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*President:* Mr. Edvard HAMBRO (Norway).

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. YOST (United States of America): It is my privilege to extend to you once again the warm congratulations of the United States delegation on your election to the Presidency of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Your country has few peers in the contributions it has made to the work of this Organization. Your father was a leader in the League of Nations, and now, in this session of the General Assembly, you are adding a new chapter in the family tradition. In the United Nations community we have long known you as an able spokesman of your country, as a participant in the life of the United Nations from its very beginning and an authority on the Charter, as a leading scholar and practitioner in international law, and as one whose personal outlook is strongly humanitarian and imbued with hope and determination for a better future. We are indeed fortunate to have you to lead us in this session devoted to the strengthening and improvement of the United Nations.

2. During this session we shall commemorate with fitting ceremony one of the most creative and hopeful events of this century, the founding of the United Nations twenty-five years ago. It is right that this commemoration should be held. It is far more important, however, that the nations gathered at this session should so act together as to strengthen the United Nations for the future, to ensure that we are closer to "peace, justice and progress" five, ten and twenty-five years hence than we are today. The world is unlikely to care much what we say about the past. It will care a great deal what we do about the future.

3. The problems the world faces today are no less grave than those it faced twenty-five years ago. Indeed they are in many respects far graver. Unless and until

the Members of the United Nations demonstrate their willingness to deal effectively with these problems, the confidence of the world's peoples in the United Nations will remain uncertain and precarious.

4. In the view of the United States, the most critical international problem today is the same as that which faced the founders of the United Nations: the need to build a reliable framework for peace and security among nations. As President Nixon said in this Assembly a year ago: ". . . there is no nobler destiny, nor any greater gift that one age could make to the ages that follow, than to forge the key to a lasting peace". [1755th meeting, para. 45.]

5. In this conviction the United States has sought in the last two years to frame foreign policies which would help to make the international scene less destructively competitive, less strident, more co-operative and orderly. We have sought, in the spirit of the Charter, to pursue peaceful settlement of all conflicts and confrontations, and we have urged others to do likewise.

6. The most significant of these efforts has been the strategic arms limitation discussions between my country and the Soviet Union. If at last we can check the nuclear arms race, the world will have been helped to move away from its gravest danger and toward new and more rational relationships.

7. The United States also seeks, through a process of serious negotiation, to ease the tensions that arise from the division of Europe. We have welcomed the efforts of the Federal Republic of Germany to normalize relations with its eastern neighbours; we are seeking in four-Power talks to assure the security and well-being of the residents of Berlin; we have joined our NATO allies in proposing exploratory talks on the reduction of forces in central Europe. We hope these efforts will find the Soviet Union and its allies forthcoming.

8. In Viet-Nam, over eighteen months ago, the United States reversed the trend in American involvement in the war. We began a steady, uninterrupted reduction in the number of our troops. We have made a negotiated peace our highest priority. Although North Viet-Nam has as yet shown no serious intention to negotiate a solution under which the South Viet-Nameese people can freely decide their own future, this remains our goal and we shall not be discouraged in seeking it.

9. My Government has likewise sought ways to move toward a constructive relationship with mainland China. To this end, we have taken a number of unilat-

eral steps to ease tensions. We are ready at any time to resume the talks in Warsaw.

10. Finally, nowhere in the world today is there more urgent need to move from confrontation to negotiation than in the Middle East. The legacy of bitterness, hatred and suspicion there contains the seeds of even greater tragedy not only for the Middle East but for the world, unless there is early progress toward reconciliation and peace based on the legitimate interests of all the States and peoples of the region.

11. As the United Nations community well knows, the United States has made major diplomatic efforts in recent months and weeks to help bring about peace at long last in the Middle East. While recent developments in the area, including the tragic death of President Nasser, have cast a shadow over the high hopes of just a few weeks ago that a beginning toward that goal had been made, those hopes have not been extinguished. For the most part, the guns remain silent along the cease-fire lines. Security Council resolution 242 (1967) stands as a beacon pointing the way to peace, and the parties concerned, in accepting the United States initiative of June, have committed themselves to carry out that resolution in all its parts. Ambassador Jarring is ready to resume his mission whenever conditions permit. We earnestly hope that the parties themselves and all others concerned will now bend every effort to the task of building on the beginning that has already been made.

12. This will require above all serious steps to restore and strengthen confidence in the integrity of the cease-fire and military standstill agreement along the Suez Canal. It will also require, if negotiations are to move forward, a willingness by the parties to move from their maximum positions on the elements of a realistic and equitable peace settlement. In this spirit, my Government is prepared to contribute to renewed efforts toward peace in the Middle East.

13. In this anniversary year the United States, like many other Members, has given especially careful thought to means by which the United Nations can be better enabled to fulfil its purposes.

14. My delegation has listened, and will continue to listen attentively, to the suggestions of others in this regard. In the same spirit the United States will offer proposals, or support the proposals of others, with these objectives among others: first, to put United Nations peace-keeping operations on a firmer and more reliable basis; second, to make the United Nations more effective in the peaceful settlement of disputes; third, to promote new steps in the field of disarmament; fourth, to move closer by peaceful means to the goals of decolonization and human equality; fifth, to support the Second Development Decade; sixth, to help slow down too rapid rates of population growth; seventh, to promote the exploitation of the sea-beds and outer space for human benefit; eighth, to organize common action within the United Nations to safeguard the global environment; ninth, to encourage young people from all parts of the world to devote themselves to interna-

tional service; tenth, to improve the organization, administration and procedures of the United Nations.

15. If the twenty-fifth General Assembly were to move forward substantially in these directions, this session would indeed rank as one of the most fruitful in United Nations history.

16. Let me now comment briefly on these points.

17. We shall all of us on this podium and in the First Committee have much to say during this session about strengthening international peace and security, and about the need to live up to the Charter. This is quite proper. However, what is needed most in this respect is not still more sweeping declarations that merely restate the purposes and principles of the Charter. What is needed is more effective United Nations action on the concrete issues before us, on the Middle East, on United Nations peace-keeping procedures, on means of pacific settlement. Until we demonstrate our willingness to take such effective action, world opinion will continue to be sceptical, no matter what ringing declarations we may make, as to whether the Members of the United Nations are really serious about strengthening international peace and security.

18. I now come to a subject which should be at the very centre of our concern if we wish in fact to strengthen peace and security through the United Nations. I speak of United Nations peace-keeping.

19. Because the world situation in the past twenty-five years developed differently from what the founders of the United Nations foresaw, it has not been found possible to create forces for the maintenance of international peace and security along the lines laid down in certain articles of Chapter VII. We would hope that at some point the provisions of the Charter designed for enforcement action can be implemented.

20. In the meantime, however, a *modus vivendi* has been built up, entirely consistent with the Charter, which has carried out significant and successful peace-keeping operations, sometimes with observers, sometimes with substantial forces, in the Middle East, in Kashmir, in the Congo, in Cyprus and elsewhere. Still it is all too clear that these *ad hoc* and improvised arrangements need major improvement in several respects if future peace-keeping is to be effective.

21. The Assembly's Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, under the able and patient leadership of Ambassador Cuevas Cancino of Mexico, has been labouring for nearly two years at the task of developing peace-keeping guidelines. During the past year the United States has put forward concrete proposals for new procedures that would meet the political concerns of all and yet allow United Nations forces to move rapidly to carry out decisions of the Security Council. But the broad agreement that all desire is still lacking.

22. It is high time however that the General Assembly, in this twenty-fifth anniversary year,

demanded significant movement on this problem. It would be a mistake not to move at all until all are agreed to move all the way. There is strong reason and sufficient consensus for some forward movement at this Assembly. The United States will be prepared to join with others in concrete proposals to this effect.

23. In this connexion we welcome the statement made at Lusaka<sup>1</sup> in the Declaration of the non-aligned countries concerning the United Nations, that measures should be taken at this session of the General Assembly to strengthen United Nations peace-keeping, and we look forward with interest to proposals that may be made by those present at that meeting.

24. Of course, peace-keeping without peaceful settlement is only an expedient, necessary but incomplete and inconclusive. The most potent preventive of conflict is not machinery but the will of disputing parties to show restraint and a spirit of conciliation, and to persist in peaceful methods until settlement is reached. This is a solemn obligation of every United Nations Member under the Charter, and no nation deserves more honour than those who have lived up to it in spite of every obstacle.

25. In this past year such peaceful settlements, or major steps towards them, have been recorded in a number of situations which reflect great credit on the statesmanship of those involved. I have in mind, for example, the progress made, with the assistance of the Organization of American States, toward resolving the dispute between El Salvador and Honduras; and also the recent peaceful decision on the future of Bahrain, in which good offices provided by the Secretary-General played a major role.

26. As these cases show, where the will to settle exists, effective machinery can do much to help. This is true of regional organizations, and it is no less true of the relevant organs of the United Nations, above all the Security Council.

27. In this connexion we have welcomed the Security Council's decision [*see 1544th meeting*] as proposed by Finland, to hold periodic high-level meetings under Article 28 of the Charter. My country looks forward to taking part in the first such meeting later this fall. We welcome likewise the valuable suggestion of Brazil [*1841st meeting*] that *ad hoc* committees of the Council, including the parties to a dispute, might be created to help settle particular disputes.

28. To the same end, the United States would favour the reactivation of certain machinery for peaceful settlement which has long been dormant. Many years ago the General Assembly created a Panel on Inquiry and Conciliation [*resolution 268 (III)*], and more recently a register of fact-finding experts. My Government will soon nominate qualified individuals for both of these bodies. We believe fact-finders should be available to

the Secretary-General or other organs of the United Nations, or directly to Member States, to report on the facts of situations of international concern at the request or with the consent of one or more of the parties.

29. Finally, it is most important that we rejuvenate and strengthen the highest organ of judicial settlement, the International Court of Justice. The United States recently joined with others in the Security Council in referring to the Court for its advisory opinion certain aspects of the Namibia situation. We have also joined with others in submitting to this General Assembly an agenda item calling for a review of the role of the Court. We hope this review will suggest ways to enable the Court to make a more substantial contribution to the establishment of the rule of law among nations.

30. The world has witnessed in recent weeks shocking examples of the consequences of failure to abide by this rule of law—examples which have been alluded to by numerous previous speakers on this podium. Hundreds of innocent individuals engaged in peaceful international travel have been brutally seized as hostages in a conflict in which they were in no way involved. Not only their safety and convenience have been placed in jeopardy but their very lives. As President Nixon pointed out in this forum a year ago, this issue “involves the interests of . . . every air passenger and the integrity of that structure of order upon which a world community depends” [*1755th meeting, para. 74*].

31. That this view is widely shared is evident from the almost universal condemnation of these most recent acts by Governments the world over and by the resolution on this matter adopted unanimously by the Security Council [*286 (1970)*]. But condemnation is not enough. It is time to act. The Tokyo Convention,<sup>2</sup> providing for the prompt return of hijacked aircraft passengers and crew, requires the broadest international support. The same is true of the International Civil Aviation Organization's draft multilateral convention for the extradition and punishment of hijackers. In addition, the United States has submitted new proposals to the ICAO, for which I urge your most earnest consideration and support.

32. The General Assembly's extensive annual debates and resolutions on many aspects of arms control and disarmament have long played, and continue to play, an important part in international negotiations on this most critical of all our problems. I need only mention the partial nuclear test-ban Treaty,<sup>3</sup> the outer space Treaty [*resolution 2222 (XXI)*] and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*]. The disarmament conference at Geneva has this year registered significant progress by achieving wide consensus on a draft treaty to prohibit the emplacement of weapons of mass destruction on a vast area of the earth's surface—the sea-bed

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

<sup>2</sup> Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft, signed at Tokyo on 14 September 1963.

