

UNITED NATIONS



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

UN LIBRARY

TWENTY-EIGHTH YEAR

SEP 2 1980

1741st MEETING: 17 SEPTEMBER 1973

UN/SA COLLECTION

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1741)	1
Expression of thanks to the retiring President	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
Complaint by Cuba:	
(a) Letter dated 13 September 1973 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Cuba to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/10995)	
(b) Letter dated 12 September 1973 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Cuba to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/10993)	1

NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/. . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND FORTY-FIRST MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 17 September 1973, at 4 p.m.

President: Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Austria, China, France, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Panama, Peru, Sudan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Yugoslavia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1741)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Complaint by Cuba:
 - (a) Letter dated 13 September 1973 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Cuba to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/10995)
 - (b) Letter dated 12 September 1973 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Cuba to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/10993)

The meeting was called to order at 4.40 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT: Before proceeding to today's business, I should like, on behalf of the Council, to express our appreciation to Ambassador John Scali of the United States for his services as President of the Council for the month of August.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Complaint by Cuba:

- (a) Letter dated 13 September 1973 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Cuba to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/10995)
- (b) Letter dated 12 September 1973 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Cuba to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/10993)

2. The PRESIDENT: In the letter dated 13 September contained in document S/10995, which has just been included in the agenda, a formal request is made that Cuba be invited to participate in the consideration of the question now before the Council. Accordingly, if there is no objection, I propose that the Council agree, in ac-

cordance with the usual practice, to invite the representative of Cuba to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. R. Alarcón (Cuba) took a place at the Council table.

3. The PRESIDENT: A letter dated 15 September has also been addressed to the President of the Council by the acting representative of Chile. It relates to the substance of the question and appears as document S/10997. In that letter it is requested that Chile be invited to participate in the Council's discussion, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter. If I hear no objection, I propose also to invite the representative of Chile to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. R. Bazán (Chile) took a place at the Council table.

4. The PRESIDENT: In addition, I should like to inform the members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, in which he asks to be invited to participate in the discussion of the question before the Council. If I hear no objection, therefore, I shall take it that the Council agrees to invite the representative of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen to participate, without the right to vote, in the discussion of the item included in our agenda.

5. In view of the limited number of places around the Council table, I shall invite the representative of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen to take a place at the side of the Council chamber, it being understood that he will be called to take a place at the Council table when it is his turn to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. A. S. Ashtal (Democratic Yemen) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

6. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda. The first name on the list of speakers is that of the representative of Cuba, on whom I now call.

7. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, first of all, may I express my thanks to you and to those members of the Security Council that were good enough to accede to our request to call this meeting.

8. It is a matter of gratification to the Cuban delegation to participate in the deliberations of the Security Council under the presidency of Ambassador Lazar Mojsov, the Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia, with whose people and Government my own enjoy close ties of friendship and co-operation. I should like to express the hope, that, under your guidance, the Council will be able to adopt the decisions that are dictated by the very grave situation that we are to examine.

9. The problem that gave rise to this debate affects all sovereign States because it touches directly on respect for and the validity of the purposes and cardinal principles of the Charter and of international law. The events that we will have to analyse constitute a brutal affront to the foundations of international juridical order and the most elementary norms of civilized coexistence; they stand as a challenge to the aspirations of all peoples that struggle for their full emancipation and that saw in the Popular Unity Government of Chile and in its heroic President, Comrade Salvador Allende, the fulfilment of their deepest hopes and the embodiment of their highest desires for liberation.

10. Between 5 and 9 September, in Algiers, the Fourth Conference of Non-Aligned Countries took place. More than 70 heads of State or Government were present. President Allende was unable to participate in that meeting because of the difficulties that had been created for him by the machinations of imperialism and Chilean reaction. The first agreement reached by the Conference, at the opening meeting, was to send a message of sympathy and support to the constitutional President of Chile. Later, the heads of State, in the Political Declaration adopted by the Conference, stated the following with regard to Chile:

"The Conference hails the Government and the people of Chile, who in their struggle to consolidate their independence and build a new society are facing the combined aggression of reaction and imperialism. It expresses its solidarity with Chile in its efforts to achieve the economic and social transformations already started, to avoid civil war and preserve its national unity."

11. At Algiers, all the non-aligned countries, which constitute the majority of the members of the international community, spoke with one voice, clearly demonstrating that the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America had warm sympathy for the devoted struggle of the Popular Unity Government against its powerful enemies. But three days later another voice thundered forth. It did not express ideas. It spewed shots and fire on an unarmed people. That was the answer of imperialism and of its wretched lackeys to the conscience of mankind which spoke out at Algiers.

12. The planes that bombed Moneda Palace were not firing on the Chilean people and its socialist Government alone; their murderous loads were directed at the hearts of all peoples which struggle for their national emancipation. The crime was committed at Santiago but the intentions of its perpetrators were directed against all the peoples of the so-called third world. The savagery unleashed against the Chilean people is only a symbol of the designs of imperialism against all peoples which try to free themselves and build an independent future.

13. It is for that reason that the events that are taking place in Chile have aroused all mankind and have had repercussions all over the world. My delegation comes to the Council to denounce them. The Council would be remiss in its most elementary duty were it to sit complacently with its arms folded when confronted by events that represent a grave threat to peace and security and directly affect the principles and purposes on which this Organization rests.

14. On 11 September, while the Fascist military coup was taking place, members of the Chilean armed forces, numbering several hundreds, surrounded the building housing the Cuban Embassy at Santiago and started to shoot at it. At 3.30 p.m. on the same day, Admiral Carvajal, speaking on behalf of the militia, called the Cuban Ambassador and threatened to launch a vigorous attack on the Embassy. Later, General Benavides, also speaking on behalf of that gang of mutineers, repeated the same threats. Still later, Commander Pedro Domic reiterated the threats, pointing out that the army had concentrated heavy weapons that could annihilate all the Cuban staff in the Embassy. Throughout the night of 11 September, shots were periodically fired at the Cuban mission, and this went on until dawn on the 12th. As a result of that continuous attack against our building, a member of the mission's staff, Luis Farías, was seriously injured. On 12 September, at 4 a.m., the Cuban Ambassador, Mario García Incháustegui, and Counsellor Luis Fernández Oña stood at the doorway of the Embassy, with the prior agreement of the Chilean officers who surrounded the building. At that moment, in a cowardly and treacherous fashion, our colleagues were shot at with machine-guns and Ambassador García Incháustegui was seriously injured. At that time it became clear, from the intention to assassinate the Ambassador of Cuba, that the criminal and repugnant face of the Chilean Fascists was being shown. The honour and respect for law that the rebellious officials had so often crowed about finally appeared and they were seen in their true colours: those of common murderers and butchers dragged from the seamy scum of those brothels the CIA [Central Intelligence Agency] and the Pentagon.

15. Only the indignant intervention by the whole diplomatic corps and international pressure—and I include the efforts made by Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, for which I express our thanks to him—succeeded in saving the lives of the Cuban officials who had been kidnapped by the gang of murderers that has, for the moment, taken over the Chilean Government.

16. The ferocity of the militia that had risen in rebellion was not confined to that criminal attack against the Cuban Embassy. The Ambassador of Mexico was also a victim of affronts and attacks by the soldiery. The *carabineros* went so far as to prohibit him from leaving his residence by holding their machine-guns against his chest.

17. At the same time, during the afternoon of 11 September, planes of the Chilean Air Force and units of the Chilean Navy bombarded the Cuban ship *Playa Larga* while it was sailing in international waters, causing serious damage to the ship. Earlier, the boatswain of a Cuban ship was taken, attacked and mistreated with both words and

deeds—only because he was a Cuban, a national of our country who felt hatred for the rebellious hordes of the port of Valparaíso.

18. Furthermore, on the morning of 11 September, the Cuban doctors Rolando Puenteferro and Gonzalo Currás López, who happened to be in Chile, participating in a programme organized by the World Health Organization and the Pan-American Health Office, were arbitrarily arrested. They were held in the barracks of the Tacna regiment, where they were kept until the afternoon of Wednesday, 12 September. Those military barracks still hold more than 1,000 political prisoners, including many women, old people and foreigners resident in Chile, who are being subjected to the most barbarous and cruel torture. On returning to their homes, the two Cuban professionals had to be hospitalized. I have before me the medical certificates with the diagnoses. They read: "Gonzalo Currás López. Diagnosis: Politraumatism, bruises and serious wounds over the abdomen and both lower limbs. Rolando Puenteferro. Diagnosis: Politraumatism; contusion with hematoma in the left frontal region; contusion with hematoma in the left malar region; equimosis in the right lumbar region; some wounds on various parts of the body." I must point out that, according to the doctors' statements, the prisoners who are held in the Tacna barracks are generally treated even more savagely. Dozens of them have been murdered in cold blood. Those who may survive, including women and the aged, will never forget the hours spent at the mercy of these animals wearing military uniforms.

