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President: Mr. Edvard HAMBRO (Norway).

AGENDA ITEM 21

Celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Assembly will now hear a statement by the President of the Republic of Costa Rica, His Excellency Mr. José Figueres.

2. President FIGUERES (*interpretation from Spanish*): On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, I wish to offer my warmest greetings to the President of this Assembly, the Secretary-General, the Under-Secretary-General and representatives of the Member States.

3. I have given some thought to what we call the problems of development, and in that connexion to the difficulties deriving from a defective relationship between advanced countries and under-developed countries. One might say, having recourse to a biological simile, that there are three types of relationship between wealthy countries and poor countries, namely, exploitation, parasitism and symbiosis. Just as occurs in the case of individuals, human societies can exploit each other. In olden times the victor in war always exploited the vanquished. At the outset of the colonial era, when the European countries entered into close contact with the under-developed regions of the earth, the whole relationship sought to favour the stronger. To use the biological simile, the link between them was merely one of exploitation.

4. Over the years the colonizers felt it necessary to undertake certain expenditure for the benefit of the

* The 1865th to 1870th, 1872nd to 1879th and 1881st to 1883rd meetings contain the speeches made during the twenty-fifth anniversary commemorative session.

colonies, for instance for literacy, health, and sometimes to promote civilization. The costs of administration were rising and they reached such a peak that they exceeded the income extracted from the economy. The occupied countries became accustomed to having everything brought in from outside. Gradually a new relationship was established, that of parasitism.

5. The recognition of the fact that the relationship had been inverted, passing from exploitation to parasitism, favoured the trend toward independence. Some colonial nations voluntarily gave up their colonies.

6. In the last quarter of a century, during the life of the United Nations, a new relationship has flowered, that of international aid. As we gain experience in this act of solidarity to bring about balance in the world, we should seek machinery that will at one and the same time benefit the recipient countries and the donor countries, which provide the assistance. This, in biological terms, could be described as a symbiotic relationship. If we do not find formulas that will have symbiotic effects, external aid, international investments and unfavourable terms of trade may lead to new colonialism. Perhaps ties of political submission or economic exploitation will finally reduce the weaker party to a parasitical position. Neither of the two relationships, exploitation and parasitism, will bring about the harmonious development of peoples. If there is no harmonious symbiotic development, the integratory course of universal evolution will be interrupted or delayed.

7. In economic terms, international assistance in the amounts required is within reach of the advanced countries, and this will be all the more true when expenditures on war are reduced. The difficulty is not economic but political in nature. The feeling of universal solidarity is still not sufficiently developed even in the most highly advanced countries so that the voters will approve the massive assistance required to achieve balance in the world. What is more, international assistance may worsen the purely monetary problems that are characteristic of our era. It may cause inflation in the beneficiary countries and a shortage of foreign exchange in the donor countries. In other words, international assistance in its negative monetary effects, may further contribute to the havoc caused by the maintenance of military forces abroad.

8. There is a possible form of foreign aid which would cause practically no monetary imbalance and which probably would be less objectionable to public opinion in the donor countries. This is aid based on surplus

productive capacity. In any society which does not have a collective economy, in other words, in a capitalist society, one of the greatest incentives to production is the guaranteed purchase of surpluses, be they agricultural or industrial. These surpluses cost very little in terms of the total economy of a country. Actually, they signify a better use of equipment and existing administrative facilities, with some additional input of raw materials and direct costs.

9. For many years, certain agricultural surpluses have been used in international aid. This is nothing new. More general use could appropriately be made of this method and it could well be extended to industrial products. For an industrial country of a certain size the social cost of producing, let us say, 1,000 tractors more than can be sold is low. For those countries which still do not have any tractor-manufacturing plants, this foreign aid would be of immense value. This plan offers such possibilities that at times it might be useful deliberately to produce surpluses. This would maintain an abundant supply of goods and stable prices in the producer countries, and would give impetus to those countries that still do not produce those articles. Any medicine administered in excess can be harmful. As the agricultural or industrial output increases in the backward countries, aid in kind should be reduced. No impediment should be placed in the way of the development of local output. But this would be a minor problem.

10. During the Second World War, the United States Army wanted to purchase garden produce in Costa Rica for the troops stationed in the Panama Canal Zone. Costa Rica's first reaction was to say that they did not have enough vegetables even for their own consumption. But we allowed the army supply officers to set up stations from which they could purchase vegetables in Costa Rican markets, but only from a certain hour of the day so that the local population could obtain supplies for themselves first. The result was a success. With the guarantee of a purchaser of unlimited quantities at a stable price, the truck garden farmers multiplied their output five-and ten-fold.

11. The greatest brake on production in many countries is the uncertainty of the market. Any small surplus that is produced reduces prices so sharply that the farmer is ruined. The producers fear nothing so much as a surplus. We live in poverty under the spectre of abundance. Many of our countries have succeeded in stabilizing grain prices by a system of stockpiling, purchasing seasonal surpluses in order to provide a source of supply in times of shortage. My Government is now planning to expand the programme to vegetables and other very perishable items and to process them for school cafeterias and for other child nutrition programmes.

12. My country, like many others, has received aid from abroad in the form of milk and milk products bought as surplus by the United States Government to stabilize the market and internal prices. In view of difficulties of all kinds inherent in the provision of external aid in the form of cash, if the idea of aid

in kind has not made greater progress it is perhaps because it is too simple. The only rational, politically easy and monetarily sound way to provide massive foreign aid is to use and even encourage surpluses of the productive capacity in agriculture and industry.

13. It would not always be easy to provide this aid under bilateral arrangements. It would be appropriate to use an international organization as a vast reserve and stabilization fund in order to co-ordinate the efforts of the donor countries with the needs of the beneficiary countries. Even aid in the form of money tends today to be channelled through multi-national institutions. There would be all the more reason to follow this procedure in providing aid in the form of surpluses.

14. I have suggested on various occasions that a world food bank should be set up consisting of stockpiles in the principal ports of the world and other appropriate places to serve the multiple purpose of stabilizing prices to counteract poor harvests that result in serious famines, provide international aid in kind and improve the diet of the people.

15. One form of exploitation mentioned so often in the past 25 years that it has become an out-worn theme is the trade in industrial products for commodities which has been carried on between the weaker countries and the stronger countries. Much has been said about the way in which the wealthier economies use their bargaining powers to impose terms of trade which are prejudicial to the poorer economies. This trade is a vestige of incipient colonialism. It is a relationship of exploitation.

16. It has been said over and over again that the industrial countries exact payment for their exports at prices which signify high levels of living for their peoples, while they pay the producers of primary commodities prices which are reflected in daily wages 10 or 20 times lower, inferior public services, minimal rates of capitalization and all the other consequences which flow from a relationship of exploitation. The advanced countries have labour legislation which prohibits the direct import of slave labour, of poorly paid wage-earners, but they encourage the import of the product of what is virtually slave labour in the form of primary goods paid for at very low rates.

17. To avoid exploitation in international trade and to avoid the danger of parasitism, which is the consequence of exploitation, the United Nations created UNCTAD in 1964 [*resolution 1995 (XIX)*]. The progress achieved so far has been small, because the powerful countries—even while engaged in major struggles among themselves—join together in UNCTAD to oppose the just demand for an equitable division of world income. In that connexion, last week in Geneva there was a development that will perhaps prove to be a historic milestone. We have triumphed, after a struggle lasting 20 or 25 years, in achieving recognition of the need for a more equitable relationship between the stronger and the weaker countries in their international trade.