<sup>3</sup> Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

beneath the oceans.<sup>4</sup> We hope this draft treaty will be supported by the General Assembly at this session and opened for signature shortly thereafter.

33. I can assure the Assembly that the United States Government is unceasingly aware of the world-wide concern and need for an end to the arms race and the perilous burden of armaments in all its forms, and that we shall do whatever one negotiating partner can do to bring about new agreements on new steps toward the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament.

34. Permit me to say a word about a matter of quite different but equally wide concern—that of human rights throughout the world.

35. In addition to the basic responsibility of Governments to maintain human rights for all their citizens, the United Nations under the Charter has a clear responsibility in this regard. To strengthen the implementation of that responsibility my Government hopes the General Assembly at this session will create a new post, that of High Commissioner for Human Rights, to advise United Nations organs in this field and to assist States, at their request, with human rights problems. This proposal has been thoroughly studied and fully justified. It deserves a high priority at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

36. A particular issue of human rights that is of acute concern to my Government, among others, is the protection of the rights of prisoners of war. While these rights have long since been internationally guaranteed, they are in practice still denied to many prisoners of war, as American wives and families of such prisoners know to their great sorrow. The United States strongly hopes that this Assembly will press for world-wide observance of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, verified by impartial inspection. It is intolerable that the tragedy of armed conflict should be compounded by additional inhumanities in violation of international norms.

37. In no field have the aims of the United Nations found more dramatic fulfilment during its first quarter of a century than in the field of decolonization. Before the Second World War a third of mankind lived in colonial dependencies. Today the proportion is less than 1 per cent. A revolution of independence has created some sixty new nations and has been the main factor in increasing the membership of the United Nations from 51 to 126.

38. However, the situation in much of southern Africa is still characterized by the denial of self-determination and of racial equality. The United Nations and its member States must continue to exert peaceful efforts to defend and advance these basic human rights of the peoples concerned. Their cause is just and must in time prevail.

39. Against these evils the United States in recent months has taken further steps. We put into effect

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

last May a new policy designed to discourage United States investment in, and trade with, Namibia so long as South Africa remains in unlawful occupation. We urge other Governments to join us in this policy. My Government continues strictly to observe resolutions in regard to sanctions against the illegal régime in Rhodesia and in regard to the sale of arms to South Africa. We have closed our consulate in Salisbury. We shall continue in every peaceful and practicable way to pursue the ends of justice, equality and self-determination.

40. High on the list of the United Nations contributions to human progress is its long-standing effort to assist in comprehensive global development. That effort is being continued and, we hope, improved and strengthened through the launching of the Second United Nations Development Decade.

41. The success of the Decade will depend most of all on the policies of Member States, both developed and developing. To bring all these policies into effective focus is the ambitious aim of the development strategy. The United States strongly supports the strategy which is before this Assembly [*A/7982, para. 16*] and intends to participate fully in this common enterprise.

42. I wish to leave no doubt of the serious commitment of the United States to the Second Development Decade. President Nixon, in a series of policy decisions and especially in his recent announcement on the new focus of United States economic assistance, has made clear our intention:

(a) To reverse the downward trend in United States development assistance;

(b) To increase substantially United States contributions to multilateral development institutions—including the World Bank, the International Development Association, the regional development banks and the United Nations Development Programme—so that, as the capabilities of these institutions increase, we may be able to channel through them most of our official development assistance;

(c) Further to encourage the efforts of donor nations to “untie” their bilateral aid to developing countries from the obligation to import products of the donor country;

(d) To bring United States science and technology more effectively to bear on the problems of development, and for this purpose to create a new United States International Development Institute;

(e) To take new steps to stimulate American private investment in developing countries within the framework of the developing countries' plans.

43. These approaches are already reflected in the new policies my country has announced toward Latin America and Africa, which stress continued assistance, greater multilateral participation, and increased trade and investment.

44. Finally, bearing in mind the crucial connexion between trade and development, the United States is pressing for a liberalized system of generalized tariff preferences for products of developing countries, with preferential access to the American market, and we are urging that the developing countries receive similar access to the markets of all developed countries.

45. I wish to add a particular comment on the role of the United Nations Development Programme. This Programme, in co-operation with the specialized agencies, has done important pioneering work in development assistance. Its machinery, however, was built for a smaller programme and must be reorganized to meet its growing responsibilities. With the aid of last year's excellent "capacity study",<sup>5</sup> the Programme is now preparing to put the necessary reforms into effect. In planning our future contributions to this important Programme we in the United States will give major weight to the progress actually achieved in undertaking these reforms.

46. In recent years people all over the world have suddenly awakened to the inexorable and tragic fact that excessive population growth can, if continued much longer, frustrate all our hopes for peace, justice and progress. There can be no progress for the majority of mankind if population growth outstrips all available means of development. There can be no justice for the majority of mankind where population expands faster than production and social services. There can be no peace for the majority of mankind where progress and justice are unattainable because of unrestrained population growth.

47. This is not a problem confined to either developed or developing countries. In my own country, although our growth rate has recently slowed to about 1 per cent a year, we have adopted as a national goal the availability within five years of family planning services to every citizen.

48. Clearly, the need is equally urgent in many nations striving for development whose annual population growth in some cases approaches 4 per cent—which means a doubling of the number of people in less than twenty years. The care and feeding of such enormous numbers of dependent children, their upbringing in conditions compatible with human dignity, could constitute such a burden as to nullify progress in economic development and to cause living standards to remain at past low levels or even to fall lower.

49. The United States is convinced that the vigorous pursuit of family planning policies is an indispensable element in the strategy of development. In this conviction we have pledged this year \$7.5 million to the recently established United Nations Fund for Population Activities, whose services to requesting Governments are rapidly growing.

50. In the context of development I wish also to emphasize the enormous potential of the world's deep

sea-beds, whose exploitation is just now beginning to come within the reach of our technology.

51. Last May President Nixon, in a far-reaching announcement concerning the oceans, proposed that an international régime be established by treaty for the exploitation of sea-bed resources beyond the depth of 200 metres. He further proposed that this régime "should provide for the collection of substantial mineral royalties to be used for international community purposes, particularly economic assistance to developing countries". Early in August the United States circulated in the United Nations sea-bed Committee<sup>6</sup> a draft convention [A/8021, annex V], embodying these and other important proposals in the President's announcement.

52. These proposals, if carried out, will amount to a new departure in the history of nations. Never in history has the exploitation of resources of such great potential value been placed under the supervision and regulation of an effective international authority. Never in history has assurance been offered that the international community could have a substantial, independent source of revenue to be equitably divided to serve the interests of mankind as a whole.

53. The United States hopes that the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly will advance this important enterprise so that a sound and workable international sea-bed régime, backed up by effective machinery, can come into being as soon as possible. To this end it is important that States refrain from making further claims to jurisdiction over the sea-beds or over the waters of the oceans. We believe that a conference on subjects related to the law of the sea, including sea-beds, should be called as soon as practicable and that preparatory steps should be initiated by this session of the General Assembly.

54. I come now to an issue of critical and rapidly growing importance—the protection of the human environment. Development and protection of the environment are not mutually contradictory; indeed, they must go hand in hand if the world is to be a fit place in which to live. The United Nations is in a key position to foster the necessary co-operation so that the needs of the environment, as well as those of development, receive the energetic attention they require.

55. Already the plans for the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in 1972 have begun to take shape and have helped to focus the attention of United Nations Member Governments on this worldwide challenge; but we should not wait for the Stockholm Conference before launching necessary initiatives.

56. Therefore the United States urges that all of us here, representing both developed and developing countries, work together to enable the United Nations to take the following steps. Firstly, it should identify those environmental problems, especially those pollu-

<sup>5</sup> *A Study of the Capacity of the United Nations Development System* (United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.70.I.10).

<sup>6</sup> Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction.

tants in the atmosphere and the oceans, which are or may be dangerous on a global scale. Second, it should make plans for a co-ordinated world monitoring network to keep track of these environmental dangers. This network should build on existing programmes, particularly those of the agencies of the United Nations family, and should use the most advanced data-processing and satellite technology, such as the earth resource survey satellites which my country has been developing. Third, it should collect and analyse the suggestions of governments concerning environmental guidelines for States, both developed and developing, as well as for international institutions engaged in development programmes. Fourth, it should explore the possibility of establishing international air and water quality standards. The United States hopes the Assembly at this session will act to advance those important objectives.

57. A newly acute problem which threatens a growing number of societies is the epidemic spread of addiction to dangerous drugs, especially among young people. This phenomenon has mushroomed in a very few years, not only in my own country but in a number of others, both developed and developing. It creates untold misery, violence, lawlessness and economic and human loss. This menace must be stopped. To do so it will be necessary to reinforce existing international agreements and to strengthen the long-standing and excellent work of agencies in this field, especially those of the United Nations. We are glad to note that the Commission on Narcotic Drugs is meeting now to deal with the whole range of problems involved, from the poppy field through the international syndicate to the needle in the vein. My Government hopes that an adequate action programme will emerge from this process and will command the energetic support of the community of nations. The United States has already offered, subject to Congressional approval, a contribution of \$2 million to such a programme.

58. Finally, it is important that we make better use of the talents of young people in international service, especially the service of the United Nations. Many delegations to this session, including that of the United States, contain youthful members as suggested by the General Assembly a year ago. That is entirely fitting, because the fate of the United Nations and indeed of world peace will soon be in their hands.

59. With that in mind President Nixon, in his address to this Assembly a year ago [*1755th meeting*], pledged the enthusiastic support of the United States for Iran's proposal to establish an international volunteer service corps [*see 1695th meeting, para. 75*], to work in the cause of development and to be recruited on an individual basis from the people, principally young people, of many countries. We hope that proposal will be given final approval in the current session. We hope also that the United Nations will seek new ways to encourage able young people to find careers in its Secretariat and those of the other agencies of the United Nations family.

60. In these remarks I have discussed only a few of the major tasks facing the United Nations in the years ahead. Even those, however, are enough to make it obvious that, if we indeed address ourselves to such tasks, the effectiveness of this Organization will be tested more severely than ever. To meet this test we shall have to be far more attentive than has been our habit to many matters of structure, organization and procedure. For example, I would mention the following.

61. In considering applications for membership by very small States, we must make sure that they are not only willing but also, as the Charter stipulates, able to carry out the Charter's obligations. As the Secretary-General has for years pointed out, many Territories now moving towards independence are too small, either in population or in resources or both, to carry out the minimum obligations which membership requires. Yet these very small entities need more than most the assistance that the United Nations system can provide. Where the burden of membership would be excessive, we should provide a form of association with the United Nations which would enable such States to enjoy the benefits without the burdens of the system.

62. The persistence of the United Nations financial deficit undermines confidence in the Organization, threatens its capabilities in many fields and casts a cloud over its future. The United States welcomes the Secretary-General's recent call for "a concerted effort to restore the financial solvency of the Organization". We hope that he will himself take a lead in such an effort, in which we shall certainly play our part.

63. In the annual choice of non-permanent members of the Security Council, it would be well that, as the Charter requires, due regard be specially paid, in the first instance, to the prospective member's contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security, rather than merely to rotation among the members of geographic groups.

64. The primary consideration in selecting individuals for posts in the Secretariat, above all for senior posts, should be fully to meet the Charter's "paramount consideration"—namely "the highest standards of efficiency, competence, and integrity".

65. We must at long last take decisive steps to streamline the excessively time-consuming organization and procedures of the General Assembly, as Canada has wisely proposed, or else we shall either "drown in a sea of words" or suffocate under an avalanche of paper.

