indian properties similarly seized.

(4) On 25 February of last year, India proposed talks on the reduction of arms expenditure which was rejected.

172. Apart from the fact that the various proposals made by India for normalization of relations are in pursuance of the Tashkent Declaration, the Government of India is of the view that a process of normalization must set in, that the proper atmosphere must be created before other

outstanding problems can be resolved. The process of normalization is intended to facilitate the resolution of other outstanding problems. On the other hand, the Government of Pakistan continues to insist that one particular problem or the other must be solved before the process of normalization can begin. If this reasoning were to be followed there would never be any prospect of normalization of relations because it is easy to add one condition after another.

173. The reference to the question of Kashmir this morning by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan is nothing new. Inasmuch as a partisan view of the question was presented this morning, may I be allowed to state the position of the Government of India. First of all, it was India which went to the Security Council with a complaint of aggression committed by Pakistan against an integral part of the Indian Union. Twenty years ago, Pakistan made an attempt to occupy by force of arms the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir. When this invasion was thwarted Pakistan suddenly became the champion of the right of self-determination. A similar attempt was made in August-September 1965. Once again Pakistan's aggression was foiled and we continue to hear the plea of the right of self-determination of people who have repelled Pakistani aggression twice. I should like to make it quite clear that the State of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India and we cannot agree to any plea or demand which would question our sovereignty.

174. Pakistan continues even today to be in illegal occupation of two fifths of the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir. Under international law and under our inherent right of self-defence, we are entitled to use every means, not excluding the use of arms, to recover our territory from the clutches of Pakistan. But the policy of the Government of India, a deliberate policy, has been not to use force and thus exacerbate relations with Pakistan. Pakistan, on the other hand, while remaining in illegal occupation of the areas in question, continues to incite people and thus create an explosive situation. I should like to inform the Foreign Minister of Pakistan very clearly that if an explosive situation is created the entire responsibility for it will lie at the door of Pakistan.

175. Conditions in the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir are normal and peaceful. The people of that State, like the people of every other State of India, continue to enjoy their constitutional rights and freedoms. The Foreign Minister of Pakistan referred to a by-election which had been held in the State a few months ago, in an attempt to prove that the people of that State do not wish to remain with India. He forgot to mention, I presume conveniently, another by-election in the same State at the same time. This other by-election was held the same day in the constituency of Badgam and more people took part in the polling than at the last general elections early in 1967. This was despite the call for a boycott of the elections.

176. The Foreign Minister of Pakistan has raised another matter in this Assembly and tried to give international importance to this matter, which is purely bilateral in character. The presentation of the Farakka Barrage question by Pakistan this morning is a travesty of facts and truth.

177. What are the facts of the problem? The Ganges is not an international river, but is overwhelmingly an Indian river with about 180 million of India's population depending on the basin for their livelihood. The Pakistani area, contributing to the flow of the Ganges, comes to hardly one half per cent of the total catchment area. The Ganges flows for more than 1,000 miles in India and only a single branch of the Ganges flows through Pakistan, for a mere eighty-eight miles. The rainfall in the area concerned is less than fifty inches, whereas in the area where this branch of the Ganges flows in Pakistan it is more than 100 inches. The Ganges cultivates in India 228 million acres, whereas in Pakistan it is not a problem of irrigation, but a question of inundation. For the benefit of the people of Pakistan, India has set up a series of flood control signals and India regularly and consistently transmits this information almost every day.

178. Apart from the heavy rainfall in East Pakistan, the Ganges-Brahmaputra-Meghna river system carries over 1,000 million acre feet in a year. Instead of harnessing these available resources, it has stepped up its demand of water requirements in the summer season from the Ganges from 3,500 cusecs before 1960 to 49,000 cusecs in 1968. In addition to this lavish proposal for the appropriation by Pakistan of the entire summer flows in the river, to which its contribution is almost nothing, Pakistan's construction of the Karnafuli Dam and the proposed barrage across the Ganges has been so designed as to submerge completely and permanently vast territories in India. This is in utter disregard of the fact that no country has the right permanently to submerge sovereign foreign territories by its projects.

179. Since 1963 the Government of India has always enunciated and approached the matter of the utilization of the waters in the Eastern Rivers complex in a spirit of co-operative approach with Pakistan. In the spirit of this co-operative approach, India has furnished all the data in its possession to Pakistan, whereas Pakistan has been changing the nature and scope of the projects and progressively raising its water requirements from meeting to meeting.