18. As long as trade between the more powerful and less powerful does not represent a symbiotic relationship, inevitably the differences between those groups will persist and widen. I should like to repeat before the General Assembly what I said at the first session of UNCTAD in Geneva:¹ as long as the weak bargaining position of some countries persists, there will be no remedy other than to regulate international trade. That regulation should be founded on the principle of equal pay for equal effort. And that very important relationship should seek to ensure not only that development prices are established for the producers but also equitable minimum daily wages for workers and wage earners.

19. As long as there is no international regulation of daily wages, the more socially advanced countries will be at a competitive disadvantage vis-à-vis those that are less advanced and prices will tend to find their levels in terms of the lowest salary rates. Prices that permit the development of countries and daily wages that permit countries to develop and wages that permit individuals to develop will widen the market for the products of the advanced countries and thus a symbiotic relationship will be established.

20. International investments can play an important role in foreign aid. They are the necessary supplement to the limited capital of poor countries. But they present the inherent danger of establishing relationships that are only to their own benefit, that is to say, they may become ties of exploitation. As I have already said, following upon the heels of exploitation comes parasitism. Both trends should be avoided. There are formulae that will enable foreign companies to help the host country at the same time that they help themselves, thus establishing symbiotic relationships.

21. The first thing that the large foreign companies established in the poorer countries should avoid is vertical integration. There is a considerable tendency for them to become self-suppliers of the articles they buy locally. There is the illusion of greater over-all efficiency. Actually, in most cases the relationship between a large foreign company and many small national producers is more efficient if they are provided with some technical, and perhaps even financial assistance, and if they are required to produce at competitive prices and high levels of quality.

22. I know the history of the integration process in the great industrial countries, particularly the United States. But it would be a mistake to compare the social advantages and disadvantages of vertical integration within one and the same country with those that may derive from vertical integration in a less developed host country. The host country in that instance must stimulate an aptitude for business in its citizens. And that aptitude, like so many others, can be developed only through practice.

23. A large foreign company that provides work for dozens or hundreds of suppliers automatically sur-

rounds itself with dozens or hundreds of allies. On the other hand, a vertically integrated enterprise converts to enemies all those who hope to create local activity, their own business, using the large company as the market for their products.

24. To convert the poor peoples of today into wage earners in the employ of large international enterprises is to revert to colonialism in a new form. It is tantamount to establishing exploitation. Moreover—to take the other side of the coin—to subsidize local producers whose prices are not competitive or to tolerate poor quality for political purposes—which is today called public relations—is tantamount to encouraging parasitism. International investments should benefit the host countries in as many ways possible, at the same time as it benefits the investors. In other words, symbiotic relations should be established in the host country.

25. Since large enterprises are extensions of the economies of their own respective countries, their activities are actually of a public international character. They are true links between nations. They should share the responsibility for the economic and social development of countries, and establish ties not of exploitation or of parasitism, but rather of symbiosis.

26. In the field of international policy, I believe that on this anniversary the deepest desire of Member States and of the world as a whole is to put an end to the cold war. Our planet cannot continue to be divided in two, with one half distrusting the other. Different ideas about economic organization—about public and private ownership, for example, cannot be a source of animosity or of constant threat. Both systems already coexist in two halves of the earth. It would be better if they respected each other and emulated each other so that each could better satisfy the aspirations of mankind.

27. Nor can mankind continue the old antagonisms between rival Powers. Civilization, which in the past five or ten centuries has caused men to change so many of their attitudes, should now, at an accelerated pace, cause men to view their neighbor, the inhabitant of the neighbouring country—the person who shares this earth with them—not as enemies but as friends.

28. Expenditure on wars is the greatest impediment to the process of civilization. We cannot complete the conversion of an animal into a man, a spiritual entity, while such a high proportion of the products of world labour is wasted in dividing nations instead of uniting them.

29. Today, many small countries are suffering the direct consequence of the cold war between the great Powers. The people of Israel have the right to enjoy their corner of the earth in peace both for historical reasons and because of the recent efforts made over two long decades in the course of which they have transformed the inhospitable rocky land into a home and the desert into a garden.

¹ Held from 23 March to 16 June 1964.

30. The Palestine refugees should again revert to a normal life, in territories which should be provided to them, and should cultivate arts and sciences instead of guerilla warfare and hijacking. Every nation should provide them with economic aid and all kinds of assistance so that they can lead a normal life as human beings, people destined for a better fate.

31. Viet-Nam and Cuba are entitled to seek and enjoy the fruits of freedom and democracy without being pawns in the game of the military Powers. The small country of Taiwan has the right to the peaceful enjoyment of its gigantic efforts. Minorities everywhere are entitled to respect, but they should respect the law. Civilized men of various colours and creeds should love one another as brothers, and not hate one another as did their tribal ancestors in the remote past. All peoples of the earth are entitled to peace and security and are in duty bound to establish and maintain them. To lead peoples towards the accomplishment of this sacred mandate is the supreme task of the United Nations.

32. There is one idea old because it has been repeated over and over, but new because it has never been tried. There is a step for peace that some countries could take without any threat to their security: they could change the words of their national anthems, eliminating martial verses, and replacing them by verses extolling human achievement and social justice. If the United Nations would agree to recommend to its Members that they organize literary contests so that they could legally adopt peaceful verses for their anthems, any country taking such a step would inculcate a new ambition in its youth.

33. We would make considerable progress by abandoning anachronisms such as the "sword" and the "glory of cannon", which are so ridiculous in this atomic age, and as alien to a civilized world as the arrows of the primitive hordes and the armor of mediaeval knights. When a country produces an adult generation that has not in its childhood drunk of the heady wine of war, we will have come closer to the goal of a world without barbarism, a world oriented towards loftier aims.

34. My small country, Costa Rica, joins in the rejoicing at this twenty-fifth birthday of the United Nations; we express the hope that this world Organization will succeed in establishing among all peoples of the world the ties of mutual assistance, without exploitation or parasitism—symbiotic ties—so that we can walk forward together in solidarity along the providential path sketched out for us by the evolution of the universe.

35. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Commissioner for External Affairs and Special Envoy of the Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Nigeria, His Excellency Mr. Okoi Arikpo.

36. Mr. ARIKPO: Mr. President, since Nigeria did not speak in the general debate preceding this commemorative session, permit me to congratulate you, on behalf of my delegation, on your election as Presi-

dent of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Your personal qualities as an eminent jurist, statesman and diplomat, as well as the noble traditions of your country, with which my own country has had close ties of friendship, justify my hopes that you will guide this most important anniversary session with a sure hand.

Mr. Khatri (Nepal), Vice-President, took the Chair.

37. Fresh from the celebrations of my country's tenth independence anniversary, I have come as the Special Envoy of my Head of State to renew Nigeria's pledge of fidelity to and support for the United Nations. Indeed, we have good cause to do so. Barely two weeks ago, Heads of State and Government and representatives from 38 independent African countries joined with us to celebrate the restoration of peace and unity to our fatherland, as well as the end of a turbulent decade of independence in Africa. On that occasion we not only consolidated the filial bonds that unite us all in Africa over and above political and economic considerations, but also reaffirmed our determination to work together for independence, peace and unity in our continent and everywhere else in furtherance of the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. In a world where a crisis of confidence has become the centre of man's preoccupation, it is right that we should reaffirm our total support for the principles of justice and humanity enshrined in the Charter of our Organization. We also strongly believe that it is the duty of each and every one of us to translate those principles into a programme of permanent necessity. Good intentions expressed in good resolutions, without a corresponding will to realize them, hinder rather than promote the causes of world peace and stability.

38. As we celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, it is necessary that we should take stock of the Organization's successes and failures in order to determine how relevant it is to our modern society and how adequately it copes with the problems of our time. Significantly, this session also marks the end of the first decade since the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as well as the beginning of the Second United Nations Development Decade.