66. We must take more effective measures to ensure that the entire United Nations system is so organized and managed that it responds efficiently to the directives of its governing organs and to the priority needs of the world. That will require much better administrative and budgetary co-ordination and control than we have yet achieved.

67. The United States offers these suggestions in the spirit of the twenty-fifth anniversary session, which we understand to be a spirit of sober determination to make this Organization more effective, to make its future more responsive than its past to the imperative needs of men, women and children everywhere. Many other delegations have offered or will offer their proposals in the same spirit. The test of our seriousness and our success will be how much of this agenda of objectives we can begin to carry out.

68. We are assembled from the four corners of the earth. The interests of the Governments we speak for often seem to be and sometimes are in contradiction. But by our presence here, by our commitment to the United Nations and its Charter, we have acknowledged that we also have interests in common, interests in peace, justice and progress, interests in the continued habitability of our planet, common interests which we are at last beginning to recognize are inescapable and overriding.

69. The question now is, do we have the wit not only to perceive these common interests in some vague rhetorical way, but also to act upon them together realistically and decisively—even at the cost sometimes of older and narrower interests? If we do not do so, history may sweep aside not only this Organization but also the nations that compose it.

70. The Secretary-General has said that we may have only ten years left to cope effectively with the problems of our times before they become so staggering as to be beyond our capacities. As we enter the Disarmament Decade and the Second Development Decade, let us keep that warning foremost in our minds—and let us be determined to act together to avert catastrophe.

71. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): We are today mourning the untimely death of the President of the United Arab Republic, Gamal Abdel Nasser, an outstanding statesman and acknowledged leader of the national liberation movement, and a great friend of the Soviet Union.

72. Under the leadership of President Nasser the people of the United Arab Republic achieved considerable success in the development of the national economy and carried out a number of important social reforms; it also waged a decisive anti-imperialist struggle for the freedom and independence of its own country and of other peoples.

73. We express our deep sympathy to the people and Government of the United Arab Republic and to the family of the deceased President.

74. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic congratulates you, Mr. President, on your election to the office of President of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, which we hope will leave a great mark in the history of the United Nations.

75. We should like to take this opportunity to express our best wishes to the Secretary-General of the United

Nations U Thant, who in the summer of this year paid an official visit to the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and had useful talks with leaders of the Republic.

76. The General Assembly is holding its twenty-fifth session in a year marked by some notable anniversaries connected with events of primary and permanent historical importance for the peoples of the whole world, and also for the United Nations.

*Mr. Shevel (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

77. The year 1970 was the hundredth anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, an outstanding thinker and revolutionary whose name is connected with the beginning of a new era in the history of mankind—the era of the revolutionary transformation of the world in the interests of the workers. To Lenin, the founder of the first socialist State in the world, belongs the outstanding merit of preparing and implementing the peace-loving principles of socialist foreign policy. In accordance with those principles, the first Congress of Soviets of Byelorussia on 2 February 1919, i.e. one month after the foundation of the Republic, created as a result of the victory of the great October Socialist Revolution, sent to all peoples a message which solemnly proclaimed, on behalf of the millions of workers and peasants of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, its will to live in peace and friendship with all peoples.

78. Lenin's ideas on peace and peaceful coexistence between States with different social systems, the principle of proletarian internationalism, his ideas on ensuring the independence and equal rights of large and small States and peoples, equitable and mutually advantageous co-operation among all States, and their development along the path of economic and social progress, are gaining ever wider recognition. In substance they form the basis of all positive action on the international scene, including the work done in the context of the United Nations. It is natural that Lenin's anniversary should be widely celebrated in the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

79. This year is the twenty-fifth anniversary of the great victory of the Powers of the anti-Hitlerite coalition over fascist Germany and militarist Japan. A decisive role in this victory was played by the Soviet Union which demonstrated the indestructibility of socialist achievements and freed many peoples from foreign enslavement. An important contribution to the defeat of fascism was also made by the Byelorussian people. More than one million Byelorussians fought fearlessly on the fronts of the Great Patriotic War, and on the temporarily occupied territory of Byelorussia more than 440,000 partisans and members of the underground carried out an active, organized struggle. One out of every four inhabitants of Byelorussia gave his life in the struggle for the victory over the dark forces of fascism, aggression and reaction. The heroism and unprecedented steadfastness of the Soviet people, in the struggle against fascism, will always remain in the memory of a grateful humanity.

80. This year is also notable because it is already a quarter of a century since the time when victorious socialism extended beyond the frontiers of a single country and became an international force. The world socialist system emerged.

81. The year 1970 is also the twenty-fifth anniversary of the signing of the Potsdam Agreement which formed the basis of the post-war peace settlement in Europe.

82. Born in the fires of the Second World War, the United Nations owes its very existence to the victory of the peace-loving people over the fascist oppressors.

83. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations is a suitable time in which to assess once again its activities, its achievements and shortcomings and, taking due account of the past, to map out the main directions of its future work.

84. The viability of the United Nations depends on how actively and fruitfully it can comply with the high purposes and principles which were proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations twenty-five years ago and which are still applicable today and correspond to the interests of all people. We have primarily in mind the fulfilment of the main task of the Organization, which is the maintenance of international peace and security.

85. Thanks to the efforts of the peace loving peoples, during the last quarter of a century mankind has now been subjected to the holocaust of a new world war. However, it has not on the whole known genuine peace either since the aggressive forces of imperialism have by their reckless policy frequently brought the world to the brink of a dangerous conflict. Today, as we sit in this hall, the imperialist forces are committing acts of aggression which are causing tension in international relations and creating a threat to world peace.

86. A United States army half a million strong is waging an aggressive, barbarous war against the people of Viet-Nam, which is defending its right to determine its own fate, its right to freedom, independence and unity. The United States of America has extended its aggressive action to the other peoples of Indo-China, taking a direct part or using the troops of its accomplices against the peoples of Cambodia and Laos. Making use of the so-called "Guam doctrine", the United States is trying to make Asians fight against Asians, contrary to the interests of the peoples of Asia.

87. The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic resolutely condemns the American aggression against the Viet-Nameese people and the other peoples of Indo-China, and demands the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of American troops and the troops of its allies from that area, and the strict observance of the Geneva agreements of 1954 and 1962. It demands the settlement of the Viet-Nam problem on the basis of the proposals of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, which fully comply with the requirements and aspirations of the peoples

of South-East Asia and ensure their right to live in conditions of peace without foreign intervention in their internal affairs.

88. We condemn equally strongly the aggression of Israel against the Arab States and demand the withdrawal of all Israeli troops from all the occupied Arab territories.

89. During the last three years the Arab States have done a great deal for the peaceful political settlement of the Middle East. They have supported a series of measures proposed in the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)], they have shown their willingness to solve the Middle East crisis by using the services of Ambassador Jarring, and have agreed to a complete cease-fire for the sake of achieving the purposes of the Security Council resolution. For all those years the Arab countries have enjoyed the unswerving support and assistance of the socialist States in the struggle for an early, just and peaceful political settlement of the Middle East conflict.

90. Relying on the support of the imperialist and warlike Zionist circles in the United States of America and in other Western countries, Israel is continuing to exacerbate the situation in the Middle East. It not only refuses to carry out the resolutions of the Security Council, but it is hindering the renewal of contacts by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations with the interested parties on this subject. Israel is continuing to enlarge its military potential with the help of forces which are not interested in restoring the violated rights of the Arab peoples. The statement made on 28 September by the Foreign Minister of Israel [1851st meeting] once again made it perfectly clear that Israel is waging a struggle not for its own existence, not for its security, but for the conquest of foreign land. Such a course of events is fraught with serious consequences for the cause of peace.

91. The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic will continue to support the just struggle of the Arab peoples for the full implementation of the Security Council's decisions on eliminating the consequences of the Israeli aggression in the Middle East in the interests of peace and international security, and will continue to help the Arab peoples to achieve their rights to independence, sovereignty, and free national development.

92. The anniversary session of the General Assembly has before it important tasks, and the States Members of the United Nations are called upon to make every effort to achieve the observance by every State of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, to prepare and carry out measures for the strengthening of international security, and on that basis to solve all other questions. The United Nations has a real opportunity of achieving this if it concentrates attention on the most important and urgent tasks.

93. The socialist countries, including the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, propose that the Assembly should adopt the draft declaration on strengthening

international security [A/C.1/L.513], that it should prepare a progressive final document on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, declare itself in favour of a specific, clear-cut programme for the final elimination of colonialism, that it should support the principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States, and should propose concrete and effective ways for solving the problem of disarmament and other items on its agenda.

94. In the light of the determination proclaimed in the United Nations Charter to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to live together in peace and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security in present day conditions of the unceasing aggression of imperialist forces against the peoples of a number of countries, special importance attaches to measures proposed by the socialist States in the Declaration on strengthening international security. Among these first of all is the obligation for every State:

“1. *To abide strictly*, in their international relations, by the purposes and principles of the United Nations, including the principles of the sovereignty, equality and territorial inviolability of each State, non-interference in internal affairs and respect for the right of all peoples freely to choose their social system;

“2. *To refrain* from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations;

“3. *To abide strictly* by the principles of the inadmissibility of military occupation and the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory as a result of war or the use of force, in violation of the provisions of the Charter;

“4. *To implement fully* the decisions of the Security Council on the peaceful settlement of armed conflicts and the withdrawal of forces from territories occupied as a result of such conflicts, and also other decisions of the Security Council aimed at the maintenance of international peace and security;

“5. *To comply*, in accordance with their obligations under article 25 of the Charter, with decisions of the Security Council taken in exercise of its powers to suppress acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace;

“6. *To cease* all military and other action for the suppression of the liberation movements of peoples still under colonial or racist domination, and to provide active assistance to all these peoples in attaining their independence in accordance with their inalienable right to self-determination;

“7. *To settle* all disputes between States exclusively by peaceful means and, to this end, to make fuller use of the procedures and methods provided

for in the Charter, including those methods for the settlement of disputes which, in accordance with the Charter, may be applied by the Security Council.”

95. The United Nations has had some success in approaching the solution of the problems of disarmament. Although the arms race, imposed on the world by the imperialist forces, continues and ever more countries, including the developing countries, are being drawn in, we can say that a number of agreements concluded on the initiative of the Soviet Union have had a good effect on the limitation of the arms race. Such agreements are: the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water;<sup>7</sup> the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies [resolution 2222 (XXI)], which prohibits the placing of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction in outer space and provides for the demilitarization of the celestial bodies; the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)] and a number of other agreements. We approve the draft treaty prepared by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof.<sup>8</sup> The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic is in favour of an early conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons and on the destruction of such weapons, submitted by the socialist countries including our own Republic.<sup>9</sup>

96. In present-day circumstances the United Nations and all States are faced with the task of intensifying efforts for the speedy attainment of agreement on general and complete disarmament, as well as agreement on individual measures to limit and put an end to the arms race and on disarmament.

97. The draft declaration on strengthening international security speaks of the need to accelerate the attainment of agreement on United Nations peace-keeping operations, on the basis of strict compliance with the United Nations Charter. In this connexion we welcome the statement of Mr. Yost to the effect that peace-keeping operations should be placed on a firmer and more reliable basis. But in the formula he proposes there is, as before, a considerable omission. In his formula there is no provision by which all United Nations peace-keeping operations would be carried out strictly in accordance with the United Nations Charter and not as they were imposed during the years of the cold war. Hence the task of the Committee<sup>10</sup> headed by Mr. Cuevas Cancino should be to fill this gap and to place the peace-keeping operations firmly and reliably on the stable basis of the Charter of the United

<sup>7</sup> Signed in Moscow at 5 August 1963.

