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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. NILSSON (Sweden): Madam President, let me begin by congratulating you on your election to the high position of President of the General Assembly. Africa, your own country and you yourself are being rightly honoured by this election. We wish you well in your important assignment and we look forward with great expectation to working under your inspiring leadership.
2. When the General Assembly meets this year for its twenty-fourth session we have to recognize that no solution has yet been reached of the many acute problems which pit nation against nation and national group against national group in armed conflict. Violence is a terrifying reality. Justice does not prevail. Individuals and whole peoples are denied liberty and human rights. The ideals of peaceful co-operation which we have all pledged ourselves to follow in accordance with the Charter are violated or ignored in the practical policy of States.
3. If we want to be realistic, we can hardly expect our debates here in the Assembly, or the efforts which are deployed by the Security Council and the Secretary-General, to result directly in settlements of current conflicts. We must admit that States have not yet wanted to limit their sovereignty to the extent necessary to make the United Nations an efficient instrument for peace. The principal role of the United Nations as far as current conflicts are concerned is, therefore, for the present, to serve as a centre for the expression and formation of international opinion, to encourage and facilitate co-operation and agreement between the States concerned and to offer the formal framework for such co-operation and agreement.
4. A sober analysis of this kind should not lead to pessimism about the future of the United Nations. There are many examples which show that Member States, both big and small, find the United Nations to be the suitable, sometimes the only possible, place for co-operation and for

agreement aiming at a peaceful solution of current conflicts. This attitude is not due to any conventional faith in the United Nations. It is based on firm experiences from the history of our Organization, now a quarter of a century old. These experiences reveal failures—that is true—but also successes. Let us learn from both. We can then see more clearly where the United Nations has its limitations and its possibilities. We can then more easily choose methods to expand the possibilities.

5. In Viet-Nam the war continues. The bombing of North Viet-Nam has ceased, but in the South the war rages with undiminished intensity. The severely afflicted people of South Viet-Nam are exposed to terrible personal sufferings and to heavy material destruction. Earlier costly experience has shown that the conflict cannot be settled by military means. It would now appear that the parties have come to realize this.

6. At an earlier stage of the war we expressed the hope that the United States, as being the party vastly superior in strength and in view of its responsibility as a world Power, should take the first step which could lead to negotiations aiming at a cessation of the war. It is gratifying that, as Secretary-General U Thant foresaw at the time, the cessation of the bombing of North Viet-Nam did lead to negotiations between the parties. Unfortunately these negotiations have not, as far as is known, led to any results as yet. Let us hope that the will to peace expressed by the parties will make it possible for them to reach agreement on a way leading to a goal which they have both announced: to bring the tragic conflict to an end and to give the people of South Viet-Nam the possibility to determine their own destiny.

7. In our opinion, the key to success will be found in military de-escalation by all parties. We believe, however, that also in this situation a special responsibility rests with the stronger party to take the first steps. It is therefore gratifying to note that President Nixon has now decided on further withdrawal of American troops.

8. Irrespective of when the conflict is in fact terminated, it is important to begin planning even now for the reconstruction of Viet-Nam. People all over the world have followed the war with strong emotional and moral engagement. This should be taken as a commitment to help the Viet-Namese to restore their war-ravaged country once hostilities have ceased. Therefore, conditions seem to be present for a massive international relief programme as a powerful manifestation of international solidarity. The Nordic countries, for their part, have already begun to plan their contributions.

9. It is deeply regrettable that it has not yet been possible to implement the resolution adopted by the Security

Council on 22 November 1967 on the crisis in the Middle East [*resolution 242 (1967)*]. The peoples in the area continue to live in a condition of political tension, military actions and counter-actions, entailing the risk of serious repercussions outside the area as well. This is possibly the risk which has made the four great Powers conduct negotiations on a method of implementing the resolution of the Security Council and in this way to facilitate the task of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. The day the four great Powers reach agreement on such a method, the parties must take it fully into account. The efforts of the four Powers deserve our support.

10. A tragic facet of the world situation is the continued civil war in Nigeria. The efforts which have been made by African and other statesmen to achieve peace have so far been without result. The civilian population on both sides of the front is being subjected to severe suffering. An international relief action has begun to which the Swedish Government, with the support of a strong public opinion, has allocated relatively large funds. We deplore the continuing difficulties in making that relief action effective. We have also expressed our earnest expectation that the parties will be able to initiate contacts for a peaceful solution. The African States consider that their own Organization of African Unity has a special responsibility and a special possibility of contributing to a solution. We find that approach reasonable and realistic.

11. We shall elaborate on the problems of southern Africa later in the session. The Swedish Government regards colonial domination and racial oppression as detestable and illegitimate residues of prejudices and power positions of old times. Their continued existence constitutes a serious threat to the stability and welfare of the African continent. All efficient measures which the international community represented in the United Nations can agree upon must be taken to remove that threat. An absolute minimum demand is that the resolutions of the Security Council calling upon Member States to apply an arms embargo on South Africa should be scrupulously and consistently observed. Moreover, we consider that measures should be taken to increase the efficiency of the Organization in following and supervising the application of the mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. It is deplorable, and highly disgraceful for the countries concerned, that individual States should ignore the decisions on sanctions and thereby jeopardize the authority of the United Nations.

12. In this connexion I should like to mention an international problem of a serious nature. What I have in mind is that military conflicts both within and between States are to a large extent fought with war material which has been procured from abroad as gifts or purchases. I do not wish, of course, to question the right of States to acquire war material necessary for self-defence. Indeed, the right of self-defence is laid down in our Charter. I only wish to draw attention to the problems inherent in uncontrolled arms traffic.

13. It would undoubtedly be a step in the interest of peace if it should be possible, within the framework of the United Nations, to agree on certain principles in this field. The principal aim should be to endeavour to prevent such trade in war materials as can obstruct a satisfactory solution of a conflict or hinder the localization of such a conflict.

14. When Czechoslovakia was invaded last summer by troops belonging to members of the Warsaw Pact, this gave rise to a wave of indignation and disappointment. There had been the hope that the evolution in the right direction towards a more humane type of communism which had begun in the country should be allowed to continue without any outside interference. There had also been the hope that the leading State of the Warsaw Pact should not interpret that development as a threat against its own security or that of its allies. Those hopes were frustrated. What we have witnessed during the past year has been a return to a policy whereby the freedom and the rights of the individual are gradually curtailed. This policy is conducted under the name of "normalization". We doubt whether the Czechoslovak people consider that description correct.

15. In addition to other conflicts there is now the increasing tension between the two communist great Powers, the Soviet Union and China. There is a risk of increasing violence. One conclusion which we consider self-evident, is that an energetic endeavour must now be made to engage the People's Republic of China in international co-operation by finally giving its Government the possibility of taking China's seat in all the organs of the United Nations.

16. Even if in the major current disputes the United Nations can only exercise a limited influence, the Swedish Government is convinced that the Organization has acquired increased importance as a forum for long-term peaceful co-operation. This applies in the first instance to the disarmament efforts.

17. There has been very little success so far this year in the field of disarmament. The hopes of considerable progress towards nuclear disarmament which were raised last year at the time of the conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*] have not been fulfilled. This can be partly explained by the fact that the coming into force of that treaty has been delayed. Only when its principal originators, the Soviet Union and the United States, have ratified the treaty, will we come closer to this goal.

18. The world also waits with growing impatience for the two great nuclear Powers to begin their bilateral talks on the limitation of missile systems. We hope that those negotiations will take place soon.

19. If little or no progress can be registered in the field of nuclear disarmament, the situation appears to be somewhat more hopeful with regard to other weapons of mass destruction, that is, the means for biological and chemical warfare. The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva has made great efforts this year to find a solution to the problems which those terrible weapons create. Our hope is that additional tangible steps in the direction towards common sense will be taken during this session of the General Assembly. Valuable guidance has recently been provided in the Secretary-General's report on the effects of the possible use of biological and chemical weapons.¹ In the introduction to that document the

¹ *Chemical and Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons and the Effects of Their Possible Use* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.69.I.24).

Secretary-General has indicated towards which goals those continued efforts should be directed. In our opinion it is important that all States adhere to the Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or other Gases and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare of 1925. It is also important to have a uniform interpretation of this prohibition which, in our view, is total and categorical.

