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AGENDA ITEM 9

General Debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. MARTINEZ MORENO (El Salvador) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, allow me first of all, on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, to associate myself with the previous speakers in congratulating you on your sweeping election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its twenty-second session. In so doing, we are paying a well-earned tribute to your gallant country, with its deep Latin roots, and acknowledging your outstanding qualities as a public servant and an experienced diplomat.

2. We are happy that it has fallen to Romania to be the first Eastern European country to hold this high office and conduct the deliberations of this Assembly, representing almost all the countries of this world, and that you, with your knowledge, experience and devotion to the principles which imbue this Organization, have been chosen to discharge the duties of the office on its behalf. In offering you our congratulations, we wish you every success in the important and complex task entrusted to you and offer the wholehearted co-operation of our delegation.

3. At the same time, my delegation would like to pay a very warm tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Pazhwak, who showed great tact and ability in conducting the meetings of three consecutive Assemblies, carrying out the task in an indefatigable and praiseworthy manner.

4. El Salvador comes to this Assembly imbued with its unshakable adherence to the Purposes and Principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and convinced that the only road to harmonious co-existence for all nations and to the maintenance of peace is through the Organization. This Assembly is a forum for world-wide discussion and the ideal instrument for international co-operation and the peaceful solution of the problems dividing and disquieting all nations.

5. We must recognize that the United Nations has not proved capable of taking energetic action to solve the most critical of the conflicts which have arisen in recent times and that the atmosphere in which this session is beginning is darkened by the shadow of the dire threats hanging over us; but we have faith in the Organization and we are anxious to collaborate with it in every way we can, so as to try to establish calm and security throughout the world.

6. My delegation wishes to repeat at this session what you yourself have said, Mr. President, that the primary duty of small nations like ours is to promote unfailing and genuine respect for the principles of law and justice which, in the international order, are the sine qua non of coexistence and friendly co-operation between States in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

7. With regard to the disarmament problem, my delegation believes it to be an undeniable fact that vast human and economic resources, which should be contributing to the welfare of nations, are still being poured into an absurd arms race which is not only detrimental and distressing to the small developing countries, but puts a burden even on the great Powers, in that they are forced to bear the exorbitant cost of these weapons.

8. However, at times countries are obliged to increase their defence forces to be able to meet the danger of attempts against their territorial integrity or of subversive machinations fostered from outside, in flagrant violation of the principles of sovereignty and self-determination. In such circumstances, we condemn the aggressiveness or the subversive acts of the Governments which force peace-loving countries to shoulder heavy defence expenditure that would otherwise be unnecessary but is the only way of ensuring survival.

9. At a time when the Organization is on the threshold of the International Year for Human Rights and is involved in the work which the Development Decade involves for all of us, the most convincing and complete proof it could offer of its integrity and wisdom would be a firm decision by all Member States, and in particular the great Powers, to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons as one decisive step towards complete and general disarmament.

10. There is no doubt that, without the agreement and concurrence of the great Powers, the majority of nations could not by themselves provide an effective solution for all the problems connected with the definite banning of nuclear weapons. Nevertheless, the smaller countries are in duty bound to band together in prohibiting the presence, manufacture or use of nuclear weapons on their own territories,

not only to outlaw their destructive power, but also to bring closer the fulfilment of the ideals of peace which are dear to all mankind and to exert a beneficial influence on other regions where the situation is similar to ours. The success of Mexico's judicious and clever initiative in bringing about a Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Tlatelolco Treaty)^{1/} sets an admirable precedent for other regions of the world anxious to be freed from the threat of nuclear war.

11. We likewise express our sincerest hopes for the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapon—which we shall fully support. Identical texts^{2/} of the draft treaty were introduced at the same time on 24 August last by the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament held at Geneva.

12. I now turn to a problem which has been of the utmost concern to mankind for several years—the Viet-Nam war, a prolonged struggle which continues to cause untold loss of life and destruction in that ill-starred part of Asia.

13. Despite the praiseworthy efforts of the Secretary-General, the United Nations has not been able to participate effectively in finding a solution for this tricky problem. Nevertheless, there are hopeful signs.

14. The Government of the United States recently made known that it would whole-heartedly welcome a constructive attempt by the United Nations in the next few days to find a peaceful solution. We regard this statement on the part of the great Western Power involved in the regrettable conflict as invaluable and completely sincere. The Secretary-General's repeated attempts to restore peace in Viet-Nam, and His Holiness the Pope's important message expressing the Holy See's similar pleas for peace, naturally deserve our support and applause.

15. We trust that these gestures and the United States Government's repeated offers will be reciprocated by the Government of North Viet-Nam and will be successful in the very near future, so that this serious conflict, which in one way or another affects all mankind, can be settled at the conference table rather than on the battlefield.

16. During the current year, the General Assembly has held two special sessions to deal with crucial problems—the one to study the situation in South West Africa and the other to attempt to resolve the difficult situation in the Middle East.

17. In view of the persistent refusal by the Republic of South Africa to comply with the General Assembly decision which terminated the Mandate conferred on South Africa by the former League of Nations to administer the Territory of South West Africa, we should like once again to express our faith in the indisputable legitimacy of the resolution, which was adopted by an overwhelming majority of the Members of the Organization, indeed practically unanimously. Thus it was made manifest that world public opinion

^{1/} Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, signed on 14 February 1967 (see document A/6663).

^{2/} Documents ENDC/192 and ENDC/193.

was opposed to an administration exercised in a manner contrary to the purposes for which it had been established and subjecting the inhabitants of the Territory to racial discrimination at variance with human dignity and unacceptable to freedom-loving people everywhere.

