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**President:** Mr. Emilio ARENALES (Guatemala).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Tarabanov (Bulgaria),  
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

**AGENDA ITEM 48**

**Assistance in Cases of Natural Disaster**

**REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE  
(PART I) (A/7286)**

1. Mr. MAHMASSANI (Lebanon), Rapporteur of the Third Committee: I have the honour to present the report of the Third Committee which relates to agenda item 48 [A/7286].

2. The attention of members of the Third Committee was drawn in the debate to the severe earthquake which struck Iran in August of this year. All members extended expressions of sympathy to the Government and the people of Iran following the catastrophe which caused the death of some 10,000 persons as well as devastation over an area of more than 5,000 square kilometres.

3. In these circumstances, a number of delegations decided to take the initiative of presenting a draft resolution on assistance to Iran following the earthquake. The draft resolution [*ibid.*, para. 5] was adopted unanimously and the Third Committee therefore recommends the text contained in this report for adoption by the General Assembly.

4. During the debate in the Committee [1579th meeting] the Director of the Human Rights Division, representing the Secretary-General, informed the Committee that the Secretary-General had authorized expenditure of \$20,000 from the working capital fund for the provision of tents to Iran following the disaster in accordance with the authority given to him under General Assembly resolution 2034 (XX).

5. In view of the urgency of the action to be taken following the Iranian earthquake, the Third Committee decided to take up this issue as a matter of priority. The Committee intends to return to consideration of the item "Assistance in cases of natural disaster" later in the present session following completion of action on the matter by the Economic and Social Council.

*Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Third Committee.*

6. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I call upon the representative of the Philippines, who wishes to explain her vote before the vote.

7. Mrs. PARREÑO (Philippines): The Thirty-five Power draft resolution [A/7286, para. 5] which the Third Committee has adopted unanimously is a humanitarian resolution designed to give timely assistance to a fellow Member State of the United Nations recently stricken by a natural disaster. The earthquake that rocked Iran caused the death of a great number of unfortunate persons and the devastation of an almost incredible amount of land and property. To the valiant Government and people of Iran the Philippines extends its deep sympathy and its condolences. We salute their heroic efforts to rebuild and rehabilitate the devastated areas.

8. We Filipinos are no strangers to natural disaster. Our country is located in the volcanic and earthquake belts and in the path of seasonal typhoons. We are keenly aware of the loss and suffering that come in the wake of these forces of nature. Vast losses of life and property are sustained by the Philippines with tragic regularity every year. These losses from natural disasters have materially set back our development efforts and have diverted substantial funds to emergency aid for the victims and to reconstruction of the devastated areas. It is for these reasons that the Philippines, fully conscious of the need for immediate remedial action in the case of Iran, was a co-sponsor of the draft resolution in the Third Committee. The situation in Iran calls for urgent international assistance in order to save the survivors from further suffering and peril and to restore them as soon as possible to normal life.

9. We should like to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for the timely assistance being provided by the United Nations to Iran under the terms of General Assembly resolution 2034 (XX) on assistance in cases of natural disaster. The Government of Iran, it has been noted, has already started relief action to meet the emergency situation but its efforts must be supplemented by international action.

10. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I now draw the attention of members of the Assembly to the

recommendation of the Third Committee [A/7286, para. 5].

11. Since the draft resolution was unanimously approved by the Committee, may I take it that the General Assembly adopts it unanimously?

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously (resolution 2378 (XXIII)).*

12. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I call upon the representative of Iran.

13. Mr. VAKIL (Iran) (*translated from French*): On behalf of my Government, I should like to express my gratitude to all those delegations which, by sponsoring the resolution that has just been adopted, were good enough to demonstrate their sympathy for my country in the disaster of the recent earthquake.

14. I should also like to express my gratitude to all delegations for their affirmative votes.

15. I am sure that the resolution that has just been adopted will assist my Government in its work of reconstruction. I regard this fine display of international solidarity as highly significant.

16. I should also like to take this opportunity to thank the United Nations Secretary-General, all the specialized agencies within the United Nations family and all the countries that have already lent valuable assistance to Iran.

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (*continued*)

17. Mr. ALARCON de QUESADA (Cuba) (*translated from Spanish*): The Cuban delegation is attending this twenty-third session of the General Assembly in very special circumstances. This year our people as a whole are commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the beginning of their struggle for national independence: on 10 October 1868, the Cubans rose in arms against Spanish colonial domination and, from that day, long struggles, hard trials and countless sacrifices have been needed in order to secure the right to the full exercise of sovereignty, which was gained only in 1959.

18. Today, a century after the first fight, Cuba raises its voice free and proud, free from foreign ties and domination and fully able to express the feelings of its people, in absolute independence and master forever of its own destiny.

19. The international situation is still characterized by the sharp confrontation between the deprived peoples of the Third World and the exploiting interests of imperialism. In Asia, Africa and Latin America millions of people subjected to political oppression, economic stagnation, technological poverty and educational backwardness are waging an increasingly obstinate struggle against the forces of imperialism responsible for their poverty and suffering.

20. The heart of that universal struggle lies in South-East Asia. The war of aggression unleashed by the United States imperialists against Viet-Nam provides the most eloquent proof that in order to achieve and consolidate their independence the small nations have no recourse other than direct and total combat against their enemies. The heroic resistance of the Viet-Nameese people further proves that at the end of that road there is only one possible result: namely, the complete defeat of the aggressors and the victory of the people.

21. Against Viet-Nam, United States imperialism is using all its resources with the sole exception of nuclear weapons. It has concentrated over half a million Yankee soldiers on Viet-Nameese territory, built dozens of military bases and is using thousands of tons of bombs against patriots, whose fields it is bestrewing with chemical and bacteriological substances. It is machine-gunning their villages, pouring napalm on their huts and torturing and murdering tens of thousands of the inhabitants. Yet the Yankees are being beaten. The South Viet-Nameese people, under the leadership of the National Liberation Front, are heaping blow after blow on the aggressors and reducing all the Pentagon's plans to ashes.

22. For more than four years the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam has been subjected night and day to relentless bombing by the United States Air Force. Schools and hospitals, factories and places of worship have been destroyed and their rubble remains as evidence of the most monstrous crime in the annals of history. The Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is also being subjected to numerous attacks by land and by sea and at the same time to an intense trade blockade. Yet it still stands undaunted in the face of Yankee barbarism.

23. It can now be affirmed that the aggressive policy of the United States Government against Viet-Nam is completely bankrupt. Not even the wildest spokesmen of imperialism are talking any longer about the possibility of a military victory. Politically speaking, too, the war is a complete defeat for the aggressors. Their hypocritical words about peace have been unmasked as clumsy manoeuvres designed to hoodwink public opinion and to stem the rising tide of world revulsion at their crimes. The conversations in Paris have laid bare the real intentions of the Yankees and their stubborn opposition to an unconditional cessation of the bombing and other aggressive acts against the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. In all corners of the world, the movement of those who oppose imperialist aggression is gathering strength. Within the aggressor country itself, new contingents of young people and intellectuals—the more conscious sectors of the population—are day after day expressing their disapproval of a policy which is benefiting only a handful of powerful monopolists and which has earned the United States people the contempt and hatred of mankind. Large nuclei of the United States people are refusing to go on supporting a war which already constitutes a heavy burden for their country and which has dragged the United States into one of its most serious crises.

24. Today all honest men on earth feel as one with the Viet-Nameese people in their struggle. Viet-Nam has become the banner of all revolutionaries, progressive people and

patriots all over the world, for the fate of mankind is at stake there. The right of small and weak peoples to shape their future with their own hands is being decided in Viet-Nam, as is the right of poor peoples, impoverished for centuries by imperialist interests, to achieve a level of living in keeping with historical developments, and the rights of the peoples who have been tyrannized by cliques servile to foreign masters to redeem their national values and speak with their own voice before the international community.

25. Viet-Nam will emerge victorious from the struggle that it is waging on behalf of all peoples. We are forced to this conclusion, not only by the deep conviction that nothing can halt the historic trend towards progress, but also by the concrete facts of the struggle in South-East Asia which point to the certain victory of the Viet-Nameese people.

26. Our delegation pays a tribute from this rostrum to the Viet-Nameese people, our brothers in the same anti-imperialist struggle, to the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam, and to the Government and Party of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam for their just, firm and courageous attitude of unshakeable resistance to the imperialist aggressor. We also send messages of solidarity to the people of Cambodia and Laos, victims of the threats and provocations of United States troops.

27. The Korean peninsula is another important focal point of international confrontation. In 1950 this Organization was drawn into a shameful act of aggression and interference against a small country. Since then the United Nations has served in that region as an instrument of the colonialist interests of the United States Government. To stress its lack of respect for the principles and rules of international law, the United States delegation forces this Assembly every year to discuss the so-called Korean question on the basis of the report of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK). As we all know only too well, the discussion of this matter is a gross violation of the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, as also of the United Nations Charter itself, Article 2 (7) of which expressly prohibits any interference in the sphere of jurisdiction of each State.

28. The discussion of the so-called Korean question is simply a manoeuvre designed to distract attention from the occupation of South Korea by United States troops, the conversion of that territory into a Yankee colony and the steady increase in armed provocations leading to the preparation of a new war of aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

29. As has been shown in the fifteen years of its existence, UNCURK is no more than a provocation and propaganda agency at the service and under the control of the United States Government, its purpose being to perpetuate the artificial division of the Korean nation and to complete the colonialist absorption of the south of the country. There is only one Korean nation. It has existed as an independent entity for several centuries, long before the foundation of this Organization or the birth of the United States. The problem of the country's unification is a domestic matter for Korea, and it is for the Korean people alone to solve it. Neither the United Nations nor anyone else has any right to

intervene in the internal affairs of the Korean people. The fact that the Korean nation is still arbitrarily divided is due to the aggressive policy of United States imperialism.

30. The independent States represented here must strive to persuade this Organization to redress the policy it has been pursuing in connexion with this problem. In order to do so, it is necessary that the United Nations should decide on the immediate withdrawal of the United States occupation forces, dissolve the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and refrain from any future interference in the domestic affairs of that country.

31. In view of the latest events, these measures are becoming so urgent that they brook no delay. The entry of the armed spy ship "Pueblo" into the territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the intensification of Yankee provocations along the demarcation line and the frenzied military preparations of the forces stationed in the South, all point to the danger of an outbreak of war in that country in which this Organization might find itself involved, despite the fact that the great majority of its members have nothing to do with the imperialist designs against Korea.