20. It has been obvious for a long time that the interdependence of all peoples on our earth, both in war and in peace, is constantly increasing. An expression thereof is the increasingly strong pressure which is exerted by the increasing population of the world on the limited supplies of our planet, in the way of raw materials, water and air. Two essential demands make themselves felt: on the one hand, the supplies must be utilized rationally, efficiently and with the greatest possible economy. The world cannot afford unplanned exploitation of its scarce resources. On the other hand, they must be distributed with more justice than at present. It has become a matter of urgent importance to diminish the differences in economic and social development among the peoples of the world, a matter which also basically affects the maintenance of peace. In our time of increasing interdependence, poverty, ignorance and hunger far from the borders of one's own country are conditions as unacceptable as if they were to occur within that country itself.

21. In this perspective it is necessary that the work on a co-ordinated efficient strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade be pushed forward. The objective must be the sustained improvement of the living conditions of the individual. An increase of agricultural and industrial production must therefore be integrated with measures to achieve a fair distribution of income, better dwellings and a sound environment with greater possibilities for man to live his life in freedom and dignity. I am happy to note that this view of the development process is shared by an increasing number of people. In this connexion I wish to draw attention to the international meeting of experts on social policy and planning held in Stockholm from 1-10 September 1969 in co-operation between the United Nations and the Swedish Government.

22. Economic and social development in our time is characterized more than ever by progress made in the field of science and technology. At a pace that could not be imagined only a few decades ago, new discoveries, inventions and industrial products come forth which radically change the environment in which we live. The time interval between an invention and its industrial exploitation is constantly diminishing. The telephone was invented in 1820 but did not come into general use until half a century later. It took more than 15 years from the time of the invention of radar before it came into practical use. Now the situation has radically changed. Research has become incorporated into the actual economic process and its results are immediately utilized in the production. Of decisive importance is the question of according to what laws and for what purpose this unprecedented expansion takes place. It is often determined by accidental factors. In other cases, developments are decided by individuals or groups whose interests do not always coincide with those of the vast majority.

23. In our times the need is acutely felt for a more conscious and more rational guidance of these processes, with regard both to research and to the technical and industrial utilization of the results of research. It is characteristic that most Governments, irrespective of the political system they represent, have found it necessary to create consultative scientific and technological organs, and that they seek to work out certain guidelines for research and development work in their respective countries. At the same time, we have to keep in mind that theoretical research is already a teamwork of mankind, and that applied science and technological development work should become so. The national policies of the various countries must be co-ordinated on the international level, whilst retaining the free and open channels which are the necessary condition for the work of the international scientific community.

24. A special problem is the transfer of science and technology to developing countries in order to accelerate their economic and social development. This problem is part of the task of reducing the gap between countries having different levels of development. This has been discussed in different United Nations organs: for example, in connexion with the planning of the Second Development Decade. It deserves systematic discussion during the years to come.

25. The investments of funds and personnel required nowadays for research and technical development work are so enormous that only a few of the highly developed countries can make advanced contributions in this important field. Thus there is a risk that the prominent economic and politico-military positions of those countries will be still further strengthened in relation to the rest of the world. In the case of certain research work, they can come to hold virtual monopoly positions. Such a development would in the long run lead to a lack of balance in the international system and could increase frictions between the technologically superior Powers and other States.

26. The conclusion must be that the new role of science and technology in the development of society and in international co-operation must be the subject of exhaustive debate in the different organs of the United Nations. We also believe the time has come to make a general survey of the institutional apparatus for dealing with the relevant problems. There is thus reason to undertake a comprehensive study of such questions as the tasks of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council in this field, the organization of the United Nations Secretariat, the role of the specialized agencies, etc. Our hope is that the idea of such a study will meet with general approval by many Governments and result in more efficient international measures adapted to the new perspective which I have just outlined.

27. The landing of the American astronauts on the moon was a triumph for modern science and technology. Admiration is felt for the men who accomplished that bold mission and for those who planned it. That latest achievement in the field of outer space technology should logically mean a strong push forward for international co-operation. The space Powers have now shown what they are able to achieve in competition with each other, motivated to some extent

by political and military prestige. Would they not now stand to gain if the suspicious competition were replaced by open co-operation involving a rational distribution of the work on the continued exploration of outer space? And would they themselves not benefit from involving other countries more fully in this venture, utilizing their assets and letting space research, with its vast possibilities for scientific and industrial progress, become a matter for the whole human race?

28. Co-operation under the auspices of the United Nations has already begun. I recall that the General Assembly last year decided to instruct a special working group to study the social, legal and economic implications of satellite broadcasts to individual receivers [*resolution 2453 B (XXIII)*]. In the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space there is also discussion of such questions as increased technical assistance in the field of space research. Let us hope that these efforts are only the modest beginnings of increasingly fruitful co-operation in the future.

29. The unprecedented possibilities of modern science and technology can also be used to improve the quality of the human environment. The importance and urgency of this problem are increasingly felt all over the world. The General Assembly decided last year to take up the environmental question and to convene a United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in 1972 [*resolution 2398 (XXIII)*]. It did so with the consideration in mind that modern technology can help man to improve his physical and social environment and to prevent its degradation caused by the uncontrolled application of certain types of technology. We hope that the General Assembly will this year decide on preparations for the conference which will assure the fulfilment of its basic objective. That objective is to work out, and to make available to Governments and international organizations, guidelines for practical action designed to save and to improve the human environment in the whole world.

30. Let me conclude by emphasizing once again the demand for universal solidarity among human beings and among nations. This is a demand which we must obey if the new military technology is not to destroy us all. In an epoch when man can observe his own planet from another celestial body, many differences and conflicts appear as minor local quarrels. Solidarity implies a struggle against economic and social injustices, a struggle against abuse of power, and a struggle against the oppression of man's natural aspirations to a life in freedom and dignity. Ultimately, the outcome of that struggle will determine the question of war and peace and, indeed, the continued existence of mankind.

31. Mr. MERCADO JARRIN (Peru) (*translated from Spanish*): Let my first words pay a well-deserved tribute to the memory of Mr. Emilio Arenales, who presided with wisdom and dedication over the work of the twenty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly, and whose untimely death has deprived us of his enlightened counsel in the work of international understanding entrusted to him by the community of nations. At the same time, I wish to express our appreciation of the honour conferred on Dr. Luis Alvarado of completing the duties of the Presidency.

32. And now on behalf of my Government, and personally as well, Madam President, I am happy to offer you our sincerest congratulations on your election as President of this Assembly. It is, indeed, a source of satisfaction that a lady of your worth has been elected to discharge so high an office, and we are confident that you will bring to it all the impartiality, judgement and tact vouchsafed by your past accomplishments.

33. At the same time, I feel it is incumbent upon me to make particular reference to the activities of our Secretary-General, U Thant, who has striven valiantly and indefatigably to solve the difficult and complex problems submitted to him.

34. This is also a suitable occasion for expressing our congratulations to the International Labour Organisation, which is now celebrating its fiftieth anniversary in the search for social justice, and to its Director, Mr. David A. Morse, whose unstinting devotion to the service of that organization has deservedly received the unanimous acknowledgement of workers, employers and Governments.

35. I also wish to express the satisfaction of the Government and the delegation of Peru at the recent admission of new Member States to the United Nations. With that step the legitimate aspirations of their peoples have reached their culmination. At the same time, we are drawing ever closer to the full implementation of the principle of the universality of the Organization and widening the possibilities of strengthening it with the contribution of new initiatives to achieve international co-operation and solidarity.

36. On behalf of the Revolutionary Government of Peru, I bring the message and the hopes of a people earnestly engaged in the achievement of integration and brotherhood, regarded as the only just and desirable basis for peace and general well-being.

37. I have not come to this Assembly merely as a formality but to speak to you with absolute frankness about what is being thought and done in my country with regard to both national and universal problems which not only interest us but also affect us. I must begin by saying that at home we feel a deep sense of disappointment—and at the same time a clear awareness of our responsibilities as a Government—at the lack of any international concerted effort to put an end to the confrontations and sufferings which still afflict the majority of the world's peoples.

38. Most ordinary people view with scepticism, if not exasperation, the repetition of speeches that no one listens to, lyrical but unimplemented resolutions on peace, the independence of States, human rights and international co-operation, while men are dying on the battlefield, countries still labour under colonial régimes or under pressure from more powerful nations, all sorts of practices flourish that violate the dignity of persons and the aspirations of peoples, and selfishness and injustice continue to hold sway in economic relations between the various nations.

39. The exploit that scarcely two months ago carried the first men to alight on the moon is undoubtedly the greatest

triumph of science and technology of our time. We all followed it enthusiastically and joined, either publicly or privately, in the satisfaction of the United States Government and people at the success of an undertaking which, apart from its own great merits, has also strengthened the faith of humanity in the achievement of new conquests as yet undreamed of.