18. My delegation trusts that, despite the stalemate caused by the South African Republic's attitude, the United Nations will devise the practical measures required to implement General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), adopted at its twenty-first session, and take over the administration of South West Africa until that country is sufficiently mature and ready for independence. My delegation fervently hopes that the Republic of South Africa will co-operate with the United Nations, thus giving an example of solidarity and respect for the fundamental principles of the Organization.

19. With regard to the situation in the Middle East, we find it profoundly discouraging that bloody clashes, with painful, tragic repercussions for the civilized world, are still occurring between two countries which are both active Members of an Organization such as ours, established specifically for the joint maintenance of peace and the friendly settlement of international controversies.

20. In any case, it should be borne in mind that this is not a situation resulting from an armed conflict or an unexpected and unforeseeable war between Israel and the Arab States. It is rather a new crisis—the last, let us hope—in a complex of chronic belligerency which has prevailed between the countries concerned ever since the State of Israel was founded. It is a deterioration in a tense situation whose origins go a long way back and which had always shown a tendency to grow steadily worse in a climate of heated passions and constant threat, and under the pressure of continual struggle, overt or covert, between the Middle Eastern countries. The disastrous results of the latest Arab-Israel crisis, the most violent to date, arouse our humanitarian feelings. We are impelled to try to alleviate the suffering and to do everything in our power to help to bring about an honourable and equitable settlement between the contending parties.

21. With the utmost sincerity we must say that we are overcome with grief and sorrow at the spectacle in the Middle East resulting from the conflict which divides it. In this distressing situation we should like to tell the people that the geographical distance between us in no way lessens our concern or our anxiety over their problems. But it does allow us to assess the tragic happenings more objectively and calmly than countries which are closer or more affected by influences not existing in our case to impair the impartiality of our judgement.

22. Like all Latin American nations, El Salvador has inherited a tradition in which the Arab influence can be felt even through the beautiful language which is our legacy from Spain. But our links with the Arab countries are not only spiritual and cultural. We have in our country a large and highly esteemed Arab community, composed of hard-working, honourable people who are making a real contribution to the development and expansion of the country and who,

as excellent Salvadorian citizens, become daily more integrated in the life of their new nation.

23. At the same time, El Salvador maintains cordial relations with the State of Israel. A distinguished Jewish community, equally enterprising and honourable, has settled in our country. It has earned for itself an outstanding position in the economic, social and cultural life of the country and thus also deserves our esteem. Nor can we forget that, we too are co-heirs of those noble spiritual values which have their roots in the history of the Jewish people.

24. For these reasons, both communities have our sympathy and affection; and this is the very reason why we find the tragic events of last July, with their train of destruction, hatred and misery, so very distressing, and why we hope that an agreement will be reached which will once and for all guarantee peace and tranquillity in the Middle East.

25. We should like to take this opportunity to stress the Latin American group's carefully thought-out efforts during the emergency special session of the General Assembly convened to discuss those events, with a view to drafting a just and equitable resolution which took into account the rights and the interests of the Arab nations and Israel alike. El Salvador was a sponsor of the Latin American draft resolution^{3/} which unfortunately was misinterpreted by some countries. We consider that it was honest, just and well-balanced, and we shall maintain this stand during the present session.

26. We consider that the first and most important of the points which should be agreed is the immediate withdrawal of Israel forces from the occupied territories. The time has passed when peace conditions can be interpreted under the pressure and threat of force, and one of the principles accepted by all the American countries is that military victory does not give the right to annex any territory. At the same time, we feel that parallel to the resolution, not as one of its provisions but as a counterpart to it, the Arab countries should explicitly and unequivocally renounce all aggression and take steps to safeguard the security and survival of the State of Israel.

27. We also feel that the Holy Places, sacred for the three great monotheistic religions, should be internationalized as soon as possible as a demonstration of respect for mankind's spiritual heritage. Similarly, free and innocent passage by the ships of all countries through the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba should be guaranteed, in conformity with the recognized principles of international law derived from the doctrines of Victoria and Grotius. Lastly, we consider it imperative to find effective ways of improving the lot of the Arab refugees immediately. This problem has become more acute since the recent conflict and is an outrage for the whole of mankind.

28. Before concluding this brief outline of the international aspect of the problem, I should like to refer to one matter in which El Salvador has always taken special interest. It is the principle of non-

intervention, which we regard as one of the pillars of the inter-American legal system.

29. El Salvador has fought for the acceptance and observance of this principle as a rule of law vital to international coexistence, and we continue to oppose all intervention, of whatever kind and from whatever quarter, in the internal affairs of another State. Thus we must repeat that we utterly condemn all the infringements still being perpetrated against national sovereignty and self-determination, even if they do not constitute direct intervention. They usually take the form of instigation and systematic financing of subversive and terrorist activities designed to overthrow the régime and system of government of other States by violence.

30. During the present year, the Latin American Governments have made extremely vigorous and constructive efforts to further the over-all advancement and development of their nations. El Salvador has participated in these activities, firmly believing that they will not only ensure greater prosperity for the nations of the continent, but will help our countries to make a real contribution, of the kind needed by the world, to human welfare.

31. One such activity was the third Special Inter-American Conference, held at Buenos Aires, Argentina, from 15 to 27 February 1967, to approve structural and functional reforms in the Charter of the Organization of American States. The reforms included new social, economic and cultural norms intended to strengthen the specific operations of the inter-American system in the future. Another was the memorable Meeting of American Chiefs of State held at Punta del Este, Uruguay, from 12 to 14 April 1967, which solemnly reaffirmed the solidarity between the nations of the continent on the basis of a just and democratic socio-economic order. Finally, during the Conference of the States members of the Latin American Free Trade Association at Asunción, Paraguay, there was the meeting of the Chancellors of the Central American Common Market countries held on 10 September last, when a co-ordination commission was set up to bring the two integrationist systems together more speedily.