39. Since history has thus dramatized the importance of this session it is incumbent upon us to measure up to what the world expects of this Organization. In my considered view, our first resolve should be to rededicate ourselves to the basic purposes for which the United Nations was established: the maintenance of international peace and security; the development of friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and the self-determination of peoples; and the achievement of international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character.

40. My delegation notes with regret that the general atmosphere of international *détente* which preceded

this session has, unfortunately, been vitiated. Once again our Organization is in the throes of moral paralysis. The conflict in Viet-Nam escalates, engulfing the whole of Indo-China, while the positions of the respective parties at the Paris talks are still far from producing agreement. Denied the active support of the great Powers and thereby lacking the means and authority to discharge its responsibilities effectively, our Organization stands impotent while international peace and security hang in the balance.

41. One of the most crucial of the world's present crises is the conflict in the Middle East, a region with which Africa has a very deep and special relationship. The Middle East crisis ominously endangers world peace. For over 20 years 2 million hapless refugees, dispossessed of their homelands, have had no homes besides ragged tents in a desolate desert.

42. Since June 1967, parts of the territories of Member States of our Organization have remained under foreign occupation. Yet in spite of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, which provides a balanced framework, indeed a package deal, for an equitable and honourable solution of the Middle East crisis, all efforts to achieve a peace based on justice have remained blocked. In consequence, hope has turned into despair, frustration into bitterness and fear of the future has led to acts of frightful desperation.

43. My delegation recognizes the right of all States in the region to exist within recognized boundaries; however, we do not recognize the right of Israel to seize Arab territories by force. It is our candid view that Israel's continuing occupation of Arab territories as a result of the June 1967 war is unjustified. We therefore earnestly call for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Arab territories occupied since June 1967. We also make an urgent appeal for a humanitarian solution of the Palestinian refugee problem.

44. In this connexion, we support the efforts of Ambassador Jarring, the Secretary-General's Special Representative, to implement the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967. We appeal to all concerned to respect the existing cease-fire and to the four big Powers to intensify their efforts for peace concerted in the spirit of, and in accordance with, the Security Council resolution. Nigeria considers that the attainment of peace in the Middle East is particularly central to international stability, and my Government firmly believes that negotiations towards a settlement should not be stalled on any grounds. Furthermore, a solution based on the humiliation of one side by another cannot last. Statesmanship demands that negotiations between contending parties must aim at peace with honour for all.

45. Turning from the Middle East to Africa, one finds neither comfort nor solace. Conflicts and tensions abound in Africa, particularly in those areas still under colonial and racist occupation. Africans in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe and the other remaining strongholds of colonialism and racialism are still denied the fundamental

rights of humanity and deprived of justice as well as of a full and decent life.

46. Those Western Powers which persist in political, economic and military collusion, especially with Portugal and South Africa, are sowing the seeds of strife in Africa against themselves. In time those seeds will germinate and grow. The choice is simple. Either the Western Powers prefer to stain their hands with the precious blood of our people until we can tolerate it no longer or they should join hands with all men who abhor oppression and exploitation to fight *apartheid* and thereby remain true friends of Africa, where both history and mutual interests have created a tremendous fund of goodwill for them.

47. There has recently been disturbing news of the intention of the United Kingdom Government to join the ranks of those Western countries which have continued to violate with impunity the United Nations embargo on the sale and supply of arms to South Africa. In the name of all that is decent in British public life, I wish to appeal from this rostrum to Britain not to carry out its intention to resume the sale of military equipment to South Africa. Similarly, I wish to appeal to the enlightened conscience of France and West Germany to forbid their gun-runners from carrying on their pernicious traffic with South Africa, which enables it to brutalize Africans.

48. At this point in time, Africa alone may not be able successfully to wage the war against colonialism and racialism. The non-aligned nations may not be able to do so alone either. That is why we appreciate the moral and material help of all those countries, particularly the socialist States, which have shown a firm commitment to the efforts of decolonization. I strongly believe that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is an expression of the highest ideals of our Charter. Its tenth anniversary, therefore, is an opportune occasion for us to fix a time-table for an end to colonialism and racialism. To this end, let us establish a United Nations fund with which to support the liberation movements in Africa and other colonial Territories throughout the world. All Members of the United Nations should be requested to contribute on a mandatory basis to such a fund. The Organization of African Unity has a similar fund. Even the World Council of Churches has demonstrated sufficient courage to grant material assistance to the liberation movements. Let the United Nations also wake up to its responsibilities and create the proposed fund.

49. My Government has been following with keen interest the progress of the strategic arms limitation talks between the United States and the Soviet Union. My country, being a member of the United Nations Committee on Disarmament, which has devoted a great deal of time and energy to the problem of general and complete disarmament, wants to see a speedy end to the development and production of destructive weapons, particularly nuclear weapons. It is one thing to conclude the nuclear non-proliferation Treaty [resolution 2373 (XXII)] to prevent the have-nots from

having; it is another for the nuclear Powers to agree to liquidate their dangerous arsenals so as to reassure those who do not possess such weapons that they will not be at the mercy of the nuclear Powers. If international peace and security are to be guaranteed, if they are to rest not on the power politics and strategic considerations of the super-Powers only but on the commitment of all Member States to the Charter of the United Nations, then positive steps must be taken to ensure that nations do not continue to develop and keep weapons which threaten the very existence of mankind.

50. At Lusaka last month,² the non-aligned nations adopted what amounted to a charter of peace. Central to that charter was the need and necessity for great economic co-operation among the rich and poor nations as a means of promoting even economic growth and social development throughout the world. While economic co-operation and integration on a regional and interregional basis must be encouraged, I fear that the greatest threat to world peace and prosperity is the refusal of former colonial Powers to recognize the correlation between political freedom and economic independence. Consequently, the new nations are generally dependent on the former colonial Powers in economic matters as the latter refuse to loosen their economic stranglehold over the former. It is the hope of my Government that during the Second Development Decade the United Nations will face the realities of the present unjust world economic system squarely and thereby seek a viable solution to it.

51. The capacity of the United Nations system to facilitate global social and economic progress should therefore be reinforced in a concrete manner. We consider the recent reported agreement under the aegis of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to liberalize trade between developing and developed economies as a step in the right direction. My delegation does not see the task of development as simply one of appealing to the charity of affluent nations or securing token reforms of trade and aid policies. It is a fight for economic independence and co-operation on the basis of sovereign equality and mutual advantage. It is a revolutionary struggle which will demand probably more sacrifice than we had to make in order to regain our political independence. Unless and until the construction of a new international economic order as envisaged in the Charter of Algiers³ becomes a reality, we shall continue to pay only lip service to the objectives of bridging the gap between the rich and the poor nations.

52. To commemorate this twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization as a landmark, we must do more than reaffirm our united commitment to the high ideals of the Charter and our common determination to harmonize our actions in pursuit of the noble aims and objectives for which the United Nations stands. We must adjust our procedures and reform our institutions

to focus on the central issues and to turn away from those which still distract attention from efforts to promote our basic goals. In my considered view, we should now resolve to eliminate from our proceedings those routine issues and reports which tend to overload our annual agenda and contribute precious little to the advancement of international peace and stability. Might not our Secretary-General be empowered to prune to judicious proportions the agenda for each session in order to enable us to concentrate more adequately on matters of importance and urgency and could not routine reports be forwarded to Member States beforehand, noting where no substantive action of the General Assembly is necessary during a particular session?

53. We should also at this historic session settle once and for all matters like the Korean question and the long overdue necessity for the restoration to the People's Republic of China of its legitimate rights of membership of our Organization. If the United Nations cannot bring about the peaceful reunification of Korea then it is about time for us to terminate the perennial discussion of this issue. The United Nations cannot seriously pretend to uphold the principle of the universality of its membership while a quarter of the world's population remains ostracized by the inexcusable denial of representation here to the Government of the People's Republic of China. The immediate resolution of these inhibiting questions will, in our opinion, help to strengthen the capacity of our Organization to concentrate on the central tasks to which the Charter commits all of us. Thus can we proceed with the task of building a United Nations international order for the maintenance of world peace and security, the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples, the establishment of fundamental human rights and the dignity and worth of the human person everywhere based on respect for international law enlarged and developed to cope with contemporary realities.