19. Gentlemen, while you are deliberating and while this august body is considering our complaint, the Fascist orgy continues full speed ahead on the martyred Chilean soil. We do not hear the cries of the tortured women, but it is good for you to know that, at this very moment, the executioners are not resting. Here we do not see the thousands of murdered workers, but let us not forget that the killing continues. You do not hear the rattle of machine guns, but you are not unaware that even today the criminal hunt is still going on—the prey being the workers and the students who resist the Fascist frenzy. Thousands of Brazilian, Bolivian, Paraguayan and other exiles have been detained and expelled en masse towards sure death. Many of them have already been executed in the National Stadium at Santiago.

20. My Government is most deeply concerned over the fate of a number of Cuban citizens who are still on Chilean soil. They went to Chile to fulfil bilateral agreements signed with the legitimate authorities of that country or as participants in activities of organizations planned by the United Nations system. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba is doing everything necessary, through the Embassy of Sweden, to ensure their return to their homeland. However, we wish to declare that our compatriots are in serious danger. We can expect anything from the horde of murderers and bandits that has temporarily taken over the Chilean Government.

21. The aggressive acts committed by the Chilean armed forces constitute grave violations of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and flout the international norms governing navigation recognized by

all States. The siege, the armed attack and the effort to take over our Embassy at Santiago and the aborted assassination of our Ambassador show the most gross violation of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations,¹ and more specifically of its articles 22, 29, 30, 44 and 45 (a). The bombing and the shooting carried out in international waters against the merchant ship *Playa Larga* revealed the authors as vulgar pirates and outlaws under international law. The detaining of Cuban doctors, scholarship holders of the World Health Organization, and the physical harassment and threats to which they were subjected are not only flagrant transgressions of human rights, but also show a shameless lack of respect by the Chilean military hierarchy for their international commitments and particularly for those agreements that they signed with the United Nations.

22. The ferocious repression unleashed against the Chilean people and against thousands of foreign residents shows that the military régime that emerged from the Fascist coup of 11 September is nothing but a régime that stands beyond the pale of international law and civilization. It is a malignant cancer whose mere existence is a threat and an insult to all civilized peoples. It is for this reason that it is the duty of the international community to condemn the fascist régime which is temporarily established in Chile and express its firm solidarity with the Chilean people who are still struggling against the bestial attacks of the military forces. The workers and the progressive Chilean organizations that combat fascism are fighting on behalf of all peoples. They are unfurling the banner of human dignity, and their struggle calls for mass support by all independent and progressive States.

23. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba calls upon all States and all progressive forces to express their solidarity with the Chilean people and to insist upon the immediate cessation of the terror unleashed against that people, particularly against the working class of Chile. World public opinion must be mobilized to stop the ferocious repression unleashed against the people, the workers and the leaders and fighters for popular unity. We are called upon to act in this way also by the most elementary humanitarian reasons.

24. It is not possible to analyse the problem before the Council nor to assess its grave implications for the cause of international peace and security unless we consider it within the context of the political realities that condition it. The rise to power in Chile of the fascist military group that spreads death and terror among a defenceless population is only the culmination of the aggressive and interventionist policies of North American imperialism against the Popular Unity Government. The anti-Chilean conspiracy did not begin last week. It began at the very moment when the Chilean people elected Salvador Allende constitutional President and supported the programme of revolutionary transformation that he advocated. The background is well known. Who is unaware of the scandalous activities of ITT [*International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation*], Kennecott, Anaconda and the other powerful monopolistic corporations? How can we forget the policy of trade and financial blockade imposed on Chile by the North American Government ever since the moment of

¹ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 500, p. 95.

the people's victory, or the conspiracy indulged in openly by the Yankee diplomats at Santiago?

25. In the light of this background, it is not difficult to see where the main responsibility lies and to see the hand of North American imperialism in the events that have taken place in Chile. Despite the denials of the Yankee authorities, today it is easy to understand that the trail of blood shed in Chile leads directly to the dark dens of the CIA and the Pentagon and that the fuse that unleashed Fascist terror against the Chilean people was detonated from Washington. We can already read in North American press reports details regarding the participation of the United States in the Fascist coup. Have we not read in a number of influential North American newspapers that the United States Embassy had known ahead of time of the plans for this coup? Was it not the Pentagon that admitted that it had warned the warships that were lurking in Chilean waters 24 hours before the military uprising? Was it not the first act of the military junta to send two emissaries to Washington to inform their masters and to receive up-to-date instructions? How else can we explain the hasty coming and going of the Yankee Ambassador between Santiago and Washington and his meetings with Mr. Kissinger on the eve of the reactionary uprising? It is true that Mr. Nathaniel P. Davis, Yankee Ambassador at Santiago, has had a long and checkered career as an *agent provocateur* and conspirator against Socialist Governments. It was not by chance that he began his career as an officer in the Office of Strategic Services, the precursor of the CIA; nor was it by chance that he was in the Office of Soviet affairs in the State Department, or that he cultivated the friendship of Howard Hunt and Charles Colson, notorious conspirators in the Watergate scandal.

26. My Government formally accuses the Government of the United States of America of being an accomplice and mainly responsible for the crime committed against the Chilean people. If the Fascist militia has bloody hands because of the thousands of workers and students that were murdered, Mr. Nixon and his collaborators in the North American Government are guilty of having instigated and masterminded the monstrous affront to the independence and sovereignty of the people of Chile. The same guilt for the same crimes must be attached to the political parties and groups of the Chilean right that participated directly in the loathsome effort to wreck the achievements of the Chilean workers. Among those forces we must stress the so-called Christian Democracy, which has now become a shameful and satanic instrument of fascism. The so-called Christian Democracy will go down in the history of Chile with the ignominious blemish of having been directly responsible for and guilty of the creation of conditions that led to the Fascist coup and to the death of President Allende.

27. The victim of the most barbarous and cowardly aggression, when the Moneda Presidential Palace was attacked with land forces and savage bombing by the Fascist aviation, Allende fought and fell with great heroism. His death stands as a symbol of the mauling that he had to withstand in his Popular Unity Government from the day of his election. For three years, Allende tried to carry out the mandate entrusted to him by the people despite

harassment, blockade, diplomatic, trade and financial pressures, sabotage, conspiracy and campaigns by the hostile press. North American imperialism with its puppets and procurers belonging to the Chilean reaction harassed and attacked the constitutional Government for three years, in order to stop the workers of that country from building a socialist society in accordance with their free choice.

28. The attack against President Allende, his family, his Palace and his private residence cannot be defined by any rational or human means. It is only conceivable in degenerate beasts such as those that shattered the Chilean constitutional legality on 11 September. They not only bombed the Presidential Palace and caused the heroic death of comrade Allende but also bombed, attacked, assaulted and sacked his private home. The cruelty of these uniformed monsters went so far as to take the body of the President away from his family and give it anonymous burial and to humiliate and harass his widow and his children. Señora Hortensia Bussi de Allende, in interviews published in Mexico and Buenos Aires, referred in dramatic tones to the situation she had to face in these bitter moments, and she revealed to the world the extremes of evil to which these Fascist gangsters could sink. My delegation endorses the appeal made by Allende's widow, that the United Nations act with determination to put an end to the ferocious massacre unleashed against the people of Chile and to express the closest solidarity with the fighters who are continuing the heroic resistance.

29. Salvador Allende has died in order to continue fighting. An untiring fighter, he will continue with his comrades in the revolutionary battle. His example will stand for ever for the copper, nitrate and coal workers and for all the workers for whose interests he gave his life; for the needy populations of the ghettos, to which he offered a future of justice and dignity; and for the revolutionaries of the whole world, who will turn his sacrifice into a powerful instrument of struggle and of final victory. As the Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, Commander Fidel Castro, put it:

"For the heroic way in which he gave up his life defending the cause of the people, President Salvador Allende has earned a place of honour among the great martyrs of the revolutionary cause of Latin America and his name will live in the minds of all revolutionaries."