180. In matters of this nature concerning a river, unless all the data are before the negotiators, there cannot be a proper solution to this kind of problem. In spite of the fact that Pakistan has refused to furnish the required data, India has offered to have a meeting between the two countries at the official level to iron out differences, if any. The Farakka Barrage is near its completion and India is not prepared to stop it, nor are we going to internationalize this issue, which is purely bilateral.

181. Pakistan has created an artificial problem where no problem exists. It will be a misuse of this Assembly to magnify things which are purely bilateral in nature. The need for the Farakka Barrage was recognized as long ago as 1865. The barrage is intended to save the Port of Calcutta and the vast hinterland, including the big industrial complex that it serves, from extinction.

182. The Foreign Minister of Pakistan invoked international law many times in his statement this morning. I would like to ask him: what principle of international law

would support the inundation of a foreign territory by the construction of a barrage on its own territory?

183. The whole thesis of the Foreign Minister of Pakistan on this question amounts to a negation of international law and especially of riparian law as it exists today. He has said that India's action would mean the establishment of a new precedent contrary to international law. I will only say that if we approach the problem in the way he proposes to do, it will be a negation of the established and existing international law on the subject.

184. As I said earlier, on the question of the Farakka Barrage, India has adopted a very co-operative approach. We would like to see Pakistan respond positively and to make a success of the official level meetings which we have proposed. If at the official level meetings it is found that discussions at even higher levels are necessary, India would not be averse to meet at the ministerial level.

185. I deeply regret that the Foreign Minister of Pakistan has indulged in gross distortions about the situation of Muslim minorities in India and has tried to paint a sombre picture of the condition of Muslims in India. He has attempted to incite base religious passions and prejudices for political purposes. We in India are proud of our secular heritage and our constitutional democracy which guarantees to every citizen, irrespective of his religion, equal opportunity in all spheres of life. The Muslims of India occupy a place of honour and respect in Indian political and social life. The highest political office of the Union of India is at present occupied by an Indian citizen of Muslim faith. I may add that the office of the President of India is filled by election. Similarly, Muslims occupy positions of responsibility in other walks of life, such as the legislature, the judiciary, the civil services, the armed forces, and so forth. Since they enjoy exactly the same rights as other communities in India, they are quite capable of looking after their interests without any solicitude from the self-acclaimed champions of Muslims. In fact, if there is one thing which the Muslims of India want it is that the Government of Pakistan should give up its attempts to exploit them for its own political ends.

186. Pakistan is in the habit of preaching to others what it does not practise itself. The condition of the minorities in Pakistan, particularly that of Hindus, is one of abject misery and terror. There is no security for their life or their property in Pakistan. And, of course, they do not have any fundamental rights to speak of. They are second-class citizens of Pakistan who occupy no position of responsibility in the Government of Pakistan.

187. There has been a virtual elimination of Hindus and Sikhs from West Pakistan. In East Pakistan the population of non-Muslims decreased by more than 1.5 million within a ten-year period. In 1951 the population of Hindus was a little over 9 million out of a total population of 42 million. Ten years later the total population of East Pakistan was 50 million and the figure for the Hindu population remained at 9 million. On the basis of the yearly growth of the East Pakistan population, the Hindu population should have been 11 million. Thus, nearly 2 million Hindus cannot be accounted for in the East Pakistan population census. The conclusion is inevitable that they either have been the

victims of forcible conversions or have been illegally pushed across the borders. The population of other minorities is virtually the same.

188. In contrast, what are the population figures for India? The total population of India in 1951 was 356.87 million. The Muslim element of this population was 35.4 million. In 1961 the total population of India was 439.7 million. The Muslim element of this population was 46.9 million. Therefore, the increase in the Muslim population of India during the decade 1951-1961 was 11.5 million, or, in other words, an increase of 33 per cent. Today the population of Muslims in India is close to 60 million. The fact is that, in India, there has been an increase in the

Muslim population in both absolute and relative terms. These figures speak for themselves about the conditions of citizens of Islamic faith in India.

189. The gratuitous solicitude that the Foreign Minister of Pakistan has displayed towards the Muslim citizens of India is not only misplaced but also malicious propaganda, scarcely calculated to improve relations between the two countries. I would therefore strongly advise him to reserve this enthusiasm to improve the conditions of minority communities in his own country.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.