40. I must confess, however, that we are less optimistic about the problems still besetting us on our own planet, among countries separated by much shorter distances, but much deeper divergencies—I would even say sometimes by abysses—when we compare the wealth, progress and happiness of some with the wretchedness, backwardness and anxiety of the rest.

41. Today, as yesterday, the challenge and crucial task of our generation must still be that of achieving peace, security and the welfare of all nations, so that we may eradicate the causes of tension and conflict, of hegemony and dependence, of rivalry and hatred, and be able to live together in a more just and worthy order, in which freedom, equality and fraternity will no longer be mere slogans of frustrated ideals, but facts that all human beings can experience.

42. It is to this endeavour that all Governments and peoples are dedicated, both those that have attained a high standard of living and those still subsisting in sub-human conditions, because the difference between them is not the result of chance, nor of the intrinsic superiority of some and inferiority of others, but of a series of circumstances in which social factors—wherein exploitation and abuse have not been unknown—have played a part.

43. The Peruvian revolution, which began scarcely 11 months ago, was born as a response to the deepest needs of our people. From the outset, it has obeyed an exclusively independent conception, which seeks to draw from the reality of Peru itself the inspiration and the drive which will weld together the efforts of an entire country in one creative undertaking and help to forge a truly just and truly free social order.

44. The Conquistadors, who arrived over 400 years ago in what is now Peru, tried to transplant the forms of an old society into a new world that was already peopled by an extraordinarily gifted indigenous population. Three centuries later, political independence had still not brought about any fundamental change in the economic, social and cultural structure that had been established during colonial days.

45. During the century and a half of republican life that followed, the disparity between the wealthy few and the mass of the population remained unchanged, when it did not actually increase. Apart from the cases of a few exceptionally able or ambitious men, power, great estates and businesses were all retained effortlessly in the hands of the dominant group, while employees, workers and especially the peasants lived in dismal circumstances and with little or no hope of improvement, due to the economic and cultural limitations imposed upon them by the society of that time.

46. The passage from a stratified structure of closed social groups to one of more mobile components was thus clearly

impossible until the last decade. It is obvious, in the light of this situation, of which I have drawn only the merest outline, that radical changes and urgent reforms were needed to transform the structure of Peruvian society.

47. This was the aim of the revolution, to clear for our people the way to true social justice, and we are carrying our revolution through in order to shatter forever the traditional patterns of a basically unjust social and economic system. We are fighting to complete the independence of our country and to free it from its situation as an under-developed country. Under-development and dependence, which is its corollary, have been the dominant features of the structure of Peru's economy. It is against these that the revolution is directed, because we are convinced that so long as they continue to exist, our people will continue to be the victims of exploitation and ignorance, because we have seen that both these factors lead to the concentration of power in the hands of small privileged groups, while other vast sectors remain on the fringe of society and, finally, because we know full well that so long as we remain under-developed and dependent, we shall never be masters of our own destiny as a free and fully sovereign nation.

48. Thus the essential features of our revolution can be summed up in two words: what is taking place in Peru is a nationalist revolution. The *status quo* is being shaken to its very roots. We are changing the face and the traditional structure of Peru; but we are doing so by creating, not importing solutions, by proclaiming the right, the responsibility and the duty to decide, by and for ourselves, the direction and the means of this beneficial change. Peru will never again be the country it was prior to the revolution. Of what we were and of our past, we shall preserve whatever will be of help in the building of our future. But we shall abandon—indeed we are already doing so—all that is useless dead weight in the salvage operation to make our country a new and better country for all Peruvians.

49. While we are nationalists, we are also humanists, because we are imbued with a profound social feeling. We believe that the first duty of the State is to ensure the sovereignty and development of the nation, but that the final goal is man, not one group, one sector or one class.

50. The keystones of our revolutionary ideal are independence and structural transformation, and these two concepts constitute an emotional binomial through which development becomes the most perfect synonym of social peace. We aim for development not as a mere instrument of prosperity, improvement or modernization of the present social order, since that might lead us to industrial capitalism, but as an instrument to eliminate inequalities and social injustice and to establish a new democratic system with no room for privileges based on class or on political, economic or religious factors.

51. Our nationalism represents an intention to achieve the effective social cohesion of the country, an effort to bolster political unity, to strengthen the economy and to complete our independence. It finds sustenance in the moral and spiritual resources of our people, in all that is positive in our collective characteristics and in the imperative need to preserve and strengthen them. We aim at social and

economic development but without sacrificing our truly national traditions and institutions.

52. Therefore, to those who often ask us about the nature of the process or, without asking, try to identify us with political movements in other countries, we must clearly explain that we are pursuing a Peruvian policy, free from foreign trammels and orientations. We are nationalists and revolutionaries: we seek Peruvian solutions to the problems and needs of Peru.

53. We are struggling to consolidate our sovereignty, to defend our legitimate interests and to enable our people to achieve better standards of life, in keeping with the dignity of the human person. We are firmly convinced that this struggle will strengthen a national awareness that will allow us to lay the foundations of a truly free and independent society, one ready to achieve its objectives by its own efforts, free from the shackles of conformity or foreign dependence; a society in which man is both the beginning and the end, the cause and the effect of our action, for there would be no sense in advocating revolutionary change unless it were for the direct and full advantage of Peruvian citizens.

54. Revolutionary transformation, which is the very essence of the new Peruvian policy, has taken the shape of acts to reform the organic and essential features of the country.

55. The first of these acts was not strictly a reform, but rather the exercise of national sovereignty in confrontation with a foreign oil company which, through its own economic power and the protection accorded to it, had for many years enjoyed a position of singular privilege, contrary to our law. By this act in strict conformity with existing laws that, in the past, had not been enforced through fear of international pressure, a long-standing claim for justice was redressed, and a need for legitimate reparation was met, while at the same time a clear and conclusive response was given to one of the vital economic needs of the country, a need that the Government was determined to satisfy.

56. The Peruvian position in this case involved decisions inherent in the full exercise of State sovereignty, but this exercise was not arbitrary. On the contrary, it confined itself strictly to classic Peruvian law which, in accordance with the tenets of almost all nations of the world, condemns usurpation and monopolies—especially in the case of mineral resources, which belong to the whole people. This was the situation to which Peru, juridically and in full exercise of its sovereignty, has put an end. Our decision is supported by international obligations derived from the Charter of the United Nations itself, and repeatedly acknowledged in this Assembly, not only concerning the recognition of the right of every State to administer and exploit its own natural resources, but also forbidding other States to interfere in such administration.

57. The international order repudiates all forms of intervention. When the latter takes the form of economic pressure or sanctions, it becomes a form of aggression that is all the more unethical and unjust when directed against a people that is peacefully endeavouring to overcome the

obstacles to its own under-development. In these circumstances, what is most incumbent upon any great industrialized nation, and in general upon all those enjoying the benefits of exploiting the world's riches, is, as a basic duty, to co-operate unconditionally with those countries which, by their own free decision and assuming inevitable risks, undertake the historical task of trying to expedite their progress and carry through a profound and rational structural change.

58. The decrees promulgated by the Peruvian Government in reclaiming the nation's oil, which constitutes its main energy resource, are, therefore, sovereign decisions, both legal and necessary. They are sovereign, because they come from an independent State, a Member of this world Organization; they are legal because they are based on custom and legal provisions which have been in force since the days of the Incas and on laws which govern Peru today within a system similar to that of the majority of States; and they are necessary, because they are indispensable if we are to forge ahead and really overcome our national under-development.

59. Such a strong position notwithstanding, the Peruvian ordinance offers the widest guarantees under which, in defence of its interests, any firm may have recourse either to the administrative authorities or to the courts of the land. Of course, this is not a system which we ourselves have devised, since it is to be found in almost all countries, but it allows both employees and companies the opportunity of various stages of recourse to the government, as was the case with Peruvian oil, or of a series of applications and appeals to the Peruvian courts.

60. We therefore consider that any measure of pressure or sanction against Peru for defending its public oil heritage and its new energy policy would be tantamount to open intervention and economic aggression in violation of international undertakings which were considered to have replaced the old system of diplomatic protection so abusively used in the past to shield financial interests. But that system, of which so much could be said by the developing countries, is one which we are putting an end to once and for all, since it bespoke a form of intervention which Peru has always rejected; and we are rejecting it again from this rostrum, since we regard it as not only an attack on the independence of States, but also as totally contrary to the noble principles of the United Nations.