32. The unification of Korea is of vital interest to all peoples who are fighting against imperialism and to achieve national independence. It is for this reason that all over the world there is growing support for the just position of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the independent unification of that country. The Korean people, both in the north and in the south, have adopted that position and it is they alone who will reconstruct the unity of their country, despite all the machinations of imperialism.

33. As part of its policy of repression of the revolutionary movement and hostility to the Asian peoples, the United States Government is keeping the Chinese province of Taiwan under occupation and persisting in its attitude of bringing about the international isolation of the People's Republic of China. In keeping with its principles, the delegation of Cuba has once more asked the General Assembly to restore to the People's Republic of China its legitimate rights in this Organization and to expel the spurious Chiang Kai-shek group.

34. The Middle East is still a subject of concern to the international community. The underlying cause of the crisis in that region is the aggressive policy of United States imperialism, which culminated in the war of June 1967. In connexion with that conflict, my delegation wishes to reiterate in full the views it expressed at the fifth emergency special session of the General Assembly [*1534th meeting*].

35. The Cuban delegation reaffirms its full support for the Arab peoples in their struggle to secure full national and social liberation and upholds the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

36. In various regions an anachronistic colonial system is maintained, sometimes combined with shameful racist practices. The revolutionary Government of Cuba firmly

supports the struggle of those peoples for independence and gives them its entire solidarity. We feel, however, that we must express our reservations concerning the use of this Organization as an instrument for the liberation of those countries.

37. The United Nations cannot achieve the anti-colonialist objectives it claims to be seeking while the imperialist Powers obviously dominate it. Puerto Rico offers the most flagrant example of the anti-colonialist farce being played here.

38. Like the Cuban people, the people of Puerto Rico are commemorating the centenary of the start of their struggle for national independence. Puerto Rico has a nationality of its own, one forged at the dawn of the nineteenth century. Its culture, traditions, customs and interests are completely alien to those of its colonial metropolitan country, the United States. Ever since 23 September 1868, when its first Republic was proclaimed at Lares, the Puerto Rican people have not ceased for one instant the struggle for their complete independence.

39. For the last seventy years the United States Government has denied the Puerto Rican people their rights and has held them in colonial subjugation. But all the efforts of United States imperialism to destroy Puerto Rican nationality have been in vain. Today Puerto Rico is celebrating its centenary with the same unshakable will to be free that animated the patriots of Lares. Yet the United States delegation has prevented the Special Committee on Decolonization from even starting to consider the matter, which is a classic example of colonialism.

40. History and geography have linked Cuba and Puerto Rico in a common destiny; for three decades we fought together against Spanish domination and together we fell under the Yankee yoke in 1898. The Cuba that is now finally free, faithful to its mandate of fraternal solidarity, will continue to support the heroic struggle of the Puerto Rican people for the emancipation of their country and will demand that this Organization should stand by its own declarations and support the cause of Puerto Rico.

41. A hundred years ago the Cuban people marched out to their first battle for national emancipation. For three decades there raged throughout the island a cruel war of liberation, but one which led, not to independence, but to a new colonial yoke even more cruel and intolerable; this came about as a result of the military intervention of United States imperialism. In the nineteenth century the struggle for political freedom assumed even more dramatic shades in Cuba than in the rest of Latin America, because, owing to its particular geographical situation, our country was isolated from the rest of the continent and it was subjected before any other country to the voracity of the nascent United States empire. The single star, chosen by the Cuban patriots of the last century as a symbol of our nationality, represented not only the loneliness of a small people struggling against more powerful enemies but also the immutable purity of an emancipating movement which would accept nothing less than complete victory, whatever the cost.

42. The first half of the twentieth century was for Cuba a period of absolute domination by United States interests.

They took over our best land, were masters of the mines and factories, completely controlled foreign trade, arrogated to themselves the "right" to interfere directly in our internal affairs, wrested from us a part of our national territory, imposed—to govern the country—puppet cliques which for over fifty years plundered the national treasury, handed over the country's wealth to foreign monopolies and by blood and fire repressed any attempt by the best of our people to achieve a more worth-while life. The Cuban people have learned, as have few others, what tyranny, corruption and poverty the domination of United States imperialism means. But the seed sown by so many sacrifices was bound to put forth shoots. In 1959, after a struggle which eventually cost the lives of twenty thousand fighters, the Revolution triumphed as the legitimate heir to our hundred years of combat.

43. During the last ten years our people have been engaged in a titanic enterprise of creative and collective effort which will enable the country to scale the heights of economic development, wipe out the aftermath of centuries of colonialist and imperialist exploitation and at the same time organize Cuban society in keeping with the principles of socialism, abolishing all forms of exploitation and alienation of human endeavour.

44. This undertaking, however, has not been a peaceful one. The stage of construction of Cuba's new society has run its course amid the unceasing aggression of United States imperialism. Mercenary invasions, the constant infiltration of spies and saboteurs, a total economic blockade, diplomatic isolation, armed provocations against our territory, threats, pressure and blackmail of all sorts, hostile propaganda campaigns, unlimited support for groups of stateless individuals who have taken refuge in the United States—of such has the attitude of the United States Government towards the Cuban revolution been compounded. The entire creative work of the revolution has had to be carried out in the face of uninterrupted harassment by imperialism and in the midst of a continuous struggle against an enemy with whom no reconciliation is possible.

45. The hatred of Yankee imperialism for Cuba has known no bounds. In its determination to destroy the Cuban revolution the United States has brought all kinds of pressure to bear on other countries and in international bodies and is trying to drag the whole world, if possible, into its criminal policy of blockade.

46. To cite only the most recent example, it was on the instance of the United States at the last session of the International Coffee Agreement<sup>1</sup> that our country was denied the modest export quota which it had always been allocated and that efforts were made to impose upon it other arbitrary clauses harmful to its legitimate interests. For these reasons, Cuba had no alternative but to withdraw from the International Coffee Agreement. It has been said that the Agreement would be an instrument for gauging the relations between developed and developing countries and the possibilities for co-operation between the two groups in

<sup>1</sup> Conference held in London by the International Coffee Agreement in March 1968, under the auspices of the International Coffee Council.

matters of international trade. The evidence could hardly be clearer. The United States monopolies have not the slightest intention of respecting the principles adopted by the First United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Geneva from 23 March to 16 June 1964, nor can we expect from them the slightest co-operation, not even for the minimum objective of the regulation of markets sought by the commodity-exporting countries. Moreover, we all know the outcome of the Second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at New Delhi from 1 February to 29 March 1968.

47. After the first ten years of their revolution, however, the Cuban people can point to their achievements with pride. Illiteracy has been eradicated from Cuba for ever, more than a million children are at present attending school, tens of thousands of young people are absorbing scientific and technological knowledge in educational centres that are absolutely free, every corner of the country is a classroom where young and old are waging a determined war on ignorance, and very soon compulsory education will go as far as pre-university level. The laxity in health matters which in the past has led to so many deaths from curable diseases has also been eliminated in Cuba. Today every citizen in every part of the country has access to free medical attention, and hospitals and dispensaries now form part of the landscape of even our most remote mountain regions. Cuba has also wiped out the unemployment which in 1958, counting only those forced into unemployment against their will, condemned half a million persons to hunger. Today every citizen is assured of work throughout the year and a complete social security system which guarantees the well-being of the aged and the infirm. The evictions and unjust rents to which its rural inhabitants were subjected in the past have disappeared from Cuba for ever. A radical land reform has wiped out all forms of exploitation in farming and has given the land to those who had worked it painfully and hopelessly for years. We have banished for ever from Cuba those exploiters, politicians and parasites who for all too long lived at the expense of the sacrifices, sweat and poverty of the vast majority of Cubans.

48. We make no secret, however, of the fact that we still have a long way to go. In a country which for centuries was shackled by foreign domination, with a totally distorted economy entirely dependent upon foreign trade, a country whose economic life was based on the harvesting and production of a single export crop, with an almost total lack of infrastructure, an acute shortage of technicians and scientists, no previously existing industrial development and only limited natural resources and sources of energy—all this inherited from its former masters—the task of overcoming under-development is as arduous, as difficult and as heroic as was the long struggle for independence.

49. Today our people are waging war on under-development with the same spirit, indomitable will and determination to triumph as has always inspired the martyrs of our glorious past. Men and women are at this moment making brave efforts to boost the country's economy. On the basis of an appropriate analysis of the characteristics of Cuba at its present stage, the revolutionary Government has laid down the basic guidelines for development at this stage in terms of a rapid increase in agricultural and stock-farm-

ing production, and the bulk of our resources are being devoted to that end. Both the figures achieved and the immediate projections of our agricultural and stock-farming development bespeak the soundness of the policy pursued and the success of the people's work.

50. Through the large-scale use of machinery, the adequate use of fertilizers, rational use of the soil, the creation of a widespread system of irrigation and drainage, the introduction of science and technology into farming and the whole-hearted work of our compatriots, Cuban agriculture is marching along the road that will very soon place it on a level with the most advanced countries.

51. Special attention has been given to sugar production. The area sown, the new varieties introduced, fertilization, irrigation and the partial mechanization of sugar farming have brought significant changes in the growing of our traditional product. To give a single instance, the average amount of sugar cane sown each day is much more than double the highest average achieved in any year before the revolution. Because of all these factors, it can be affirmed that the target our people have set themselves, namely to produce ten million tons of sugar in 1970, will be achieved. The 1970 crop will be a sharp blow to those who have been nourishing illusions about our present difficulties.

52. The production of citrus fruits, other fruits and coffee is being expanded prodigiously throughout the country with a view to increasing both the consumer possibilities of our people and our export balances. Forty million coffee plants have been sown this year in the outskirts of Havana alone, and so far as vegetables, market-garden produce and reforestation are concerned, the work achieved is without parallel in our history. With very few exceptions, all sectors of our agricultural production have developed to an extent unimaginable ten years ago.

53. One of the most outstanding examples of progress is to be found in the field of animal husbandry. The massive introduction of artificial insemination and the use of scientific cross-breeding methods have brought the number of our livestock to its highest level and created new strains that are more productive and more resistant to the climatic conditions.

54. Besides raising our agricultural and stock-farming production, we have increased the output of various branches of industry which support agriculture, such as the fertilizer, machinery and building industries. Agriculture will give Cuba the means to accumulate the stocks it needs to enter without delay the phase of industrial development already envisaged for the very near future.

55. We are not seeking with these facts to give an idyllic picture of the situation in our country. There are certainly many problems yet to be solved. The tremendous increase in the domestic market resulting from the land reform, the elimination of unemployment and the raising of the level of living of broad masses of the population who formerly lacked even the most elementary needs—all this, combined with the consequences of the ferocious imperialist blockade, in a country whose production was totally integrated with that of the United States, makes that easy to understand.