32. In accordance with its principles, El Salvador, as a developing country, is making a systematic and concerted attempt to achieve just social and economic standards for its working classes through better distribution and channelling of its productive resources and through its trade relations with other nations. My Government has given clear proof of its adherence to this policy by its real concern for the balanced development of the Central American countries and its effective co-operation in the establishment and promotion of an increasingly solid economic structure in keeping with our production and trading capacity, within the integrationist framework.

33. However, our zeal and concern to improve conditions in a short space of time by dint of joint sacrifice have not always been successful. In many cases, lack of understanding on the part of economically powerful countries has destroyed the high hopes for progress of the under-developed countries whose one-

^{3/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Emergency Special Session, Annexes, Agenda item 5, A/L.523/Rev.1.

crop primary economies have been overwhelmed by unjust market policies.

34. The Chief of State of El Salvador stated this most serious problem frankly on 1 July of this year at his inaugural address:

"The majority of developing countries are at a disadvantage with respect to the mechanisms of international trade. El Salvador is no exception, indeed it is one of the prime victims. The agricultural commodities we export to various developed countries outside the continent are faced with obstacles such as high tariffs, excise taxes, quotas, most-favoured-nation and other preferences for articles from other parts of the world. Coffee, cocoa, sugar, tobacco, etc., do not have ease of access and are subject to duty. On the other hand, no taxes are paid on machinery and equipment we buy from the developed countries when intended for public works, nor when they are for private enterprise, thanks to the tax exemptions granted under the industrial development legislation. Thus the poor countries, producers of primary agricultural commodities, are actually subsidizing the rich, industrialized countries."

35. When the United Nations proclaimed the Development Decade more than five years ago [resolution 1710 (XVI)], new hope was born in the great group of nations handicapped by economic weakness. Unfortunately, the Decade has not fulfilled its expectations. The gap between the industrialized and the peripheral countries has widened instead of closing. The terms of trade become daily more disadvantageous to the latter. The precarious state of the international balance of payments of the developing countries is alarming. Free exchange of goods and services is hampered by outside pressure. The vegetative growth rate is becoming alarming, while the rate of growth of the gross domestic product for the period 1960 to 1964 was barely more than 4 per cent.

36. These figures mean that the developing countries are being denied the minimum living conditions. If the situation is not rectified, it could very rapidly cause great and serious economic and social problems which might easily be avoided.

37. For all these reasons, El Salvador is most anxious that the activities of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and the work of the Trade and Development Board should achieve real success. At the same time, we regret that so far progress has not been made towards implementing the recommendations adopted at the first UNCTAD session. Similarly, my delegation hopes that the Conference of Ministers of the so-called Group of Seventy-Seven (now eighty-six), at Algiers, will produce good technical results. Above all, we pray for the complete success of the Second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, at New Delhi, particularly in speeding up the conclusion of international agreements on primary commodities, special tariff concessions to developing countries, the adoption of effective measures for the diversification and growth of their exports, and all the measures which are essential for a comprehensive agreement on the principles which should govern the trade relations and the

international development policies of all the nations of the world.

38. At the beginning of my statement I said that the United Nations was about to celebrate the International Year for Human Rights. It is an event which El Salvador welcomed with enthusiasm, hoping that the time when the United Nations could finally declare the banishment from the world of slavery and forced labour, all forms of discrimination for reasons of race, sex, language and religion, colonialism and the denial of freedom and independence to peoples aspiring to them would be a historic event of the utmost importance.

39. I should like to place on record that since the dawn of its independence, El Salvador has upheld principles which coincide substantially with those laid down in the Charter of the Organization. I should like to cite one example of which we are extremely proud, namely that my country, along with the other Central American countries, abolished slavery in 1824, or long before the other American countries, and we are dedicating this year to the memory of an outstanding figure in the achievement of our independence, Fr. José Simeón Cañas, who was the prime force behind that admirable decision.

40. In the same spirit of devotion to the cause of human rights, I had the honour and satisfaction on the 21st of this month, of signing, on behalf of my Government, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the relevant Optional Protocol as open for signature by Member States in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2200 (XXI).

41. In expressing our hopes for the success of the International Year for Human Rights, we note with deep concern that the United Nations Development Decade is not achieving its very modest objectives. This concern leads us to urge all the bodies mobilized by the Organization for the purposes of the Decade to intensify their efforts. For the world will never be able to enjoy peace really and truly so long as there are still in it human beings languishing in conditions of extreme poverty which prevent them from enjoying the human rights which are theirs.

42. Mr. LEIGH (Sierra Leone): Mr. President, it is with great pleasure that I offer you, on behalf of my delegation and in the name of the Chairman and members of the National Reformation Council and the people of Sierra Leone, our sincere congratulations on your election as President of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly.

43. Your election is indicative of the confidence which the Members of this Assembly have in your ability to discharge the duties of your high office. It also marks an important milestone in the history of this Organization. As the first representative of a socialist State from Eastern Europe to fill the office of President of this Assembly, your election not only augurs well for the peaceful coexistence of conflicting ideologies within the framework of the Organization, but it is also a warm tribute to your great country, which in its years of membership of

this World Assembly has contributed so much towards universal peace and progress.

44. With your wide and varied experience, both within the United Nations and in the service of your country, we are confident that you will successfully direct the proceedings of this session.

45. No one who followed the work of the last session can fail to appreciate the invaluable services which Ambassador Pazhwak, your distinguished predecessor, has rendered to this Organization. The last year has been a difficult period involving not only the regular session but also two special sessions. There were difficult issues before the Assembly, and the skilful manner in which Ambassador Pazhwak conducted the proceedings is adequate testimony to his stature as an international statesman.