30. The establishment of a Fascist régime in Chile is a serious setback for the working classes and the people of Chile as well as the peoples of Latin America as a whole and for all those who are struggling to shake off Yankee control and consolidate their national emancipation. The imperialists and the vassal oligarchies should not, however, become drunk with the illusion that this setback will stop the inexorable march of the Chilean people and of all the Latin American peoples to their total national and social liberation. The struggle will continue at the level and under the conditions imposed on us by an enemy which is able to reach the lowest depths of infamy. Nothing will stop or shake the revolutionary will of the Latin American peoples. In the light of the painful spectacle of the transitory Fascist victory in Chile, before the beloved image of its martyred President and of the thousands of vilely murdered Chilean

colleagues, there come to our minds the memorable words spoken by the Liberator Simón Bolívar in 1913, when the liberating armies were also experiencing serious setbacks and difficulties in their struggle against colonialism:

"These victims will be avenged; these hangmen will be exterminated. Our revenge will equal the Spanish ferocity. Our goodness has reached its end, and since our oppressors force us to a mortal combat they will disappear from America and our land will be purged of the monsters that infest it. Our hatred will be implacable and our war shall be to the death."

[At this point, the proceedings were interrupted by shouts from the public gallery.]

31. The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw the attention of the visitors to the fact that this is not a public hall; this is a meeting of the Security Council, which should proceed in an orderly and serious manner. I should like to warn them to be orderly because, unless order is maintained, I shall be obliged to ask the guards to remove those who again cause any disorder.

32. I call on the representative of India on a point of order.

33. Mr. SEN (India): It is quite obvious that many of the demonstrators here have been organized. I fully support your ruling, Mr. President. The Security Council should conduct its affairs in peace and decorum. What has just happened is extraordinary. This is the first time, to my knowledge, that such demonstrations have taken place in the Council chamber. I cannot help feeling that the organizers who have brought these demonstrators here could have a little more sensitivity for our work. It is also worth noting that if such demonstrations continue in future, the Secretary-General and his organization would be well advised to find out how they are organized and take the necessary steps. Apart from the warning you have given, Mr. President, I thought I would make this appeal in order that we may continue our work in peace and decorum.

34. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Chile.

35. Mr. BAZAN (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, first of all I should like to express my appreciation both to you and to the members of the Council for having invited the representative of Chile to participate in this debate.

36. I have sufficient respect for the Security Council not to resort to insult or violence in the explanation of my case. I do not believe that one needs verbal violence to defend one's right when that right is well grounded. I understand that the representative of Cuba cannot follow the same norm of conduct as I, since he is imbued with contempt and fear which I do not feel. He cannot be satisfied with the fact that the Cuban efforts to make of Chile a second Cuba, thus violating all the norms which the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations has imposed on diplomats, have failed because of the will of a people which

refuses any foreign interference. The barefaced intervention undertaken with impunity by Cuba in Chile has made the Cuban representative think that other foreign interferences might have taken place or that foreign efforts might have been made in the liberating movement that swept the entire Chilean people. This is an insult to the Chilean people, a people with a lengthy tradition of pride that has never been denied or challenged. We repudiated the intervention of Cuba in Chile—I shall refer to it later in detail—and therefore we could not accept any foreign interference. The movement that has set up a new Government in Chile is nothing but the purest expression of Chilean patriotism that did not and will never accept foreign interference.

37. I shall read my statement, which is confined to the agenda of the Security Council and to the two letters that the Cuban delegation has submitted to the Council.

38. I find it unduly burdensome for the members of the Council to have to waste time with the irrelevant complaint concocted by the representative of Cuba. To present that complaint in ominous and alarmist tones has been in vain, and the violent language of the representative of Cuba has been to no avail. That the arguments put forward are without foundation is obvious to all, and no one will be unaware that the facts that have been mentioned are matters of the past that never threatened international peace and security. Therefore, the Council has been constrained to listen to a chain of half-truths and distortions, some of which it should not have to deal with while others are completely outside its specific competence.

39. I shall first of all refer to the documents submitted by Cuba which raised the complaint.

40. In the first letter of 12 September, the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cuba mentioned two incidents which purportedly took place on 11 and 12 September in Chile and were allegedly violations of the Principles and Purposes of the Charter and other international instruments. Those incidents concern the vessel *Playa Larga* and the Cuban Embassy at Santiago.

41. There can be no doubt that, according to the Minister himself, those events were not a threat to international peace and security, because he did not cite any of the Articles of the Charter which define such matters as fall within the purview of the Security Council, nor did he ask for a meeting of this body. What he wanted at that moment was that the facts be put before the permanent missions at Headquarters, as was done.

42. The view of the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cuba was the right view, because when he signed that letter it was already too late to ask the Security Council to investigate such incidents. By midday on that 12 September, the harassment of the ship *Playa Larga* had been abandoned and, at Santiago, agreements were taking shape on the way in which Cuba diplomats were to be evacuated from Chile. Without any effort a satisfactory agreement was arrived at according to which the Cuban diplomats would, of course, be given the protection that Chile has always given foreign diplomats. Pursuant to that agreement, the Ambassador of Cuba and all his staff left Chile on the night

of 12 September, safe and sound, and the mission building was left in the hands of the Swedish Government.

43. Everybody might have felt at that moment that everything was over. And yet the next day, on 13 September, suddenly passions flared in Cuba. Now it was no longer possible to invent presumed attacks against Cuban diplomats in Santiago; they could no longer say that their lives were in danger because there was not a single solitary one left in Chile. The property of the Embassy was in very good hands. Nor was there any possibility of hostilities breaking out between the two countries. But at that very moment the Government of Cuba decided to do what it had refrained from doing before, namely, to turn to the Security Council to ask for an urgent meeting.

44. Had any new events taken place? No. Physically it was impossible for them to do so. In the letter that the Chargé d'affaires of Cuba addressed to the President of the Security Council on 13 December, he therefore had to invoke the same facts that had been mentioned earlier, by his Acting Foreign Minister, arguing now, when they were things of the past, that they had become serious threats to international peace and security under the terms of Articles 34, 35 and 39 of the Charter. Obviously, when taking this step, the delegation of Cuba knew full well that the events described in the letter of 12 September were inadequate to warrant convening a Council meeting. And so, in the letter of the next day, they turned to the very comfortable artifice of magnifying them and portraying them in more dramatic colours.

45. Referring to the ship, *Playa Larga*, the first letter said that the Chilean Navy had "harassed" it. The second letter goes further and says that it was harassed and that shells were fired at it.

46. Referring to the incident of the Embassy, the first letter says that on 11 September, the armed forces of Chile fired shots at the premises, and adds: "Since then, sporadic firing . . . has continued, resulting in the wounding of the Cuban diplomat Luis Farías". The second letter exaggerates the situation. It says:

"Throughout the night of 11 September, and continuing into the morning of 12 September, sporadic shots were fired against the Cuban mission, as a result of which Luis Farías, a member of our mission, was gravely wounded in the chest, while at 4 a.m., when Mr. Mario García Incháustegui, the Cuban Ambassador, and Luis Fernández Oña, a Counsellor of the mission, were standing in the doorway of the mission, units surrounding the mission began firing bursts, while at the same time, machine-guns were fired from neighbouring buildings."

47. As if this artificial inflating and over-dramatization of the situation were insufficient, today the representative of Cuba has added further events that are even more serious, events that were not mentioned in either of the two letters that were sent to the Council, such as the alleged wounding of the Ambassador of Cuba. Had this truly been the case, surely it would have been the first item mentioned in the Cuban letters. So I am quite correct in presuming that when it is mentioned at this hour, it is the result of the frenzied

efforts made by the imagination of the Cuban representative to try to blow up the situation.

48. Thus, on the basis of initially false affirmations, corrected and amplified 24 hours later by the imagination of the Cuban representative, this clumsy farce of convening the Security Council was created; it was intended merely to allow him to indulge in demagoguery of a political nature.

49. But what did happen was very different, and I shall now recount the facts.

50. I shall deal first of all with the ship *Playa Larga*. This Cuban ship arrived at the port of Valparaíso on 25 August with 10,500 tons of sugar consigned to the Sugar Refinery Company of Viña del Mar, and previously paid for by an open letter of credit. On 10 September, having unloaded 2,500 tons, the *Playa Larga* was ordered to leave the dock where it was unloading, in order to give preference to the unloading of another ship. The *Playa Larga* was told to drop anchor within the Bay of Valparaíso until an unloading place could be found on the dock. On 11 September, at 12.30, the mooring place was changed and the ship was told by the pilot that went aboard that the unloading would continue later and that therefore the ship could not as yet sail. At 4.30 p.m. that same day, an officer of the maritime force of Valparaíso went to the *Playa Larga* in order to check the cargo still in its hold and repeated the order of the maritime authorities not to set sail. Despite the repeated order not to sail, at approximately 6 p.m., it was noted that the *Playa Larga* was weighing anchor and setting sail very speedily towards the west. It left, disobeying an order that had been given, and therefore it left without the papers of the maritime authority called for by the Chilean navigation laws, and without the pilot called for in the respective regulation. It left, and, even more serious, it did so carrying 8,000 tons of sugar and machinery belonging to the Chilean firm I mentioned earlier that had bought the sugar.