61. In order to achieve the fundamental aim of the Revolutionary Government—that is, to promote higher standards of living, compatible with human dignity, in the less privileged sectors of the population—and to do so in accordance with the recommendations of the Punta del Este Meeting of American Presidents,² of the Papal Encyclicals and of the United Nations, my country has embarked on a genuine agrarian reform, which has received the unanimous support of our people and the fullest international endorsement. The new law has not only done away with archaic privileges but, by radically changing the traditional structure of the Peruvian system of land tenure, has laid the groundwork for a total economic reconstruc-

² Meeting of American Chiefs of State, Punta del Este, Uruguay, 12-14 April 1967.

tion of the country. The agrarian reform constitutes the most complete structural transformation ever undertaken in our country. Its repercussions on all aspects of national life will be enormous and it will open the way to social justice by encouraging the emergence and strengthening of middle and proletarian sectors of the population who, with ever increasing awareness of their interests, will provide the leaders which the country needs to consolidate the new ordering of society.

62. Peru has always depended on its mineral wealth and, today, this wealth appears as the one resource whose exploitation is the key to the economic future of the country. The vast mining potential of Peru is, and will be, the basic element in the foreign trade sector of our economy and its development will to a large extent determine the rate of growth of the country. Accordingly, the Government has, with all the desired urgency, adopted measures to ensure the immediate exploitation of these resources in order to correct the huge disparity between the present levels of production and the estimated and known reserves and mining potential of the country.

63. The aforementioned measures in no way alter the policy of the Revolutionary Government to encourage and help investors, from wherever they may come, so long as they are ready to work within the spirit and the letter of the laws of the Republic. In the mining sector we offer investors opportunities which are undoubtedly among the best to be found.

64. I also wish to mention the reform in regard to business undertakings which will be carried out in due course in Peru. Inaccurate reports about this have been circulated which may tend to create an adverse picture both within the country and abroad. It should be made quite clear, as the President of the Republic recently stated, that:

“The Revolutionary Government will not turn private undertakings in co-operatives, except in those cases provided for in the recent agrarian reform law. The measures envisaged do not disavow the legitimate rights stemming from ownership of the means of production; on the contrary, they will be devised to encourage investment and industrial modernization and, consequently, to stimulate development.”

65. The reform in regard to business undertakings, therefore, is in no way intended to prejudice the interests of business owners, but to bring them into harmony with those of the workers, strictly within the bounds of justice. In all this change, the State is playing a dynamic and encouraging role, and for this purpose we have revised its organization so as to give it the necessary capacity and vitality as well as the legal and functional instruments by which to carry out its activities effectively in conjunction with the efforts of groups of businessmen imbued with the same intentions of ensuring development for the national good.

66. All these achievements are being secured without the violence that has usually accompanied such radical changes elsewhere. This bloodless revolution, this profound and peaceful change that is being accomplished in Peru, is an unparalleled experience that fits into none of the patterns, blueprints or models of the past.

67. Those of us who have initiated this nationalist revolution will not see the best of its fruits; they will be for future generations. The revolution has no other beneficiary but the people of Peru themselves. It was initiated for them and for them it is being carried through. Our children will inherit a very different and a better country than we received from our forefathers.

68. This is the picture of the Peru of today, a Peru in which the co-ordinates of the revolution lie in the dialectics of development and the humanism of a social democracy and in which our historic destiny is at stake and will be won or lost in the next few years.

69. The features and objectives of the process—briefly described above—through which Peruvian society is at present passing are reflected in the external sphere and correspond to a conception of international society and of the part to be played in it by Peru.

70. The distinguishing feature—we might almost say the phenomenon—that particularly characterizes the world of today, has been the concentration of the power of nations around two poles, each of which is organized within its own system. In addition to these two groups, which constitute vast economic areas and co-ordinated political complexes, there is the group of non-aligned nations, uncommitted to the struggle between the dominant great Powers. Within some of these three sectors or on their periphery, there is a large category of nations which, although at different levels, possess the common denominator of under-development and a limited capacity to produce what they need.

71. Like the majority of the countries of Latin America, Peru faces a slow rate of economic and social progress, a dependent economy, backward structures, obstacles to national integration and low educational and technological levels, the effect of all this being aggravated by the urgent needs resulting from very rapid population growth. These facts make us one with the developing world. Yet we cannot refrain from feeling that there are other factors which single us out from many such countries: our political development over 150 years of independent life; our cultural background, rooted in ancient indigenous civilizations, yet strongly marked, too, by the imprint of Western civilization.

72. Our affinities with the whole of the developing world are identical, and we can therefore expect them to be a new creative dimension in the pursuit of peace and well-being. On the other hand, our links with the sphere of world power in which we move do not always offer the same encouraging perspectives. In that relationship, there are contradictory tendencies at work that hamper, if they do not cancel out, more fruitful possibilities of co-operation. This seriously impedes any harmonious movement forward towards progress and even jeopardizes international security, since the thwarting of the legitimate aspirations of a developing people must create a dangerous distortion in its thinking. If, for argument's sake, we take a society like that of Peru as an example, we would have to start from the very simple fact that, as far as it is concerned, only some positive and lasting achievement in the sphere of welfare could justify an effort and give meaning to national security, to say nothing of making it feel that it forms an

integral part of a system of collective security at the international level. The concepts of welfare, development and security are thus very closely and permanently connected with those of poverty and exploitation, which lie at the very roots of under-developed nations and exacerbate an explosive situation, the ramifications of which I should not wish to dramatize here in strong terms.

73. The antagonism between the two poles of power is as prejudicial to them as it is to the rest of the countries of the world, which are forced to adopt attitudes not always in keeping with their own interests and aspirations. That is why the international community must do all it can to further the healthy and growing trend towards mutual understanding and rapprochement, and the attempts evident today in both systems to appreciate each other's positive achievements and to collaborate in joint undertakings. If, on both sides, the conviction gains ground that the struggle for hegemony is mistaken and futile and that it must give way to competition in favour of development, with sights set on general security and welfare, then we shall be able to realize the most cherished ideal of mankind, namely, one world, one single bloc of nations.

74. The Revolutionary Government of Peru, in its foreign policy, has acted in conformity with the concepts I have outlined, expanding its relations wherever possible, defending its right to development and collaborating with other countries in the process of integration and in the establishment of new forms of international co-operation.

75. One of its first acts was to extend the country's diplomatic relations to those parts of the world from which, for political or ideological reasons, it was estranged. The new Government has established permanent missions in the countries of Eastern Europe, convinced that thereby it is serving the cause of peace, co-operation and the universal vocation of this world body. We also believe that on the basis of mutual respect, we shall be able to benefit from the experience and the contributions of those countries, and we shall seek forms of co-operation and exchange that will be of mutual advantage.

76. As I explained when speaking of internal developments in my country, Peru has had to wage a hard battle in defence of the right to enjoy its own natural resources. The legitimate act of exercise of national sovereignty whereby the Revolutionary Government regained possession of that wealth has caused serious difficulties in our international relations and in the credit policies of some countries and certain bodies. We believe that these incidents reveal a singular lack of understanding of domestic decisions that come within the law and meet imperative requirements of national sovereignty. Furthermore, we cannot accept the claim to identify the general interest of a State with the private interest of a company. A number of peoples and Governments which have offered us their support have understood our position and I wish to take this opportunity of reiterating to them my country's profound gratitude for their spontaneous expressions of solidarity.

77. Those familiar with the geography of Peru know that its wide desert-like coastal belt is compensated for by the natural fruitfulness and wealth of the sea washing its shores. Over 20 years ago, my country, aware of this natural

wealth, whose existence has been scientifically demonstrated and which is peculiar to the Peruvian sea, proclaimed its jurisdiction and sovereignty over the coastal waters to the extent necessary to reserve, protect, preserve and utilize rationally their marine resources. The system subsequently established with other countries of the south-east Pacific in defence of the same principles has been the subject of diverse interpretations which, based as they are on obsolete provisions which have been superseded by scientific progress and by the need to adapt ourselves to history, tend to overlook the rights of coastal States.

78. We must state clearly that these rights stem from the undeniable need of coastal States to ensure the preservation of the marine resources in their coastal waters in order to feed their peoples and to benefit their national economy. This need becomes even more imperative in the case of countries whose precarious economic development and low protein intake obliges them to multiply their efforts to improve the living standards of their people.

79. We are in duty bound to overcome the disparity between the wealth of our fisheries and the low nutritional level of our people. The nutritional deficit, caused by the lack of other resources, not only makes it difficult to meet the needs of a growing population, but forces us to devote a large portion of the country's hard-won foreign exchange to imports of consumer goods, with serious detriment to industrial development and the execution of other projects crucial to my country's social and economic progress.