<sup>8</sup> *Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1970*, document DC/233, annex A.

<sup>9</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda items 29, 30, 31 and 104, document A/7655.

<sup>10</sup> Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

Nations and not on a one-sided practice for the benefit of one restricted group of States.

98. Great importance is to be attached to the clause of the declaration which provides for the development of international co-operation on a regional basis for the purpose of strengthening security in accordance with the principles and provisions of the Charter, with the participation of all States in each region. Naturally we support measures to safeguard collective security in Europe and are in favour of an early convening of a Pan-European conference on the questions of security and co-operation. In their memorandum of 22 June 1970 the States members of the Warsaw Treaty, guided by the desire to attain the agreement of the interested States, have taken an important step to meet the wishes of the other countries on the question of the membership of a Pan-European conference, its agenda and the methods of preparing for such a conference. We are entitled to expect that those who so far have been hindering the convening of a conference will stop finding pretexts for delay so that the way will be opened for it to meet and to do fruitful work in the interests of peace, security and co-operation.

99. In speaking on the problems of Europe, we welcome the signing of the Treaty between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Federal Republic of Germany<sup>11</sup> in which, on the basis of the recognition of the actual situation which has developed in Europe in the post-war years, the parties regard the maintenance of international peace and the easing of tension as important objectives of their policies. They express their desire to help to normalize the situation in Europe and to develop peaceful relations between all European States. The contracting parties express their conviction that peaceful co-operation among States on the basis of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter corresponds to the aspirations of the peoples and the broad interests of international peace. The Treaty recognizes that peace in Europe can be maintained only if no encroachments are made on present-day frontiers. The contracting parties undertake scrupulously to observe the territorial integrity of all the States of Europe within their present frontiers. They state that they have no territorial claims against anyone and that they will not put forward any such claims in the future.

100. The Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany recognize as inviolable, now and in the future, the frontiers of all the States of Europe as they exist on the date of the signing of the Treaty, including the Oder-Neisse line, which is the western frontier of the Polish People's Republic and the frontier between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic.

101. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Federal Republic of Germany, it is stressed in the Treaty, will be guided in their mutual relations, and also in questions relating to the safeguarding of European and international security, by the purposes and

principles established in the United Nations Charter. In accordance with this, they will resolve their disputes exclusively by peaceful means and undertake to refrain from the threat or use of force.

102. It is difficult to overestimate the importance of this Treaty, which we hope will soon come into force and will be strengthened by other agreements in the interests of safeguarding peace and security in Europe and for the purpose of developing co-operation among all the peoples of that continent.

103. We hope that the further development of events in Europe and throughout the world will enable us to eliminate the possibility of the resurgence of fascism in all its forms. To attain this goal, all States should, in accordance with the recommendations of the United Nations, put an end to all activity by nazi, racist and other ultra-reactionary organizations. It is also important for all States to accede as soon as possible to the Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity [*resolution 2391 (XXIII), annex*] and to punish persons guilty of committing such crimes.

104. I now consider it necessary to deal with some questions relating to Korea. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has, during its years of popular rule, achieved considerable success in socialist construction. But the solution of the vital national problem of the Korean people—the peaceful unification of the country on a democratic basis—is being prevented by the United States occupation of South Korea and the illegal activities of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. Therefore a group of socialist and Afro-Asian countries will try to achieve the adoption of a decision, with the participation of representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, on such questions as the withdrawal of the United States and all other foreign troops occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations, and the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. A constructive solution of these questions, as proposed by the above-mentioned group of countries, including the Byelorussian SSR, will ensure for the people of Korea the right to a free existence and national reunification without foreign intervention in accordance with the interests of the whole Korean people and the cause of peace in the Far East.

105. Our age is an era of stormy revolutionary transformation and renovation of the world, in which a great role is played by the national liberation movement of the peoples. The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia laid the foundation of the great historic revolutionary liberation process, which brought freedom to many millions of peoples enslaved by imperialism, caused the crisis in the colonial system and brought about its collapse.

106. In the twenty-five post-war years, tremendous changes have taken place in the world. On the political map of the world there have appeared more than

<sup>11</sup> Signed in Moscow on 12 August 1970.

seventy new sovereign States. The scientific prediction of the great Lenin concerning the increasing role of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in international life and international relations has come true.

107. The joint efforts of the socialist and the young independent countries led to the adoption, in 1960, on the initiative of the Soviet Union of the historic United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the tenth anniversary of which the world is celebrating this year. The Declaration has been a notable weapon in the hands of the struggling peoples of the colonies. It is no coincidence that since 1960 twenty-seven new States have appeared on the map of the world.

108. However, colonialism has not yet disappeared from our planet. The increased activity of the neo-colonialist and racist forces in southern Africa and their unceasing attempts to suppress the struggle of the African peoples for freedom and independence by force of arms and terror confirm the correctness of the conclusion, drawn in the basic document of the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, that the liberation of southern Africa, one of the last regions of colonial domination, is of great significance for the future of Africa and for the cause of peace.

109. The time has come to eliminate the remaining strongholds of colonialism in Asia, Oceania, South America and the Caribbean.

110. The major culprit in the continuing colonial oppression is international monopoly capital. The international monopolies grow fat on the plundering and seizure of the material resources of the colonies. And the Governments of the Western Powers do not take any measures to put a stop to the pernicious activities of the monopolies in colonial territories and disregard the relevant decisions of the United Nations.

111. The history of colonialism and the economic plundering of the peoples of the colonial territories are indissolubly linked to the creation by the colonial Powers of strategic military bases in the enslaved territories. The colonial Powers must be made to fulfil the repeated demands of the United Nations General Assembly for the elimination of military bases in the colonies.

112. The Byelorussian SSR has always been and always will be on the side of the peoples struggling for their national freedom and independence. The Byelorussian people support the legitimate struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Zimbabwe and Namibia, who are struggling against the South African, Portuguese and Southern Rhodesian racist colonialists and their imperialist protectors. Together with all the peace-loving peoples, the Byelorussian SSR calls for the cessation of assistance and support to the régimes of the South African Republic, Southern Rhodesia and Portugal by the United States, Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany and other Western Powers.

113. Speaking recently from this rostrum [1848th meeting] the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who has long been known for his class hatred of communism, instead of clearly stating that his Conservative Government, in answer to the just demands of the peoples, intended to eradicate racism and *apartheid* from southern Africa, engaged in slanderous attacks on communism. But this shabby manoeuvre did not enable him to cover up his sympathies for the racists or his policy of affording the racists assistance, including the supply of weapons.

114. The United Nations is called upon to do everything in its power to assist the implementation of the purposes proclaimed in the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, so that, in accordance with the special programme of activity for its implementation, a speedy end can be put to the remnants of colonialism.

115. As a result of the collapse of the colonial empires, the membership of the United Nations has considerably increased. But the United Nations has not yet become a universal organization: a number of States have not been admitted to membership. We have in mind primarily the German Democratic Republic, a peace-loving socialist State.

116. It is time to put an end to the discriminatory practice of the Western Powers and particularly the United States with respect to the German Democratic Republic, and to admit it together with the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations, thus opening for it the possibility of taking a full part in the activity of other organs. Again, so far the rights of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations have not been restored to it.

117. The majority of States are faced with vast and most difficult problems that remain to be solved in the field of economic and social development. Poverty, hunger, disease, racial discrimination and segregation, the intensification of exploitation, and unemployment are the lot of millions of people in the capitalist world. The backwardness of many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, stemming from the colonialist and neo-colonialist systems of the imperialist Powers, remains one of the most tragic phenomena of modern times.

118. The United Nations is called upon to ensure the implementation of the purposes and principles of its Charter in the economic and social fields. For that purpose it is necessary further to intensify the efforts of countries and peoples to improve the international situation, to solve the problem of disarmament, to make the appropriate social and economic changes and to develop wide economic and scientific-technical co-operation on a mutually advantageous and non-discriminatory basis among all States irrespective of their social systems.

119. The Byelorussian SSR is firmly in favour of the adoption by the United Nations of such decisions as will meet the demands of genuine economic and social

progress. That is why we, together with other socialist countries, supported the idea and purposes of the United Nations Second Development Decade; and, sincerely wishing this Decade to become an important factor in the improvement of international economic relations, we made a statement on the second decade of development and social progress [A/8074], which represented a broad programme of progressive political, social and economic measures which should be implemented at the national and international level for the solution of the most acute social and economic problems.

120. In connexion with the important problem of financing the economic and social development of the developing countries, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers that the time has now come for the United Nations to take specific steps to implement the indisputable rights of those countries for compensation for the material damage caused by the former colonial Powers, and also by the capitalist States which are still exploiting their resources on an inequitable and predatory basis.

121. It would be appropriate and useful for the United Nations to determine the damage caused during the years of colonial domination of the countries and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, taking into account in particular the plundering of natural wealth and the exploitation of the human resources of the colonial territories, the profits and material and cultural wealth siphoned off to the metropolitan countries, the losses resulting from inequitable trade and from the deliberate development of predominantly one-crop economies, and also the adverse effects of a slow pace of social development in such spheres as education, social welfare and health. Besides this, it is important to determine the total sum of the present outflow of capital through all channels from the independent developing countries to the developed capitalist States. Finally, we should determine, if only approximately, the rate of amortization of the indebtedness thus incurred by the developed capitalist States during this historical period in respect of the developing countries and the peoples of the colonial territories.

122. Undoubtedly such an assessment of damage and historical responsibility for the economic backwardness of developing States would help in achieving the aims of the United Nations Second Development Decade.

123. The Byelorussian SSR, together with other socialist countries, has consistently carried out a policy of affording assistance of all kinds to the young independent States in overcoming the economic remnants of colonialism, in the creation and strengthening of an independent national economy, and in accelerating the pace of economic development.

124. We understand how complicated and difficult are the problems facing the developing countries. The people of Soviet Byelorussia have had to overcome the backwardness inherited from their pre-revolutionary past. Moreover, twice in the lifetime of

a single generation we have had to rebuild our national economy from ashes and ruins and restore what had been destroyed by the imperialist wars imposed upon us.

125. Because of the great advantages of the socialist system, the brotherly assistance of the peoples of all the other socialist republics of the Soviet Union have ensured for us swift and stable economic development, and a steady growth in the material and cultural level of our people.

126. The Byelorussian SSR, which was one of the founding members of the United Nations and took active part in the San Francisco Conference which, twenty-five years ago worked out the Charter of the United Nations, finds the statements and proposals of certain delegations for a revision of the Charter of the United Nations quite unacceptable. Strange as it may seem, those who initiated the proposal to revise the Charter have become particularly active during the period of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. We have the impression that their purpose is not, on the basis of the provisions of the Charter which have withstood the test of time and confirmed its present usefulness, to point to ways of increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations, but rather to undermine our Organization and destroy its foundations.

127. It is noteworthy that the partisans of the revision of the Charter do not see, or do not wish to see, that the United States aggression in South-East Asia, and the aggression of Israel in the Middle East, the maintenance of the remnants of colonialism, the resurgence of nazism, and the existence of racism and *apartheid*, are not the result of any shortcomings of the Charter but of the flagrant violation of that Charter by the imperialists. Moreover, some of the critics of the Charter, who protect and even support the aggressors, are accomplices in the crimes committed against freedom-loving peoples, or else they take up the position of a bystander who does not see the danger of the policy and actions of the aggressors and the racist colonialists for the independence and security of peoples. That is also confirmed by some of their statements in the general debate.

128. Under present conditions the most important task of all States is the strictest observance of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and the intensification of joint efforts to ensure that those who violate them carry out a policy in full accord with the obligations imposed upon them by the United Nations Charter and by the most important and progressive decisions of the United Nations.