56. Nor should it be forgotten that our people are carrying out their gigantic work of creation virtually in war conditions. While our workers are devoting hours of their leisure to sowing new land, building more roads, schools and hospitals and, in short, to creating greater wealth, officials of the Central Intelligence Agency are eagerly introducing saboteurs to destroy that work, in an attempt to undo the efforts of a small, under-developed country which is struggling tenaciously to secure a better life.

57. Our people know that so long as United States imperialism exists they will have to live in a state of constant alert, ready at any moment to defend with their blood that which at the cost of so much blood and sacrifice they have achieved.

58. It is in that spirit that the Cuban people are commemorating the centenary of the war of 1868. And it is in the same spirit that they are preparing to celebrate next year the tenth anniversary of the triumphant revolution which crowned the process of struggle started a century earlier. It is an optimistic spirit, which has its roots in our unshakable loyalty to the revolutionary principles, in our faith in the inexhaustible power of the masses, and in our profound conviction that peoples prepared to fight for their rights will eventually triumph.

59. A people such as that which I have the honour to represent here is invincible. The people who produced Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, the President of the Republic in arms, who died fighting alone against a Spanish column; the people who produced Antonio Maceo, the guerrilla leader of a thousand heroic campaigns, who did not live to see victory but left behind the warning that whoever tried to seize Cuba would only pick up the dust of its soil, drenched in blood, if he did not die in the struggle; the people which gave birth to José Martí, that sublime poet who marched to his death in the face of the enemy cavalry and who taught us to use the sling of David against United States imperialism; the people who welcomed as their favourite son Ernesto Guevara, who gave up everything in the highest example of revolutionary and internationalist sacrifice in order to go to his death in a corner of the American jungle in order to save his brothers—such people neither bend nor hesitate.

60. Such a people, heirs to such rich revolutionary traditions and brought up on so many examples of sacrifice and heroism, forged in the fire of these hundred years of war, may be destroyed but never again will fall to its knees. Homeland or death! We shall triumph!

61. Mr. MALITZA (Romania) (*translated from French*): On behalf of the Romanian delegation, I should like first of all to extend our cordial congratulations to Mr. Arenales on his election to the office of President of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly; he has been given this high United Nations office in recognition of the outstanding qualities as a statesman and diplomat that have rightly won him universal esteem and admiration. The Romanian delegation takes additional pleasure from the fact that he represents one of the Latin American countries to which the Romanian people feel linked by many spiritual ties, foremost among which I would mention allegiance to the principles of international morality and legality. I extend to

him our sincere wishes for a speedy recovery and I hope that he will very soon be able to preside over the meetings of the Assembly once again.

62. The active and tireless part the Secretary-General, U Thant, has taken in the many and varied activities of the United Nations and his steadfast devotion to the precepts of the Charter have won him our complete esteem and well-earned respect. We reaffirm to the Secretary-General our feelings of trust and the assurances of co-operation that it was also our pleasure to extend to him at the meetings of the United Nations Co-ordination Committees that were held at Bucharest last summer.<sup>2</sup>

63. We are also grateful to all the delegations which have addressed words of appreciation to Romania, whose Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Manescu, with the support and considerate collaboration of the delegations of Member States, carried out the duties of President of the General Assembly, a role that fell to the socialist countries during the twenty-second session.

64. At the opening of this session, the Romanian delegation took pleasure in welcoming the admission to the United Nations of its one hundred and twenty-fifth Member: the Kingdom of Swaziland [*1674th meeting*]. During the general debate, the independence of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea was proclaimed; it is the most recent African State to have achieved sovereignty since the foundation of the United Nations and it now enters the ranks of the coequal nations that form the international community. The significance of the present number of Members of the Organization goes beyond a mere increase in the number of those participating in our joint activities. In our world—the world of independent and sovereign nations that are the prime movers in the development of human society—the increase in the number of fully-fledged participants in international affairs is the realization of the ideal that has always inspired the forces of progress everywhere: the conquest of the right of peoples to determine their own future.

65. The unprecedented scope of the national liberation movement and the accession of scores of new States to a free life of their own is giving new meaning to the sacred concepts of national sovereignty and independence, for the attainment of which the peoples have paid a heavy price in struggles and sacrifice.

66. Those new States, which are devoting their efforts to achieving a completely independent existence, to consolidating their national institutions and to harnessing their material and human resources to further their development, are bringing about innovations in international relations. They are coming onto today's political scene with the ability to make an original contribution at a time which is the turning point between two eras: the era of relations based on slavery, domination and paternalism, and the era of equal rights among nations. It is a period that marks a qualitative change in international relations. The United Nations Charter, reflecting as it does the essential signifi-

<sup>2</sup> Joint Meetings of the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination and the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination, held from 3 to 5 July 1968.

cance of that turning point in history and drawing upon the lessons learnt from the tragic experience of the last war, is a synthesis of the basic rules of the joint existence of States, that are designed to make the benefits of progress and civilization accessible to each nation and to the international community as a whole.

67. Interdependencies form the keystone of our international community. The need for co-operation to assist each nation's economic, social and cultural advancement, and the need to create an atmosphere of peace and security through concerted action, require that States should establish numerous and varied links.

68. In such a community, the key to peaceful coexistence among nations and the setting up of a system of relations truly adapted to the level of present-day civilization is to be found in the strict implementation, by everyone and with regard to everyone, of the basic and unanimously accepted principles of international law.

69. International legality is one and indivisible. We are firmly convinced that responsibility for implementing the basic principles of the Charter—*independence and national sovereignty, equal rights, non-interference in the affairs of others—rests in equal measure and as a sacred duty with all Member States, large and small, without any exception.*

70. The United Nations Charter holds forth its principles as a protective shield to every State, wherever it may be situated in the world, when its independence and sovereignty are threatened and when the sacred right of all peoples to self-determination is disregarded. It is our duty to ensure that that shield is resolutely used to protect the vital interests of nations.

71. Today more than ever, respect for the fundamental principles that must govern relations among States is a *sine qua non*, both for the unimpeded peaceful advance of all peoples towards progress and prosperity and for safeguarding peace and security, which are the common good of nations.

72. There is an intrinsic and close relationship between respect for legal principles and the safeguarding of peace and security. Indeed, lasting peace and true security for all States can be based only on legal principles. Similarly, an international climate of peace and security is a condition basic to every nation's ability to act in independence and sovereignty, on an equal footing with all other nations. Understanding, co-operation and peace have triumphed in the world whenever those principles have been scrupulously respected. Conversely, whenever they have been disregarded or violated, disturbances and dangerous conflicts have ensued which have affected both the vital interests of certain peoples and the tranquility and security of all mankind.

73. Among the requirements that are of primary and permanent importance in the peaceful development of relations among States, priority must be given to the elimination of the threat and use of force, as also of any other form of interference in the affairs of other nations.

74. Many tragic ordeals, two of which have assumed world-wide dimensions during the first half of this century,

bear witness to the fact that the use of force in relations among States has had disastrous consequences for mankind. Those ordeals bring out in strong relief the need to concentrate efforts on establishing and strengthening relations based on respect for each nation's personality, for such relations can free the world from conflicts and from fear.

75. Recourse to methods based on the threat or use of force can be abolished only through absolute respect for the principles of international law. That means that not only the use of armed force, as an extreme form of violation of the fundamental rights of peoples must be banished from international life, but all the manifestations under cover of which force can act in inter-State relations, particularly political, economic and other pressures that impede the normal progress of international relations and that in the end can be reduced to one common denominator: violation of the sovereignty and of the equal rights of States.

76. The relevance today of the precepts enshrined in the Charter is revealed both by the discussions at this session and by the work our Organization has undertaken for the codification of the principles that should govern relations among States, in particular the eschewing of the threat or use of force, the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, non-intervention in domestic affairs, equal rights and the duty to co-operate in accordance with the Charter, the right of peoples to self-determination and the carrying out in good faith of obligations assumed under the Charter.

77. The efforts that the United Nations is making to define those principles, which have long been a part of positive law, and the solemn adoption of those principles by States, are part of the concern that is being shown to consolidate international legality.

78. To be sure, in order to establish and buttress legal principles designed to govern international relations, it is not enough to define them and to incorporate them into international instruments and documents. They must be steadfastly supported and strengthened through the persevering work of all States to transform concepts of justice, equality, freedom, *rapprochement* and co-operation among nations into realities.

79. Romania, centring its foreign policy around friendship and collaboration of many kinds with the socialist countries to which it is joined by common interests in building a new society and by a common social and political philosophy, is methodically pursuing a policy of understanding and co-operation with all States based on reciprocal respect for sovereignty, national independence, equal rights and mutual benefit, as also non-interference in domestic affairs.

80. The President of the Council of State, Nicolae Ceausescu, speaking of the co-ordination policy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, stated:

“Romania, a socialist country engaged in a large-scale process of economic and social construction guaranteeing to the Romanian people advancement along the road of material and spiritual civilization and rounded development of the human personality, is expressing in its foreign

policy practices its total and faithful adherence to the concept of development and co-operation among nations and is making an active contribution to the exploration of all roads and all effective methods for collaboration and understanding among States.”

81. An unchanging factor in Romanian foreign policy is its firm and complete allegiance to the principles of law and international morality. Those are the principles upon which the Romanian Government bases its bilateral relations with all States and its approach to any problem of international life.

82. In its relations with the countries of the continent to which it belongs, Romania is cultivating standards of peaceful joint existence and good-neighbourliness. That, in our opinion, is the surest way towards European security and towards the solution of the great political problems that are still outstanding. We believe that disputed European questions, albeit complicated by the inheritance of the cold war, whose military and political sequels are such that the settlement of those questions is a lengthy task fraught with obstacles, can and must be settled by reasonable methods, through direct talks and negotiations based on respect for each State's independence, with any use of force ruled out. In order to achieve those aims, it is more than ever necessary to act to promote the development of collaboration and friendship among the European nations so that the process of *détente* may go forward and that a return to the cold war may be avoided. That also requires the creation of an atmosphere of mutual respect and truth and the mobilizing of all sound forces which stand for peace and progress on the continent.