80. Obviously, Peru does not claim that the norms it has laid down to defend its own marine resources are the same for all States. The law must always be adapted to reality and if geographical, like economic and social features, differ from one continent to the other and even within the same continent, it is both logical and necessary that the laws regulating them must also differ.

81. There are countries which, in order to exploit the vast wealth of the sea-bed adjacent to their coasts, have also extended their jurisdiction beyond the traditional limits of their territorial waters to the edge of the continental shelf. Surely such a right can hardly be denied to those States whose continental shelf is minimal or almost non-existent but which have the same, if not greater need, to preserve and utilize the living resources of the waters adjacent to their territory.

82. It must also be borne in mind that the measures adopted in this matter do not preclude foreign ships from fishing in the region under the jurisdiction of the coastal State, nor in any way limit freedom of navigation on the seas. They merely establish the usual regulations enabling fishing vessels to carry on their activities, without inadmissible depredations, and even to make use of port facilities on the same conditions as national vessels.

83. In claiming for the coastal State the rights of sovereignty, jurisdiction and control over the sea adjacent to its coasts to the extent necessary for the protection of marine resources, we have no intention of creating disorder or anarchy in the oceans, as has sometimes been said. What we do wish to set up is a more equitable system that would be based on modern scientific and juridical concepts and

would be deeply rooted in the social and economic needs of under-developed peoples—a system, in short, that would not be governed by political or military considerations or by powerful economic interests, which largely determined most of the rules of international maritime law in the past.

84. We trust that that is how the matter will be understood by the other States of the international community, both by those highly developed nations which have declared their willingness to co-operate with us in our efforts towards progress, and by those in the process of development, and that they will realize what this policy means as a defence of principles and resources which are essential in order to ensure our welfare and advancement.

85. This leads me to my next theme: the concerting of inter-State policies as an instrument of individual and collective progress. Although the primary and fundamental condition for the development of each country must be its own efforts, these are obstructed not only by internal limitations but by the effects of other countries' activities. It, therefore, becomes imperative to arrange forms of joint action with a wider perspective, which is inspired in some cases by community of origin with other national entities and which includes the search for economic integration as a means of promoting common interests and effective acceleration of development. This new system, in which individual effort is joined with the concerted efforts of a group of nations, is a response to one of the imperatives of our time, which is the result of increasing interdependence and which leads us to the creation of vast economic regions as an indispensable requirement in order to achieve, at one and at the same time, the progress of each of the components and of the group as a whole.

86. Latin America has not escaped this process and has put into operation a number of schemes for regional and sub-regional integration, despite the enormous difficulties due to its geography and its political, economic and social systems. Peru is actively participating in this undertaking, from which we expect effective benefits for the development of the Latin American peoples, for their affirmation of their independence and for their meaningful participation in international relations.

87. But even were the integrationist process which we are witnessing to be successfully completed, it would still not suffice to fulfil Latin America's aspirations. The continuous widening of the scientific and technological gap between Latin America and the developed world and the growing imbalance in world trade make it necessary to establish new forms of co-operation aimed at ensuring equal access by all peoples to the benefits of progress, science and technology. The international community has not yet succeeded in devising a system whereby this goal could be reached. On the contrary, a state of affairs has been brought about which, if allowed to persist, could lead only to the frustration of huge masses of human beings and thus engender even greater threats to world peace and security.

88. We must point out clearly—and we do so at this Assembly—that we envisage international co-operation as a commitment free from all forms of intervention in the internal or external affairs of other States and from any encroachment on their integrity and the political, economic

and cultural elements which constitute it; that we believe rational exploitation of national resources indispensable for the preservation and development of each country; that we cannot accept economic co-operation subject to political or military conditions; that we cannot admit the use or encouragement of measures of economic or political coercion designed to force the sovereign will of States in order to obtain advantages of any sort; and, finally, that we reject the adoption, indeed the very existence, of policies, actions or measures the mere invoking of which might threaten the economic and social development of a country and could lead to covert or open forms of economic aggression.

89. Only if the international community can understand co-operation in terms of the goals of progress we have indicated and can eliminate from its machinery any instrument of compulsion which vitiates it, will we be able to move forward, developed and developing nations together in the search for better forms of coexistence that will permit both groups to join in building a more just and worthy life. These criteria for international co-operation draw their inspiration from explicit Articles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the revised Charter of the Organization of American States.

90. In all international forums, Peru has strongly upheld the cardinal importance of these principles and proclaimed that only on the basis of respect for them will it be possible to establish true, constructive and lasting co-operation.

91. The community of nations must strive to achieve international welfare. That calls for a greater interest and a high level of responsibility on the part of the Governments of the wealthier countries in order to improve the lot of less fortunate peoples. The industrialized States must recognize the fact that today poverty in any corner of the world is a threat to their own way of life and that, consequently, their economic and social responsibilities cannot end at their national frontiers.

92. The action of the great countries in regard to human life cannot be limited solely to the formal maintenance of peace and the protection or encouragement of limited national interests—a concept that was stressed by President Nixon the other day. Such an attitude is not in keeping with the world today, which is becoming increasingly interdependent as a result of the progress of science, technology and communications. True security, true guarantees of life, liberty and what is usually understood as happiness all call for a far more responsible commitment to the rest of the world: a commitment which means co-operating with others to build new economic and social institutions, new channels for a more just and equitable distribution of wealth and to eradicate injustice, turning an atmosphere of uncertainty into a climate of confidence and stability.

93. I have left to the end of my statement the analysis of my Government's views on the most important world problems that appear on the Assembly's agenda. This obviously is not because of any order of priority, but because it was more appropriate to speak first of the internal process taking place in my country and its obvious consequences for foreign policy, so as to facilitate a better understanding of what Peru believes should be done in the

matters I propose to discuss now. These matters come under three main headings: peace and world security, international co-operation, and human rights.

94. It has been said that, in the long run, peace and security in the world will be feasible only when all peoples understand that we are members of the same family—that of the human race—and that we must act as such within an order that does not admit of hegemonies or subjugations and far less of injustice, but calls for wide and lasting co-operation in the solution of the problems of all, so that individual efforts will be harmonized, complemented and multiplied in the pursuit of a common objective—the solidarity of all men and the full realization of their aspirations to a worthy, secure and happy life.

95. We share those ideals and we are also convinced of the need to strengthen the authority of the United Nations, whose principles must be observed and whose resolutions must be complied with, since this is the only possible guarantee of world peace and security.

96. But the daily facts of the world in which we live show how naïve it would be to expect progress along that road as long as States fail to co-operate effectively in uprooting the very causes of international unrest, that is, the economic and social conditions to which we have so often referred. Unless these conditions are given preferential and adequate attention, political and juridical measures alone will always be insufficient and a makeshift.

97. At the same time, it is necessary to eliminate other factors which darken the world picture and which are the result of present-day antagonisms. Of these, the most distressing are the conflicts that still afflict the peoples of the Far East and Africa. Although these are not on the agenda of the present session of the Assembly, they call for special mention, because they are a stigma on mankind, and the parties concerned must exhaust every possible means of putting an end to the unjust and futile sacrifice of thousands of human lives, which far outweigh in value the interests involved.

98. The situation in the Middle East heads the list of problems submitted for our consideration. In this, as in other fields, compliance with United Nations resolutions is essential, as are also mutual respect among States, the cessation of all hostilities, the search for a peaceful settlement, the abandonment of all expansionist aims or religious wars and the duty to adjust national will to the imperatives of human rights, without which the just and lasting peace we all desire cannot be obtained.

99. In the peaceful settlement of disputes, the experience of the American nations offers unquestionably valuable instances of the effectiveness of the regional agreements provided for in the Charter of the United Nations. The world has recently witnessed an example of how the American system, acting with the assurance and speed born of the vitality of its own institutions and buttressed by the moral elements inherent in the peaceful spirit of its peoples, put an end to a sad conflict between two sister nations.

100. Together with the elimination of war as a means of settling disputes, equal importance must be given to the

questions of general and complete disarmament, the suspension of nuclear tests, the elimination of chemical and bacteriological weapons, and the allocation of the enormous sums still spent in those fields to other activities such as the use of nuclear energy and outer space for peaceful purposes, matters on which extensive reports have been submitted to the Assembly for consideration.