46. The Secretary-General has already presented his Annual Report on the Work of the Organization [A/6710]. We share his concern that much progress has not been made in improving the international political situation, and it is even more disappointing, as he himself has indicated [see A/6701/Add.1, para. 1] that the political situation has in fact deteriorated considerably. I shall deal presently with some of the various issues which have been highlighted in his report in the course of my statement. Before doing so, however, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the Secretary-General for his untiring effort in the cause of peace.

47. One of the main purposes of the United Nations is to maintain international peace and security. We are pledged to take effective collective measures to remove all threats to world peace and, in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, to settle all disputes by peaceful means. It is a measure of the General Assembly's awareness of these principles that during its twenty-first session no fewer than ten resolutions were passed in an attempt to seek ways and means of realizing the ideals enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. It is, however, almost meaningless for us to talk of peace or expect its fulfilment, unless effective steps are taken towards general and complete disarmament. We are heartened to note that some progress has been made by the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, and we hope that this progress will soon be translated into the concrete results envisaged in General Assembly resolution 2162 (XXI). We welcome the draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and we congratulate both the Soviet Union and the United States of America which presented the joint draft. We also urge both Powers to continue their co-operative efforts until agreement is reached on the principal provisions dealing with safeguards. We appeal to all nuclear Powers and their allies both inside and outside the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to collaborate in the efforts to limit the spread of nuclear weapons.

48. At this stage, we must again record our conviction that no negotiation on disarmament can hope to succeed when one of the world's nuclear Powers, representing a quarter of the earth's population, is systematically denied representation in the Organiza-

tion which bears the sacred responsibility for preserving peace. We therefore urge that every effort be made to bring the People's Republic of China into the United Nations, where we believe its vast resources can be utilized in the cause of peace. At the same time, my Government will not support any step taken towards the expulsion of the Republic of China.

49. The continued escalation of the Viet-Nam conflict despite efforts by our Secretary-General constitutes the greatest danger to world peace. My Government is of the opinion that the time has come for this grave question to be removed from the battle-field to the conference table. The misery and suffering inflicted in Viet-Nam demand that all parties to the conflict cease hostilities and divert their resources and energies towards a peaceful solution.

50. For the third time in two decades there has been a full scale war in the Middle East and, but for the timely intervention of the Security Council which took prompt cease-fire action, the most recent one would still have been in progress. The situation in the Middle East is not only well documented, but it has been discussed in almost every session of the Assembly. The fifth emergency special session was devoted entirely to a discussion of the basic issues in that area. But notwithstanding the long debates and the various resolutions which were adopted, there is still the threat of war. It has been suggested that the parties to the dispute should themselves resolve their differences and try to effect a peaceful settlement. Since such a settlement has not been effected, it is incumbent on this Organization to take appropriate and concerted action in order to establish a just and lasting peace.

51. The Secretary-General, in the introduction to his Annual Report, has indicated certain measures which should be taken to effect a lasting peace [see A/6701/Add.1, paras. 48-51]. The various delegations which have addressed this Assembly have dealt with these measures with varying degrees of emphasis. It is not my intention to reiterate these measures. There are, however, two principles which, in the opinion of my Government, are fundamental to any lasting settlement of the dispute. First, the occupation by military force of the territory of one State by another is a contravention of the provisions of the Charter. Secondly, it is the right of every State to exist in security within its own borders.

52. Apart from these principles, there are other issues involved. There are, for example, the problem of the Palestinian refugees, the question of the right of innocent maritime passage, and the readiness with which certain major Powers have been supplying arms to the parties to the dispute. It is the ardent wish of my Government that all the major Powers will refrain from giving any form of military assistance to the parties. We also express the hope that the parties to the dispute will be more flexible in their position in order to facilitate a mutually acceptable solution.

53. The recent crisis in the Middle East has emphasized more than ever the need for effective peace-keeping machinery within the United Nations. In fact, it would be true to say that peace-keeping is a funda-

mental reason for the establishment of this Organization and, in a world of increasing tensions, the greatest justification for its continued existence. Indeed, it should be a constant rebuke to humanity that after many years of experimentation we are still without a universally acceptable formula for effective peace-keeping. It is accepted that there are conflicting views as to the organ responsible for peace-keeping operations. My Government's opinion has always been that, although the Security Council has primary responsibility for peace-keeping operations, this does not necessarily mean that the Security Council has exclusive responsibility in this matter.

54. Nevertheless, having considered the role which the General Assembly was called upon to play in the Middle East crisis during the fifth emergency special session, my Government sees a ray of hope about overcoming the impasse. We are therefore optimistic that further success will be achieved in the near future. To this end we support the recommendation of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations that its mandate should be renewed to enable it to continue exploring ways and means of carrying out and financing peace-keeping operations. We must commend that Committee for its persistent endeavour to resolve the problems involved, in spite of recurring frustrations.

55. Now, more than ever, with the conflict in South East Asia expanding into dangerous proportions, with the uneasy truce in the Middle East in constant danger of collapse, with the ugly spectre of racial confrontation threatening the whole of southern Africa, effective peace-keeping by the United Nations is more than a mere political expedience. It is a solemn obligation. However, until all the concomitant problems are satisfactorily resolved, my Government hopes that every Member State will consider itself committed to providing voluntarily, within the limits of its resources, the facilities, services and finances necessary for peace-keeping operations within the framework of the Charter. My Government is also optimistic that all the great Powers will voluntarily make additional substantial contributions so that the financial position of the United Nations will be considerably improved.