83. Within the framework of the efforts it is making to promote European peace and security, Romania is giving special attention to the development of its traditional bonds of friendship with the nations within its own geographical area and is constantly striving to strengthen and to broaden good neighbourly relations among the Balkan States in order to maintain and foster a system of co-operation and understanding in that region. Along with other European socialist countries, Romania drew up and ratified the Bucharest Declaration in 1966, which stated that:

“Realization of the common striving of all European Nations presupposes the responsibility of each state, big or small, irrespective of its socio-political system, and its contribution to the development of proper co-operation between sovereign, independent and equal states.”<sup>3</sup>

84. We feel that problems of European security must be approached realistically, on the basis of the changes brought about on the continent in the aftermath of the war, and on the basis of the existence of the two German States. The recognition of the German Democratic Republic by all European States and the establishment of diplomatic relations with both German States is imperative, as is the creation of the requisite conditions to enable them

to participate on an equal footing in the positive solution of European problems. The admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations would, in our opinion, help to normalize relations between the two German States and would contribute to European *détente*, and it would have beneficial effects on international life.

85. We are also of the opinion that we must proceed on the basis of recognition of the existing frontiers and of each State's clearly expressed commitment not to attempt to alter those frontiers.

86. With a view to furthering European security, real and effective methods can be used that are designed to establish the necessary framework for finding and applying viable solutions to the complex problems that are still outstanding. Foremost among those methods are the continuation of the dialogue between the responsible leaders of European States and increased co-operation, at various levels, among all countries. The United Nations can make a valuable contribution to that end by promoting *rapprochement* and harmonizing points of view.

87. An encouraging beginning in that direction was made when the General Assembly, on the initiative of nine European countries, including Romania, adopted in 1965 the well-known resolution [2129 (XX)] in which the General Assembly:

“Requests the Governments of the European States to intensify their efforts to improve reciprocal relations, with a view to creating an atmosphere of confidence which will be conducive to an effective consideration of the problems which are still hampering the relaxation of tension in Europe and throughout the world;” and

“Emphasizes the importance of maintaining and increasing contacts between those States for the purpose of developing peaceful co-operation among the peoples of the European continent, with a view to strengthening peace and security in Europe by all possible means.”

The provisions of that resolution, which was widely acclaimed by European States, are today as timely as ever.

88. The principles designed to govern relations among States are universally applicable.

89. The violation by force of the right of the Viet-Nameese people to solve their own problems in complete sovereignty continues to be a source of legitimate concern to all mankind.

90. By consistently working in favour of the exclusion of the use of force in the settlement of international disputes and in favour of the establishment of relations based on respect for the independence and territorial integrity of each country, Romania has steadfastly supported the just struggle of the Viet-Nameese people. The Romanian Government has repeatedly stressed the need to put a complete and unconditional end to the bombings and other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, a free and independent State, and to establish the necessary conditions to ensure that the Paris talks may achieve

<sup>3</sup> Excerpt from the Declaration on strengthening peace and security in Europe, adopted by the Meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee, held in Bucharest from 4 to 6 July 1966. See *New Times* (Moscow), No. 29, 1966, p. 33.

positive results, that the Viet-Nameese people may be allowed freely to decide their own future and that that source of tension which is threatening world peace and having a negative effect on peaceful co-operation among States may be eliminated.

91. For nearly twenty years, a hotbed of tension has been kept alive in another region of the Far East—Korea. We feel that it is high time the United Nations dissociated itself from any action that could exploit its authority and prestige to justify unilateral interests and that it should proceed without delay to restore the conditions that will enable the Korean people to achieve their legitimate aspirations: the peaceful and democratic reunification of their country and the exercise of their inalienable right to choose their own future. That can be achieved only through the withdrawal of the foreign troops that are occupying South Korea under cover of the United Nations and by the disbanding of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.

92. It is an error to rely solely on the therapeutic effect of procrastination and to wait for time to overcome crises without any determined effort being made to guide affairs towards a peaceful settlement. Time can all unaided lead to the prolonging and worsening of disputes.

93. Concerned as it is about the enduring nature of the hotbed of conflicts in the Middle East and the constant accumulation of factors that are maintaining the tension in that area, Romania has expressed its confidence in the possibility of a rational and just settlement based on the right of each State to territorial integrity, sovereign existence and security. It is still in favour of a settlement in that same spirit.

94. The problems to be solved in the Middle East are of course complex, but we are firmly convinced that their solution is to be found only through peaceful means, through negotiations.

95. The interests of the peoples of the Middle East urgently demand that normal relations based on coexistence and co-operation should be established in that area and that differences should be settled by the withdrawal of troops from the occupied territories and by respect for the security and independence of each State in the area.

96. We are of the opinion that the resolution [242 (1967)] unanimously adopted by the Security Council on 22 November last, representing a collective effort, establishes the principles for a political settlement in the area. It forms the basis for the mission that has been entrusted to Mr. Gunnar Jarring, the Secretary-General's Special Representative, to whom delegations have expressed their encouragement and confidence. We share the opinion expressed from this rostrum that we now have an opportunity that must not be lost. Since the earliest antiquity, Mediterranean wisdom has known that lost opportunities are like spoken words that, once gone, can never be recaptured.

97. Among the principles that make up the framework of relations among equal and sovereign nations, international co-operation—one of the basic concepts of the United

Nations Charter—is playing an increasingly active part in present-day international relations.

98. It could not be otherwise is an era that bears the imprint of radical changes that have been brought about by great contemporary scientific and technological discoveries.

99. No country can be immune to the action of the laws of human progress or stand aloof from the quickened and multi-lateral course of world relations. The same laws are at the basis of the constant widening of the area for co-operation, both horizontally, as a result of the participation in international law of new, independent entities, and vertically, owing to each State's increased part in the ever more active and more varied exchange of material and spiritual values.

100. According to the view that we share with many other countries, international co-operation has a precise and clearly defined role to play, namely, to promote, strengthen and protect the constructive effort of each people and the concern of each State to enable its economy, culture and science to profit from the opportunities being offered by modern civilization.

101. International economic exchanges and relations must assist in creating and in strengthening the material basis for national sovereignty and independence and in reinforcing the security of States against any tendency to make use of superior strength for purposes of subjection or domination.

102. Economic and social activities, as an integral part of United Nations work to achieve the goals set by the Charter, namely, the fostering of peace and progress for all peoples, must be conceived as a general strategy designed to encourage and support national efforts devoted to progress and to eradicating the anachronistic phenomenon of underdevelopment and the evils accompanying it, such as hunger, disease and ignorance, the perpetuation of which is incompatible with contemporary world civilization.

103. The test of the effectiveness of the co-operation programmes put into effect under United Nations auspices lies in the extent to which these programmes are helping to narrow the gap between the national development levels of nations.

104. In addition to perpetuating the economic and social backwardness of many countries, the tendency of the economic, scientific and technological gap to widen—a trend that has been stressed with justifiable concern by many representatives at this session—is such as to create new types of dependency at the international level while favouring the maintenance of neo-colonialist practices. This phenomenon, which is giving rise to new sources of division and tension in present-day society, has long-term consequences that affect world peace itself.

105. The alarming prospects that that trend appears to be creating for the future of a large part of mankind make it imperative that the international community should adopt firm corrective measures.

106. We should like to emphasize that it is each country's individual responsibility that is the prime factor in the

development of national economic potential, and that calls for structural changes to meet the modern demands of progress; at the same time, however, we consider that today it is a basic and real necessity of international life to provide the developing countries with abundant and effective support through various types of economic, technical and scientific assistance.

107. We are convinced that the needs of the developing countries, as specified at the New Delhi Conference, can be met through the implementation of the principles that were formulated back in 1964 in the Final Act of the first session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development,<sup>4</sup> namely: equality, complete sovereignty over natural resources, non-discrimination in trade relations among States. That is the basis on which international economic co-operation can be broadened and we think it is useful to stress that point now that the time for proclaiming a new United Nations Development Decade is drawing near.

108. The main incentive for progress is man; he is both the subject and the object of the efforts that are being made to build a better, more just, more secure and more prosperous world. In our opinion, no economic development plan should underestimate the importance of solving social problems, for any progress achieved in one of those areas is closely bound up with the improvements that come about in the other.

109. We should like to express our gratification at the fact that one of the ideas that we had the privilege of submitting for the consideration of the Economic and Social Council—that concerning emphasis on the role of the human factor and on the training of personnel in development techniques—was so well received and that it is being included as a matter of priority in future United Nations programmes.

110. It is important that this year, which has been officially proclaimed the International Year for Human Rights, attention should once again be drawn to the necessity of creating the essential conditions for the fulfilment of the individual in every sphere and for ensuring complete respect for human dignity.

111. In expressing its complete solidarity with peoples struggling against colonialism and neo-colonialism and for national freedom and independence, Romania strongly condemns the racial discrimination and the policy of *apartheid* being practised by the governing circles in Southern Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa, as also the policy of colonial oppression that is being carried out in Angola and Mozambique.

112. At a time when this Assembly was proclaiming the United Nations Development Decade, for the purpose of fostering the economic progress of the developing countries and closing the immense gaps that separate those countries from the industrialized States, the world has witnessed another decade, that of armaments, contrary—we need hardly say—to the recommendations and ideals embodied in all our joint resolutions.

113. The first Decade, the Development Decade, achieved some modest results, although the goals that were set were not very ambitious. In contrast, the other decade, the armaments decade, although it was not proclaimed, made unprecedented strides and swallowed up vast resources, amounting to the astronomical sum of \$1,500,000 million.

114. How can we fail to be concerned at the fact that during the first eight years of the Development Decade an increase of \$2,000 million in aid was accompanied by an increase of \$60,000 million allocated to military spending, which this year reached the incredible sum of \$180,000 million—although we cannot say that in 1968 States enjoyed greater security than in 1960.

115. If we consider the fact that with those sums of money great projects designed to improve man's lot could have been carried out, that every newly manufactured weapon being stored in the military arsenals in which the world abounds is a denial of human well-being and that every scientist working in the field of weapons development represents an intellectual resource removed from the efforts mankind is making to place the hitherto untapped resources of science at the service of man's prosperity and happiness, it becomes clear that on the eve of the Second Development Decade there is but one choice to be made: disarmament. Disarmament, which is demanded by the very course of history and by the needs of our era, will enable every human and material resource to be devoted to wiping out the phenomenon of under-development and to the achievement of general economic growth.

116. In the present circumstances, disarmament is a sure way to achieve a lasting peace and equal security for all States of the world, factors that are essential to the vast process of development to which man in our century is entitled to aspire. We consider that, in order to deal successfully with the disarmament problem, political determination, reciprocal trust and sustained efforts must be united to achieve a co-operation with which, we are convinced, all peoples of the world are concerned.

117. Given the complexity of the problems and the extent of their repercussions, general disarmament, within which category we give nuclear disarmament priority, cannot be achieved all at once. For that reason, the Romanian Government is in favour of implementing, concurrently with efforts aimed at general disarmament, measures of a partial and temporary nature capable of bringing about a relaxation of tension in international relations and in other respects promoting the achievement of the final goal.