129. The United Nations as a whole, and in particular the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the General Assembly, is faced with vast and responsible tasks, which deeply affect the broad masses of the working people.

130. The United Nations has sufficient powers and possibilities to solve those problems. A guarantee of

success is the consistent peace-loving policy of the socialist countries, their growing mutual understanding of and their co-operation with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the combined efforts of all the peace-loving and anti-imperialist forces.

131. We note with satisfaction that the recent decisions taken at its seventh session by the Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Organization of African Unity<sup>12</sup> and the Third Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries on the maintenance and strengthening of peace and international security, on the cessation of acts of aggression, decolonization, and on the universality of the United Nations, coincide with our own position and broaden the front of fighters struggling to ensure that the activity of the United Nations promotes the development of human society along the path of peace, democracy and social progress.

132. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, reflecting the urge and wish of the Byelorussian people, will do everything in its power to ensure that in the coming years the United Nations shall earn its due authority among all the peoples of the world by means of the preparation, adoption and implementation of very important decisions directed towards the strengthening of peace and security on the earth and promoting the development of international co-operation and the triumph of the great purposes and principles in the name of which the United Nations was founded.

133. Mr. AL-SHAIKHLY (Iraq):<sup>13</sup> I should like, on behalf of the delegation of the Republic of Iraq, to extend our sincere congratulations to Ambassador Hambro on his election to preside over the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

134. His election to this high office on this very historic occasion is an acknowledgement by the international community of his excellent qualities and high ability, which will no doubt be of great service to this Organization and will contribute to the success of this important session. It is also an appreciation of the qualities of his country, Norway.

135. I would have liked to begin my statement at this historic session, in which we are evaluating the achievements of the United Nations through a quarter of a century of its life, with a tone of optimism that could refresh the hopes which the various nations pinned on the Organization when it was set up. But the atmosphere of anxiety and danger, and the tragedy suffered by our part of the world in particular as a result of the imperialist-Zionist aggression, do not leave us with such an opportunity, unless we choose to speak at the expense of ignoring the actual state of affairs.

136. During the past few days our part of the world has witnessed tragic events, the consequences and echo of which transcended its boundaries and thus

became the focus of world attention and concern. Despite the dangerous implications and the heart-rending aspects of these events, they are no more than another link in the chain of tragedies which the people of Palestine is going through.

137. We are at a great historical turning-point which will determine for coming decades the extent of the ability of international society and the world Organization to restore usurped rights and permanent and just peace instead of allowing war and destruction to go on. It is imperative to put the Middle East problem into its correct perspective if we are to achieve a complete understanding of the dangerous crisis and seek a just solution.

138. There are two aspects to this crisis, the differences between which can clearly be distinguished if one is objective, despite attempts to confuse them.

139. The first aspect is the Zionist aggression on the rights of the Palestinian people, which originated under British colonial rule more than sixty years ago, and which, thanks to the forces of imperialism led by the United States, was crowned with the establishment of the Zionist imperialist enclave on the land of Palestine, whose people were consequently evicted from their lands, and thereby deprived of their right to self-determination.

140. The second aspect is the Israeli aggression on 5 June 1967, which resulted in the occupation of Arab territories, of three United Nations Member States, namely, Egypt, Syria and Jordan — an occupation which has continued up to the present day. This Israeli aggression, which is an inevitable consequence of the expansionist nature of the Zionist enclave, is a flagrant and grave violation of the United Nations Charter, which deplors and condemns aggression and does not recognize any gain resulting from the threat or use of force. Thus, the condemnation of Israel, and the ordering of its complete and unconditional withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories, is the sole action which the United Nations and the Security Council should have taken to protect international peace and security and ensure compliance with international law and the Charter of the world Organization. But such has not been the case, although more than three years have elapsed since Israel occupied Arab lands and began to establish new settlements therein. This lawless action led to the displacement of more Arab populations in addition to the hundreds of thousands of people of Palestine who have already been living in wretched conditions for over twenty years. The failure of the world Organization and the Security Council to adopt a resolution in accordance with Article 24 of the Charter stems from the deplorable fact that a super-Power, a permanent member of the Security Council, firmly supports aggression and impedes its liquidation.

141. When the United States continuously declares through its highly responsible officials that it intends to preserve the present cease-fire lines between Israel

<sup>12</sup> Held at Addis Ababa from 1 to 3 September 1970.

<sup>13</sup> Mr. Al-Shaikhly spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

and the Arab States, that means that it will protect Israeli aggression lines and Israel's aggressive gains.

142. When the United States declares that it will preserve the present balance of power between the Arab States and Israel, this means it will preserve the Israeli military superiority which protects Israel's expansionist designs in the occupied Arab territories. By the same token the United States is responsible for the eviction of more of the people of Palestine and participates in preventing their return to their homeland.

143. When the United States supplies Israel with fifty Phantom jet planes and promises to give more, and when, as it did recently, it grants Israel a loan for military equipment of 450 million dollars, it means that the United States is directly and effectively responsible for the massacre of Arab workers in their factories and Egyptian children in their schools.

144. Thus the Arab nation, in defence of its rights, not only is dealing with Israel but has to confront the colossal war machine of the United States.

145. The United States and Israel intend to use the acquisitions of the 1967 aggression to force the Arab nation to accept and submit to the crime of 1948, when the people of Palestine were evicted from their homeland and prevented from exercising their right to self-determination and sovereignty.

146. Standing strongly and decidedly by the side of sister Arab States in their effort to liberate their territories, Iraq reaffirms once again that the continuation of the so-called "Middle East crisis", and the dangers to international peace and security resulting therefrom, are a direct consequence of the debarring of the Palestinian people from the exercise of their natural rights in their homelands. Iraq is firmly determined to support unreservedly the struggle of the Palestinians for their legitimate rights.

147. The Iraqi Republic, being fully conscious of the importance of the present situation in the Middle East to international peace and security, believes that a just peace — which is aspired to not only by the Arab nation but by all nations of the world — is unattainable without the full recognition of the rights of the people of Palestine, and their participation as a direct party in the solution of a problem which they alone have the inalienable right to decide upon. Plans that seek to impose the consequences of aggression upon our nation and ignore the right of the people of Palestine to a natural existence will only bring further tragedies and will end in total failure.

148. The recent massacres which Amman and the rest of Jordan have witnessed, in which thousands of innocent lives were sacrificed, bear tragic witness to the consequences and fate of such plans. The suspicious role of the United States in this massacre was fully and clearly shown when it alerted its troops and navy and began to issue threatening announcements of its intention to intervene. These events abundantly vindicated our belief that a fundamental price of the

so-called American peace initiative is the complete liquidation of the people of Palestine and their heroic resistance.

149. The Palestinian problem has been an item on the United Nations agenda for the last twenty years. Numerous resolutions, varying in the depth of their understanding of the problem, have been adopted. However the twenty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly took an important and fundamental step in understanding the reality of the Middle East crisis by adopting resolution 2535 B (XXIV), which reaffirms the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine. Despite the fact that a year has elapsed since the adoption of that important resolution, no positive measures have been taken to implement it, as is the case with all the resolutions concerning the rights of the Palestinians. But the mere adoption of this resolution represents a turning point in the understanding of the Palestine question by the world community. It has put the Palestine question in its proper perspective because it has dealt with both cause and effect instead of merely concentrating upon the consequences. The affirmation of the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine was an eloquent and humane expression of the appreciation and recognition by the international community of the long process of struggle and sacrifice endured by the Palestinian people and their valiant resistance.

150. Needless to say, the Republic of Iraq considers the Palestine issue a corner-stone of its foreign policy. It is, in fact, participating fully and effectively in the exorbitant price which the Arab nation is paying for Zionist-imperialist aggression. Therefore, Iraq declares its firm determination to continue to render every possible assistance and support to the brave and valiant Palestine resistance. Moreover, the resistance movement proved under all circumstances its ability to grow, to perpetuate its struggle and to deepen its roots in the conscience of the Palestine people. In the view of the Iraqi Government, this movement is the sole legitimate representative of the aspirations of the people of Palestine, and the only party which has the right to speak on their behalf. The delegation of Iraq to the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly appeals from this rostrum to all States and nations valuing freedom and striving for peace and justice to foster the legitimate aspirations of the people of Palestine to self-determination and sovereignty in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

151. I intimated to the General Assembly during its last session [*1777th meeting*] the positive dangers arising from the crisis created by neighbouring Iran in its attempt to abrogate the Iraqi-Iranian Boundary Treaty of 1937. This Treaty decided once and for all the status of the riparian and land boundaries between Iraq and Iran in order to put an end to any controversy or dispute in this respect.

152. Needless to say, such a treaty cannot be unilaterally abrogated on any of the grounds authoritatively established in international law. I informed the Assem-

bly of the Iranian military build-up along our boundaries and the violations of Iraqi territorial sovereignty. Moreover, I demonstrated that such acts constitute a grave breach of the principle of respect for the sanctity of treaties, international obligations and the United Nations Charter. Good neighbourliness between Iraq and Iran requires that our neighbour should disclaim its illegal acts and demonstrate respect for its international obligations. I also stated last year that the Iraqi Government, which firmly believes in the peaceful settlement of international disputes, is ready to accept a decision from the International Court of Justice in connexion with any controversy that might arise from the application of the 1937 Boundary Treaty. But, instead of responding to this reasonable logic and responsible attitude, Iran persisted in its illegal acts and violations of Iraq's sovereignty. What is more, our eastern frontier witnessed last year a dangerous and explosive situation due to the increasing Iranian military build-up and the flagrant and dangerous violations of Iraq's sovereignty.

153. Iraq, nevertheless, has adhered to the policy of self-restraint in the face of these continuous provocations, in the hope that Iran would take a responsible attitude commensurate with its international obligations and State practice. Accordingly, Iraq approached the United Nations Secretary-General and requested him to send a special representative to see the provocative character of the Iranian military and other measures, and to assess directly the unfounded nature of Iranian allegations of a similar Iraqi military build-up on our side. But Iran, which had the opportunity to prove its respect for the office of the Secretary-General and the role of the United Nations in preserving international peace and security, rejected our offer on various pretexts.

154. The Middle East suffers from more than its share of the consequences of provocation and aggression. It is incumbent upon neighbouring Iran to realize that territorial aggrandizement, by means of threats to use force or by violating the rules of international law, is neither acceptable nor destined to meet with success.

155. Once again I call upon neighbouring Iran, as I did before, to adhere to the provisions of the permanent and valid Boundary Treaty, and to have recourse to the International Court of Justice in connexion with any dispute which may arise regarding the interpretation of its provisions. Such attitudes would restore good neighbourly relations between our countries and enhance the opportunity for co-operation in the best interest of our two nations.

156. The foreign policy of Iraq emanates from the progressive and humanitarian principles of the Baath Arab Socialist Party. Consequently, the liquidation of colonialism in all its forms, the support of the rights of peoples to liberation and national sovereignty and the elimination of all forms of racial prejudice and discrimination are firm directives in the foreign policy of the Iraqi Republic.

157. The Arab Gulf area, which suffers from colonial presence and the domination of foreign monopolies,

engages our special and continuous attention. In his statement during the celebrations of Iraq's national day last July, the President of the Republic outlined Iraq's policy towards that very important part of the Arab world, and emphasized the importance of its future for our national interests. President Ahmed Hassan Al-Bakr urged the prompt evacuation of all British forces in the area, and the liquidation of all imperialist bases. He also emphasized that Iraq absolutely rejects all allegations of a "political vacuum" in the area as a pretext for continuing the imperialist presence or as a justification for foreign intervention and exploitation. Allegations of "political vacuum" are but the Trojan horse of foreign imperialist interests, which has brought nothing but exploitation, restlessness and dangers to the people of the area. Securing peace and stability in the area, in the words of President Al-Bakr, is "subject to the will of its Arab people in co-operation with brotherly Arab countries of the Gulf". The Arab Gulf belongs to its rightful people and not to intruders and colonial settlers. Iraq rejects the substitution of one foreign presence in the Arab Gulf with another.