101. The recent entry into force of the Treaty of Tlatelolco³ on the denuclearization of Latin America is a new proof given by our countries of their will to co-operate in bringing peace to the world without renouncing their legitimate and urgent aspirations regarding the use of nuclear technology for the benefit of their economic and scientific progress.

102. Other problems involving injustice and increasing danger for States are those relating to their national unity. These problems cannot be postponed indefinitely and suitable procedures must be devised so that peoples which are now divided may achieve their long-desired unification.

103. Finally, in this section on peace, I must refer to the flagrant incongruity of the existence, in these days, of peoples subjected to colonial régimes. Like all those countries which waged a hard battle for their political independence and whose concept of the world is based on principles of Christian inspirations, Peru rejects any sort of colonialism. It is high time for those Powers, to whose care the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories was entrusted, to adapt their practice to the mandate from the United Nations, and, respecting the just aspirations of those peoples, their cultural identity and the principle of self-determination, to ensure their social and economic advancement and assist them effectively in learning to govern themselves. Any other interpretation of their mandate is a distortion of the obligation contracted with the world organization, and puts at risk the objectives of peace and security, which we are all concerned with preserving.

104. In the second part of this statement, when referring to the bases of Peru's foreign policy, I spoke of the principles which my country believes should govern relations among States in regard to international co-operation. In the light of the present world picture, the priority purpose of this co-operation is, undoubtedly, to combat under-development, and this has been clearly recognized at meetings at various levels such as those of CECLA, ECLA, IA-ECOSOC and UNIDO, which have all agreed on the need to reshape the present system of economic relations between the industrialized and the developing countries.

105. We must admit, however, that the results at the end of the First United Nations Development Decade are very meagre. We trust that the proposals on global strategy formulated by the Preparatory Committee for the Second United Nations Development Decade will receive the full support of the more advanced nations, without whose decision to co-operate these proposals will remain a dead letter.

106. In the field of financial co-operation, we find that the developing countries are obtaining external financing

³ Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, signed at Tlatelolco, Mexico City, on 14 February 1967.

under increasingly adverse conditions. This affects their foreign currency reserves, which are needed to maintain an adequate rate of importation of capital goods. An end must, therefore, be put to the "spiral of indebtedness" which militates against our economic growth and any improvement in our levels of living.

107. It is ironic to note that, in the final analysis, the so-called under-developed nations are acting as exporters of capital to the regions that are more advanced and have a greater accumulation of wealth, as a result of the servicing of foreign debts and remittances abroad from foreign investments.

108. We recognize the need for the participation of foreign capital; we acknowledge its interest in obtaining reasonable profits and we guarantee the stability of its operations; but an analysis of the methods with which it has been working convinces us of the need to search for new arrangements compatible with local priorities, so that such investments may contribute effectively to the mobilization of internal resources, to the generation of national savings and to an improvement in the technological level of our countries.

109. Such objectives are consistent with a realistic policy of structural transformation such as that which is being carried out by the Government of Peru, and which supersedes and sets aside the purely economic concept that growth is the first and fundamental step towards development.

110. Yet although the Peruvian revolution intends to create the internal conditions for a self-sustaining development, we believe that, on account of the characteristics of our country and its previous history, foreign trade must be the primary source of the external financial resources we require in order to achieve our objectives. A restructuring and expansion of international trade is therefore essential, since it is inadmissible that at present we should have to export twice as much in order to acquire the same quantity of goods as we were able to purchase in past decades.

111. We find, however, an indifference to this situation on the part of the industrialized world, an indifference which has now become traditional. One of the major obstacles to an increase in the third world's foreign trade is the obvious lack of political will and action to comply with the terms of international agreements.

112. I wish to avail myself of this opportunity in order to stress the need for the industrialized countries to revise their tariff and customs policies so as to eliminate the discriminatory treatment suffered by our manufactures and semi-manufactures, as well as the non-tariff obstacles which hamper the marketing of our basic commodities. When we also consider the policy of encouraging the uneconomic production of items which could not otherwise compete successfully with ours, we find evidence of a serious distortion in international trade.

113. On the other hand, variations in the demand for primary commodities leads to violent fluctuations in export prices and a progressive deterioration in our terms of trade and, consequently, in our import capacity.

114. We ask, therefore, among other things, for compliance with international agreements relating to price stability, for effective functioning of consultation machinery on the rational disposal of surpluses and strategic reserves, and for the implementation of a non-discriminatory and non-reciprocal system of general preferences.

115. Finally, we must point out that the gap between the developed and developing nations is widening with the technological advance being made in the industrialized countries. Greater co-operation is, therefore, needed in the creation and adaptation of technological processes that will ensure the maximum utilization of the resources of the developing countries. Unfortunately, the great technological innovations of the past decade have invariably been aimed at economizing on labour. What we in the under-developed countries need are innovations which, while enabling us to save capital, also allow us to utilize our labour force to the fullest possible extent.

116. Among the programmes which my Government is following with special interest I must single out the one concerning the peaceful uses of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction.

117. We believe that the United Nations, acting as it were as a trustee of the destinies of mankind, should consider this question with all due prudence and care. Its task is doubly difficult, not only because it is a question of establishing norms to govern an environment that is new to international law, but also because such norms will affect an extraordinary source of wealth, on which the developing countries are pinning fully justified hopes.

118. In this field the United Nations has an unprecedented opportunity of ensuring that the exploration and exploitation of the sea-bed and ocean floor are reserved exclusively for peaceful purposes, thus preventing them from becoming a subject of conflict among the great Powers, with consequent danger to world peace.

119. In the face of disputes among States, man, who, both individually and as a member of communities, has now virtually become a subject of international law, is to an increasing extent playing the part of a protagonist of solutions and to a decreasing extent that of a victim. The effort to base justice and the peace of nations on the welfare of man constitutes one of the most urgent and critical tasks of our time.

120. When we consider that barely a century ago there were laws permitting slavery, we realize how slow progress has been towards recognizing the dignity of the human being as such, despite the philosophical and religious principles that had been proclaimed many centuries earlier. Today no one any longer denies that human welfare requires the conquest of freedom, not only in its political sense but also in the sense of the liberation of man from his harshest oppressors: poverty, disease and ignorance; and that this welfare also requires the achievement of equality, expressed by the same rights and obligations for all, regardless of sex, race, religion or class.

121. These rights are no longer merely the guarantees granted to its citizens by the liberal State, vigilant of its

own order; they have acquired a new value: they are essentials for the dignity of the human being. Rights representing the protection of man against arbitrary power have been succeeded by rights representing a claim to a genuinely human existence.

122. These principles have been proclaimed by the peoples of the United Nations and by regional communities in declarations of human rights which, undoubtedly, constitute the finest and most complete ethical and juridical achievements of our century. They have inspired the constitutions of various countries, they have served as guidance for numerous laws and have encouraged the hopes of millions of human beings.

123. However, it must be admitted that the initial progress that has been achieved has not yet been followed by full practical implementation. Alongside United Nations initiatives in the field of human rights, there exist discriminatory practices such as *apartheid*, and racial and religious intolerance, which are repugnant to the conscience of the world. In addition to internal efforts to put an end to these erroneous practices, it appears necessary to strengthen the authority of the recommendations of our world Organization and the machinery for their implementation.

124. Those of us who call ourselves civilized countries can hardly watch with indifference the infringement of the rights of certain groups living in subjection to those who wield power. But here again, the task is a complex one, for good intentions, mere condemnations and theoretical recommendations are not enough, unless they are accompanied, and in many cases preceded, by other forms of international co-operation to assist countries in solving their problems which, in the ultimate analysis, are always those of their peoples.

125. In many States, the recognition of the right to life, which is the foundation of all other rights, does not go beyond a literary exercise, while infant mortality and endemic diseases continue to decimate the population. The same is true of recognition of the right to freedom from servitude, while poverty-stricken majorities still remain under the domination of privileged minorities that assume political power to be one of their prerogatives; of the right to property, while great masses cannot accumulate savings since they are scarcely able to earn enough to live on, and of the right to education and culture, while ignorance prevails and illiteracy rates are very high.

126. For these reasons, in the countries that are struggling towards development, human rights will be every day realities when the necessary environment of well-being has been created so that men can achieve them and live with them, and learn to defend them.

127. In concluding this review of the domestic and external efforts being made by the Government of Peru to ensure the prosperity of its people and contribute to the establishment of a system of solidarity among all the countries of the world, I must once again repeat that the problem of development has ceased to be a particular interest of national Governments and has become one of the thorniest problems in international relations. It is imperative, therefore, that the industrialized countries

should recognize their responsibility in the present situation and assume the consequent obligations. For our part, we are doing our utmost and making all the changes needed to achieve development, convinced as we are that development must essentially be the result of our own efforts. What causes us concern, however, is to find ourselves confronted by vacillating attitudes, if not by abstention or even indifference, on the part of those more advanced than we are.