118. The conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*], to whose drafting Romania, along with other States, made a constructive contribution, must be seen as a stage in an uninterrupted process that is directed towards the achievement of radical disarmament measures.

119. For the first time, the non-proliferation Treaty embodies both in spirit and in letter the legal obligation of the State to:

“... pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at

<sup>4</sup> *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Second Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.68.II.D.14), Annex A.I.1.

an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control" [article VI].

120. Under the provisions of the non-proliferation Treaty, non-nuclear-weapon countries accept the highly responsible obligation to refrain from manufacturing or acquiring nuclear weapons. In the light of an arms race that is increasing both qualitatively and quantitatively, the principles upon which the Treaty is based and the equal right of peoples to peace and security require that non-nuclear-weapon States should be given guarantees of real security until existing nuclear stockpiles have been completely liquidated and the nuclear threat has thus totally disappeared. At the same time, those States must be able to enjoy fully and without hindrance the great benefits being created by the peaceful utilization and application of atomic energy, for the promotion of their peoples' progress and prosperity.

121. The Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States that recently concluded its work at Geneva<sup>5</sup> strongly set forth the need to satisfy those legitimate demands of the non-nuclear-weapon States.

122. We share the conviction that the United Nations must persevere in its efforts directed towards the adoption of measures to meet the requests those countries have made, particularly in connexion with the guarantee of their security, the unrestricted use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and broad international co-operation in that field, together with the adoption of resolute disarmament measures.

123. The agenda adopted by the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, an agenda that recognizes the priority to be given to measures for nuclear disarmament, as also the Soviet Government's memorandum of 5 July 1968 [A/7134], which appears on the agenda of the present session [item 94] and which puts forward some suggestions that can serve as a basis for future disarmament measures, provide an opportunity for beginning serious discussions with a view to arriving at the agreements on disarmament that are so urgently needed owing to the increasing threats that are being posed by the present increase in the rate of arms proliferation.

124. In keeping with its position of principle, Romania is determined to participate to the utmost in the efforts that are being made to bring about disarmament, and, first and foremost, nuclear disarmament.

125. The founding of the United Nations is a manifestation of the struggle mankind is waging to ensure the primacy of law over force and to introduce a code of rational conduct in inter-State relations.

126. Under the provisions of the Charter, the United Nations was given broad powers in the matter of maintaining international peace and security. Nevertheless, it is a fact that this Organization, which was set up to give a faithful reflexion of the realities of the day, does not yet

fully correspond to the ideal that inspired its founding, that of universality.

127. A basic condition for strengthening the United Nations lies in the correction of a serious error which is also a flagrant injustice and discrimination against one of the founding States. I am speaking of the fact that the Government of the People's Republic of China is prevented from occupying its proper place in the United Nations as the representative of China. There can be no doubt that lasting solutions to the great problems facing contemporary society cannot be found without the participation of the People's Republic of China. We consider that the time has come to put an end to that situation, which is extremely harmful to the Organization's basic interests, by restoring that country's legitimate rights and by expelling the Chiang Kai-shek envoys from the seat they are illegally occupying. It is only thus that the Organization's responses to the various questions that will be placed before it will acquire the necessary authority and effectiveness.

128. Romania is participating with confidence in United Nations activities and is desirous of co-operating with other States in strengthening the prestige and increasing the effectiveness of the Organization.

129. Dedicated to the spirit and to the principles of the United Nations Charter, Romania is determined to strive resolutely for the triumph of the ideals of peace, friendship and understanding among peoples and to contribute to its utmost to the solution of the political, economic and social problems that are today a matter of concern to every Member of the international community.

130. Mr. ISHAK (Singapore): It is with great pleasure that I add my voice to the many that have greeted with felicitations the election of His Excellency Mr. Arenales, the Foreign Minister of Guatemala, to the office of President of the General Assembly at its twenty-third session. In the short time that he has presided over this Assembly he has won the admiration and respect of my delegation by his impartiality and tact. He has brought credit not only to himself but also to his country, Guatemala, and to the whole of Latin America.

131. We were greatly distressed yesterday to learn that our esteemed President had undergone a delicate operation. Our distress was to some extent relieved by the news that the operation had been completely successful. We fervently hope that he will make a speedy and complete recovery, and return to preside over us soon.

132. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay a warm tribute to the distinguished Foreign Minister of Romania, His Excellency Corneliu Manescu, who so ably presided over the General Assembly at its twenty-second session.

133. My delegation would also like to offer its warm congratulations to the people and Government of Swaziland on their attainment of independence. We are happy to see the representatives of Swaziland in our midst and we extend to them a warm welcome to the United Nations. To the people and Government of Swaziland we extend our good wishes for continued progress and well-being.

<sup>5</sup> The Conference was held from 29 August to 28 September 1968.

134. As we reflect upon the events of the past year and as we look at the present international scene it is difficult to escape a feeling of depression and anxiety. Recent developments in many parts of the world have shattered, once again, the hopes of the world, and especially of small countries, that nations will abandon a policy based on might in favour of a policy based on the rule of law in international relations.

135. Small countries have always had to live in the shadows of bigger ones. And in recent years there was reason to hope that the shadows which big nations cast over their smaller neighbours would grow shorter and less threatening. There were encouraging signs, as when big nations joined others in the establishment and recognition of ethical norms in international relations. They loudly proclaimed their adherence to the principles of sovereign equality of all States; of respect for the territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States; and the renunciation of the use or threat of force in the settlement of disputes between States.

136. The old doctrine of spheres of interest in which a dominant Power could dictate to the States living in its shadows is clearly alien to these universally accepted principles of international conduct and wholly contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, which embodies the ethical code of international conduct. The principles of the Charter are, in the view of the Singapore Government, applicable to all nations both big and small, under all circumstances and at all times.

137. The slow but discernible progress made in recent years by the rival Power blocs towards mutual understanding and confidence has been seriously jeopardized by recent events in Central Europe. The Secretary-General has rightly warned against the danger of an increasing polarization of attitudes between East and West, with all its attendant dangers for the world. We agree with the Secretary-General when he said that the nations of the Third World could contribute to the lessening of world tension and the rebuilding of bridges between the Power blocs. In order that such countries may exercise this most desirable influence in world affairs, it is necessary for them to put their own houses in order, to stop quarrelling among themselves, to co-operate closely for their mutual benefit and security and in their international conduct to demonstrate their adherence to those ethical norms upon which world peace and understanding must be based.

138. Yet another casualty is the credibility of the big Powers. The credibility gap of the big Powers has now widened. This will no doubt have an adverse effect on the value of assurances and undertakings given by the super-Powers to one another and to other States. At the resumed session of the twenty-second General Assembly, my delegation joined the overwhelming majority of Member States in endorsing the Non-Proliferation Treaty. We did so because we believe that a halt to the proliferation of nuclear weapons would reduce the hazard of a nuclear holocaust and because it would spur efforts towards general and complete disarmament. Although we approve of the Treaty we can understand the disquiet felt by some Member States about the adequacy of the security assurances given to non-nuclear-weapon States, a disquiet which can only be heightened by recent events in Europe.

139. We have celebrated 1968 as the International Year for Human Rights but the actual condition of human rights in the world gives us no cause for celebration. In too many parts of the world mankind still suffers from the scourge of war, from hunger, and from repression. The Viet-Nam war continues to take its daily toll of the lives of innocent people as well as of the belligerents and brings untold suffering to the living. It is to be hoped that the current moves to end the deadlock in the Paris talks will lead to a settlement acceptable to the parties concerned.

140. The past year also witnessed no progress towards peace in the Middle East. The cease-fire was continuously violated and we have heard in the Security Council repeated charges and counter-charges by the representatives of Israel and of the Arab countries. The Secretary-General's Special Representative, Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, has worked assiduously to find a formula for peace in the Middle East. His mission has, however, produced no results. We therefore urge all parties concerned to co-operate fully with Ambassador Jarring. We also urge the super-Powers to exercise restraint in their supply of arms to that area and to use the utmost influence to assist Ambassador Jarring's search for peace in the Middle East.

141. Elsewhere in Africa, in Mozambique and Angola, in Namibia and Zimbabwe and in South Africa, our African brothers are still subject to colonial repression and racial discrimination. We join with them in their opposition to the evil doctrine of *apartheid* and in their just struggle to overthrow the chains of colonial rule. The intransigence of Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, if continued, must lead to increasing revolutionary violence as a means of achieving freedom and justice.

142. Let me now turn from the depressing political scene to the economic one. Here, the picture is not so grim but neither is it cheerful. Although in the past year the output of developing countries rose by 5 per cent this was due largely to a record harvest—the result of climatic and not of technological factors. Science does, however, offer the hungry nations of the world the prospects of a world of plenty. After twenty years of research a break-through has taken place in the production of new strains of wheat and rice and other grains which can improve yields three to five times. It is hoped that the developing countries will make use of these high-yielding grains as well as create the other necessary conditions for success—the education of peasants, better irrigation and the use of fertilizer.

143. Higher farm productivity, however, does not lead to a higher per capita income unless the productivity of the plants is higher than the productivity of the population. Many of the poor countries remain poor, some even become poorer. This is basically because their population increase outstrips their economic growth and this is an urgent problem which the governments of the less-developed nations can and must resolve. We, in Singapore, have succeeded in reducing the birth rate from forty-two per thousand to below twenty-five per thousand in nine years.

144. In 1960 the General Assembly, in resolution 1522 (XV), recommended that the total volume of aid from the developed to the developing countries should

amount to one per cent of the combined national incomes of the developed countries. The first session of UNCTAD in 1964 explicitly recommended that each developed country should transfer one per cent of its national income. The New Delhi session of UNCTAD went a step further and voted in favour of a target of one per cent of the gross national product. Only the Netherlands and France have so far achieved the UNCTAD goal, for all aid, of one per cent of the gross national product in 1967.

145. Indeed, the disparity between the developed countries' gross national product and their provision for aid is growing. Resource transfers to the developing countries declined from 0.83 per cent of the developed countries' gross national product in 1960 to 0.62 per cent in 1966. When "repayments in loans, interest payments, dividends, private investment, and other relevant items" were deducted, "the actual burden of development assistance on the world's taxpayers" in 1966 was estimated at only \$7,200 million. In that year the gross national product of the major donor countries totalled some \$1,500,000 million and they spent \$150,000 million for military purposes.

146. The failure of the rich countries of both the East and the West to support the United Nations Capital Development Fund has been sufficiently decried by preceding speakers. The meagre results of the New Delhi session of UNCTAD have been adequately lamented also by other representatives from developing countries. We join them in exhorting the rich nations to offer their resources more generously to the developing countries in their efforts to achieve rapid economic development. At the same time we must remind ourselves that the world does not owe us or any nation a living. And if the rich nations have a duty to assist the poorer ones, the latter have a reciprocal duty to help themselves more conscientiously and more effectively. They must learn to work harder, to save more, to have honest and dedicated leaders and to pursue realistic policies.