158. Iraq reiterates its demands that the British forces be withdrawn and that all colonial bases, not only in the northern part of the Gulf but also in its southern part, including Oman and Muscat, be liquidated. Moreover, Iraq draws the attention of the United Kingdom Government to the negative and dangerous consequences which may result from any delay, hesitation and indecision regarding its withdrawal from the area. The indigenous Arab population of the Gulf demand its complete independence from the foreign imperialist presence and the domination of foreign monopolies, and rejects all allegations of interest or influence, from whatever source they emanate. Palace plots, such as those recently staged in Muscat and Oman in order to neutralize increasing popular discontent and thwart the revolution declared by the people of Oman for independence, progress, and the liquidation of foreign bases and monopolies, will never deceive the people of the Arab South.

159. The struggle of the Arab nation for independence, freedom, and unity makes it a natural ally of all peoples struggling for freedom and progress. Our nation, which offers martyrs and sacrifices to confront the Zionist-American aggression, finds itself naturally allied and sympathetically bound to the people of Viet-Nam in their just struggle against the United States military aggression and the stooges of Saigon. The sacrifice of the people of Viet-Nam for independence and unity has gained them the admiration of all the peoples of the world and has become a source of inspiration to all peoples aspiring to freedom.

160. The Republic of Iraq, which has extended complete diplomatic recognition to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam, supports fully the just struggle of the Viet-Nameese people. We believe that the unconditional and complete withdrawal of all American forces from South Viet-Nam, enabling the people of Viet-Nam freely to exercise their right to self-determination, is the only guarantee of permanent peace in South-East Asia.

161. American designs have not been confined to Viet-Nam and the Middle East, where Israel carries them out on behalf of the United States, but have also extended to the peaceful people of Cambodia, which has preserved its unity, neutrality and independence under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk. But American intelligence, which has mastered the techniques of plotting in order to install its clients in power, engineered a coup d'état against the legitimate Government as a preliminary step for the United States military intervention in Cambodia. The armed American aggression against Cambodia is another act that the United States has added to its miserable record of antagonizing nations and threatening their peace and security. The Government of the Republic of Iraq considers the Government of Prince Sihanouk as the sole legitimate Government of Cambodia, and calls upon all freedom-loving Governments of the world to take a similar step as an expression of opposition to the policy of the United States and in support of the struggle of the Cambodian people.

162. Despite the fact that ten years have passed since the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, many areas are still suffering from colonial domination and oppression. The people of Iraq strongly support the liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia.

163. The Government of the Republic of Iraq calls upon the United Nations to exert all possible efforts in support of the struggle of peoples under the colonial yoke and the liberation movements. It also calls upon all Member States and the United Nations specialized agencies to implement the resolutions of the world Organization supporting the struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination.

164. The celebration by the United Nations of its twenty-fifth anniversary particularly reveals the outrageous gap in the application of a most fundamental principle upon which the Organization is based, and that is the principle of universality. To deny the People's Republic of China its legitimate seat in the United Nations, although it represents a quarter of the world's population, demonstrates positively one of the reasons for the failure of the Organization to promote international peace and security, which is a prime duty of the United Nations.

165. American manoeuvres, which are responsible for the creation of this abnormal situation, do a great disservice to the reputation of the international Organization and constitute an important factor in its failure to achieve its lofty aims.

166. While referring to the United Nations reputation and prestige, it is worth remembering that the continuation of American occupation of South Korea under the United Nations flag greatly contributes to their decline. My Government feels that it is high time for the United Nations to rid itself of a situation that makes it an impediment to the aspirations of the Korean

people to unity and independence, and which serves to cover up the illegal American occupation of South Korea.

*Mr. Hambro (Norway) resumed the Chair.*

167. The importance of this session bestows a special importance upon the items on its agenda. Foremost among these items is the consideration of measures for strengthening international security. The Republic of Iraq, which shares with the international community a desire to strengthen international security, deems it necessary for the General Assembly to adopt a declaration relating to the strengthening of international peace and security on the basis of respect for the United Nations Charter and the principles of international law, emphasizing repudiation of the threat or use of force against the political independence and territorial integrity of the States of the world, placing due emphasis on respect for recognized boundaries between States, the non-intervention by States in the internal affairs of others, the inadmissibility of territorial expansion or occupation of the territory of a State through aggression and respect for the equal sovereign rights of States.

168. The agenda of this session contains many important items, particularly those relating to disarmament and the reservation exclusively for peaceful uses of the sea-bed and the ocean floor outside the limits of national jurisdiction, and the exploitation of their resources for the benefit of mankind, and also the question of the breadth of the territorial sea and related subjects.

169. The Iraqi delegation attaches considerable importance to the development of the principles of the Charter relating to friendly relations and co-operation among States.

170. Since the Special Committee on friendly relations<sup>14</sup> has reached agreement on a number of important principles it is necessary for the General Assembly to adopt at this historical session a declaration on friendly relations among States.

171. Among the important topics to be dealt with in the present session of the General Assembly is the launching of the Second Development Decade. Despite our great disappointment that the First Development Decade has failed to achieve its modest goals, there are hopeful signs that the Second Development Decade will achieve better results, the most important amongst which is the declared intention of the socialist countries to participate in the Second Development Decade. The delegation of Iraq welcomes this step, which will have far-reaching consequences on the future economic development of the developing countries. Moreover, although it is very important to plan a world strategy for the Second Development Decade, this alone will not be sufficient unless all States act in full co-operation and in a spirit of self-denial to achieve that strategy. The developed States are asked to render all assistance

<sup>14</sup> Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States.

to developing countries, and particularly to transfer 1 per cent of their gross national product to the latter.

172. In addition, the developing countries must realize that they bear prime responsibility for developing their national economy and increasing their production. Perhaps the most important aspect of this policy is that the developing countries should control their natural resources and exploit them nationally, as emphasized in numerous United Nations resolutions.

173. Iraq realizes full well that it is its primary responsibility to develop its economy and raise the standard of living of its people. Thus it has embarked upon the exploitation of its natural resources through direct national means, in an effort to defend its legitimate national rights and interests vis-à-vis foreign monopolies. This is in addition to the strenuous efforts exerted to develop industry and agriculture. During the First Development Decade Iraq has achieved a rate of growth in gross national income which greatly exceeds the rate anticipated for developing countries.

174. In addition, the national development plan for the years 1970-1974 has set a target for increasing the gross national income by a rate of 7.1 per cent annually. This equals twice the increase in population, and will, in turn, double the gross national income in ten years.

175. In concluding my statement, I should like to point out that I have not embarked upon evaluating what the United Nations has done and achieved during the last quarter of a century, setting this aside for the commemorative session which is due to begin in a few days.

176. I consider it important to affirm that Iraq, as one of the founders of the United Nations, has always been faithful to the letter and spirit of its Charter and dedicated to co-operation with all freedom- and peace-loving nations in making the principles of the Charter the foundation-stone of international relations, so that the hopes pinned by the peoples of the world upon our international Organization can be realized.

177. Mr. DE PABLO PARDO (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is a fortunate coincidence that precisely at a time when the United Nations is celebrating its first twenty-five years of existence, an eminent jurist so closely linked to our Organization should have been elected to preside over the General Assembly. On behalf of the Argentine Government, it is a pleasure for me to congratulate Your Excellency, Mr. President, on this felicitous choice.

178. Through you I should also like to express the appreciation of the Argentine delegation to Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph of Liberia, for the work she performed as President of the twenty-fourth session.

179. From this rostrum, the Argentine Government wishes to express to the delegation of the United Arab Republic its regret and sympathy upon the recent death of His Excellency President Gamal Abdel Nasser. The loss of this outstanding statesman has not only plunged

the Arab world into mourning, but has also deeply grieved all those who greatly valued his capacity to contribute actively to the establishment of peace in the Middle East.

180. When the Organization of the United Nations was created in 1945, its founders had two fundamental purposes in mind: on the one hand, solemnly to formulate the basic principles of the international system and, on the other, to establish a legal framework in keeping with the political and social needs of the immediate post-war era. Both objectives were the result of the historical experience of mankind and of the interests and aspirations which all civilized nations can in no way renounce. The enunciation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations was thus considered as a sign of moral evolution and maturity of peoples.

181. The need to rely upon a stable management of international relations is also deeply rooted in the history of nations. In the course of time, a number of philosophical and legal-political currents proposed guiding principles that went beyond State limits. Up to the beginning of the twentieth century, for more or less lengthy periods, international peace had been ensured by means of treaties signed among the great Powers. These laid the groundwork for peace and *de facto* established conditions for international stability. The so-called "European concert" is good proof of this concept which restricted the active access of the non-European states to international life.

182. The growing democratization of the international society and the part played in the solution of controversies by the small countries contributed to the crumbling of that restricted concept of the system and to laying the foundations for a legal-political structure of world-wide scope resting upon the consent and equality of States based on a distribution of responsibilities. This was precisely what the League of Nations sought to accomplish. The catastrophe of the Second World War is the clearest proof of the way in which that organization had to yield to the trends that finally proved it incapable of maintaining peace among States.

183. However, the need for an international normative system was summed up in a number of international instruments and conferences, from the Atlantic Charter in 1941 to Dumbarton Oaks in 1944. It was the San Francisco Conference, however, which was ultimately to adopt the Charter of the United Nations, thus taking those historic aspirations up again and embarking upon a new era in the management of international affairs.

184. It might justifiably have been felt at that time that, when the United Nations linked the ideals of peace and security with the existence of adequate legal machinery that it had thereby ensured international stability and harmony among nations.

185. Today it is not difficult to prove that, although the principles may still be valid, the actual force of many of them is relative. Future historians of this quarter-century will no doubt use as a guiding thread

the listings of constant violations of those principles in almost all areas of the world. They will also be able to show the lack of efficiency of many measures, the existence of which seemed to end at the time of their adoption.

186. There is a notorious maladjustment between institution and reality. We are not referring here to the discrepancy that may exist between what should be and what factually is. We know that ideals always precede their practical fulfilment. History has shown to what extent ideas that at one time were deemed Utopian gradually became specific and indispensable factors of our everyday life.

187. The discrepancy between the normative framework and reality to which we refer here is of a different nature. We have drawn away from the empiric possibilities that existed, and we sometimes tend to forget that our Organization is supported by the political will of the Member States. Proclaiming principles does not in itself make them realities, and it is not sufficient to multiply the legal machinery when the latter is not based upon the social reality it is intended to regulate.

188. Furthermore, if we are fully aware of the difficulties that our Organization faces in settling important questions bearing on international peace and security, it is difficult to understand how year after year we are willing to allow the agenda of the United Nations to be swollen by secondary items which consume so much time and money and are doomed to remain without solution. The bureaucratic and budgetary growth of our Organization and the useless waste of effort are unavoidable consequences of such an attitude.

189. Mention has been made of the need to revise the Charter. Theoretically speaking we cannot but support such a measure, but from the practical point of view we are fully aware of the almost insuperable problems that such a step implies. Perhaps it might be more worth-while to make an effort to try to use to the utmost those resources provided for and authorized by the Charter, instead of undertaking a scarcely possible revision, particularly with regard to the peaceful settlement of disputes. If, furthermore, we wish to act with a practical awareness, we must bear in mind that some of the measures approved by this General Assembly or by the Security Council require adequate financial resources for full implementation. Very often extremely serious functional maladjustments are due to the fact that this elementary circumstance has been overlooked.