51. The escape of the *Playa Larga* was creating an extremely critical situation for the Chilean people, because there were no sugar reserves in the country. Thus there was even further reason for stopping that ship from sailing. It was called by international radio a number of times and ordered to return. It did not obey. It was warned that measures would be taken, and the Chilean navy and air force were notified. A helicopter located the ship and fired HK shots at the bridge, which could not have damaged the ship itself. But the ship continued under way. A destroyer reached it later and used its guns against it indirectly, in order to force it to return. Again the ship disobeyed. But since it would have had to be shelled in order to make it obey, the commander of the destroyer that was following it consulted the naval authorities, who decided to give up the chase.

52. The Cuban libel is limited to saying that the ship was attacked and harassed in international waters. If that is true at all, it is only a half-truth. But that fragment of the whole has allowed the Cuban representative to say that there was a violation of the freedom of navigation. However, if we see the picture as a whole, we realize that that conclusion is false. Because the ship had left a Chilean port, escaped from

that port disobeying the orders of the port authorities, stolen away with Chilean goods, and therefore violated the laws of Chile within Chilean territorial waters, as well as interior waters, the Chilean authorities had a perfect right to pursue the ship even in international waters in order to ensure full respect for Chilean jurisdiction. That is the right of hot pursuit recognized by all civilized nations.

53. I shall now speak of the events of 11 September pertaining to the Cuban Embassy at Santiago.

54. That Embassy was surrounded during the existence of the Allende Government by very strong uniformed police forces and particularly political police. On 11 September, early in the morning, the Embassy was no longer guarded. The new authorities had to make sure immediately that it was protected, because popular indignation against the Cuban diplomats was such that the mission might be attacked.

55. The indignation was justified, because the Cuban Embassy had systematically and brazenly violated all the obligations imposed by the Vienna Convention on diplomats, and particularly because it had barefacedly interfered in domestic Chilean affairs. Cuban diplomats, who numbered more than a hundred and enjoyed the co-operation of more than 1,000 agitators illegally, in the country, exercised an increasing and harmful influence on the Government of President Allende. Protected by diplomatic status, advisers, experts and Cuban agitators inspired many of the measures adopted by the Government. They trained the political police, they carried their methods into public education, they contributed to the organization of guerillas, and helped to plan a programme of sabotage and terrorism.

56. But, even worse, diplomatic freedom was used by Cuba surreptitiously to bring into Chile an enormous number of weapons, many of them more modern and powerful than those used by the Chilean army. Those weapons were stockpiled in the Cuban Embassy at Santiago, which was turned into a veritable fortress. Its outer door was armoured with sheets of steel, and a casement was built next to it. In the rear of the property, where there was already a large house with a sub-basement, a complex of buildings was set up, and the technical services of the municipality were never allowed to inspect them; even I was not allowed to see them when, as Legal Adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I was called upon to report on whether it was appropriate for the Embassy to refuse to fulfil the general ordinance governing construction. Trucks laden with sealed crates entered and left the Embassy constantly, making it obvious to the entire neighbourhood that that Embassy was serving as a centre of distribution for those weapons and arms. The neighbourhood was duly alarmed. On 7 August, the municipality of Providencia unanimously adopted an agreement declaring that the commune considered undesirable the presence of the Cuban Embassy and urged it to withdraw and move elsewhere. On 9 August, the Chamber of Deputies adopted a resolution denouncing Cuban interference in the political affairs of Chile, as an "intolerable assault" against the dignity of Chile.

57. Public opinion could not hold the Cuban diplomats to be neutral observers of our world. It was known that, to a

large extent, they were responsible for the undermining of national activities and the disintegration of our institutions. It was a known fact that they were urging the radicalization of the Government to the maximum. They knew they were helping to divide the Chileans into two groups separated by irreconcilable hatred. It was a known fact that they were arming paramilitary groups that would ultimately replace the armed forces, which would inevitably lead to civil war and by violence oppress the majority of the country.

58. I have evidence of what I have said in the form of photographs showing how some diplomatic representatives from Cuba were training the Chilean population in the use of weapons. I should like the members of the Council to take note of this photograph. The Cuban diplomat shown in this photograph is Juan Carretero Ibáñez, who was the co-ordinator of the operations of Che Guevara in Bolivia. He was an accredited counsellor of the Cuban Embassy. Here he is, in a military uniform, training a woman to use a machine-gun. I submit this photograph so that it may be available to the members of the Council.

59. I have further proof regarding the gun shipments that were flown to Chile in Cuban planes. Here I have a document that speaks of 13 crates of weapons, and which even includes the numbers of the pistols, rifles and submachine-guns which were sent in. I am also submitting this document for the Council to see how my charges are true.

60. I also have here a photograph of rocket launchers, of Soviet and Czechoslovak manufacture, that were brought by Cuban planes to Chile. Here is a photograph of the weapon that Commander Castro gave to Allende and with which he sadly took his life. And I have photographs of other weapons. I make these documents available to the Council and reserve my right to submit further documents which I still have in my possession whenever it may be necessary.

61. But through all these illicit activities, the Cuban diplomats were helping to create a climate that mobilized the Chilean population to make one supreme effort to survive. It was this that led to the overthrow and the suicide of President Allende.

62. It was foreseeable that this mounting indignation on the part of the Chilean population would be unleashed on 11 September against the Cuban Embassy since it was the base of all the operations and a visible symbol of Cuban interference; and it was for that reason that a military patrol was sent to the Embassy to protect it. Those who occupied the Embassy mistook the meaning of that military patrol. They received it with insults against the Chilean Army. They shouted offensive remarks regarding the prevailing situation. We can imagine the tone and the volume of the insults and the words spoken from the Cuban Embassy against the Chilean soldiers by merely listening to the tone and the violence of the representative of Cuba here. Those diplomats, those pseudo-diplomats, who were there obviously used even coarser and more vulgar language. As I said, the people in the Embassy mistook the meaning of that military patrol and insulted it. They shouted offensive remarks and went so far as repeatedly to fire

against the soldiers that were there specifically to protect them. Obviously, in the legitimate exercise of the right of self-defence, their shots were answered.

63. But this was not the only attack made from the Cuban Embassy. Next to the western fence of that mission are the tanks of drinking water that supply Santiago. On 11 September those reservoirs had to be protected to ensure that vital service for the public, and the soldiers who went to fulfil that mission were fired on from the wall that separated those reservoirs from the Cuban Embassy. Again, those shots had to be answered.

64. Therefore, there is a basic contradiction between the Cuban version and the Chilean version of the incident regarding the Embassy and I shall now prove to the Council that the Chilean is the true one.

65. When military authorities were informed of the attack on our soldiers, the Chief of Staff of the National Defence, Vice-Admiral Carvajal, decided immediately to communicate with the Ambassador of Cuba and did so by telephone. This is recognized in both Cuban letters, that of 12 and that of 13 September. It has also been admitted by the representative of Cuba in the dissertation we heard today, although he very carefully omitted a basic aspect of what the Cuban letters do say. The terms in which those two letters describe that telephone conversation are identical, and therefore the delegation of Cuba has twice given us the same proof. Undeniably, one is forced to conclude that the attack was launched from the Embassy of Cuba and answered by the Chilean forces.

66. Let us first of all inquire from whence this telephone call came. It was not the Ambassador of Cuba who made the telephone call. If his Embassy had been attacked he could, and he should, immediately have telephoned the Ministry of National Defence and complained. Had he received no answer, he could then have gone to the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, who would have had the ear of any of the authorities. It was not the Ambassador who made the phone call, and there is a specific reason for that too. He himself was seen shooting from one of the windows of the Embassy. Therefore he was very well aware of the fact that the firing had not been started by the Chilean soldiers. So what could he have lodged a complaint about?