147. There is no substitute for hard work, sound planning and pragmatic programmes, particularly for developing nations. Rich and developed countries can give aid, aid in the form of hardware and financial aid, but in the last analysis no rich or developed nation can give the will, the determination, the dedication and industry to another, recipient country. These commodities are not exportable: they must come from within the peoples living in the developing countries.

148. I should not leave the subject of economic development without paying a special tribute to the United Nations Development Programme. The Republic of Singapore has derived great benefits from the advice, expertise and facilities made available to us under the Programme. Such is our gratitude to, and confidence in, the UNDP that my Government has decided to increase our contribution to UNDP in the next year by 100 per cent.

149. Last year we referred in our general statement to the formation of the Association of South East Asian Nations, comprising Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and Singapore. Our membership in the Association is based, firstly, upon our desire to forge closer friendship and

co-operation with our neighbours, to whom we are linked by long historical and cultural ties. It is also based upon our belief that the scale of modern technology has made economic autarchy an anachronism and economic interdependence an imperative. Several co-operative projects are under study and one or two bilateral projects have actually been started.

150. This Assembly has debated the question of China for almost twenty years. Nothing that has been said has deflected us from the view that the United Nations cannot continue to ignore the inherent right of 750 million people to be represented in this world community.

151. These are bleak days for world peace and understanding. In such moments, therefore, it is tempting perhaps to bemoan the ineffectiveness of the United Nations and even to denigrate it. The truth is, however, that the United Nations Organization has not failed Member States: it is the Member States that have failed the United Nations. There is nothing wrong that we can see with the principles of the United Nations Charter. What is wrong is that some Member States have a cynical regard for these principles. They are accepted only when convenient, and disregarded whenever expedient. What we need is not another pledge of our adherence to the Charter. What we need is a pledge to bring our conduct into congruence with our acceptance of the Charter. That pledge, on behalf of the Singapore Government, I do solemnly give you. Singapore is not only a peaceful State, it is a State at peace with the nations of the world.

152. Mr. SOLANO LOPEZ (Paraguay) (*translated from Spanish*): On behalf of my delegation I have great pleasure in tendering our most sincere congratulations to Mr. Emilio Arenales on his election as President of this Assembly. The countries which make up our Organization have entrusted to him tasks which confer both high honour and a heavy responsibility. His election is an honour both to him and to his country, but at the same time it is one shared by all the peoples of Latin America, who know that in Mr. Arenales they have a representative of the highest calibre. As regards the responsibilities entrusted to his wisdom, ability, political sagacity and diplomatic tact, we know that he will guide the work of the Assembly in such a way as to secure the best results. Now that he is ill and temporarily absent, we express our best wishes for his early and complete recovery.

153. The people and Government of Paraguay rejoice at the admission of Swaziland to the community of free, independent and sovereign States. We hope and pray that that country will enjoy peace and prosperity. We welcome its admission to the United Nations and my delegation offers its representatives in this Assembly its sincere and fraternal co-operation.

154. We are moved by the same sentiments with regard to Equatorial Guinea, the newest of the independent African States and one which only a few days ago entered a new era by assuming control of its own national destiny. We extend to the leaders of that country our whole-hearted congratulations and most cordial greetings.

155. The international climate in which we are beginning our work is scarcely a propitious one. The general picture

of our world is not encouraging. There are armed conflicts which have already lasted too long and whose cost in blood, tears and destruction saddens us. There has been no halt in the arms race. Vast sums are still being invested in the development and manufacture of ever more deadly weapons, while the majority of the world's population is increasingly anxious and disturbed about the unjust and immoral distribution of wealth whereby a few countries have too much and many countries have too little; in one case labour is rewarded by well-being and a high standard of living, while in the other there is a tendency to perpetuate the wages of hunger and poverty.

156. And this is not all. Very recently we witnessed with stupefaction and indignation the violation of the most fundamental rights of a State Member of our Organization and the breaking of the most elementary rules of co-existence among States.

157. And lastly, colonialism, although it is declining, has not yet disappeared: there are many peoples still awaiting the hour when they can become masters of their own destiny. This world picture has been described by the Secretary-General in the Introduction to his Annual Report on the work of the Organization [A/7201/Add.1] and it is summarized in paragraph 205 of the Introduction, in which U Thant says: "I am well aware that this document must make gloomy reading." It certainly does.

158. The war in Viet-Nam—cruel, sad and destructive as few others—is still going on; but at least official conversations have begun in Paris and all peace-loving men and lovers of justice are pinning their hopes on a positive outcome. When I say "positive outcome", I am thinking of political solutions within the framework of the Geneva Agreements. We realize that very little progress has been made so far, but the very fact that the conversations are continuing justifies our hope that the adversaries will manage in the near future to overcome their differences and to restore peace and justice in that tormented region of South-East Asia.

159. The Middle East is another region where the flames of a conflagration might again involve the States of the area in the fires of destruction and even expand with unforeseeable intensity. Our views on the possibility of settling this conflict, which has lasted for two decades, are well known. Together with other Latin American republics, we submitted during the fifth emergency special session of the General Assembly a formula<sup>6</sup> which, we felt, offered a chance of arriving at the just, and therefore stable and lasting, peace desired by all, but our formula failed to obtain the two-thirds majority required by the Charter. We consider that resolution 242 of 22 November 1967, unanimously adopted by the Security Council, enshrines the ideas and principles of the Latin American proposal and may in the present circumstances offer the only positive way of settling this distressing, long and complex conflict.

160. In this firm conviction we have devoted and are still devoting our best endeavours to securing the acceptance and implementation of all the provisions and principles

embodied in resolution 242 (1967). For the same reason we unreservedly support the mission entrusted to Mr. Jarring, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and are fully confident that his outstanding qualities will ensure the success of his difficult task. We are happy to reiterate our support and confidence from this rostrum.

161. Since it is our wish that Mr. Jarring should find the atmosphere most conducive to the success of his difficult task, and because the Security Council has so decided, it is with growing concern that we have watched the frequent and cruel violations of the cease-fire laid down by the resolutions of 1967. Within the Security Council, in whose work we have been participating since 1968, we have often stated that our delegation is not prepared to condone acts of violence, terrorism or reprisal in violation of the cease-fire. Accordingly, my delegation has voted in favour of all the resolutions adopted by the Security Council this year. We are well aware that the situation arising from scrupulous observance of the cease-fire is, by its very nature, bound to be a temporary one pending the restoration of peace based on justice, equity and law, but at least that situation will make it easier for Mr. Jarring to fulfil his mission.

162. Two decades of continuous hostilities, in which war has broken out three times with destructive violence, have brought all too much bloodshed to all the States of the region. We feel it is our collective duty—and one which cannot be postponed—to do all we can to help to achieve the long-awaited, just and lasting peace which will enable the peoples of the Middle East, with all of whom we are united by bonds of sincere friendship, to devote all their energies to the constructive work of peace and to the consolidation of their well-being and prosperity.

163. Although we have not set out to make an exhaustive catalogue of the problems, we felt bound to allude to some of them and, above all, to define the position adopted by our country in each individual case.

164. From this standpoint, we note that authority in Southern Rhodesia is still illegally in the hands of the racist regime of Ian Smith and that South Africa, in flagrant violation of United Nations resolutions, is still depriving Namibia and the Namibian people of their legitimate right to be masters of their own national destiny; moreover, South Africa persists in imposing, as a matter of official policy, the immoral and inhuman system of *apartheid*.

165. We should pause and reflect, in a spirit of solidarity, on what the problems I have briefly outlined, as also those which afflict the peoples who have not yet achieved emancipation, mean in terms of human suffering, for only thus shall we understand their extreme gravity.

166. As I said earlier, my country has been a non-permanent member of the Security Council since 1 January 1968. Consequently, our actions in that body are public, and open to the scrutiny of world opinion. We feel we have nothing to reproach ourselves for in what we have done, all of which is reflected in the records and, more importantly, in all the resolutions adopted by the Security Council in 1968, for all of which we voted, whether they concerned Namibia, Southern Rhodesia or the Middle East.

<sup>6</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Emergency Special Session, Annexes, agenda item 5, document A/L.523/Rev.1.

167. After lengthy negotiations, a draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons was finally submitted at about the middle of this year. We knew that the proposed text did not satisfy all our aspirations and that it was intended to prevent the horizontal and not the vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons, to use United Nations parlance. But after carefully studying all the provisions of the draft treaty, we decided to co-sponsor the text which later became General Assembly resolution 2373 (XXII) of 12 June 1968, to vote in favour of it and, finally, to sign the Treaty. In provisionally assuming, by our vote and our signature, the obligations imposed by that Treaty, and until its ratification in accordance with our own constitutional procedure, we were acting in all sincerity and faith in the cause of international peace and security. As we stated at the time, in the region where my country is situated our relations with our neighbours near and far are such as to shelter us from any fear of possible aggression, but with the present development of nuclear weapons and the means of launching them no State can consider itself entirely free from the possibility of nuclear attack, whatever its geographical situation, its desire for peace or its level of economic and social development.

168. With this thought in mind and with the same sincerity of purpose, we also voted in favour of Security Council resolution 255 (1968) on safeguards in the event of aggression or threat of aggression by nuclear weapons against States not possessing such weapons. We said at the time that the resolution on safeguards should be of a temporary nature since it would become obsolete once advances in the field of real and complete disarmament, under effective international control, had brought us to the ultimate goal, which is to halt the manufacture of nuclear weapons and to bring about the complete destruction of those held in the arsenals of the nuclear Powers.

169. Moreover, in our interpretation of the Treaty, we find the way open for accelerating the progress of our developing peoples through technical and financial co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, which would otherwise be denied us owing to the paucity of our resources. The doors of the major research centres must be opened to us and to others, as must opportunities for training our own experts at those centres. Assistance must be ample and generous. By virtue of the obligations we have assumed, we have a right to request it.

170. The approval and signing of the Treaty and the adoption of Security Council resolution 255 (1968) gave rise to fresh hopes of new and more far-reaching agreements between the great Powers in respect to disarmament. Although a number of States supported neither the Treaty nor the resolution that I mentioned, it is true to say that an international climate of greater confidence in disarmament progress was engendered.