56. Another important topic on which my delegation intends to comment is the refugee problem. My Government is concerned about the growing proportions which this problem is assuming with the result that it appears to be a permanent feature of the international scene. In Africa alone, in 1966, a total of 630,000 refugees qualified for assistance from the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The statistics on the global scene are even more frightening and need no repetition. My Government is aware of the considerable complexity of the refugee problem which the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is approaching squarely and boldly. My Government views with satisfaction the time, energy, and other resources which the High Commissioner and his staff are devoting to this problem.

57. Yet another great danger to world peace persists on the African continent. I refer to the policy of racial segregation, racial oppression and exploitation

known as apartheid. This offensive practice has engaged the attention of this Organization for many years. We note with distress that, in spite of the full and comprehensive study of this problem by the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa and other international organizations, and in spite of the loud condemnation of this policy by various Governments, this hateful system continues to abide with us because some nations are reluctant to take effective measures to bring South Africa to reason.

58. In its resolution 2202 (XXI) the Assembly again appealed to all States to comply with the Security Council decisions on an arms embargo against South Africa, and it also drew the attention of countries to their economic collaboration with South Africa, which, in strengthening the hand of those who maintain the apartheid system, has aggravated the danger of a violent racial conflict in the area.

59. Among the colonial questions that will be engaging the attention of this Assembly, I should like to single out for particular mention three which constitute a grave threat to international peace and security. I refer to the situation in Rhodesia, the Territories under Portuguese administration, and South West Africa. Our reference to only these three questions does not in any way minimize the seriousness which my Government attaches to the colonial problem in general, nor does it indicate any lack of concern over the remaining territories still under colonial domination. On the contrary, our intention is to underline the gravity and the dangerous nature of the problem in these particular areas.

60. Every member of this Assembly must be fully aware of the importance of the question of South West Africa. During its twenty-first session, faced with a decision of the International Court of Justice which, by implication, transferred the problem of South West Africa from the legal to the political sphere, this Assembly rose to the challenge and decided to assume direct responsibility for the administration of that Territory. International concern was again evident at the fifth special session of the General Assembly, in which this problem was fully discussed. It is distressing to note that little progress has been made in implementing resolution 2145 (XXI) in so far as it relates to the administration of the Territory.

61. Having assumed direct responsibility for that administration, the United Nations is committed to ensuring that South Africa ceases to exercise any authority over the Territory. In the light of the divergent approaches to the problem during the special session of the General Assembly, we are compelled to appeal to all Member States, and especially the great Powers, to co-operate in ensuring the full and speedy implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI) and resolution 2248 (S-V) adopted by the Assembly at its special session.

62. We note with considerable dismay that, in spite of the action already taken by the General Assembly, South Africa continues to exercise authority over the Territory, spreading its policy of apartheid

and oppressing the inhabitants of this Non-Self-Governing Territory. The creation of Ovamboland as a self-governing entity within South West Africa is but the first step in the deliberate fragmentation of the Territory in order to facilitate its domination and eventual annexation by South Africa. These measures must therefore be resisted most vigorously.

63. In the case of Southern Rhodesia, this Assembly is again confronted with an instance of flagrant defiance not only of its authority but of the collective conscience of mankind. In spite of the near unanimity with which the Assembly condemned the illegal declaration by Ian Smith, in spite of the unanimity with which the Security Council decided to impose certain sanctions on Rhodesia and thus bring an end to the illegal situation, lack of support by some Members of this Organization who are sitting here with us has made it possible for the Smith régime to survive. We have noted with dismay the United Kingdom delegation's statement before the Assembly [1567th meeting] that the British Government does not intend to use force in solving the question of Rhodesia or to be involved in an economic war with South Africa. It is the view of my Government that sanctions should not only be extended but made mandatory, with a view to the complete isolation of this rebellious régime. Indeed, my Government has always maintained and continues to believe that only the use of force will crush the Smith régime.

64. Of equal concern to us is the Portuguese colonial policy, which has not shown any sign of change since this Assembly adopted resolution 1514 (XV). We reject the claim put forward by Portugal that any territory in Africa forms an integral part of metropolitan Portugal and we unequivocally condemn the colonial war with which Portugal is striving to support this claim.

65. In 1963 my Government, together with those of Liberia, Madagascar and Tunisia, acting under a mandate from the Organization of African Unity, put the case against Portuguese colonialism before the Security Council. Our aim was to ensure that the people of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea might be enabled to determine for themselves the political, social and economic future of their territories at the earliest possible date. My Government is still of the conviction that the people of Portuguese colonial territories should be given a chance to exercise freely their right to self-determination and independence. However, this goal can be achieved only if all Member States show sufficient concern and bring their influence to bear on Portugal by breaking off all diplomatic and trade relations with it. We make this appeal particularly to the allies of Portugal, on which it depends for the means to prosecute its genocidal colonial war. We urge them as members of the Security Council, which has a great responsibility for the restoration of peace in these territories, to lend us their invaluable support in ending the death and destruction in Portuguese colonial territories and in working for their immediate decolonization.

66. My Government has noted with satisfaction the progress which has been made by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space in "the elaboration of an agreement on liability for damages caused by

the launching of objects into outer space and an agreement on assistance to and return of astronauts and space vehicles" [resolution 2222 (XXI), para. 4 (a)]. The Government and people of Sierra Leone would like to remember and also to record their appreciation of all those who have given not only their talents but in some cases their lives to this all-important project. It is but fitting, at this stage, that I should tender my country's sympathy to the United States of America and the Soviet Union for the tragic loss sustained in the deaths of their astronauts. My Government firmly believes in the peaceful future of space discovery. It is our hope that international space effort will continue to be employed for peaceful uses. Considerations such as these, and more, have impelled my Government to become a signatory to the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies [see resolution 2222 (XXI), annex]. On humanitarian and other grounds, my delegation would like to urge the Committee to bring about the full implementation of resolution 2222 (XXI) at an early date.