67. On the other hand, Admiral Carvajal could immediately call the Ambassador and reproach him with the fact that the Cubans had started the attack, because he had nothing with which to reproach himself. I said that the two Cuban letters admitted this fact. After shamelessly stating that, on 11 September, the Chilean forces had fired against the Embassy, these letters add:

"hours later, at 3.30 p.m., Admiral Carvajal, alleging that shots had been fired from the Cuban Embassy at the forces surrounding it . . .".

This is the crucial part that the representative of Cuba overlooked. I repeat: "called the Cuban Ambassador, threatening to launch a vigorous attack on the Embassy." At the end of the phrase quoted it says the Admiral Carvajal threatened to launch a vigorous attack on the

Embassy. Now, if the armed forces of Chile had started the firing, there would be no reasonable explanation for the Admiral's having made that threat. He who threatens announces something he proposes to do, but not something he has already done. It is obvious that he who has struck the first blow does not threaten. Then it is also obvious that if Admiral Carvajal threatened that he would attack the Embassy, it was because the Chilean forces had not attacked before.

68. The Cuban letters, in the text that I quoted before, state that Admiral Carvajal called the Cuban Ambassador "alleging that shots had been fired from the Cuban Embassy at the forces surrounding it". That is very curious. Why did the Cuban representative drop that sentence? He mentioned the telephone conversation, but skipped this phrase. Why? There is a reason for that silence. There is a reason for that omission.

69. Those letters inform us that, of the two gentlemen who were speaking on the telephone, only one told the other that he had been fired upon, and he was Admiral Carvajal. The Cuban Ambassador made no complaint whatsoever. He had not gone to any authority to allege that his Embassy had been attacked. Now he had the Chief of Staff of the National Defence of Chile on the phone and again he did not say that his Embassy had been attacked. Is it therefore conceivable that, if the Chilean forces had in fact been the aggressors, he would not have said this immediately to the Chief of Staff?

70. Furthermore, there is something even more conclusive in the Cuban account of this part of the telephone conversation. According to the oft-mentioned letters, Admiral Carvajal began by confronting the Cuban Ambassador with the fact that shots had been fired against a Chilean patrol from the Cuban Embassy. This is a most serious statement, coming from a high military authority to the representative of a foreign country. Had it been false, it would have been rejected out of hand. But the Cuban Ambassador did not deny it. Therefore from his silence we can gather that he tacitly admitted that the people in his Embassy had been the first to fire.

71. The comments I have made will, I am sure, allow the members of the Security Council to cast an eye over the events denounced, sift the truth and realize that those denunciations can be rejected.

72. With regard to the ship *Playa Larga*, that case had been submitted in fragmentary fashion by the Cuban delegation. We are now in possession of all the background facts. They lead to the inevitable conclusion that Chile did not violate the right of freedom of navigation. What Chile did was use the right of hot pursuit against a ship that had been in a Chilean port, subject to Chilean jurisdiction and, mocking the Chilean law of navigation, violating the orders received from the port authorities and absconding with Chilean goods, had weighed anchor and set sail.

73. The right of hot pursuit exercised by Chile, as I am sure is well known to the members of the Security Council, comes from article 23 of the Convention on the high seas²

² *Ibid.*, vol. 450, p. 82.

and applies when the authority of the coastal State has good reason to believe that a ship has violated the laws and regulations of that State. In the present case, not only had we good reason to believe that such a violation had been committed by the *Playa Larga*, but we were and are absolutely sure that that was the case. Furthermore, within the very cargo of the ship is the best proof of the violation committed. There are 8,000 tons of sugar and a quantity of equipment that belonged to a Chilean firm. Therefore it is obvious that this question of the *Playa Larga* is a matter that falls within the domestic jurisdiction of the State of Chile. It is the Chilean authority alone that must ensure obedience to its laws and judge those who violate them. Neither the Security Council nor any other organ of the United Nations can take up a matter of that nature. This is expressly prohibited by Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, which says: "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state". I trust that this provision will be respected by the Council.

74. With regard to the Cuban Embassy incident, the proof given in the two letters from the delegation of that country to the United Nations is sufficient to lead one to the conclusion that, of the two different versions mentioned here, the Chilean is the true one. Therefore, with the best grounds it can be stated that it was from the Cuban Embassy in Santiago that the first shots were fired on 11 September and that the Chilean soldiers only fired back in exercise of their right of self-defence. Therefore it is Cuba and not Chile that violated the Purposes and Principles of the Charter and other capital tenets of international law. This incident lies outside the purview of the Security Council. Article 34 of the Charter calls upon the Council to investigate any dispute or any situation which, if continued, would be likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. Therefore two conditions have to be fulfilled at the same time for the Council to be allowed to carry out an investigation. The situation or dispute complained about must first of all be present and, secondly, it must threaten or endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. In the incident that occurred around the Cuban Embassy at Santiago neither of those two conditions is fulfilled. It is an event of the past. It is a matter that is over, that is finished. It has not continued and it could not possibly continue, because, as I said before, in Chile today there is not a single Cuban diplomat, and the Cuban Embassy has been left in the care of the Swedish Government. Furthermore, that incident in no way threatened the maintenance of international peace and security. It did not represent that danger when it occurred, when feelings were high and when the Chilean soldiers were facing the Cuban sharpshooters. Therefore, it could hardly now, after having taken place, still endanger international peace and security. Furthermore, this is proved by the passage of days when calm had been re-established and when conditions had been set up that made it physically and materially impossible for a recurrence of such a confrontation.

75. That the incident around its Embassy in Santiago gave insufficient grounds for a Security Council meeting to be called was known and is known well by the delegation of

Cuba. That is why—and I am going to repeat certain views that I expressed at the beginning of my statement—at first, Cuba did not ask for a meeting of the Council. It did not ask for an investigation of anything. It merely asked that its libel be circulated to members of the permanent missions. That is why, when it finally decided to call for a meeting of the Council, despite all the facts, it placed under a magnifying glass those events that it had previously mentioned and it freely drew on its imagination to make them even more serious. Then, as we saw, what had been a mere wound became a serious wound. Today the Cuban representative called it a very serious wound. What had been simply referred to as a harassment became a harassment with shell-fire and, thus, what had previously been referred to as sporadic shots became bursts of machine-gun fire.

76. On this farcical and imaginative story rests the accusation that is distracting the attention of the Security Council. There cannot be, behind such a request, any desire to strengthen international peace and security, which Chile will never threaten. There is another end in view. The Council is to be used as a sounding-box for political propaganda, to revive animosities, to divide and polarize the States Members into positions that are increasingly antagonistic—in other words, to use the Council precisely to create those conditions that will in fact endanger international peace and security, which the Council is called upon to maintain. Since we in Chile know that the Council will not become a party to this farce, we trust that it will reject the Cuban complaint in all its parts.

77. Mr. PEREZ de CUELLAR (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, may I first of all express the pleasure of my delegation at seeing you preside over the Security Council, not only because you represent a country with which Peru enjoys such close relations, but because we are convinced that your experience and skill qualify you exceptionally well to direct our work. I could also not fail to mention the appreciation of my delegation to Ambassador Scali for the wise, impartial and efficient way in which he presided over the Council during the month of August.

78. It would be redundant to stress here the interest and concern with which the people and Government of Peru have followed the events that have recently taken place in Chile, a country that is an immediate neighbour of my own, and with which we share close and permanent ties. But I must emphasize the fact that that interest and that concern have been based, and will so remain, upon the most rigorous respect for the principle of non-intervention in domestic affairs, in keeping with the juridical tradition of Latin America and, more specifically, with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The President of the Republic, General Velasco Alvarado, after expressing his feelings over the tragic death of the President of Chile, Salvador Allende, made this point very clear. He said:

"We do not interfere in the domestic affairs of any State, nor will we allow any type of foreign intervention in problems whose solution is the concern of Peruvians."

79. We have taken careful note of the letters from the representative of Cuba of 12 and 13 September /S/10993

and S/10995/ and of the letter from the representative of Chile of 15 September [S/10997], regarding the attacks, on the one hand, that have been suffered by Cuban diplomats accredited to Chile and, on the other hand, by the Cuban merchant vessel *Playa Larga*. We have also very carefully listened to the statements just made by the representatives of Chile and Cuba.

80. It is with a sense of true satisfaction and relief that we have noted that all the Cuban diplomats have now, without further hindrance, left Chilean territory, and that the ship, *Playa Larga*, has already left the coast of Chile. I must, however, state that if both attacks were to be confirmed, my delegation would profoundly regret them, since that would mean that practices that have been universally enshrined because of their benefits as part of peaceful coexistence among nations had been violated.