54. Lastly, permit me to pay a tribute to the sterling qualities and outstanding statesmanship of our Secretary-General. His service to mankind speaks for itself. I hope that this session will achieve significant successes to underscore his devotion and dedication to the ideals of the United Nations.

Mr. Hambro (Norway) resumed the Chair.

55. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic, His Excellency Mr. Stefan Jedrychowski.

56. Mr. JEDRYCHOWSKI (*translated from Russian*): Permit me, Mr. President, to extend to you my cordial congratulations on your election to the Presidency of this important commemorative session of the General Assembly, from which the international community expects vital decisions promoting peace and co-operation among nations. We are confident that under your able leadership the session will fulfil those expectations.

² Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held from 8 to 10 September 1970.

³ Adopted at the Ministerial Meeting of the Group of Seventy-Seven on 24 October 1967.

57. The United Nations was born during one of the most extensive wars that mankind has ever known. Its founders were the States of the great anti-Fascist coalition which in a fearsome struggle saved the world from domination by a system of Fascist servitude and genocide. It was these circumstances attending the birth of the United Nations that determined its basic concept and main purpose: peace.

58. With that purpose in mind, as stated in the Preamble to the United Nations Charter, all States joining the Organization undertake "to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security". The United Nations Charter, the fundamental provisions of which have withstood the test of life and retain their full validity for the future, defines the guiding principles to be followed in pursuance of that goal. The most important of these are renunciation of the use of force in relations between States and the right of peoples to self-determination. These principles form the basis of peaceful coexistence, which today is the only acceptable doctrine in international relations and the one which serves the socialist countries as a general guideline for their policies in general.

59. It is primarily in terms of the implementation of these two principles that the achievements of the United Nations should be assessed.

60. Twenty-five years have elapsed since the end of the Second World War and the founding of the United Nations. This period has been an extremely stormy one by very reason of the far-reaching social and political processes characterizing it—the emergence of the world socialist system and the powerful tide of national liberation movements. However, it is not these processes, decisive for the further development of the world, but the attempts to restrain them through policies based on a position of strength which have been the cause of international tension and armed conflicts. One example of a policy based on a position of strength has been the action taken by certain Members of the United Nations in resorting, despite the obligations flowing from the Charter and in an endeavour to play the part of world policemen protecting the interests of the past, to the use of force against other peoples.

61. The United Nations has not always been able to prevent conflicts. Time and again, it has proved powerless in the face of blatant acts of violence and lawlessness on the part of the Portuguese colonialist Government and the racist Governments of the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia which have withheld from the African peoples their right to freedom and independence. Colonialist terror and racial discrimination in these areas are likewise a cause of serious international tension and are a permanent threat to peace.

62. We have also seen attempts to bring to a halt by force the social transformations taking place in Latin America, including outside interference in Guatemala and the Dominican Republic, as well as attempted invasions of Cuba. The effect of all acts of this kind has

been, and will be, to undermine international security. At the same time, however, it has to be recognized that during that period, we have succeeded in saving mankind from another world war. This is primarily thanks to the new alignment of forces in the contemporary world, to the importance and role of the system of socialist States, which have identified their policy with the interests of world peace, and to the role which, with their emancipation from the colonial yoke, has devolved upon the newly independent States which also have a vital interest in the maintenance of peace. The fact that peace has been preserved, although it has not become and unfortunately will not in the future become universal, is likewise a considerable achievement on the part of the United Nations.

63. The United Nations has also made a most significant contribution to the implementation of the second main goal—the application of the principle of the self-determination of peoples and their right to independence. The best proof of this is the present composition of the United Nations which now has a membership of 127 as compared with 51 founding States. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations coincides with the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted on the initiative of the Soviet Union. Two days ago we solemnly commemorated this anniversary in the Assembly [1866th meeting]. We place great emphasis on the historical significance of the Declaration and at the same time call for its full implementation by the adoption of the programme of action for the granting of independence to peoples still shackled by colonialism.

64. We also greatly value the important role played by our Organization in promoting awareness of the dangers threatening mankind in the event of the use of nuclear, bacteriological or chemical weapons. We greatly value its activities with regard to the protection of human rights through the elimination of racial discrimination and the adoption of decisions concerning the non-applicability of statutory limitations to war crimes and crimes against humanity. We attach great importance to its work in such areas as the codification of international law, the consolidation of the sovereignty of nations over their natural resources and the utilization of the co-operative movement as a factor for social and economic development. In all these areas, as in many others, the Polish delegation has always contributed through its initiative and through ideas based on our national experience and philosophy.

65. The fundamental task of the United Nations remains the maintenance of international peace and security, for the problem of war and peace is the key issue on whose solution rests the future of all mankind. At the present time, with the existence of intercontinental missiles, nuclear weapons and other means of mass extermination which are likely to multiply considerably as a result of the rapid advance of science and technology, the question is not only one of preventing new wars but also of averting a mortal threat to our civilization.

66. The socialist countries' doctrine of peaceful coexistence, the application of which is our unswerving aim, was based on the premise that another world war is not inevitable but with the present over-all alignment of forces can be averted, and that the protection of nations from such a conflict is the priority task in the over-all context of international relations.

67. The maintenance and strengthening of world peace involves not only the elimination of the possibility of another world war but also the ending of all local wars and other conflicts fomented by the forces of imperialism, colonialism, militarism and reaction, for each such conflict carries with it a potential threat to world peace. What for some Powers is a local war is for the peoples engulfed in it a total war, if we take its repercussions into account; for lasting political and social repercussions are produced which go well beyond the borders of the States and even regions involved in such a war. The urgent task at the present time is to put an end to imperialist aggression against Viet-Nam and the other countries of Indo-China. Peace can be achieved in Indo-China if the peoples of Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos are given the right to decide their destiny and their future for themselves. What is needed to achieve that end is a complete withdrawal of foreign troops and an end to interference in the internal affairs of those States and the establishment of a coalition government in South Viet-Nam.

68. The proposals presented in Paris on 8 May 1969 by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam constitute, in our view, a reasonable basis for a political settlement of the Viet-Nam conflict. Those proposals were further clarified at the Paris talks on 17 September of this year in the eight-point statement by the Minister heading the delegation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh. They present a realistic programme reflecting a desire for peace and provide a sound basis for reaching agreement and achieving a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

69. Similarly, the restoration of peace in the Middle East on the basis of the Security Council resolution of November 1967 [242 (1967)] depends solely upon whether Israel will comply with the United Nations decision. It is essential, however, that the Western super-Powers cease their support of the State which is the aggressor in the Middle East and which continues to occupy territories illegally seized from Arab countries.

70. It is, then, a matter of complete and universal renunciation of the use of force in international relations, in compliance with the United Nations Charter.

71. What is required is the abandonment of war as a means of settling disputes which are in any case, as the whole post-war period has shown, incapable of settlement by the use of force.

72. The mere rejection of war is no longer sufficient. The realities of the world today, and thus the nature

of the threat represented by another world war, and on the positive side, the new alignment of forces, make it essential and possible to start strengthening international security, that is to say, to establish practical guarantees for the security of all nations. What is required, therefore, is the elimination of all manifestations and all the after-effects of the cold war, the initiation of processes which would eventually replace the division into military groupings by a system of collective security and the replacement of the arms race by progress towards general and complete disarmament. We owe it to the generation born in the post-war period, to the new generations that will have to settle the difficult problems of the technological revolution, the preservation of man's environment and other world problems, to provide them with this positive prospect for the development of international relations. This is what they demand of us.