67. My Government appreciates the achievements carried out in space technology. The growth of communications by means of satellites, the Indian report on an experiment involving the use of satellites for disseminating information concerning agricultural methods and population control and the planned UNESCO pilot programme in mass communication by means of satellites [see A/6804, annex II, paras. 20 and 21] all concern areas of space technology in which my Government is taking an increasing interest. It is for these reasons that we look forward to the United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, scheduled to be held at Vienna in August 1968 [see resolution 2250 (S-V)].

68. With a world today torn by numerous conflicts and where the global situation continues to be tense, my Government appreciates the achievements of the International Law Commission. The seventy-five draft articles proposed by the Commission for a convention on the law of treaties and its work on the international law relating to special missions represent a very important step in the codification and progressive development of international law and emphasize its proper place in the activities of the United Nations.

69. I have left the economic problems to be dealt with last because of the great importance my Government attaches to this aspect of the work of the United Nations. The world's problems are to a large extent economic and social, and until we can find satisfactory solutions to these problems our search for a lasting peace will be futile. Members of this Assembly, therefore, have a great part to play in this task.

70. We recognize the work the United Nations and its specialized agencies, the World Bank Group and the regional economic commissions have done in this respect. However, there is still much more to be done to raise the standard of living in less-developed areas so as to achieve an over-all increase in the rate of progress in the world.

71. The fact that the targets set for the current United Nations Development Decade still have to be

reached is indicative of the insufficient progress so far achieved. Admittedly, the responsibility for meeting this deficiency lies partly on the developing countries, partly on the developed countries, and to a very large extent on the pattern of international trade, which so badly needs to be regulated to the greater advantage of the developing countries. In this respect, Sierra Leone is of the opinion that there is still room for improvement in the agreement reached at the Kennedy Round trade negotiations, so as to meet the needs of developing countries. The developed countries, no doubt, have an international duty to help the developing countries increase their trade if the ever-increasing gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots" is to be reduced. It is therefore our hope that the second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, to be held at New Delhi—more aptly described by the Secretary-General as the "New Delhi Round" [see A/6701/Add.1, para. 74]—will provide useful solutions to the trade problems of the developing countries. In this respect, we are fully aware of the importance of providing, through increased trade, the much-needed foreign exchange which is so vital to development. My Government is optimistic that the developed countries, conscious of the mutual and international benefits to be derived if the developing countries are afforded the opportunity of increasing their trade, will spare no effort in assisting them by reducing and removing all obstacles thereto. By this means, the world will be a happier place for all mankind. The miseries of disease and ignorance will be eradicated, as developing countries will have the means to improve their health, educational facilities and standards of living. It is a well-known fact that the flow of multilateral and bilateral aid is showing signs of stagnation, while the already affluent countries continue to grow richer. This is the case in spite of the effort of the United Nations to link these two significant elements.

72. The outlook for the world's food situation is somewhat disquieting. My Government is therefore greatly concerned about agricultural development as a means of increasing the world's food supply. To achieve a balanced growth of the economy of a country, industrial development should go hand in hand with agricultural development. We therefore support the newly-formed United Nations Industrial Development Organization in the firm belief that it will achieve signal success.

73. We reaffirm our support for the Organization of African Unity and trust that there will be increasing co-operation between that Organization and the United Nations.

74. Let us all rededicate ourselves to the ideals enshrined in the Charter of this Organization. We are confident that under your leadership, Mr. President, this twenty-second session of the General Assembly will succeed in reducing tensions in all parts of the world and will make an effective contribution towards the improvement of the living standard of mankind.

75. Mr. GUEVARA ARZE (Bolivia) (translated from Spanish): First of all, Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you on behalf of the delegation of Bolivia on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. I am sure that, with your

personal and professional qualities and your experience of the political problems of our time, you will conduct our deliberations in a firm, unruffled and enlightened manner. I should also like to place on record our gratitude to Mr. Pazhwak of Afghanistan, who presided over the debates of the General Assembly with great wisdom throughout a particularly difficult year.

76. It was a very sound move on the part of the General Assembly at its twenty-first session to re-elect U Thant for another term as Secretary-General of the United Nations. The wisdom of his decisions and the absence of bias in his conduct of affairs has invariably helped not only to ensure that everything possible was done to solve difficult problems, but also to keep alive our confidence in the possibilities of achieving international peace and co-operation.

77. It is not necessary, nor is it possible, to refer in this statement to every single item on the agenda. The views and the influence of a small country on many of the important problems with which the United Nations has been concerned in the course of this year would have no effect on the march of events and would be largely a waste of time. I shall therefore just touch on some of those items as being of special significance for the peace and well-being of the peoples of the world, and especially for the small countries.

78. This past year has seen an increase in international tension and a deplorable intensification of warlike events. The Viet-Nam war is growing to alarming proportions, and the prospects of a solution appear to be remote, since there is no slackening either in the infiltration from the north which provokes the trouble or in the military measures on the part of the allies of South Viet-Nam to stop it.

79. With regard to the problem of South West Africa, Bolivia greatly regrets that the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, which sought to apply to the case of that Territory both the precepts of the Charter and the immanent principles which require the elimination of all forms of discrimination and colonialism, have not yet been translated into specific progress towards bringing the gifts of freedom and self-determination to the people of the Territory.