81. I must also state that my delegation has no further information on the matter, and that we believe this fact will not make it easy for the Council to pronounce itself. We do trust that this meeting will clarify matters and ensure the preservation of principles of international law to which we all attribute so much importance and usefulness.

82. Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Before making a statement on the substance of the matter before us I should like, Mr. President, to congratulate you heartily on your assumption of the distinguished and responsible post of President of the Security Council.

83. The Council has met today to consider an important political question which is directly related to the maintenance of peace and security, namely the question of hostile acts committed against the Embassy of the Republic of Cuba at Santiago by the military junta which has overthrown the legally elected Government.

84. Members of the Council have just heard a highly important and convincing statement by the representative of the Republic of Cuba, Ambassador Alarcón. In his statement, he cited many persuasive facts concerning hostile and terrorist acts—acts intolerable under international law—committed by armed insurgents under the direction of the military junta, against the Embassy of Cuba, against its staff and against Cuban citizens in Chile, and also concerning a simultaneous attack, in international waters, by Chilean military aircraft and warships, on the peaceful Cuban merchant vessel *Playa Larga*.

85. The explanations we have heard here and the totally lame attempts to justify the attacks on the Embassy and on a peaceable vessel in international waters, are quite unconvincing and unsubstantiated. Accumulating slanderous and unsubstantiated statements hostile to the Republic of Cuba cannot conceal the perfectly obvious fact that an attack took place on the Embassy of a sovereign State—the Republic of Cuba—and that a peaceable merchant vessel in international waters was attacked and fired upon. However that might be justified, under whatever far-fetched pretexts the Security Council's attention might be distracted from those facts, they speak fully for themselves. Some of the reasoning used here has been simply laughable. Can anyone

be serious in talking of a handful of Cuban Embassy staff attacking the Chilean army? Something has even been said here about an attack by the Cuban army. Perhaps that was a slip of the tongue: we did not understand what was meant by Cuban army. As far as we know there is no part of the Cuban army in Chile.

86. If we review the events which recently took place in connexion with the attack on the Embassy of the Republic of Cuba, we shall have no hesitation in reaching the conclusion stated by the representative of Cuba in his speech, namely, that the military junta's acts which he described were a gross violation of the elementary norms of international law.

87. The facts are that the Cuban Embassy was besieged and fired upon by armed detachments of insurgents despite, and in violation of, the elementary norms, customs and practice of international law and international relations. Moreover, the siege and the firing continued for more than 24 hours on 11 and 12 September. During the firing, a member of the Embassy's diplomatic staff, Mr. Luis Fariás, was wounded. The unrestrained soldiers even opened fire on the Cuban Ambassador, Mr. Mario García Incháustegui, who was wounded in the arm, and also on a Counsellor of the Embassy, Mr. Luis Fernández Oña. The Cuban diplomats were ordered to leave Chile immediately; they were not even granted the usual period of time required in accordance with the norms of international law for completing their business, making preparations to leave and authorizing another embassy to defend Cuba's interests.

88. No one can deny that such hostile acts by the Chilean militarists against a foreign embassy representing a country entertaining diplomatic relations with Chile constitute an act of armed attack and international high-handedness unprecedented in modern diplomatic practice. Moreover, as we have heard, the attack was carried out by units of the regular army. Of course, this flagrantly illegal and cynical act cannot be equated with any other cases in which foreign embassies or individual diplomats have been attacked by irresponsible individuals or groups of terrorists. This is quite another matter. This is an attack by a regular army on the Embassy of a sovereign State. It is an inadmissible and glaring violation of the principles and purposes of the United Nations and of universally recognized norms of international law, as contained, first and foremost, in the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations.

89. I should like to recall that article 22 of that Convention—which, I may point out, has been ratified by Chile—states that “the premises of the mission shall be inviolable” and that “the agents of the receiving State may not enter them, except with the consent of the head of the mission”. Article 22 also provides that “the receiving State is under a special duty to take all appropriate steps to protect the premises of the mission against any intrusion or damage and to prevent any disturbance of the peace of the mission or impairment of its dignity”. Furthermore, article 29 of the Convention lays down the inviolability of the person of a diplomatic agent. It contains a provision to the effect that:

“The person of a diplomatic agent shall be inviolable. He shall not be liable to any form of arrest or detention.

The receiving State shall treat him with due respect and shall take all appropriate steps to prevent any attack on his person, freedom or dignity.”

90. The Chilean military junta's gross violations of these provisions of the Vienna Convention are quite blatant. They are all the more pernicious, regrettable and inadmissible at the present time when, as a result of the constant efforts of all progressive and peace-loving forces, led by the community of socialist countries, the trend towards general détente in relations between States is constantly increasing. The non-aligned countries are also making a considerable contribution to these efforts towards détente. I have no doubt that the decisions of the recent Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Algiers will have a significant positive effect on further détente in the world and its extension to all regions and all aspects of international life. An important contribution to the noble cause of the non-aligned movement was made by the Popular Unity Government of Chile, headed by President Salvador Allende, a courageous fighter for the Chilean revolution, democracy and peace and an inflexible fighter for the independence of the peoples of Latin America.

91. The provocative, impudent and intrinsically aggressive actions of the Chilean junta against the Cuban Embassy and the severing of diplomatic relations with Cuba run counter to those positive trends in international relations. Those acts conflict with the interests of the peoples of all Latin American countries and, primarily, the people of Chile itself. They constitute a direct challenge by the forces of reaction and regression to the forces of democracy, and also to the progress achieved in international relations.

92. The delegation of the USSR fully supports Cuba's appeal to the Security Council on this matter, and believes that the Council should strongly condemn the hostile acts of the Chilean armed forces against the Cuban Embassy and its staff, as a gross violation of accepted norms of international law and a direct violation of the spirit and the letter of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations. The Council should also adopt appropriate statements of principle to prevent such illegal hostile acts from occurring in international relations in the future.

93. The Soviet delegation hopes that the delegations of other countries which are members of the Security Council and which have in the past expressed their concern for the safety of diplomatic missions and their staff, will adopt a similar position in this case.

94. Attempts have been made here to cast doubt on the regularity of considering Cuba's complaint regarding the attack on its Embassy and other acts committed by Chilean armed forces. However, the attack on a foreign embassy being considered by the Council and the firing by armed forces on a merchant vessel in international waters constitute an extremely serious incident in the context of the modern system and practice of international relations. It is well known to all that, in the past, such actions have been regarded as *casus belli* and have led to military conflicts, troop landings, the dispatching of gunboats and even the initiation of hostilities by the State whose embassy or

diplomatic staff had been subjected to force or attacked. There have also been well-known cases in which certain countries, under the pretext of ensuring the security of their embassies and their citizens—and even in cases where such a threat did not in fact exist—sent their troops on to the territory of other States.

95. The Republic of Cuba, which is a Member of the United Nations, is in the present case acting strictly in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. It has appealed to the Security Council and expects the Council to adopt suitable measures. That is the conduct of a peace-loving State which is guided by the Charter and which opposes high-handedness in international relations.

96. The hostile act against the Cuban Embassy and its staff is a reflection and a logical continuation of the bloody terror perpetrated by the forces of Chilean reaction in their country after overthrowing the Government headed by Salvador Allende, who had been elected President of the Republic in accordance with the Constitution and as a result of the free expression of the will of the people.

97. The Soviet people's feelings of profound and friendly solidarity with the people of Chile in their hour of difficulty were expressed, in the name of all Soviet people, in a statement concerning the military coup in Chile issued on 13 September 1973 by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The statement stressed that the overthrow of the Government of Salvador Allende had been the culminating point of the subversive activities of the forces of Chilean reaction, supported by external imperialist forces. It also said:

“The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union strongly condemns the actions of the reactionary forces in Chile, their flouting of democratic institutions and constitutional norms, their sinister plans to suppress progressive parties and organizations. . . .

“The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union expresses its firm conviction that no repression or terror can break the will of the people or block the path of economic and social progress.”

98. With regard to the Soviet Union and its relations with the countries of Latin America, the delegation of the USSR in the Security Council feels it essential to stress in particular that those relations are based on the strict observance of the principles of equality of rights, mutual respect, sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs.

99. Mr. BOYD (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I should like to be among the first to express to you the satisfaction of my delegation at seeing you preside over the work of the Council for the month of September. The respect and admiration that we have for you in the United Nations is very great because of the valuable contribution that you have made in its various organs. We Latin Americans also wish to acknowledge in particular the special interest that you have always taken in matters concerning us.