73. This, then, is the line which should be followed in the decisions taken by the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly on measures for the strengthening of international security. We are firmly convinced that the adoption of such a document will be of historically vital significance. It will open up new prospects for the implementation of the principles of the United Nations and the creation of effective guarantees for the maintenance of peace. The measures for the strengthening of international security should be universal in character, but their global effectiveness will depend primarily on the strengthening of regional security. This fact is incontrovertible, in the world of today, where links of all kinds and interdependence between all regions have become extremely close and are constantly developing.

74. It is from that standpoint, indeed, that we approach the question of security in Europe. We are concerned not only with the destinies of the peoples of Europe but also with Europe's contribution towards the strengthening of security throughout the world. What happened in the past was exactly the opposite: European conflicts were carried over to other parts of the world. In the course of the last three centuries, Europe has inflicted 160 wars on mankind, including two world wars. Although over the past quarter of a century Europe has been the scene of tense political confrontations, it has had no wars at all. The aim should be to ensure not only that the situation in Europe generates no new wars but that, on the contrary, it contributes towards the stabilization of peace throughout the world. In our view, the alignment of forces and the relaxation of tension in Europe have created favourable conditions for the creation of an all-European system of collective security. It was with that in mind that the socialist countries, in their Budapest appeal,⁴ took the initiative of suggesting the preparation and holding of a conference on questions of all-European security and co-operation. This idea was mooted for the first time by Poland, as far back as 1964, in a statement to the General Assembly [see 1301st meeting,

⁴ The Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization met in Budapest on 17 March 1969. They adopted a statement calling for a general European conference to discuss problems of European security and peaceful co-operation.

para. 66] here in this hall. It was advanced by my predecessor, the late Adam Rapacki, whose death occurred a few days ago. But it has taken many years for most of the countries concerned to realize its soundness. We consider that this question has now fully matured and can be translated into reality.

75. In this connexion, the socialist countries have presented a concrete and realistic programme for the suggested conference and are continuing to do all they can to have it convened and to ensure its success. The conference, of course, is not an end in itself. It should provide a starting point for the process of constructing a system of lasting security and co-operation in Europe. Our long-range objective remains, as it has always been, the creation of a regional system of collective security fully consonant with the United Nations Charter. The creation of such a system of security will assuredly entail much effort. We hardly expect it to be possible to construct it on the strength of a single European conference. We envisage several such conferences leading to progress in regional disarmament and the development of specific forms of European co-operation in the economic, scientific, technical and cultural fields.

76. The success of this undertaking, of course, does not depend on the socialist countries alone. Nor is the only important factor the attitude of the NATO countries and their abandonment of the mistrust which they have so far shown with regard to the suggested conference. Important, also, is the attitude of the neutral and non-aligned European States which have no special ties with any of the existing groupings.

77. It is precisely in the context of eliminating the cold war and its causes and consequences that the vitally necessary process of normalizing relations between the socialist countries and the Federal Republic of Germany has recently been set in motion, on the socialist countries' initiative. It is based on a recognition of European realities resulting from the Second World War, and hence on a recognition of the immutability of the present political map of central Europe. It was the stubborn questioning of those realities and the plans advocated by circles formerly responsible for the policy of the Federal Republic of Germany to change them which constituted—as we have repeatedly had occasion to point out from this rostrum—the root cause of the tension in Europe. That policy has long since collapsed, with the bankruptcy of the notorious cold war concepts designed to alter the political and territorial *status quo* in Europe “from a position of strength”.

78. It is only recently that practical possibilities have arisen for starting the process of normalizing relations between the socialist countries and the Federal Republic of Germany, a goal which has been consistently sought by our countries for a very long time and which they are eager to reach as quickly as possible.

79. The treaty concluded in Moscow on 12 August 1970 between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany is of great importance in this process

and of great importance also for the stabilization of peace in Europe. The treaty now under negotiation between the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, a treaty for which the initiative taken by Wladyslaw Gomulka on 17 May 1969 paved the way—is also likely to have a major positive impact on the situation in Europe. The basic provisions of this treaty should include an explicit confirmation of the immutability of the Western frontier along the Oder-Neisse line. There has never been, nor is there now, any question about that frontier; the only question has been, and still is, the renunciation of territorial claims that endanger peace.

80. We also attach great importance to a proper settlement of international relations between the two German States in keeping with reality and the needs of European security. These relations can be normalized only on the basis of the complete equality of both German States in accordance with the rules of international law.

81. We have long held the view that both German States should be admitted to membership of the United Nations simultaneously. The way to this is already open. Their admission to membership of the United Nations would not only have a positive effect on the situation in Europe but would also implement the just principle of the universality of the United Nations. Pending such time as both German States are admitted to membership of the United Nations, the German Democratic Republic should be given the right forthwith to have an observer at the United Nations as the Federal Republic of Germany does.

82. The principle of universality should, of course, be applied in respect of all states meeting the requirements of the Charter of the United Nations. Poland, together with the other socialist countries, has from the very outset specifically advocated the restoration to the People's Republic of China of its lawful seat and rights in the United Nations.

83. We should also like to remind the General Assembly that the Polish delegation has repeatedly argued from this rostrum that if the proper role and authority of our Organization are to be ensured, a decision is required on its part annulling all resolutions concerning the so-called question of Korea as being contrary to the United Nations Charter. The withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of South Korea and the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea are essential steps for the strengthening of international security in that region and for a peaceful solution of that country's problems by the Korean people themselves.

84. A particularly vital factor in the strengthening of international peace and security would be the halting of the arms race which, apart from endangering peace, has far-reaching economic and social consequences. Considerable progress has been made in this field in recent years.

85. We have in mind, in particular, the Moscow Treaty of 1963 Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)]. The 1963 Treaty should be extended to include a ban on underground testing. In view of the special security conditions in central Europe, the full implementation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons depends above all on its early ratification by the Federal Republic of Germany and the other EURATOM member States signatories to that Treaty, wide adherence to which should avert the danger of a proliferation of nuclear weapons throughout the world.

86. The ultimate goal, however, should be the complete prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons and of all other weapons of mass destruction. In this connexion, I should like to express our gratification at the fact that the question of the complete prohibition of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons, put forward on the initiative and with the active participation of my country,⁵ has met with support in the United Nations, thus paving the way for the conclusion of a corresponding treaty. It is our hope that the refusal of some States to accept the obligations relating to the exclusion of chemical weapons from modern arsenals will finally be overcome in the interests of universal peace and the security of mankind.

87. There is no doubt that progress in the Soviet-American strategic arms limitation talks, which our country welcomes, will be of capital importance, in ensuring further headway towards halting the nuclear arms race. Such progress could also create better conditions for reviewing the action taken to freeze nuclear armaments in central Europe, culminating in the establishment of an atom-free zone in that part of Europe which is of crucial importance from the standpoint of peace. And progress in halting the nuclear arms race will assuredly create possibilities for the adoption of the necessary further partial disarmament measures.

88. Since disarmament is an essential precondition for building a lasting peace throughout the world, we should never lose sight of that general aim, as set forth in the resolution on general and complete disarmament adopted unanimously in 1959 by the General Assembly [1378 (XIV)]. All the agreements so far concluded and any partial measures agreed on in the future should be seen as paving the way towards that supreme ultimate goal.

89. Fundamentally important though it is, activity in the political field will not succeed in ensuring lasting international peace unless it is backed by simultaneous efforts directed towards the broad development of solidly based international economic co-operation, for it is economic relations which provide the material infrastructure for political relations.

90. With the headlong advance of the scientific and technological revolution, no country is in a position

to ensure the rational use of its economic resources unless extensive economic co-operation is developed with other countries.