128. Co-operation given to societies during a period of transition to promote their economic and social development is not just charity; it is an indispensable mutual guarantee for the achievement of political security and, consequently, for the maintenance of international order.

129. What we envisage is not a way of life imposed upon us, but rather a world in which men can live together in dignity and justice, with freedom of thought and action, and with respect for the sovereignty of each and every country; a world in which every nation can freely develop its own system in its own particular way. We believe that these aims should inspire the efforts of this Organization and that they provide more than sufficient reason for carrying on the struggle to the point of sacrifice, if necessary. Living as we do in a period which is neither peace nor war, there must be firm determination, dedication and the will to work together, so that ultimately we shall be nations united in the common task of ensuring the welfare of all the people in the world.

130. Mr. HOLYOAKE (New Zealand): Madam President, it gives me very special pleasure today, on behalf of the New Zealand delegation, to offer you our warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of this Assembly. We think that it is a very highly merited honour and our best wishes go with you in a very difficult task. May you be blessed with patience and tolerance. As founding Members of the Organization, Liberia and New Zealand have been privileged to co-operate for some 24 years in all United Nations activities, but particularly in Trusteeship Council affairs. We remember this with pleasure.

131. We meet this year in the light of another great landmark of human history: the sight of men walking on the surface of the moon. In New Zealand this year we celebrate the 200th anniversary of the great voyages of discovery of that great terrestrial explorer, Captain Cook. I should like to repeat to the United States Government, and to all those countries engaged in the peaceful exploration of the universe, a message of goodwill written two centuries ago to Captain Cook on his departure for one of his voyages:

“I hope that for the advantage of the curious part of mankind, your zeal for distant voyages will not yet cease. I heartily wish you success in all your undertakings.”

I think that as it was appropriate 200 years ago, the message is appropriate today.

132. The moon landing is not only an inspiration to the human spirit. It is a stupendous miracle of scientific progress. But unfortunately such dramatic proof of man's

mastery of his surroundings does not automatically call into existence a nobler and wiser world. A report by the Secretary-General to this session of the Assembly contains a rather telling indictment. He commented that man "being presumably rational" would have constructed for himself circumstances "ideally suited to his occupancy". The report observes: "In fact, the very opposite often appears true."⁴

133. And it is true that in any stocktaking of our world we see warfare, violence and bloodshed on a massive scale, in the Middle East, Africa and Asia. In other areas we see racial hatred, religious intolerance and political oppression afflicting vast numbers of mankind. In some of the under-developed countries of Africa, Asia, South America and others, poverty, hunger and despondency are still rampant. The stockpiles of nuclear weapons mount and the production of weapons of mass destruction grows and spreads apace while nations still await agreement on arms limitation or nuclear disarmament between the two super-Powers.

134. It seems that the great Powers are reluctant to intervene in situations of actual hostilities in order to avoid escalating the conflict; yet they and others supply arms to the belligerents. In this dark picture the principles of the Charter still provide us, we believe, with a lodestar.

135. For the vast and growing human family, the United Nations and its ideals are still of primary significance. Each year up until now we have rededicated ourselves to the Charter's magnanimous spirit and resolved to translate its principles into action. In this coming anniversary year something more is required, I suggest. I believe that there is a serious new duty incumbent upon individual Member States—and upon the Organization as a whole—to take account of the increasing questioning among the peoples of the countries we represent, not only about the effectiveness of the United Nations machinery, but also about whether the whole concept of San Francisco is still valid and adequate after a quarter of a century's operation.

136. In a world that has already seen man walking on the moon, the time surely has arrived for a close and searching inquiry about whether the Charter is adequate to deal with the problems of today. We should also look closely at the structure of the Organization which we set up so long ago; we should look to see if it is even adequately suited to our new circumstances. We believe that we should consider whether the highly formalized procedures of the General Assembly are still appropriate. We are not satisfied with a Security Council which is used for discussion without result and which impairs the status of the Council itself. I believe that we must ask ourselves what is needed to ensure that what we describe as debates are something more than a dialogue of the deaf.

137. We can, of course, take great pride in the work done by the United Nations in the economic and social fields by the specialized agencies. There are real advances in economic aid, education and health, to name only a few of the areas of great progress. But this was not the primary purpose for which the United Nations was established. We are still left with a major problem—to which the President

of the Assembly referred on Tuesday [1753rd meeting]. Advances in the fields that I have spoken of have much less meaning if they do not take place against a background of international peace and stability. As to these, the United Nations does not achieve sufficient results; yet this does remain the central aim of the Charter. Today I should like to ask these questions because they are the kind of questions that are being asked increasingly by people in countries such as mine and, I am sure, in others.

138. And in asking these questions I have no thought of wishing to return to the comfortable assemblage of States of the immediate post-war years or the power alignments of that time. We are now a much bigger Organization with much greater capacities through vastly increased and diverse membership. The future of the Organization and the possibility of restructuring it are questions that have equal significance in any part of the world, whether in Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Pacific—anywhere.

139. One of these larger issues is the problem of universal membership of our Organization. This question, important though it is, remains unsolved. But it underlines the failure of the Organization thus far to reach effective solutions of many critical issues, notably those that I have mentioned concerning peace and security. As it approaches its twenty-fifth anniversary, the United Nations is increasingly faced with the need to come to terms with a situation where a quarter of the world's population remains unrepresented in it. The effectiveness of our Organization is impaired by a gap of this magnitude. We are all aware of the difficulties—I am certainly not unaware of them. It is a difficult problem to resolve, but there must soon come a point of time when the balance of advantage requires that this be done in spite of the immediate and long-term difficulties.

140. The inability of the Organization to control international conflicts is a primary source of weakness of our Organization. If, as I hope, we could make a new stocktaking we must, I believe, seek new ways to strengthen the peace-keeping capacity of the United Nations and make it also a more effective policing body. Together with some few other States New Zealand has already indicated its willingness in principle to allocate a military unit for future participation in properly instituted peace-keeping operations of the United Nations.

141. The most obvious and tragic example of the powerlessness of the United Nations to keep the peace is the drifting and dangerous Middle East conflict. There is no situation in which United Nations involvement is closer, no situation in which the challenge to the Organization is greater or more immediate. We believe it is imperative that increasing efforts be made to reduce the violence and to find a way towards a peaceful settlement of this conflict. My Government supports wholeheartedly every effort to establish peace and security in that region.

142. There are two aspects of the present situation in the Middle East which give my Government special concern. We think it would be horrifying and intolerable if the dispute between Israel and its Arab neighbours were to spawn calculated terror throughout the world. There is some evidence of this. No reasonable person can accept the hijacking of civilian airliners and the destruction of

⁴ Document E/4667 (final offset), para. 11.

property, with the constant threat of loss of innocent lives of people from countries far distant from the Middle East. We believe that this kind of activity is bound to recoil on the heads of the organizations responsible for it. The other aspect which New Zealand sees as being particularly harmful would be any attempt—by either side—deliberately to arouse or inflame religious feelings as a means of heightening the tensions and hatreds that may exist.

143. There are two other destructive conflicts proceeding unchecked of which the United Nations is not properly seized. I refer to the conflict in Nigeria and the war in Viet-Nam. As to Nigeria, my Government has regarded the issues in this civil war as essentially matters to be settled by the Nigerians themselves. We all hope that some real step forward will follow from the numerous appeals that have been made and the appeal made last week by the summit meeting in Addis Ababa. We are very conscious of the difficulties, but it seems to me that an effort should be made to separate the humanitarian crisis from the political aspects of this quite bloody conflict. The Government and people of New Zealand have been dismayed and alarmed over the interruption of international relief operations. We believe that urgency should be given to the immediate resumption of large-scale relief supplies. Through me my Government has made recent direct representations to the principal parties on this specific issue. We believe that the international community has a duty to speak out on behalf of the innocent civilian victims of the fighting.

144. Of even more immediate concern to New Zealand is the tragic and wasteful war in Viet-Nam. At the Paris talks the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam and its allies have put forward a series of proposals for bringing about a negotiated peace. These proposals have two central purposes: the withdrawal of all—I repeat all—non-South Viet-Nameese forces, and the holding of free elections of all the people of South Viet-Nam. It seems to us that nothing could be more fair and statesmanlike than President Thieu's offer for the national liberation front to participate in free and internationally supervised elections; and he has made it clear that his Government would abide by the results of such elections.