171. There was an abrupt deterioration in that climate in August, when Czechoslovakia, a State Member of the United Nations, was suddenly and brutally attacked and, without its consent and without forewarning, found itself invaded by troops of countries members of the Warsaw Pact led by Soviet troops. As a result of the violation of the basic principles and provisions of the Charter, of the crude interference in its internal affairs and of the military

occupation to which it was subjected, Czechoslovakia found itself unable to exercise the first and most fundamental of the rights of a State, namely, that of handling its own sovereign affairs. That unjustified and indefensible invasion has shaken to its foundations the structure of the international legal order on which relations among States are based. In conformity with our traditions, we did not hesitate to speak out in angry protest in the Security Council and to call for the condemnation of the aggressors. As I said, that was the least we could do.

172. I think there are few States Members of the United Nations which have adhered so firmly to the principle of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity as mine, which has carried its support to the limits of individual and collective sacrifice. Much time has passed since the era we regard as the epic period of our history; but a basic duty to ourselves, to our past and to the traditions of which we are so proud determined the position which we adopted in the Security Council and which we reaffirm here.

173. My country's participation in the work and responsibilities of the Security Council accounts for the relatively large part of this statement which I have devoted to the problems of peace and security.

174. But for us and for our destiny as a developing nation, the problems caused by the fact that the world is divided into North and South are also of the utmost importance. From this same rostrum the Foreign Minister of my country said last year:

"In our everyday parlance we have become accustomed to classifying countries in two major groups, which we call the developed countries and the developing countries. The fact is that the former are industrialized countries, while the latter are not. It is sad to note that the passage of time has not brought about any improvement in the distribution of wealth, that the industrialized countries receive and own most of the wealth and that the non-industrialized countries, which account for two thirds of the world's population, receive in return for their efforts a minimal remuneration which is absolutely inadequate for their development needs." [1570th meeting, para. 151].

175. A few months later the Second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was held at New Delhi, and although we hoped that the Conference would lay the foundations for hastening the hour of justice in the distribution of wealth and the fruits of labour, we were not over-optimistic because we know that there are too many barriers of prejudice to be overcome.

176. Viewing the Conference now from the perspective afforded by the months that have passed since its closure, we are imbued with a painful feeling of frustration. Once again the chance to correct the unjust rules governing trade between the two groups of countries has been lost; once again we have seen our hopes of constructive dialogue dashed and once again our legitimate aspirations have had to be shelved. It is certainly not the developing countries which are to blame for that failure, but it is they that will suffer the direct and indirect consequences of it.

177. The United Nations is now preparing to set up a system for ensuring the peaceful uses of the resources of the sea-bed, beyond the limits of national territorial jurisdiction and of its subsoil. We trust that the Organization will find just ways of ensuring that those resources will be used for the benefit of all mankind, that is to say for the benefit of all States whether or not they have seaboard. If we really wanted to set a fair standard, it should be the countries without a seaboard that should be the first to receive the benefits derived from the exploitation of such resources, in order to compensate them for the permanent disadvantage that their land-locked situation represents for their development.

178. In the conviction—already expressed on other occasions and from this same rostrum by spokesmen more qualified than myself—that regional economic integration in no way impinges on sovereignty or implies acceptance of supranational bodies but, on the contrary, permits the expansion of markets that are often restricted by the limits of national jurisdiction, we are continuing our efforts to give practical effect to the regional common market. In so doing, we are imbued with the belief that its operation will bring just and positive benefits to all its members. We know the difficulties to be overcome, but we also know that sooner or later—and we hope sooner—political wisdom will prevail and we shall build up a solid organization in which each and every participant will obtain equitable and reciprocal recognition of its legitimate aspirations.

179. It is with the same confidence and perseverance that we are continuing to work for the establishment of the continental common market, within the time-limit to which we have voluntarily agreed. Latin America has tremendous natural resources and its raw material potential is practically unlimited. Its population has a high working and production capacity. It is without doubt one part of the world which should have a bright future, but in order to bring that future nearer there must be continuous and increasing industrialization. My own country is particularly anxious to see industries of regional interest established on its territory and we hope to succeed in this undertaking by our own efforts and with the fraternal co-operation of the other countries in the hemisphere.

180. In the increasingly interdependent world of today, the problems of one country or region must directly or indirectly, but inevitably, affect other countries and other regions. In the course of this statement I have referred, in a spirit of willingness to co-operate in the search for possible solutions, to some of the more serious problems which the present General Assembly will have to consider.

181. No co-operation in the purposes and principles of the United Nations can outshine that which Member States can offer by respecting and complying with rules of universal validity, each within the framework of its own national jurisdiction.

182. My country receives little foreign aid. The vast domestic task of consolidating its economic infrastructure, of constantly improving social conditions, raising the standard of living, streamlining its political institutions within a democratic framework, stabilizing its monetary basis, achieving comprehensive progress and establishing an

atmosphere of peace and justice, order and mutual respect—all this is the result of the dynamic and harmonious dedication of the collective efforts in which the various political and economic sectors of the country are participating under the leadership of a truly representative Government actuated by the noblest of national aspirations. These are the credentials we offer when we take this rostrum and express our views.

183. I began my statement by quoting from the Introduction to the Secretary-General's Annual Report to the General Assembly on the work of the Organization [A/7201/Add.1, para. 205] and I should like to conclude with another quotation from the same paragraph:

“... I feel”, says U Thant, “that it is not enough to bemoan the past; we must also renew our efforts to promote the cause of international understanding and rededicate ourselves to the principles of international order and morality set out in the Charter.”

These words also express our own aims, hopes and desires.

184. Mr. SEVILLA SACASA (Nicaragua) (*translated from Spanish*): I should like to begin by congratulating Mr. Emilio Arenales, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala, on his election as President of the General Assembly, a signal honour which we have conferred upon him in recognition of his outstanding abilities as a statesman and experienced diplomat with years of successful United Nations service to his credit.

185. The honour his election signifies for the Republic of Guatemala—Mr. Arenales' illustrious homeland—is shared more especially by the other sister republics of Latin America and is a source of great pleasure to those of us who elected and acclaimed him. We hope that he will soon recover from the illness which has kept him away from his important functions for the last few days and we extend to him our best wishes for a speedy recovery.

186. I should like to pay a tribute to Mr. Corneliu Manescu, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Romania, for his performance as President of the General Assembly during the twenty-second session. When we elected him to that important office we knew that he would perform his duties with wisdom and prudence. I am grateful to him for having allowed me, in my capacity of Vice-President, to preside over the Assembly on two occasions.

187. We extend a welcome to the honourable delegation of Swaziland on its country's admission to the United Nations. Swaziland is joining us in our work at a time when the world needs the edifying understanding of all those of us working in this amphictyonic forum for peace.

188. In conveying our greetings to U Thant, our Secretary-General, I should like to reiterate my Government's high esteem for the devotion with which he is carrying out his delicate mission. Our appreciation also goes to his highly efficient associates.

189. As on former occasions, my delegation intends to co-operate in the search for constructive solutions and effective measures which, being based on the legal and

moral principles of the Charter, will help to strengthen the peace which must be our greatest desire.

190. The Assembly in which we are participating is marking a new stage in the work of the Organization that we set up at San Francisco twenty-three years ago, when the conflict which had been devastating mankind since 1939 was still in progress.

191. We are representatives of both Governments and peoples: of responsible Governments which are guiding the destinies of our nations, and of peoples who know that this Organization was set up for the purpose of ensuring prosperous and effective peace and of providing a pledge of justice and respect among nations. We represent Governments and peoples who know that this Organization is the most respected forum in the world, from which all may freely express their thoughts and state their problems. We are representatives of Governments and peoples who are aware that this Organization professes faith in fundamental human rights and is based on the legal equality of States—as any international system must be—and governed by rules such as collective defence and the peaceful settlement of disputes, and that it enables regional organizations to operate for the greater safeguarding of peace and is working, through the Trusteeship System, to bring about the advancement and independence of peoples through self-determination.

192. Now that our Organization will soon be completing its twenty-fifth year, it is reasonable to ask whether it has achieved the aims for which it was created. In my country's view, the answer would be that the United Nations has achieved outstanding successes, more indeed than merit the criticism of its detractors. We would qualify our reply by asking what would happen to the world if our Organization did not exist. So we must continue to place our faith and optimism in it and invoke the generosity of Providence to ensure the success of our work.

193. We did not imagine, when we signed the Charter in 1945, that the United Nations would operate in a world free from tension. Indeed, we created it precisely for the purpose of finding suitable ways of settling tense international situations, striving for peace based on security and justice, in keeping with Pascal's wise lesson that force without justice is tyranny, and justice without force is a farce.

194. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted twenty years ago, marked a glorious victory in the annals of this century. The 1950 appeal to Member States to help the Republic of Korea to repel the aggression to which it was falling victim—the first example of collective defence offered by an Organization of armed forces—was another victory for the United Nations, as were the steps which led to the withdrawal of foreign troops from Iran and the communist repression in Greece.

195. The Technical Assistance Programme, which has worked to bring about better social and economic conditions, the admission of new States to the international community, the progress and independence of countries which only yesterday were dependent peoples, and the work being done by specialized agencies to create a more

human world in which man constitutes the centre of the universe, also reflect brave action by the United Nations—the soundest and most efficient organization ever conceived by the genius of civilized man.

196. Over the past thousands of years, man has come a long way along the road to higher levels of well-being and dignity. Yet wars, as an instrument of power and domination, have been fought without their painful consequences being properly understood by the leaders of the nations. In the present century mankind has suffered two world catastrophes, in which our nations were forced to participate by the very laws of survival. After the First World War, the victors met at Versailles and organized the League of Nations, whose Covenant was basically designed to ensure respect and maintenance of the territorial integrity and political independence of the States Members of the League. This was the beginning of the movement of individual States towards an international community.

197. As the century wore on, western statesmen began to realize that world peace was being threatened by the reign of force. The world was shaken by the failure of the international body in the face of the avalanche of conquest. They tried again to stem the tide of catastrophe by generous gestures in the form of the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928, which expressly condemned recourse to war for the settlement of international crises, and the Anti-War Treaty of Non-Aggression and Conciliation of 1933, inspired by Mr. Carlos Saavedra Lamas, the Foreign Minister of the Argentine Republic. But all was in vain. The danger grew and violence began to impose a "new order" in the old continent, with bayonets and guns.

198. The historic process conceived in the womb of tyranny followed its horrifying course under the will of a tragic man who laid waste all Europe with his armies. The Locarno Pact of 1925, which laid down mutual guarantees for Germany's eastern frontier, was trampled underfoot in 1936, when the troops of totalitarianism marched into the demilitarized area of the Rhine. The world was plunged into darkness. Only scraps of the Versailles Treaty of 1919 remained, and the individual rights secured at such sacrifice were snuffed out in the enslaved territories. Reason finally prevailed, however, and despotism was crushed by the victorious armies of the democracies, under the command of that glorious soldier of history, General Eisenhower.