91. If, however, that co-operation is to help to strengthen international peace and accelerate the economic growth of the participating countries, it will need to be based on the principles of respect for sovereignty and the mutual advantage of the partners. Only then will it help to secure for each country a favourable position in the international division of labour.

92. There is no doubt that the present international division of labour fails to provide each country with a favourable position for the development of the capitalist system has left a whole group of countries in a state of economic backwardness (I am referring to the developing countries). The elimination of that backwardness is one of the most urgent problems to be solved by the international community.

93. Unfortunately, it has to be stated that despite numerous debates on this subject, in the United Nations and elsewhere, the disparity between the levels of economic development of the developing and the developed countries is, on the whole, not only not decreasing but is actually growing. The highly developed Western countries continue to exploit the developing countries. Only the methods change, not the system of exploitation itself. To substantiate this, we need go no further than the statistical data on the flow of profits and capital from the developing countries to the highly developed Western countries, the terms of trade between those two groups of countries, the brain drain, and so on. In these circumstances, it is difficult to accept the claims of representatives of the highly developed capitalist countries that they are giving the developing countries substantial aid. In the case of many of the latter, the volume of financial assistance received is smaller than the sum transferred from them to the developed capitalist Western countries. The first conclusion, therefore, is that it would be of genuine assistance to the developing countries if their exploitation by the developed capitalist countries were restricted. Secondly, it would be of genuine assistance if conditions were created for a steady and rapid increase in the export earnings of the developing countries. The situation does not look too bright in this respect. The rate of growth of exports from the developing countries remains relatively low by comparison with the developed capitalist countries. Its acceleration depends on the elimination of the barriers hampering the access to the markets of the developed capitalist countries of exports from the developing countries.

94. Considering the role of exports as the source of the developing countries' foreign exchange revenue, efforts in that direction are of fundamental importance.

95. It is necessary, also, to eliminate all forms of discrimination in trade, and to bring about the universal application of the most-favoured-nation principle and the genuine and complete liberalization of trade. At

⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda items 29, 30, 31 and 104, document A/7655.

the same time, every effort should be made to expedite changes in trade patterns which have so far led to the developing countries being exporters of raw materials and semi-manufactures only. This objective could best be achieved by a far greater expansion of industrial co-operation.

96. What adds to my conviction in expressing this view is that Poland has had experience in this matter. During the years immediately following the Second World War, we had to take decisions very similar to those now facing the developing countries. In our case, those problems were even more difficult because Poland's economy had been particularly hard hit by the war. We are well aware, therefore, of what it means to mobilize a country's own resources for economic development, and this is the decisive factor of development. We are aware, too, of the importance for development of abolishing the system of exploitation of some countries by others. On the strength of our own experience we have always supported, and continue to support most vigorously, any efforts by the developing countries which genuinely help to accelerate their economic growth.

97. As far as its modest possibilities allow, of course, Poland has striven to contribute directly to this cause by promoting mutually advantageous economic relations with the developing countries. Starting from the premise that the main way of helping them is by expanding trade, we have placed special emphasis on that aspect, and the result of that policy has been a dynamic increase in our trade with the developing countries. At the same time, we are developing scientific and technological co-operation with them, as far as possible, and making our own contribution towards training specialists for the developing countries.

98. We intend to continue that policy. Thus we are ready to conclude with the developing countries mutually advantageous long-term trade agreements and contracts for the supply of specific commodities, as well as agreements for the partial division of labour, an idea very favourably received by the developing countries at the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held at Geneva in 1964. We are also prepared, where economically feasible, to change to multilateral payments systems to participate in international commodity agreements stabilizing the situation in the respective commodity markets, and so on. We are equally willing, provided our partners are interested and provided it is also beneficial to our economy, to set up joint undertakings in the developing countries under joint management. In this connexion, we assume that our efforts to develop economic relations with the developing countries will be appropriately supported by efforts on their part, for only where there is action on both sides can such relations thrive.

99. I would say the same regarding Poland's trade with the developed capitalist countries. We are most interested in expanding that trade. Our interest was reflected, for example, in our decisions concerning investments and in the changes made in the arrangements for planning and increasing foreign trade. Our

efforts are, however, impeded if they fail to meet with a corresponding response from the other side. In particular, we look forward to the earliest possible elimination of the last vestiges of the discriminatory treatment by the Western countries of imports from the socialist countries introduced during the cold war period, and the abolition of the embargoes imposed on exports to the socialist countries. We hope that the capitalist countries will participate in the adoption of measures to promote mutual economic relations, especially as regards industrial co-operation. We also hope that the member States of the European Common Market, and those intending to join the European Common Market, will give due consideration to our export interests when implementing their plans regarding trade policies. Unless this is done, the development of East-West trade will encounter new and almost insuperable obstacles. This, in turn, could have lasting economic and political results of an adverse nature.

100. On joining the United Nations, of which Poland is a founding Member, the Government of the Polish People's Republic issued a declaration in which it took due note of the system of security established in the United Nations Charter and expressed its readiness to co-operate to the best of its ability with other Members of the Organization for the maintenance of peace in the world and the renewed prosperity and well-being of nations. The Government of Poland pointed out at the same time that the maintenance of peace in Europe, the strengthening of security and the restoration of the well-being of the nations so sorely hit by the consequences of the war they had lived through depended alike on ensuring the inviolability of post-war frontiers, the development of all European States and the elimination of all breeding grounds of fascism and Fascist tendencies.

101. For 25 years, the Polish People's Republic has been an active and loyal Member of the United Nations, and understandably so, for the Charter embodies the same principles and purposes which have been proclaimed and as far as possible applied in Poland's foreign policy over the last quarter of a century.

102. We are deeply appreciative of the Organization's expanding activities in every sphere, to which a great personal contribution is being made by the Secretary-General, U Thant.

103. May I, speaking from this rostrum at the commemorative session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, give a solemn assurance that the Polish People's Republic will continue to do its utmost to translate into reality the ideals for which the United Nations was founded, as well as the principles embodied in its Charter, and that it will strive unremittingly for the strengthening of peace, security and co-operation among nations?

104. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Arab Republic, His Excellency Mr. Mahmoud Riad.

105. Mr. RIAD:⁶ Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to see you presiding over this historic session of the General Assembly. Your Presidency gives expression to the role of the Charter as the supreme law in the conduct of international relations and the direction of our endeavours. At the threshold of a new era in its life no more important concept deserves to be reaffirmed by the United Nations. No one could better personify this concept than you, Mr. President, an eminent jurist, a distinguished parliamentarian and a representative of Norway, long known for its constructive contribution to the work of this Organization and the upholding of its principles.

106. I should like, at the outset, to express the deep appreciation of the People and Government of the United Arab Republic for the sincere feelings of the people of the world and their leaders who have shared our grief over the loss of the great leader Gamal Abdel Nasser. Throughout his life, Gamal Abdel Nasser struggled for the cause of freedom and peace and the right of man to a life of dignity, free from exploitation and social injustice.

107. President Nasser fought consistently to defend the freedom of peoples, guided as he was by his faith in the right of every people to express its free will and develop its potentialities to attain progress and prosperity. He also defended the right of all peoples to national independence, free from foreign domination, and their inherent rights to be equal in the community of nations. By so doing, Gamal Abdel Nasser was defending the greatest of all human rights.

108. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations presents an opportunity for soul-searching and self-assessment. The record of the United Nations achievements will always form a salient chapter in the history of the era which followed the Second World War. However, the maintenance of international peace and security and the suppression of aggression will remain the real test in evaluating the work of the world Organization. Consequently, we cannot but concede that the gap between what is required from the United Nations and what it actually accomplishes widens with the passing days. The responsibility is borne by those Powers which practise a pre-Charter policy of force and aggression and attempt to dominate the destinies of other peoples. In this we face the most serious threat to the future of the international order, based on the Charter of the United Nations.