190. The United Nations will be what its Member States wish it to be. What is most serious is that as we pare down our active participation or neglect the consideration of our possibilities it becomes more difficult to put into practice the Purposes and Principles of the Charter, thus endangering international peace and security.

191. The scepticism and discouragement with which many of our contemporaries gauge the actions of the

United Nations are understandable. We, as representatives of the States Members of the Organization, have the duty to be honest with ourselves and to adopt a critical stand that will permit us to judge both our successes and our failures objectively.

192. In order to carry out such an analysis, we might establish a three-fold division of problems. First of all, there are those that have been practically or entirely settled, and in this case our satisfaction at what has been accomplished is justified. Secondly, there are those problems that have acquired a chronic degree of gravity and have been awaiting solution for years. In this case discouragement is well founded, and it is urgent that we adopt effective measures to correct the structural and operational flaws in our Organization. Thirdly, there are the new problems created by the emergence of facts that have changed the world situation. In this last case we should act with sufficient determination so that these matters will become part of the first of this series and not swell the ranks of the second group.

193. Decolonization belongs in the first group of problems. This has surely been one of the outstanding phenomena of our day. New States in full enjoyment of their sovereignty, have become active participants in the international system. The principle of the self-determination of peoples has thus found its true application, and its observance has helped to enrich the international political situation. Resolution 1514 (XV), the tenth anniversary of which we shall soon be marking, served to hasten the winding-up process of the colonialist régimes and to ensure a greater equality, at least in the political field, among the peoples of the world. The Argentine Republic is firmly convinced that decolonization must be totally carried out.

194. For that reason we continue to be concerned over the situation of the Territories of southern Africa which still remain under colonial administration. Within this context, the atmosphere is further troubled by the existence of a Government which illegally holds power in Southern Rhodesia, by the racial discrimination that is represented by *apartheid* and by the non-recognition of the authority of the United Nations of which we are witnesses in Namibia.

195. In this context I wish to refer to a matter of vital importance to the Argentine Republic: the question of the Malvinas Islands. True to its diplomatic traditions, my Government agreed to negotiate with the United Kingdom regarding the dispute over the sovereignty of the islands. In so doing, we were interpreting the spirit and the letter of resolution 2065 (XX) and, at the same time, we declared our irrevocable decision—shared by all the people of Argentina—to have the Malvinas Islands restored to our territorial heritage. Since the end of the last session of this General Assembly negotiations have continued on the diplomatic level. It was with great interest that we pursued the talks regarding the problem of communications between the Islands and the Argentine mainland, for we believe that these are the first steps towards the

solution of the dispute. In due course, we shall report on the results of these talks.

196. Those whose votes have made it possible for Argentina and the United Kingdom to begin their talks with a view to ending a situation which is incompatible with the terms of resolution 1514 (XV) did so because they considered that decolonization is an irreversible process that brooks no exceptions. There can, furthermore, be no doubt that the question of the Malvinas Islands is an obstacle to the development of the ties that should link Argentina with the United Kingdom increasingly closely. Therefore, the solution to this problem cannot be unduly delayed. My Government reaffirms its right to raise the matter again in this Assembly if the talks fail or if they are excessively prolonged.

197. We believe it urgent that these cases should be solved so that they will not remain to swell the number of problems in the second of the groups I have mentioned, that is, the problems pending solution.

198. The question of general and complete disarmament also belongs in this category. If we consider the consequences of the qualitative development of the new systems of weaponry on the life of international society, it is difficult to presume that the efforts to achieve an easing of political tension within the system can possibly show lasting results while the arsenals of the great Powers remain at their present levels or are increased.

199. For this reason my Government attaches considerable importance to the strategic arms limitation talks which are taking place bilaterally between the United States and the Soviet Union, but we feel it necessary to recall the fact that urgent measures should be adopted for nuclear disarmament within the context of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

200. Argentina continues to participate actively in the deliberations of the Conference of the Committee, on disarmament convinced as it is of the vital importance of seeking an understanding that might help to dissipate the threat of a nuclear catastrophe.

201. That Conference has submitted to this present session a draft treaty prohibiting the emplacement of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and ocean floors and on the subsoil thereof<sup>15</sup>. The document on which we are now to take a stand contains significant changes compared to the one that was considered at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Some of these tend to protect the legitimate interests of the coastal States and at the same time prevent those provisions covering verification from prejudging matters touching upon the law of the sea. Argentina attaches special relevance to all of these principles, as is attested to by our active participation in the amendment of the previous draft. The text, such as it has been presented to the General

Assembly, has our support and we hope that it will be approved by a wide-spread majority of Member States.

202. The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has continued the examination of the question of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons on the basis of the two draft conventions and other proposals which were submitted to it. The Committee has dedicated itself to the treatment of both types of armaments and has seriously considered the political and technical aspects pertaining to the subject. My Government attaches special significance to the problem of verification procedures which it might be necessary to adopt. It is to be hoped that the General Assembly will recommend that the Committee should continue this task which, although difficult, is nevertheless most necessary.

203. With regard to the elaboration of a detailed programme on general and complete disarmament, the report submitted by the Committee shows that this matter was one of its main concerns. We deem it advisable to reiterate that the aim of the programme must be the achieving of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. On various occasions we had already warned about the negative consequences of collateral measures which, because of their discriminatory character, actually constitute the "disarmament of the unarmed" and do not signify a true contribution to the achievement of a true general armaments reduction.

204. There can be no doubt that the conflict in the Middle East is one of the typical cases that has not as yet found a settlement within the framework of the United Nations. It is to be hoped that the encouraging symptoms noticed lately will help to allay the suspicions that have been felt by both parties. Thus the first steps may then be taken towards the effective implementation of resolution 242 (1967) of the Security Council, in the drafting of which Argentina played a significant part. We believe that this resolution points to the right road to peace. Furthermore, my Government reaffirms its faith in the Jarring mission as a means towards understanding and, through the participation of Argentine officers, will continue to co-operate in the supervision of the cease-fire in the Suez Canal area.

205. South-East Asia is also a source of serious concern. That grave problem can be settled only if negotiations among those directly involved are pursued in a spirit in keeping with the Charter. The continuous delays which hinder the elimination of this permanent breach of the peace are contrary to the purposes of the United Nations.

206. We cannot in this context overlook the constant danger being run by those who, in their capacity as news correspondents, are present in the zone of conflict in order to carry out their difficult task of keeping world public opinion informed of the battles more efficiently and accurately. Respect for human rights during armed conflicts requires special observance in the case of news correspondents during hostilities. My

<sup>15</sup>Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1970, document DC/223, annex A.

own country is prepared to consider measures to guarantee greater security to those engaged in this important work.

207. Both the situation in the Middle East and that of South-East Asia are of concern to the community of nations not only because of the constant losses in human lives, but also because, despite their apparently regional nature, they may endanger the security of the entire system. We know full well that the interests at stake in this case go beyond the direct participants in the struggle. Reference to these cases is necessary in a statement made before this Assembly. The trouble with periodic repetitions is that the problems we are analysing tend to become commonplace. Nothing could be more grave and serious than to accustom ourselves to living with war and destruction and to think that both are inevitable at a given time in history. Our insistence therefore in referring to these conflicts must not be interpreted as a repetition of just another rhetorical sentence, but as the proof of a deeply felt concern.

208. Among the third group of problems mentioned, that is, those that have emerged recently, must be listed a question that warrants special attention because it seriously bears upon international peace and security. I refer to the committing of acts of violence and terrorism that constitute true crimes in terms of international criminal law. Violence and subversion, especially in Latin America, have acquired such a scope and magnitude in certain cases as to affect the very basis of international order. If we truly wish to practise tolerance as a fundamental attribute of democracy in our continent, we cannot permit indiscriminate violence, alleging pretexts of confused political ideals in order to convert crimes offensive to human conscience into instruments of social transformation. The Argentine people categorically rejects the committing of those crimes, which are completely alien to its way of life and to the philosophy of freedom which supports it.

209. In the Organization of American States the Republic of Argentina has pointed out the need to define and then to prevent and to punish this type of crime. The Argentine Government understands that it is incumbent upon each State to adopt those measures it deems necessary to repress acts that violate order and security within its own territory. Yet the knowledge that in many cases terrorists and kidnappers receive some kind of foreign assistance—in the form of money, weapons or training—forces us to consider the need to encourage concerted action on a world-wide scale so that those individuals will not escape justice. Within the regional framework, the Inter-American Juridical Committee four days ago, on 26 September, approved a draft convention on terrorism and kidnapping of persons with a view to extortion, which will be submitted for the consideration of members of the Organization of American States. It should be pointed out that article 10 of that draft provides that the Convention will remain open “for signature by the member States of the Organization of American States, as well as any other State Member of the United Nations or any other State invited to do so by the General Assembly of the Organization of American States”.

210. The increasing frequency of acts of hijacking deserves unanimous condemnation by all States Members of the Organization. Argentina considers that the United Nations should adopt adequate measures to prevent recurrence of this crime.

211. I wish now to refer to one of the subjects of greatest significance on the agenda of this twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, namely, the Second United Nations Development Decade and the plan for a global strategy which we are to set in motion during the commemorative period of the present session. Lengthy has been the road covered in the last few years in order to put into practice the principles of the Charter in matters of international co-operation for economic and social progress of all peoples. A clear example of this is what took place during the decade of the 1960s when, for the first time, an effort was made to establish equal opportunities for countries at different levels of development, through a systematization of efforts to achieve specific growth objectives. During those years the aspirations of the developing countries were clearly seen and intense multilateral activity took place.

212. In the various United Nations specialized agencies, in the Economic and Social Council and in the General Assembly, we have in the last few years succeeded in identifying the elements on which to base national efforts and international co-operation. Those elements have been embodied in a considerable number of documents on global and sectoral objectives for economic and social development. With regard to these objectives, there exists an almost unanimous agreement on the part of the different sectors, or at least a sound and honest will to reach a compromise.

213. The study of the final form the agreements on political measures for the fulfilment of those objectives should have is at present in the last stage of negotiation, and it is a promising sign that those talks are not on the substance of the problem but only on a time-table for implementation. This fact alone renders obvious the spirit in which the international community is entering the decade of the seventies, a decade which will be called upon to put into practice agreed measures for the achievement of the objectives of development.

214. In the implementation of those measures an equal share of responsibility will be borne by both the developed and the developing countries. It is a matter of uniting efforts and of adding to the solidarity of the more industrialized nations, as well as the determination of the other countries to make serious and continuous progress along the road of their own development. Sterile confrontations or the complacency of the recipients of aid can only delay solutions and benefit those who thrive on inertia. For this reason we believe in conciliating interests. Our strategy must consist in promoting a range of positive solutions which, by gradually including new measures or widening the scope of already adopted instruments, will raise to an increasingly high and efficient level economic co-operation among all Members of the Organization. Only thus will we reach the targets set for the Second United Nations Development Decade.

215. One of the factors that has had the greatest impact on the history of the last twenty-five years has been the astounding progress of science and technology. Ours has been called the era of the scientific civilization. That description is not an arbitrary one. Never before has the destiny of mankind depended so much on the rational conquest of nature. Never before have discoveries in the field of science and their immediate application through technology so substantially altered human and inter-State relations. Those countries which lack adequate means in order to utilize science and technology fully will be left outside the flow of history. The intellectual power has today become the fourth sector of the economy. The advanced communities are in fact "study societies".