100. Panama, from the very outset, agreed when the Chargé d'affaires of Cuba, Mr. Teófilo Acosta, requested

our delegation's support for the calling of an urgent meeting of the Security Council in order to examine the "serious acts committed by the Armed Forces of Chile [S/10995] against Cuban diplomats and a Cuban ship during the armed strife that culminated in the overthrow of President Salvador Allende. Cuba contents that "the situation created by such acts constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security" [ibid.].

101. The events submitted by the Cuban delegation are the following:

(a) On the afternoon of 11 September the premises of the Cuban Embassy at Santiago, Chile, was fired upon, as a result of which Mr. Luis Farías, a diplomatic official of that Embassy, was seriously wounded;

(b) On that same day, the Cuban merchant vessel *Playa Larga* was attacked on the high seas by the Chilean Air Force and Navy and considerable damage was inflicted;

(c) When the chief of the mission, Ambassador Mario García Incháustegui, was standing with other officials at the door of the Embassy, bursts of fire were directed at them, fortunately harming nobody.

102. After the denunciation by Cuba, the new Government of Chile broke diplomatic relations with Cuba and, on 12 September, requested the Ambassador and the entire diplomatic mission of Cuba to leave Santiago immediately; all members of the diplomatic mission of Cuba left Chile by air on 13 September and arrived at Havana on the same day.

103. Even though the imminent danger has disappeared, in view of the circumstances and the information before us, Panama condemns the attack on the Cuban Embassy in Chile and considers it an act that violates the precepts set forth in the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations. Likewise, Panama condemns the attack on the merchant vessel *Playa Larga*, since we consider that that act also violates the norms of international law which are recognized by all States.

104. Because of the fraternal relations that have linked Panama with Chile, we are sincerely moved by the events that have taken place in the sister nation. But from this high tribune we shall not speak of what has occurred in Chile, since we are strong advocates of the principle of non-intervention in the internal political affairs of other States. As we do not allow intruders to interfere in matters that fall within the purview of the Panamanians, we also cannot interfere in the domestic problems of other countries, however close the ties that link us.

105. We are deeply moved by the death of President Allende, a man who always identified himself with the aspirations of the Panamanian people for effective sovereignty over the Panama Canal Zone and a man whom I had the honour to meet in this chamber last year. General Omar Torrijos, the head of the Government of Panama, in a message that was published in the world press, lamented the tragic death of the Chilean President as follows:

"Allende immolated himself for the social liberation of his country and of all Latin America.

"The tragic death of President Salvador Allende has deeply moved me. Allende offered me a cordial friendship and my people will always acknowledge and express appreciation for the support that he gave to our claim over the Panama Canal Zone.

"Allende was an idealist and a great patriot and he has died valiantly. He devoted his life to the service of Chile and all Latin America. He loved his people and was ever consistent in his social and democratic principles."

106. Mr. Allende fought for what he believed to be the best for his people and he died a hero, giving an example of dignity to those cowardly outsiders who, when in difficult situations, flee from their country and continue elsewhere to enjoy the good life.

107. The National Assembly of Representatives of the Republic of Panama pronounced itself on the drama of Chile in the form of a resolution which stressed our solidarity "with the Chilean patriots that preferred death rather than to lower the flag of the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggle".

108. The *Estrella de Panamá*, the oldest national newspaper, in its editorial of 14 September, expressed the following feelings:

"It is to be hoped that the great civic reserves of the Chilean nation will overcome this period of crisis and confusion and that from the deep sorrows that follow on national discord, there will emerge the new purposes and motives for the reconstruction of a nation without hatred, drawing inspiration from the heritage of its founding fathers and heroes and more firmly convinced of its democratic mission and its struggle for economic and social liberation."

109. We trust that the military junta that governs Chile will respect the fundamental principles of co-existence contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the principles of territorial asylum and the rules governing political refugees, and that it will seek formulas for national unity that will give rebirth to the faith of the people in their institutions and thus avoid the tragedy of a civil war.

110. We express our most fervent hopes that, as soon as possible, the noble Chilean people will be able to leave behind this period of sorrow and suffering.

111. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): Before commenting on the question now under consideration by the Security Council, I should like to take this opportunity to express profound condolences for the death of President Salvador Allende. We have learned of his death with deep sorrow and indignation. He died a martyr at his post. When he was alive, the great President Allende made positive efforts for the struggle of the Chilean people to safeguard national independence and State sovereignty and for the promotion of the friendship between the Chinese and Chilean peoples and the cause of unity of the third-world countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism. His lofty aspirations will live for ever in people's minds. We believe that the heroic death of

President Salvador Allende will arouse the Chilean people to draw a lesson from the recent tragic event and continue to march ahead. The path may be winding but the prospects of the world are surely bright.

112. The Chinese delegation has listened carefully to the speeches made by the representative of Cuba and some other countries. It can be seen from the statements that have been made to the effect that, during the military coup d'état in Chile, the Cuban Embassy in Chile and a Cuban merchant vessel were subjected to gross attacks by the coup d'état forces of Chile. These acts committed by the coup d'état forces of Chile are obviously in violation of international practice. The Chinese delegation cannot but express concern and regret at the occurrence of the above incident.

113. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

114. Mr. ASHTAL (Democratic Yemen): Mr. President, it is indeed a pleasure to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. With your vast experience, your wisdom and skill, you will certainly guide the deliberations of this august body with great efficiency. In your capacity as the Ambassador of Socialist Yugoslavia, a founding member of the non-aligned movement and a country with which the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen enjoys the best of cordial relations, I should like to welcome you and to pledge my delegation's co-operation under your leadership.

115. Before I comment on the item under consideration, allow me, Sir, to thank the members of the Council for giving me this opportunity to address the Council.

116. The Security Council has before it a letter from the Revolutionary Government of Cuba to the effect that the military authorities in Chile violated norms of international law, particularly the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, by threatening to launch a vigorous attack on the Cuban Embassy in Chile and by firing shots at the premises of the Cuban Embassy resulting in the wounding of a Cuban diplomat, Luis Farías. The Chilean Navy and Air Force also violated international rules of navigation by shooting at the Cuban merchant vessel *Playa Larga* while it was sailing in international waters.

117. My delegation has had time to examine the reply of the representative of Chile, who rejected the Cuban charges as being false. It may be convenient for him to refute the authenticity of the Cuban charges, in view of the predominance of reports by certain biased news media—and for very well known reasons. One of the first tasks performed by the military junta in Chile, after murdering President Allende, was to strangle and murder the democratic process which he had upheld with dignity and honour. All news media—and especially those which were anti-Fascist and anti-imperialist—were virtually silenced by the uproar of bullets and bombs. Censorship was imposed on all news agencies except the Associated Press and, to a lesser extent, the United Press International. Whatever news has been

disseminated from Chile by those chosen agencies must certainly have been to the taste and the convenience of the military clique in Chile and therefore greatly biased.

118. It is in the light of this situation that my delegation cannot doubt the sincerity of the Cuban charges and can only strongly denounce these grave acts of lawlessness.

119. Seen from a different perspective, the latest developments in Chile raise a number of serious questions regarding the independence, sovereignty and welfare of those developing countries which follow an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist policy. In the era of the United Nations, where outright colonialism and foreign occupation are condemnable and utterly unacceptable, the role of neo-colonialism and economic aggression has assumed far-reaching dimensions. The Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly have repeatedly acknowledged that the natural resources of any one State can only be disposed of by that State and in its best interests. Yet, the multinational corporations and international cartels, which are the pawns of neo-colonialism, are extending their tentacles to the developing countries in a mission of economic plunder and political interference.

120. In his address to the General Assembly on 4 December 1972, the democratically elected President of Chile, the late Salvador Allende, said:

"We not only are enduring a financial blockade, but also are the victims of downright aggression. Two companies belonging to the hard core of the great transnational enterprises, namely, the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation [ITT] and the Kennecott Copper Corporation . . . proposed to manage our political life.

"A gigantic corporation . . . the ITT launched a sinister plan to prevent me from acceding to the Presidency just as soon as the people's triumph in the September 1970 elections became known.

"Between September and November of that year in my country terrorist activities took place which were planned outside our frontiers in collusion with internal Fascist groups. . . .

...

"In July 1972 the world was shocked to learn the details of a new plan of action which the ITT itself presented to the United States Government, a plan aimed at overthrowing my Government within a period of six months. . . . The objectives of the plan included strangling the country's economy, diplomatic sabotage, sowing panic among the population and fomenting social disorder so that the Government would, it was hoped, lose control of the situation and the armed forces would be impelled to break the democratic system and impose a dictatorship.