80. The outbreak of war in the Middle East was a violent corollary to the state of belligerency which has prevailed in that area for the past twenty years. The right of the State of Israel to sovereign existence is indisputable, and it was the failure of other States to accept that historical fact which sowed the seeds of conflict. It is held as a moral precept in Latin America—and the historical experience of Bolivia particularly well bears it out—that conquest bestows no rights, and that any acquisition of territory by force of arms is null and void. My delegation firmly upholds that precept, while recognizing that, in the case of the crisis I am referring to, it was and still is essential to offset the withdrawal of troops against the ending of the state of belligerency in order to avoid a recurrence of the conflict. That was the stand taken by Latin America in the course of the debate at the emergency special session, and Bolivia adheres inflexibly to that view.

81. I will do no more than add my voice to those of other Latin American representatives in saying that, in our opinion, the worst threat to peace would appear to lie in the growing gap between the industrialized countries and the developing nations. There can be no doubt that in the last few years the share of the developing countries in world trade has diminished rather than increased. This means that, while wealth is increasingly concentrated in a few highly developed countries, poverty is intensifying and spreading in larger and larger sections of the world's population.

82. No stable or lasting peace can be built on that basis, whatever military or political procedures are resorted to, since the hard social and economic facts I have mentioned are liable to frustrate any such action. In other words there is, in our view, an ineluctable correlation between poverty and violence, or, conversely, between peace and development. The interdependence of nations, which becomes closer every day, does not allow any country to act in a self-sufficient manner; its well-being and indeed its very existence may be threatened by the increasing inequality of which we are all aware but do nothing to alter.

83. Clearly the small countries, however much they may wish to help to solve these serious problems, cannot do much; hence the main responsibility falls jointly on the highly industrialized countries. The creation of conditions in which peaceful coexistence based on social progress and economic well-being for all peoples will be possible depends more than ever on their magnanimity.

84. Bolivia is a member of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and a member of its Committee on Commodities. As such it cannot but express the hope that the Second Session of that Conference will achieve more success than has been achieved so far.

85. We should like to see practical measures taken to correct the situation I have described and to obtain wider agreement on the principles which must govern world trade relations and trade policies conducive to development. We want stable prices and markets, so that we can forecast our earnings and consequently our national investment possibilities. For us, every cent of reduction in the price of a pound of the tin we sell means a fall of about half a million dollars in our revenue. If the developed countries dump on the world market non-commercial stocks of primary commodities such as tin, they are seriously jeopardizing our foreign exchange earnings. That is why we repeat our hope that this dumping will finally cease.

86. We can add another reason for our concern in this matter. Bolivian tin purchased a few years ago at roughly a third of its present price—even taking into account the devaluation of the currency—brings those who sell it a considerable profit—at the expense of a small country. We do not believe that this is strictly a matter of economic gain, since such profits, which could mean so much to Bolivia, do not affect the economic position of the sellers either way. It seems to us that it is rather a case of insensitivity and lack of interest in solving this problem.

87. Here I simply must point out our special concern with the work of the UNCTAD Committee on Tungsten, which might well be the germ of an agreement on that commodity. We should also like to see a similar committee or group set up to deal with antimony. In both cases we note that progress towards concluding international agreements on the commodities in question is made very difficult by the consistently unwilling attitude of the consumer countries, which are in fact the most highly industrialized.

88. Where organs of the kind mentioned do exist, as in the case of the International Tin Council, what happens is that the buffer stocks are financed exclusively by the contributions of the producer countries, while the consumers, who have so much influence on price determination and are interested in maintaining stable price levels, contribute nothing at all. That is just one more proof, however slight, of the validity of the general comments I have just made.

89. Inevitably, any discussion of these topics leads us to note the vast difference in scientific and technological progress between the industrialized and the developing nations. Without applied science and technology, even if there were a change in the structure of the terms of trade, there is little that the small countries can do. The paradox in this is that, just like economic resources, the human resources trained in science and technology are also subject to a process of absorption by the developed countries. We train scientists, engineers and technicians at great cost to ourselves to serve our countries; but since we cannot offer them the advantages which are easily obtained in the great nations, ultimately we lose them to those nations. Then there is the proliferation of committees, commissions, working groups etc. established by the major international agencies and which become a Mecca for specialists from the developing countries. If the work of those who became international civil servants or employees of large corporations were at least of benefit to us, we would have no objection; but it seems to us that at times the developing countries lose first-class people in the field of science and technology who end up as well-paid bureaucrats in the corporations of the highly industrialized countries or in international organizations.

90. In contrast to the threatening atmosphere of world politics and the economic and technical disparities liable to give rise to new upheavals in the future, the outlook for Latin American regional policy is encouraging.

91. Latin America prohibited the use of nuclear weapons in a treaty signed in Mexico of 14 February 1967. In this connexion I must point out that, although we have no facilities in Bolivia for contributing to research into the uses of nuclear energy, we believe, together with other Latin American countries, that this prohibition should not be interpreted as ruling out research on the peaceful uses of this vast source of energy.

92. The Presidents of the Latin American countries who met at Punta del Este together with the President of the United States in April of this year signed a Declaration which forms the corner-stone of the process of economic integration of the continent. Within fifteen years beginning in 1970, it is expected

that the 250 million Latin Americans will form a market capable of promoting the development of industry, of creating a flourishing trade through the abolition of tariff barriers, and of establishing a common external tariff.

93. All this holds a promise of further development for the Latin American Free Trade Association, in the context of which it is proposed to establish an integrated sub-regional organization comprising the Andean and Pacific countries. Furthermore, the five nations including my own which form the great basin of the the Rio de la Plata are planning to study ways and means of putting in hand multinational infrastructure projects.

94. If I may remind you of my country's geographical position, Bolivia lies in the very centre of South America, with a territory that forms part of three great river basins of the continent. We are a nation of the Pacific and the Andes, and also of the Plata and the Amazon. However, at present most of our population gravitates towards the Pacific area, and it is across the Pacific that we obtain more than 90 per cent of our imports and ship almost all our exports. In this region we also possess natural resources such as petroleum, gas, minerals and water resources of great importance.