199. The San Francisco Conference, in which I had the honour to participate as a delegate of my country, was held in an atmosphere charged by the clash of differing ideologies; yet those who upheld them were determined to reach legal or doctrinal compromises which would make it possible to erect a new international edifice, and the overriding criterion was that the Great Powers should be given the decisive role in the maintenance of peace. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt justified the preponderance of their influence when he said: "As these four nations must inevitably bear major responsibility for the maintenance of peace in the post-war period, there is no possibility of successfully establishing a general international organization if these States are not prepared to support it".

200. We admit that the sacrifices which the Great Powers made in order to defeat Nazi-fascism gave them the right to

be known as “great” in the international community. A reflection of that right is to be found in the privilege accorded in Article 27 of the Charter. But that right not only gives the Great Powers privileges; we consider that they also have a duty to maintain peace and to preserve what they achieved by efforts which gained the recognition of the free world.

201. We must show that the universal system known as the United Nations is capable of maintaining a world governed by the rule of law and justice. This Organization neither is nor can be a world government. Although it is true to say that no State can be compelled to do anything by force, it is equally true that all States must do all they can to reconcile their differences. As has already been said, the independence of peoples is ensured by the interdependence of States within freely accepted associations.

202. This Organization is a product of the war, as was the League of Nations. The League, suggested by President Wilson in the Fourteen Points he put forward fifty years ago, on 8 January 1918, was incapable of dealing with the aggression against China in 1932 or with that against Abyssinia in 1935, let alone the annexations of Austria and Czechoslovakia. The shattering war which erupted in 1939 and lasted for six long years swept away the few hopes still cherished by the world.

203. This Organization, successor to the League of Nations, acts on the basis of experience; it was conceived and organized by States which laid down in the Charter, as a condition for the admission of new Members, that candidates had to be peace-loving States. Thus, since the United Nations is intended to ensure international peace by means of a security system based on the rule of justice and law in relations between all the States forming it, the Governments of all those States must set an example by respecting the decisions adopted here.

204. A demonstration of the flexibility of the Charter is to be found in the “Uniting for Peace” resolution of 1950, whereby the General Assembly assumed the functions which it should exercise for the maintenance of peace, especially in view of the fact that the Organization’s general machinery is paralysed as a result of the inexorable and obstructionist effects of Article 27.

205. A well-known internationalist maintains that peace is a product of war. We might add that war is the product of a badly administered peace, of a peace which is not well guarded. But how is peace to be properly administered? By preserving good faith in international relations. The world is anxious for peace, but for an effective and just peace, not peace resulting from the handing over of sovereignty to an aggressor. The fact that this Organization arose from the ashes of the war imposes upon us the duty to understand that it has an obligation to win the battles for peace. If those battles are lost, we shall inevitably slide back into war; and if that were to happen in this nuclear age, there would be no victors as there were in 1945. There would simply be victims sacrificed owing to a lack of understanding. We should not worry about the differences that arise between States; it is logical that they should arise and that they should give rise to problems. That does not matter. What does matter is that those problems are not being solved.

206. The preamble to the Charter reflects the spirit of documents which have become pages in the history of mankind. Under the Washington Pact of 1 January 1942, the Governments of twenty-six nations adhered to the common programme of purposes and principles set out in the Atlantic Charter of 14 August 1941. The Moscow Declaration of 30 October 1943 and the Dumbarton Oaks proposals of 1944 are also part of the very roots of this Organization.

207. With this in mind, we refer to the armed invasion of Czechoslovakia, an act which has cut all of mankind to the quick and dealt a mortal blow to the legal and moral principles which should govern relationships between the States participating in this universal forum. The presence of foreign troops in Czechoslovakia has converted that country into a subject nation, subjected by the force of the occupying foreign armies, subjected by an act of force which flouts the precepts of the Charter. The territorial integrity of Czechoslovakia has been violated. There has been interference in the domestic affairs of that country, without any request by its Government.

208. Let us recall what Mr. Pleskot, the representative of Czechoslovakia, told us a short time ago from this very rostrum: “Last August the Government of our country found itself faced with a new reality. The troops of five socialist States had entered Czechoslovakia. In the new situation the Czechoslovak people maintained their composure and displayed exemplary unity and discipline . . . The Czechoslovak Government was fully aware of the gravity of the moment and of the fact that the future of our nation was at stake.” [1682nd meeting, para. 117].

209. Mr. Pleskot also told us that it would be of no interest either to the United Nations or to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic for the situation in Czechoslovakia to be exploited in an attempt to revive the atmosphere of the cold war [ibid., para. 119]. In this way he supported his Government’s request that the item concerning the situation in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, placed on the agenda of the Security Council on the initiative of a number of States, should be removed therefrom. [Ibid.]

210. I disagree with Mr. Pleskot’s view; the Security Council is competent to consider this case, which constitutes a real challenge to the prestige of the United Nations. The functions of the Security Council are explicit as regards the maintenance of international peace and security. Article 2 (4) of the Charter expressly states:

“All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.”

211. We also know that according to the declaration in resolution 2131 (XX):

“No State has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State. Consequently, armed intervention and all other forms of interference or attempted threats against the personality of the State or

against its political, economic and cultural elements, are condemned”.

212. With regard to the tragedy of South Viet-Nam, my Government cherishes the hope that from the negotiating table in Paris there will emerge some beginning of an understanding, the beginning of “a political solution on honourable terms—a solution consistent with the safety and national existence of all of the smaller nations of South-East Asia”, to quote the words of Mr. Dean Rusk, United States Secretary of State.

213. Let us also recall what that distinguished statesman said in his speech to this Assembly on 2 October this year; Mr. Rusk said:

“We want to ensure that the people of South Viet-Nam can decide their own destiny free of force. We believe that the question of the reunification of Viet-Nam should be decided through free choice by the peoples of North and South Viet-Nam without outside interference. We want a settlement on the basis of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements.” [1677th meeting, para. 43].

214. With regard to the problem of the Middle East, we feel the same concern as yesterday. It is essential that each of the parties to the dispute should contribute what it is its duty to contribute, what it is obliged to contribute, to further the desired negotiations that the world expects. Generally speaking, any negotiation presupposes the abandoning of extreme positions, a sacrifice which must be made in the higher interests of peace. Let us dispel mistrust and applaud the work which Mr. Jarring, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, is doing with so much care and patience.

215. We know that Mr. Jarring is fully aware that the purpose of his mission is “to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement” under the terms of resolution 242 (1967) unanimously approved by the Security Council on 22 November 1967. As the Secretary-General points out in the Introduction to his Annual Report, that resolution “was in itself a considerable achievement and provided a basis for a constructive and peaceful approach both by the parties and by the international community to the bitter problems of the Middle East.” [A/7201/Add.1, para. 47].

216. In a world that is opening up to all the sciences, at a time when mankind is reaching the very summit of his conquests, and when man, in the tranquillity of his laboratories, is unravelling the secrets of nature, there has emerged from the simplicity of matter the greatest potential source of energy ever known. Let us recall that even in ancient times Thales of Miletus combined philosophical speculation with rigid mathematical equations in pursuit of that element which, in microscopic proportions, synthesizes the vastness of the cosmos.

217. Let us also recall that the ancient patriarchs of science were primarily concerned, in their investigations, with discovering the basis of things, with delving into the constituent structure of matter and with investigating the relationship between the broadest expression of nature and nature itself. Man, indefatigable in his struggle to penetrate

the age-old secrets, finally conquered nuclear energy, that terrifying force which, unless controlled, would bring prematurely to pass the Biblical prophecies of doom and which in international contests becomes something unpredictable and menacing.

218. It is also worth recalling that the Inter-American Nuclear Energy Commission was given the main task of helping the American republics, through a co-ordinated plan of nuclear research and training, to promote the exchange of scientific and technical information, organize conferences and other meetings in the field of nuclear energy, assist member States in the preparation of legislative measures designed to facilitate international co-operation, and recommend security measures with regard to public safety in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

219. In 1959 I had the honour to preside, in Washington, over the first meeting of that important Commission, which was attended by representatives of the American republics. The Commission has received the co-operation of those republics, and particularly that of the honourable Government of the United States of America. The training courses offered in relation to the uses of nuclear energy in the fields of biology, medicine and agriculture, and its efforts to ensure the success of the First International Symposium on Nuclear Energy, are worthy of our highest praise.

220. In the process of disarmament, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is obviously a genuine success, as were the Treaty on the Antarctic, the Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty, the Treaty of Tlatelolco and the Treaty on the Exploration and Use of Outer Space—all documents of the highest importance which call to mind General Assembly resolution 1 (I), adopted on 24 January 1946, whereby we set up the Commission to deal with the problems raised by the discovery of atomic energy. We hope that the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons will gain new adherents among States.

221. With regard to the fourteen resolutions and the declaration adopted by the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States, held at Geneva from 29 August to 28 September 1968, may we say that their importance deserves the careful consideration of this Assembly.

222. We are concerned about the sufferings of the people of Nigeria. We respect the rights of that friendly nation and in no way wish to interfere in its internal affairs; yet we cannot refrain from expressing our feelings and our concern, as well as our hopes that the tragedy afflicting that people will soon be halted. Perhaps it will end under the sign that this International Year for Human Rights has written across the skies all over the world.

223. As regards the economic assistance which must be given to the needy nations, assistance which overcomes the economic and social under-development that threatens peace, let us not forget what Mr. Eugene R. Black, then President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, said seven years ago, on 24 April 1961, when he addressed the United Nations Economic and Social Council:

“I realize that the political difficulties with which the United Nations is struggling are, in many cases, reflexions

of economic problems. We can expect no lasting political solutions until much more is done to remedy the economic ills afflicting so many countries. In these circumstances it is far more important that the Economic and Social Council should continue organizing co-operation between States with a view to tackling the financial problems of our times. Today it is generally recognized that the less-developed nations need much more assistance from those who find themselves in a more fortunate position. But the needs for financial aid are of such magnitude that it is essential to ensure that aid is used in

such a way as to contribute the maximum to the economic growth of the countries receiving it.”<sup>7</sup>

224. Mr. President, that is what I wanted to say on behalf of my Government this afternoon. In extending greetings to all my fellow delegates, I reaffirm Nicaragua's confidence and faith in the United Nations.

*The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.*

<sup>7</sup>This statement was made at the 1140th meeting of the Economic and Social Council, held on 24 April 1961, the official records of which are published in summary form.