"...

"Before the conscience of the world I accuse the ITT of attempting to bring about civil war in my country, the

greatest possible source of disintegration of a country. That is what we call imperialist intervention."³

121. The ITT plan did not materialize in exactly six months, but in the early hours of 12 September the prophetic words of Salvador Allende came true. The United States-made bullets replaced the Chilean ballots, and the very promoters of capitalist democracy and their multinational corporations received the news with great and deep relief. One senior official in the United States State Department said: "We will have to work with the generals and it makes no sense to issue some moral statements about democracy."

122. Whatever the case may be, small countries like my own must learn an unforgettable lesson from the Chilean experience. In anticipation of such a catastrophe, my Government has already rid our country of the reactionary and fascist generals whose interests are in total contradiction with the interests of our heroic masses.

123. In his statement to a United Nations panel on the role of multinational corporations, Professor Osvaldo Sunkel said the other day:

"The Chilean experiment has ended with a catastrophic collapse of its economic and political systems—and the dramatic personal sacrifice of its leader, and many of his followers. The conclusion for us here seems to be that it is not possible to try to restructure relations of dependence between under-developed countries and the transnational capitalist system in a peaceful way."

My delegation can only concur with Professor Sunkel's conclusion and add that this Council has a responsibility to examine the disruptive role of multinational corporations in Chile and elsewhere.

124. It should be noted that multinational corporations do not operate in a vacuum. They are encouraged, subsidized sometimes and defended by imperialist States, which should also be held responsible for the economic and political disruption of the developing countries such as the one that took place in Chile. About the disruptive role of those corporations, Jack Anderson wrote in *The Washington Post* of 28 March 1972:

"ITT directs its intelligence operations, security system and foreign service. It deals with foreign Governments at the highest levels—often through former political leaders, cabinet ministers and intelligence officers."

In the same article entitled "ITT Hope of Ousting Allende Remote", Jack Anderson wrote:

"ITT hoped for military intervention in 1970 to block Allende's election. We have published confidential memos which reveal that the giant conglomerate was prepared to spend millions of dollars promoting economic collapse in Chile to force a military coup. The memos show that the

Central Intelligence Agency co-operated with ITT in planning this economic sabotage."

The involvement of the CIA in the economic disruption of Chile only serves to show the intimate relationship and identical interests of both the giant corporations and the States from which they operate.

125. What is at stake now is the safety of about 10,000 political refugees who fled from the dictatorial régimes of their respective countries and who found in Marxist Chile a safe haven. Reports have it that the military junta in Santiago will forcibly deport them to their respective countries. The Council is asked to intervene on their behalf and to see to it that their human rights are absolutely upheld in accordance with international law and morality.

126. It is pertinent to reiterate here the resolution of the Fourth Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in support of the struggle of the Chilean people to safeguard their independence. Article 56 of the Political Declaration of that Conference said:

"The Conference hails the Government and people of Chile, who in their struggle to consolidate their independence and build a new society are facing the combined aggression of reaction and imperialism. It expresses its solidarity with Chile in its efforts to achieve the economic and social transformations already started, to avoid civil war and preserve its national unity."

127. My Government adheres to this article and fully supports the heroic people of Chile in its struggle against the combined aggression of reaction and imperialism. We also hail the Popular Unity Government of Chile and its late President Allende and pledge our support for the Chilean people in its efforts to consolidate their independence and build a new society.

128. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United States in exercise of his right of reply.

129. Mr. SCALI (United States of America): Mr. President, I wish first of all to thank you and those of my colleagues who have been kind enough to address compliments to me personally.

130. I fully agree with you and with our Indian colleague, in your pleas for order in this Chamber. I deplore bad manners and commend the Security Council for its prompt action whenever it seeks to restore order. I hope no further disturbances will occur to trouble our deliberations.

131. I cannot fail to note, however, that our Indian colleague is somewhat selective in expressing his concern for the dignity of Security Council proceedings. During the meetings of this Council elsewhere, a few months ago, I did not hear him express similar sentiments when our deliberations were repeatedly interrupted by demonstrations from the public gallery. In this matter consistency is more becoming than selective judgement.

132. Using offensive rhetoric, the Cuban representative has attempted to outdo, with his usual intemperance

³ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings, 2096th meeting, paras. 36, 37, 38, 40 and 45.

invective, the repressive actions of the undemocratic and repressive régime that he represents. Let us examine just a few of the words that he has used: "Animals wearing military uniforms", "Fascists", "common murderers", "pirates", "outlaws", "seamy scum". I submit that this is language perhaps more familiar in some climates than it is in the dignity of this Chamber. In a way I feel I ought to be able to give more credence to his words. Certainly the representative of Cuba qualifies as an expert on terror and an expert on violent repression of the popular will. There are none present who will fail to recall his master's flaunting, in 1959, the massacres at the wall and the mass imprisonments.

133. I shall not presume to reply to those parts of the Cuban representative's speech which were directed against others. I shall refrain from doing so even though the bulk of his speech was in violation of his solemn undertaking, transmitted to us through the President of the Security Council, to speak only on the issue he falsely used as a pretext for perverting the Council to partisan propaganda purposes.

134. I will denounce his savage attacks on my Government. He has honoured us with lie after lie. I consider it a badge of honour to be a target of lies from that source.

135. My delegation has been second to none in seeking international action for the protection of diplomats. My delegation has been second to none in supporting the rule of law in international affairs. My delegation came to this table fully prepared to seek positive action in these areas if such action were required of the Security Council. I deeply regret that the Cuban letters to the Council have proved as false as the Cuban representative's oral presentations.

136. Finally, I only wish he could be more inventive or interesting in his ancient litany of accusations. Surely, somewhere in Cuba, there must be a new speech writer he can turn to. Again he resurrects the hoary old accusation that, of course, the CIA, the United States or some secret American mastermind is at the root of all this. It is playing the same old record with the same old result: "the CIA, the CIA . . .". Next it will be blamed for creating the traffic problem in New York, arranging the results of football games, or, even worse for his Government, having secretly written the Bible.

137. Lastly—and perhaps he has not noticed this—there is a new spirit of peace and accommodation, of friendship and agreement blowing throughout the world today. I suggest that he examine whether one of its main sources is Washington or Havana. Even he might recognize the truth of this historic development.

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

139. Mr. SEN (India): I do not know whether one may exercise one's right of reply on points of order. I raised a point of order in support of you, Sir, and forcefully lent my delegation's support to your ruling. Nor is it my intention to give a lesson on manners to the public or to anybody else. I was concerned only with the proper conduct of the Council's affairs, of which you are custodian first and foremost and in which we support you. Consistency is to be judged not merely by a logical process but also on the basis of what is tolerable and what is not. We are all human beings. When there were disturbances in Panama and elsewhere, the President ruled against them and we supported him. In my statement I said that never to my knowledge had such a demonstration taken place in the Security Council. I leave it to those who lose sight of degrees of tolerance to judge the matter for themselves.

140. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Cuba, who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

141. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I do not intend to tax the patience of the members of the Council at such a late hour, but I should like to say that we shall ask to be allowed to exercise our right of reply at the next meeting. However, regarding the statement of the representative of the United States, I should like very briefly to say that my delegation has previously had occasion to refer to that Philistine spirit that is concerned over words spoken in Council meetings, forgetting that the world and peoples are more concerned over facts and that all those expressions he describes as invective and insulting could still not suffice to describe the situation. I recall what my Foreign Minister told this same Ambassador in Panama—that many years ago the Bible had taught us that that which was spoken in darkness would one day be proclaimed from the rooftops.

142. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Panama, who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

143. Mr. BOYD (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): If the representative of the United States of America was referring to the meetings in Panama when he hinted that, at meetings of the Council in other places, orderly behaviour had not been observed, I must inform him that a number of correspondents of foreign newspapers covering the meetings in Panama attested to the fact that they were held and presided over in perfect order, and that there was never heard from the public gallery any expression against the right enjoyed by the representative of the United States to make known his views.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.

كيفية الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة

يمكن الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع أنحاء العالم . استعلم عنها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها أو اكتب إلى : الأمم المتحدة ، قسم البيع في نيويورك أو في جنيف .

如何购取联合国出版物

联合国出版物在全世界各地的书店和经售处均有发售。请向书店询问或写信到纽约或日内瓦的联合国销售组。

HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre libraire ou adressez-vous à : Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o diríjase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.