95. I mention these various factors because, taken all together, they might well constitute a basis for multinational projects which could even transform the physical characteristics of the region, turning desert coasts into productive farmlands through controlled irrigation, besides generating considerable quantities of hydroelectric power which, in turn, would be used to process many of the raw materials we now export without any processing. These possibilities are not a mere pipe-dream, for in other parts of the world projects of greater technical and economic complexity have been carried out.

96. Of course, it would first be necessary to spell out and solve political and diplomatic problems arising out of previous international events, and to overcome considerable difficulties of a geographical, economic and technical nature.

97. Among the political and diplomatic problems I would mention as the most important the fact that Bolivia is landlocked; this fact does not affect my country alone but has consequences for the whole continent. I wonder whether a programme could not be devised which would combine satisfaction of Bolivia's right to an outlet of its own to the sea with the multinational infrastructural development of some of the areas of the South Pacific coast countries. If that were possible, the political and diplomatic problems I have mentioned might be solved simultaneously for the benefit of all those concerned, while at the same time the great resources of this region would be used to joint advantage.

98. In a programme of this type, which might be put forward as a "package deal", to use a fashionable expression, the United Nations, together with other regional organizations and the financial institutions of the public sector, could perform an extremely important task. So convinced I am of this that if what I have said is favourably received here, my

delegation will revert to this matter with more specific detail in the appropriate Committee.

99. None of the ideas I have just put forward implies that Bolivia is withdrawing or renouncing its right to obtain, by any other means compatible with the peaceful coexistence of States, a remedy for the absence of an outlet to the sea from which Bolivia has suffered as a result of an unjust war.

100. Because of events occurring in Bolivia as a result of what have been called the "guerrillas", I feel I should offer some clarifications of the factors and policies involved. In doing so, I shall try to remember that the views I am now voicing will be judged by future generations within the general context of Latin American history.

101. During our War of Independence, the struggle of the patriots took the form of guerrilla warfare, precisely because it stemmed from the innermost feelings of the people and did not rely on any foreign help. In contrast, the criminal activities to which I am referring are started, organized and financed from abroad and have found no response in the hearts and minds of the people of my country.

102. Two propagandist arguments are being used as a pretext to justify these acts of violence. First, it is alleged that sectors of the population such as the peasants are being exploited within the country itself, and must be freed forthwith; and secondly, it is said that there is a need to combat United States imperialism.

103. There is in fact in Bolivia a considerable peasant population with social, economic and linguistic characteristics which have persisted since the time of the Incas and have left a vigorous imprint on all spheres of the national life. As a consequence of this, large-scale structural reforms had to be introduced, two of which were specifically intended to benefit the peasants, namely land reform which gave the ownership of the land to those working it and universal suffrage, which has given the peasant masses a predominant voice in democratic national affairs. The peasants have a bloc of deputies and senators more numerous than that of any other political or civic organization, and they also have a Minister of State in the Cabinet.

104. These are facts, not words, facts which explain why the peasants totally repudiate the so-called "guerrillas". It is simply childish, in the name of an ideological abstraction to ask the workers of the fields who now own their land to hand over their title of ownership to the State in exchange for some form of collective usufruct laid down by the would-be bureaucrats. This would amount to losing the right of ownership won for them by the Bolivian Revolution for the benefit of the former landowners or of a totalitarian Government.

105. Two conclusions follow inevitably from what I have said. First, there is no need for any action from outside to liberate the Bolivian peasants. Secondly, the so-called "guerrillas" were planned and organized from the outset with complete disregard for the national facts of life; that is the reason why their movement has no future and why their purpose is doomed to failure.

106. As regards relations with the United States and the question of American imperialism, we have no invasions, troop landings or territorial encroachments to report from that quarter, though we are not unaware that the treatment received by Bolivia and other Latin American countries in economic and political matters has often been unjust and prejudicial to our interests. However, we do concede that there have been quite considerable changes and transformations in these relations since the end of the Second World War.

107. Indeed, with the good neighbour policy, non-intervention and respect for the sovereignty of States has become institutionalized. Moreover, the system of strictly bilateral relations which the United States used to maintain with the Latin American nations as a way to divide and rule is yielding ground to the realization that it is in the interest of North America, as well as in our own interest, to co-operate actively in the process of integration, development and political co-ordination of our countries. This does not mean that there is no problem in our relations. There is much to be done. There is clearly a need for greater understanding on the part of American public opinion of the concerns, needs and goals of our peoples. But it cannot be denied that achievements such as the Alliance for Progress indicate a more promising outlook for the future.

108. If these observations correspond to the truth, there is no need for "guerrillas" to solve the problems

of our relations with the United States. Hence it can be said on this point, as on the previous one, that those acts of violence do not reflect the present-day situation as it is but would seem rather to be a belated reaction to the experiences of the past.

109. I need hardly add that the above-mentioned views are necessarily relative, because if United States policy were to revert to what it was in the past, or remained ossified in its present shape, there would be a need for representations and action which might prove that those who call themselves guerrilla fighters were in the right. But this is not the case now; the most that can be said of them is that they are pawns in the chess-game of world politics, serving the purposes of agitation, disorder, anarchy and propaganda.

110. Whatever the theoretical designs, the protagonists, the organization and the foreign financing of the process of violence with which we are confronted, we can state categorically that we Bolivians will never allow our motherland to be wrested from us and our fate to be decided by others. As President Barrientos has said, we will pursue the struggle which has been imposed on us from abroad. While always mindful of fundamental human rights, we shall stand firm in the defence of representative democracy which we have chosen as the basis of all our institutions.

The meeting rose at 4.45 p.m.