109. No single international problem is more symptomatic of the crisis of the United Nations than the situation prevailing in the Middle East, where Israel continues its aggression against three States Members of the United Nations and its usurpation of Arab territories and of the rights of the Palestine people, while the world Organization fails to meet that challenge.

110. The failure of the international community to apply the provisions of the Charter against Israel, the

aggressor, has been one of the factors which encouraged Israel to continue its occupation and its policy of territorial expansion and to defy the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions. This policy poses a direct threat to the international order, based on respect of the territorial integrity of States, and challenges the collective responsibility for the suppression of aggression.

111. When taking stock of the activities of the Organization during the last 25 years, it is relevant to recall that Israel, which today defies the basic norms of the international community, came into existence as a result of resolution 181 (III) adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1947. This resolution, which in itself was a great injustice to the people of Palestine, achieved only a part of the ultimate ambition of world Zionism to create a greater Israel out of the whole of Palestine and the Arab territories between the Nile and the Euphrates.

112. After the adoption of this resolution in 1947, Israel launched its attacks against the Palestinian towns and villages with a view to expanding. It expelled 1.5 million Palestinians and turned them into refugees who have been living in tents for the last 22 years. Israel did not content itself with the territories it usurped from the people of Palestine, but continued its process of expansion. It invaded Egypt in 1956, and announced, through its then Prime Minister, Ben Gurion, the annexation of Sinai and the repudiation of the Egyptian-Israeli General Armistice Agreement concluded through the United Nations in 1949.⁷ Israel resorted again to aggression in June 1967, and attacked Egypt, Jordan, and Syria in order to achieve the Zionist design of seizing the whole of Palestine and parts of the territories of neighbouring Arab States.

113. In fact, Israel's policy of territorial expansion needs no further illustration. Suffice it to refer to the latest statement by the Prime Minister of Israel upon her return from Washington on 2 October 1970. She stated that in any future settlement Israel would not return the Syrian territories, Arab Jerusalem, Sharm el Sheikh in Egypt and the Gaza Strip. As for Jordan's west bank, Israel would return to Jordan only what remained after satisfying its territorial objectives.

114. As regards the position of Israel on the Palestinian refugees, Israel declares at every session of the General Assembly its refusal to implement any resolution providing for the return of the refugees to their homes. This refusal stems from the racist policy practised by Israel against the people of Palestine.

115. This expansionist and racist policy followed by Israel defies the Charter of the United Nations and constitutes a continuous and direct threat to international peace. This world Organization has no alternative but to apply the provisions of the Charter concerning suppression of aggression and territorial expansion, and the right of peoples to self-determination. It is incumbent upon the United Nations

⁶ Mr. Riad spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

⁷ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Fourth Year, Special Supplement No. 3*, document S/1264/Rev.1.

to prevent Israel or any other State from pursuing a policy which flagrantly contravenes the basic provisions of the Charter in order to achieve its plans for expansion and domination.

116. Israel's defiance of the will of the international community could never have reached the dimensions it has assumed since that country's aggression against the Arab States in 1967 had it not received the support and assistance of the United States, a big Power which played an important role in the drafting of the United Nations Charter, and which assumes, in accordance with its provisions, a special responsibility for maintaining international peace and securing the effectiveness of the United Nations.

117. The United States policy of siding with Israel, the aggressor, has been demonstrated on the various occasions when the United States acted contrary to its obligations arising either out of the Charter or out of other commitments it has taken upon itself.

118. Four Presidents of the United States have consistently affirmed throughout 20 years that the United States was committed to support the territorial integrity and political independence of all the States of the Middle East, an undertaking which derives from the Charter of the United Nations. Shortly before the Israeli aggression, the United States reaffirmed this commitment to us, and added that it would oppose any aggression in the Middle East. This was stated in an official memorandum presented to us in Cairo on 23 May 1967, which contained the following:

"In the present situation, the Government of the United Arab Republic, as well as other Arab Governments, can rely on the certainty that the Government of the United States maintains firm opposition to aggression in the area in any form, overt or clandestine, carried out by regular military forces or irregular groups."

119. Only 12 days later, on 5 June 1967, Israel launched its aggression against three Arab States. We expected the United States to act in accordance with its own commitments. However, not only did it ignore its obligation to oppose aggression, but actually sided with the aggressor, when its representative in the Security Council prevented the adoption of the draft resolution calling upon Israel to withdraw from Arab territories. The United States then proceeded to provide Israel with bombers, other weapons and economic assistance which enabled it to pursue its aggression against the Arab States and its occupation of their territories.

120. In the course of the consultations that preceded the adoption of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), the United States assured us that if we accepted the resolution it would exert all its efforts to have the resolution implemented. The United States confirmed its position before the Council when the resolution was adopted on 22 November 1967.

121. We accepted the Security Council resolution from the very beginning and co-operated with Special

Representative Ambassador Gunnar Jarring towards its implementation. We even proposed to him that he set up a time-table for the implementation of all the provisions of the resolution. On the other hand, the United States continued its supply of military aid to Israel regardless of the fact that the latter had refused to carry out the Security Council resolution.

122. When the United States proposed, on 19 June last, what was to be known as the United States initiative, we did not find anything new in it. As a matter of fact, that initiative was almost three years late, since it asked the parties to carry out the Security Council resolution and to appoint representatives to contact Ambassador Jarring. For our part we had informed Ambassador Jarring at the outset of our readiness to implement the Security Council resolution and to maintain contacts with him either in Cairo or in New York through our Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

123. What appeared to be the new element in the United States initiative was a readiness on the part of the United States to act in favour of carrying out the resolution adopted by the Security Council three years earlier and to call upon Israel to implement it.

124. We accepted the United States initiative in pursuance of our policy to implement the Security Council resolution and to establish peace in the Middle East. We also accepted the temporary cease-fire as proposed by the United States in order to facilitate the mission of Ambassador Jarring. To give effect to this initiative, we appointed our Permanent Representative to the United Nations to represent us in contacts with Ambassador Jarring.

125. In the course of our contacts with the United States connected with this initiative, the United States provided us with information on its monthly deliveries to Israel of bombers, Phantoms and Skyhawks. In this connexion, the United States pledged to refrain from providing Israel with additional aircraft as long as the initiative was under way. That was another commitment on the part of the United States.

126. Israel, however, embarked on a policy of obstruction and continued its manoeuvres to impede the implementation of the initiative, announcing on 6 September that it would suspend its contacts with Ambassador Jarring, thus for its part putting an end to the United States initiative.

127. The United States initiative would have implied that the United States would carry out a more even-handed and less aligned policy towards Israel, the aggressor. It seems, however, that Zionist pressure has succeeded in putting an end to the United States initiative. The United States reneged on its commitment not to provide Israel with more aircraft and decided to supply it with additional weapons and planes at the same time as Israel officially announced its boycott of the talks with Ambassador Jarring. Thus the United States joined Israel in suppressing the United States initiative.

128. When it became apparent that the United States was totally aligned with Israel, the aggressor, and was unable to perform the impartial and constructive role required for the success of the United States initiative, we proposed that the four big Powers pursue the talks initiated by the French Government with a view to implementing the Security Council resolution and helping Ambassador Jarring accomplish his mission. Regrettably, however, under Israeli pressure, the United States not only put an end to its own initiative but also withdrew from the four big Power talks at the deputy level. By this unilateral action the United States seriously jeopardized a course capable of achieving peace in the Middle East. This reveals its lack of seriousness with regard to peace efforts in the Middle East.