216. The Argentine Republic is ready to intensify further the policy of achieving agreements with other States for co-operation and mutual assistance in the field of science and technology. Within the United Nations we shall support—as we do in the Organization of American States—any proposals designed to encourage basic research and the transfer of applied technology. We believe that if this transfer is not carried out and if international sharing of the burdens of research is not increased, all other efforts made to bridge the gaps between countries at different levels of development will be in vain.

217. We firmly believe that multilateral co-operation, such as that carried out in the specialized agencies and bodies, particularly in the United Nations Development Programme, is a proof of what the United Nations can achieve when there is a political will of commitment in the field of assistance.

218. When modern science and technology became a decisive factor in international life, new fields were opened up for the legal regulation or settlement of relations among States. One of these was that of the sea-bed and ocean floor. Argentina considers that the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction should be considered the common heritage of mankind. It is unfortunate that the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction has not yet reached an agreement on a declaration of principles to be submitted to the General Assembly, in accordance with the terms of resolution 2574 B (XXIV). The Republic of Argentina believes that the Declaration of principles should reflect the necessary adaptation of the law to the changes that occur in international life.

219. Once the Committee has drafted the régime applicable to the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, the time will have come for the convening of a comprehensive conference on the law of the sea. That conference will have to deal with all those aspects that may require revision or establishment due to the appearance of interests or situations calling for new international legal regulation. Thus, the criteria set forth by the General Assembly in resolution 2574 B (XXIV) will be complied with.

220. Argentina wishes to express its satisfaction at the work done by the Special Committee on Principles

of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States. My country has had the honour of participating in the work of the Special Committee since its creation in 1964 and has endeavoured at all times to make a most constructive contribution to its deliberations. We consider that the draft declaration [A/8082, para. 8] that has finally been prepared is a valuable document for the codification and progressive development of fundamental principles of international law and we are ready to give it our full support when it is considered by the General Assembly.

221. When the Charter of the United Nations was signed in the city of San Francisco twenty-five years ago, precisely 150 years had elapsed since publication of a short essay of prophetic intuition. In his native city of Königsberg, Emmanuel Kant, in 1795, published his "Essay on perpetual peace". In it he attempted to show that universal peace was not only desirable and conceivable, but necessary and inevitable. In order to achieve it, there had to exist an international order based on a law consented to by all nations. Thus: "each State, even the smallest, could expect respect for its security and its rights, not through its own power or its own definition of the law, but simply as the result of the existence of a great society of nations, all abiding by laws adopted through their united will".

222. The important fact in our day is that this united will for peace, considered as an indivisible entity, should be universal in scope. Perhaps the very stability of our international system as a conditioning factor requires that we do not set aside the undeniable factual realities of the world of today. If this be the case, then we have the right to wonder how this concern can be rendered compatible with a restricted universalization of the United Nations.

223. In the course of this statement we have mentioned a series of facts that are of concern to us as they affect peace or hamper the effective achievement of international co-operation. I do not believe it difficult to agree with this analysis. But this would not be complete without mentioning, as one of the undeniable achievements of the Organization, the fact that it has localized and solved some of the conflicts that might have had serious effects on international peace and security. The United Nations has effectively contributed to keeping alive our awareness of the danger to all mankind of a generalized conflict. It is this very awareness which leads us to view with interest the signing of the recent Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the USSR which will contribute to *détente* in Europe.

224. A hundred years ago, a great Argentine thinker, Juan Bautista Alberdi, wrote that:

"War is the justice every one works out for himself failing world justice. World justice is lacking because the world is deprived of unity and does not as yet constitute an international society. Therefore, the way to abolish war is to help the consolidation of the world into a State of States, a society of societies,

a nation of nations, as a type of entity to work out a justice that, today, everyone works out for himself, by means of war.”

225. In 1970, we now have this “nation of nations”. If justice is to be imposed by the threat or use of force, and if man, in all areas, has not yet achieved the dignity he deserves, the future will hold us responsible.

226. The Argentine Republic, within the framework of its international commitments, will maintain the principle of freedom of action of its foreign policy in an ever increasingly interdependent world and pledges all its efforts to fulfil the desire for peace and co-operation which twenty-five years ago was embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.

227. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to exercise their right of reply.

228. Mr. EL-ZAYYAT (United Arab Republic): Mindful of the words with which the United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Charles Yost, referred yesterday to relations between our two countries, and having heard him today, with careful attention, I wish to refer to one of the paragraphs of the statement that he made today, although it will not be a full quotation. He said that the resumption of Mr. Jarring’s mission “will require above all serious steps to restore and strengthen confidence in the integrity of the cease-fire and military standstill agreement along the Suez Canal”. It is not a full quotation, but it is all on record.

229. If Mr. Yost’s statement is a reference to such allegations as those made here the day before yesterday by the Foreign Minister of Israel [1851st meeting], then the United Arab Republic delegation deems it its duty, for the benefit of the Assembly and its Members, including the United States delegation, to throw some light on this allegation. The Israelis seek, of course, to convince everyone that the Government of Israel stood and stands ready to enter into negotiations with the Secretary-General’s Special Representative, Ambassador Jarring, in order to implement Security Council resolution 242 (1967), providing for withdrawal of its forces of occupation and a just settlement for the Palestinians.

230. It is stated and now reflected in the statement of the United States delegation that because the United Arab Republic has allegedly—and I repeat, allegedly—reorganized and put up SAM 2 and SAM 3 missile sites in the Suez Canal zone, the road towards negotiation, towards talks with Mr. Jarring, has been blocked, that Israel finds itself in an impossible position, that it cannot do anything until that block is removed. And this, even after the recent colossal supplies of sophisticated arms given to Israel by the United States.

231. I just want to put on record a declaration from Tel Aviv, Israel, reported by the American agency, Associated Press, by the man who is, of course, primarily responsible for the military strength and operations

of Israel—General Moshe Dayan. It is dated 5 May 1970. The Assembly remembers, of course, that the so-called American initiative was made in the second half of June 1970. It was communicated to us in Cairo on 19 June. The Secretary-General wrote to the Security Council on 7 August 1970<sup>16</sup>. Ambassador Jarring was not able to commence what he called the formal beginning of his talks until 24 August, the same day on which the Israeli representative went home, seeking instructions. Only then, after 24 August, were the missiles discovered and indeed the pretext was found for a way out of the dilemma of how to refuse America’s initiative without refusing its weapons and its military and financial support. On that day, 5 May 1970, some fifteen weeks before this discovery, General Dayan was quoted in this Associated Press report from Tel Aviv:

“Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Dayan has offered Egypt an unconditional and unlimited cease-fire. ‘The Government’—that is, the Government of Israel—‘is ready to re-establish an unconditional and unlimited cease-fire even if this will enable Egypt to reorganize and put up SAM 3 missile sites,’ Dayan told a student rally in Haifa last night. ‘We are willing to accept this because we sincerely want a cease-fire, because it would end the war and open the corridor to some kind of an arrangement.’ ”

232. On 5 May SAM 3 missile sites—and, of course, SAM 2 are less dangerous for the low-flying Israeli bombers—“put up in the Suez Canal Zone” would not have prevented the opening of a “corridor” for peaceful arrangements.

233. But later, after President Nasser’s statesmanlike acceptance of this American initiative, a pretext had to be found—by a State which is still expanding—to withdraw, to escape confrontation with the possibility of peace, of having boundaries which will put an end to its expansion. A block had to be found. The block was the same thing that earlier, on 5 May, the Minister of War, responsible for the safety of Israel, had stated would not prevent the opening or a corridor towards a peaceful arrangement. The case of “the reorganizing and setting up of missiles” was discovered.

234. Mr. VAKIL (Iran) (*interpretation from French*): I apologize for speaking at such a late hour, but I should like to reassure the Assembly right away by saying that my statement will be very brief.

235. The Foreign Minister of Iraq in his statement mentioned the dispute between our two countries, but he sketched a picture of a situation which does not correspond with the facts. Last year, our Foreign Minister twice, and I too, replied to all these allegations which were simply repeated today. Also, in the letters which I have sent on behalf of my Government to the Security Council, I have explained the facts<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-fifth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1970*, document S/9902.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, *Twenty-fourth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1969*, documents S/9190 and S/9200; and *ibid.*, *Supplement for July, August and September 1969*, document S/9425.

236. As our Foreign Minister is listed to speak tomorrow, he will make the necessary explanations with regard to certain allegations, which will simply be a repetition of what we have already said. However, I should like to stress two facts at this time.

237. First, if the Boundary Treaty of 1937 is no longer in force, if it ceases to exist it is Iraq which has caused its death. Secondly, the Foreign Minister of Iraq, speaking of the Persian Gulf, the Gulf where our coastline goes from one side to the other, has called it the "Arabian Gulf". When he said that he hoped for the departure of the colonizers, we, too, can entirely endorse that wish. We only ask and we have always told Iraq that we want to establish relations with them on a basis of good neighbourliness, completely untrammelled by vestiges of colonialism. But when he gives to the Persian Gulf the name of "Arabian Gulf", tying it up with the question of colonialism, perhaps this even reveals a new form of colonialism. On the subject of that Gulf, I ask the representatives here, what is the name that you learnt when you went to school? Why this change? Why distort the name of the Gulf? Does not the Gulf belong to a country which has a coastline going from one side to the other? Can a country which has only a coastline of a few kilometres arrogate to itself the right to falsify the name? We really have to look for the reason. I think it was he himself who linked the two notions of colonialism and the Arab name for the Gulf. It was, and remains, the Persian Gulf. The Gulf has always been the Persian Gulf. Note that we do not call it the Iranian Gulf; the Persian Gulf is what we call it. Why change or falsify the name? If you really want our relations to be based on good neighbourliness, why change this name?

238. With regard to the other questions which I mentioned, our Foreign Minister will say whatever is necessary about them tomorrow.

239. Mr. EL-SHIBIB (Iraq): I must say I am surprised that the Iranian representative has found it necessary to make a reply to the very reasonable and very logical statement which my Foreign Minister made this morning before the Assembly. As my Foreign Minister explained, we have a valid Treaty which defines the

borders between Iraq and Iran. Iran has seen fit unilaterally to abrogate this valid Treaty, an action which has no justification in law or in the practice of States. It is clearly in violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations which most of us are gathering on this occasion to celebrate and endorse. This act of Iran is, in our view, and I am sure in the view of the international community, illegal. If a State chooses in a fit of pique or temper to abrogate unilaterally treaties defining its borders with its neighbours, then not only the Middle East but every part of the world will suddenly become a jungle of disputes; all the known borders between States, on which the sovereignty of each State is based and established, will be in doubt, and we will be thrown into the confusion of the Middle Ages. This is our first point.

240. Secondly, in spite of this illegal act, in spite of the provocation that has accompanied its execution, we still preserve our temper, we still seek a peaceful solution based on the practice of States, based on international law, and based on the Charter of the United Nations. We have called upon our neighbours and brothers in Iran to show their respect for the Treaty, to show their adherence to it. If they have any quarrel or dispute about its provisions, we accept the judgement of the International Court of Justice and its ruling on any of these disputes. I feel this is a reasonable, responsible and moderate position to take, it is the least any State can do in the protection of its sovereignty.

241. I will not go into the point that my colleague has raised with regard to the Arab Gulf, I will say only that it is intentions that matter. We fully support the independence, the sovereignty and the right of self-determination of the people of the Gulf. We reject any claims of special relations, special interests or attempts at annexation. We resist them, and I hope that we will all remember that not only great Powers and great empires have imperial dreams, but, as has been shown by the example of Israel, there are also little States aspiring to be empires. I hope this is an age that has passed and that no one will ever allow its resurrection.

*The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.*