129. I should now like to put before the Assembly the facts pertaining to the cease-fire arrangements. We consider it necessary to do so in view of the wide propaganda campaign launched by Israel to justify its refusal to enter into peace contacts with Ambassador Jarring. The United States took part in that campaign to justify the disavowal of its own initiative, the reneging on its commitment to us not to supply Israel with additional planes while the initiative was under way and its backing of Israel's attempts to impede international efforts exerted to implement the peaceful settlement approved by the Security Council.

130. When we accepted the United States initiative and the cease-fire for a limited period we had expected that the arrangements for the temporary cease-fire and its supervision would be discussed with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General as an impartial party.

131. The United States, however, had urged that an immediate date be set for the cease-fire, and had demonstrated, at the same time, a keen interest in having the supervision of the cease-fire in its hands. We realized that the United States was seeking to cut short the time needed by our air defence forces to complete the air defence system against Israeli raids, using American planes to bomb our towns and villages. Thousands of innocent civilians, including workers and children, were killed in those raids. The cities of the Suez Canal region were destroyed, and more than half a million Egyptians were made homeless.

132. But our air defence forces, in the weeks preceding the cease-fire, had succeeded in setting up a considerable number of air defence units, had shot down several American bombers, Phantoms and Skyhawks, and were in full readiness to complete their air defence network before the cease-fire came into effect, on 8 August 1970—a task which they succeeded in achieving. Our air defence forces were also able, before the cease-fire came into effect, to set up dozens of field and alternative positions, as well as dummies for our anti-aircraft defence.

133. Having realized the failure of its plan aimed at obstructing the setting up of our air defence network, Israel resorted to lies and deceptions, alleging that we did not respect the cease-fire arrangements. That was

designed to justify Israel's refusal to contact Ambassador Jarring in pursuance of its policy aimed at obstructing every effort exerted for the implementation of the Security Council resolution.

134. We set forth all the facts of the situation to the United States when it contacted us, on 4 September, following its accusation that we had violated the cease-fire arrangements. We explained to the United States that we had not introduced any new missiles in the Suez Canal region, nor did we set up new positions. We did, however, use concrete instead of sand bags to protect some of the existing positions. We then asked the United States to give us clarifications about its own violations of the American initiative and the disavowal of its commitment to us not to provide Israel with planes while the initiative was under way. We also asked the United States to clarify its position on Israel's blatant violations, its setting up of new positions and new fortifications on our territory, which have been described by some of the world press correspondents as resembling the Maginot Line. The United States replied that it considered this as maintenance work. The United States thus considers new positions set up on our occupied territory by Israel, the aggressor, as permissible, but maintenance work carried out on our positions for air defence—200 kilometres from our international frontiers—as illegitimate and as entailing the suspension of Jarring's mission and the obstruction of the four-Power talks.

135. In the light of the Israeli allegations, shared by the United States, and used as a pretext by Israel to justify its boycott of the contacts with Ambassador Jarring, in implementation of the American initiative, I wish to address a specific question: on what basis has Israel withdrawn from contacts with Ambassador Jarring regarding the Jordanian aspect in the American initiative? For Jordan has accepted the American initiative, appointed a representative for the Jarring talks, and has not been accused by Israel or the United States of violating the cease-fire arrangements.

136. Would the United States explain its views on Israel's boycott of the American initiative with regard to Jordan? By its alignment with Israel, the United States has demonstrated, beyond any doubt, its inability to play the role incumbent upon it to carry out its own initiative. This role calls for an impartial and even-handed policy. I will make available to you some Israeli violations of the cease-fire that have been ignored by the United States to illustrate to what extent it sides with Israel, the aggressor.

137. We consider it essential that the General Assembly should be made aware of the serious implications contained in the United States demand that the United Arab Republic abandon its means of anti-aircraft defence in the Suez Canal region as a pre-condition to setting in motion peace contacts. Such an American position is based on the assumption that any capability possessed by Egypt to defend itself against American bombers in Israeli raids would restrict Israel's chances of imposing its expansionist plans on the Arab countries. But the rule of the Charter requires that

the United States demand withdrawal of the aggressive Israeli forces from the occupied territories of Member States so that contacts for peace could be held on a basis of equality.

138. The United States position means indeed that it does not seek a just peace, but rather seeks to impose capitulation on the Arab peoples.

139. I have tried to set before you briefly the facts of the situation in the Middle East. You are undoubtedly aware of the responsibility devolving upon the international Organization as regards the need to face the challenge of Israel's aggression against Arab States for over three years. What is before you raises grave questions with direct bearing on world peace and the future of the international order.

140. There can be no peace in the Middle East unless Israel withdraws from all the territories it occupied as a result of its aggression in June 1967 and recognizes the rights of the Palestinian people.

141. In view of Israel's determination to pursue aggression as a means of fulfilling the Zionist expansionist objectives, responsibility for not achieving peace rests with the big Power which provides the aggressor with weapons and funds. When the United States officially declares that it will continue to supply Israel with weapons and funds to enable it to maintain its military supremacy over the Arab countries, it consequently assumes the responsibility for Israel's continued aggression and occupation of Arab territories and for its defiance of United Nations resolutions and the provisions of the Charter. Thus, the United States bears squarely the responsibility for the continuation of the state of war in the Middle East.

142. As we live the Middle East crisis hour by hour, we see the very grave dangers it poses to world peace and to the future of the international order. We have come to the conclusion that the collective responsibility of the entire membership of the United Nations must be assumed by taking up the Middle East crisis, which is on the agenda of this Assembly, immediately after the commemorative session.

143. We are convinced that the international community, through its collective will, is capable of imposing respect for the rule of the Charter, which provides for sanctions against any aggressor, and of compelling submission to the rule of law. The Heads of State of non-aligned countries, who represented all the continents of the world, met at Lusaka last September and called for adequate measures to be taken against Israel if it persisted in disregarding efforts to establish a peace based on justice, in accordance with Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967. We believe that the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session

could play a positive role, whereby the international community would act to suppress aggression in the Middle East, safeguard world peace and ensure the survival of the United Nations order.

144. The General Assembly, in the course of this commemorative session, will adopt important declarations with a view to reaffirming the principles of the Charter concerning the strengthening of international security and friendly relations among States. These principles, however, will acquire their real value only when the General Assembly proceeds with their application to grave international problems such as Israel's aggression and occupation of Arab territories.

145. Just as we are confident that the General Assembly will fulfil its duty, so we believe that, by so doing, it will reaffirm the effectiveness of its role, regain the confidence of mankind and give ample proof of its adequacy as an instrument for peace and justice for coming generations. The best that the United Nations could offer, on the occasion of its twenty-fifth anniversary, would be a firm stand to apply the rule of the Charter.

146. Our determination to liberate every inch of the occupied territories pulsates in the being of every man, woman and child throughout the length and breadth of the Nile Valley. Our people, who have contributed to the development of human civilization and established a society where all religions coexist, refuse today, as they have refused in the past, to relinquish one single inch of the occupied territories. Our people will not permit the Israeli aggressors, as they have not permitted previous aggressors, to besmirch our history and the dignity of our people or to taint the values of our society. We strive for peace but do not beg for it. We build progress as we build armed forces for our country and the liberation of our territory. This we know, peoples and leaders of the United Arab Republic: with the death of every Egyptian martyr, in Israeli raids using American bombers, there is born a new determination to expel the aggressor and liberate the land. This is not merely a right but a sacred duty we owe to our past and present history and to the future of our coming generations. It is also a commitment on our part to the values born out of the struggle of all the peoples of the world against aggression, tyranny and injustice.

147. The PRESIDENT: The Ambassador of Israel, Mr. Tekoah, has asked permission to exercise his right of reply but, in deference to the request of the President on the basis of a previous decision by the General Assembly, he will defer doing so until the end of the afternoon meeting.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.