145. So far the response from the other side has been consistently negative. They too have a central purpose and it is equally clear: they demand the withdrawal of all allied forces, while North Viet-Nameese troops remain in South Viet-Nam and overthrow the legitimately elected Government of South Viet-Nam. It seems to us that these are demands of men who seek to impose their will by force; they reflect no genuine wish to move from confrontation to negotiation.

146. It is a matter of great regret that the United Nations has been able to play so small a part in relation to the Viet-Nam war. There have been times, I believe, when international opinion, carefully and responsibly expressed, might have helped progress towards peace in Viet-Nam, and I believe that that opportunity still remains. In particular the international community needs to be reminded, I think, of the steps that the Republic of South Viet-Nam has taken in the cause of peace. The Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam is continually being urged in many quarters of the world to make yet one more concession to

get the peace talks moving. It is an extraordinary commentary that seldom if at all has the other side been urged to respond in like manner. The fact remains that only when the other side begins to address itself to the real issues and shows an interest in serious negotiation shall we be able to move towards an end to this tragic war.

147. My Government earnestly desires a peace settlement which will allow the people of South Viet-Nam to decide their own future, free from any outside interference. A settlement is likely to bear the tests of time only if it has a wide measure of international support, and it is here that the United Nations may yet have a contribution to make in sustaining whatever settlement emerges. For far too long Viet-Nam has been the scene of conflict, and its people have been forced to bear the privations and horrors of subversion, terrorism, murder and war. The natural and human resources of Viet-Nam are such that, if only war and the threat of war can be banished, this young and vigorous nation will before long resume its rightful place in the community of nations. A great number of countries and many international organizations are participating in extensive programmes of economic and humanitarian relief in Viet-Nam. With the restoration of peace, the needs of reconstruction and rehabilitation in that war-ravaged country will require even greater help from the rest of the world if the people of Viet-Nam are to enjoy the economic prosperity and material welfare to which they are entitled.

148. The Charter imposes on us all an obligation to respect the rights of the individual, and, despite the uneven progress in this field, it is possible to record a growing awareness in the world of man's responsibility to his fellow men. In matters of social justice most Governments would not today tolerate conditions or practices that were hardly questioned half a century ago or even 25 years ago. The United Nations and the International Labour Organisation, whose fiftieth anniversary we celebrate this year, have made significant contributions to that development.

149. At the same time, we must deplore the continuing existence of situations in which the standards set by the Charter have been ignored or cast aside. Once again this year we witnessed the repetition of a massive denial of human rights, and brutal police action, in an effort to suppress the unquenchable spirit of the Czechoslovak people. It seemed to us at our distance that socialism carrying a truncheon was exalted. We were told in 1968 that this was a fraternal embrace. If that is so, my country at least and, I believe, the rest of the world must seek new definitions of friendship and brotherhood. In another area of human rights, it is to the credit of the United Nations that the process of decolonization is largely complete.

150. We have noted with close interest the decision of the Security Council to establish a committee of experts which will examine the relationship between the micro-States and the United Nations [1506th meeting]. This subject is of particular relevance to New Zealand, situated as it is in the Pacific area which includes many small island territories. New Zealand has brought two of those territories to self-determination and self-government. Western Samoa, a fully independent State since 1962, brought to statehood by New Zealand, has chosen not to join the United Nations, although it has become a member of the World Health

Organization. In 1965 the Cook Islands chose to be fully self-governing, in free association with New Zealand. In the light of our experience in those two cases, we feel that new and more flexible arrangements are needed for the very small emerging territories. At present they are offered only the alternatives of full United Nations membership or virtually no relationship at all. My Government awaits with great interest the results of the Security Council's examination and its recommendations on this important question.

151. The United Nations is rather ill-equipped to solve the political crises of our day. Yet one of the notable achievements of recent years, which gives promise of a reduction in political tensions and of relief from the fear of war, was the negotiation and signature of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*]. New Zealand ratified that Treaty last week. That action formally reaffirms a long-standing national policy of New Zealand, renouncing any intention on our part to acquire nuclear weapons. We hope too that some real progress can be made towards the conclusion of a comprehensive ban on all testing of nuclear weapons and we call upon those countries not parties to the partial test ban treaty⁵ to refrain from any resumption of weapon testing in the atmosphere.

152. The past year has also seen a growing recognition by the United Nations Members that our surroundings are threatened by other dangers, less obvious perhaps but no less great and sometimes even more immediate. Man has rather recklessly impaired his own surroundings and the need to preserve our material heritage in an overwhelmingly industrial and increasingly populated age is now becoming acute.

153. My Government regards it as a development of surpassing importance and merit that the United Nations is devoting more and more of its attention to such practical questions as population control, the establishment of a just and effective régime for the exploration and exploitation of the sea-bed, the co-ordination and objectives of activities in outer space, the conservation of mankind's environment and the control of pollution. They are concerns which transcend political boundaries, and the problems they present must occupy the attention of all men everywhere.

154. Finally, I believe that in beginning this twenty-fourth session we all recognize the critical importance of ensuring that the right decisions are taken by this Assembly about the objectives and strategy of the Second United Nations Development Decade. This can well settle the pattern and pace for sound economic progress throughout the world. One of the key lessons of the First Development Decade has been that sound economic development is a continuous, complex and long-term process. In this the willing co-operation of all developed and developing countries is essential. It is correspondingly important that the goals or targets set should be realistic.

155. The New Zealand Government has pledged itself to work towards the target of 1 per cent of gross national

product for external aid. The success of the Second Development Decade may depend largely on the degree to which this Assembly measures to its responsibilities. I hope we can succeed in proving our Secretary-General unduly pessimistic on this point. Let us show that man, looking at the problems of his planet as a whole, can indeed be rational and can construct for himself circumstances "ideally suited to his occupancy".

156. Mr. EBAN (Israel): Madam President, the Government and people of Israel, to whom you are well known, rejoice at your elevation to the presidency of the General Assembly. We see your election as a moving tribute to Africa, to its first sovereign Republic, Liberia, and to your personal distinction. I do not doubt that you will guide our labours with a firm and experienced hand.

157. We heard with grief of the passing of your eminent predecessor, Mr. Emilio Arenales, the Foreign Minister of Guatemala, whose loss will be sharply felt by his countrymen and by the entire international community.

158. Madam President, in your opening words to the Assembly [*1753rd meeting*], you expressed a constructive disquiet. No other mood befits the realities which we have come here to discuss. Any serious effort by the United Nations to serve the human cause must take its starting point from an attitude of criticism. We have lived a year of frustration and deadlock. There has been no advance in the solution of conflicts; and the United Nations has receded still further towards a marginal role in world affairs. Its resonance has diminished; and its flame is burning low. Yet there was never an age which cried out so plainly for institutions designed to express a planetary spirit. The forces which draw mankind together in a single destiny demand that we maintain a unitary framework for international relations in addition to the normal flow of bilateral and regional contacts. There is nothing obsolete, there is nothing premature in the Charter's central idea. A community of sovereign nations united in a covenant of law and peace is the highest vision that the political imagination of men has been able to conceive. But there is a vast gap between the vision and the reality; and it grows wider year by year.

159. The truth is that the effective currents of action and discourse amongst nations now flow mostly outside these United Nations walls. This emerges clearly from the record of the United Nations organ which represents us throughout the year in the quest for peace and security. Since the summer of 1968, peace and freedom have been convulsed in Europe by the flagrant invasion of Czechoslovakia; in South-East Asia by the continued fighting in Viet-Nam; in North-East Asia by ominous lightning flashes on the Russian-Chinese border; in the Middle East by the formal and effective Egyptian denunciation of the cease-fire; in Africa by the agony of millions in the Biafran region of Nigeria.

160. Now, the Security Council was able to do nothing about the invasion of Czechoslovakia; it has had nothing to say about the war in Viet-Nam; it has not addressed itself to the misery of millions of West Africans caught up in a fate of bloodshed and starvation. It has been silent on the open repudiation by the United Arab Republic of its own

⁵ Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

cease-fire resolution in the Middle East. It has done nothing yet about the growth of piracy in the air. It has been silent about the macabre gallows on which scores of victims have been publicly throttled in the streets of Baghdad; it has had to listen indulgently to the effort of some Arab States to launch an outrageous campaign of religious incitement, reminiscent of the dark ages, in gleeful exploitation of the deplorable Al Aqsa fire. It has been willing, it has been able, as in previous years, to adopt resolutions about the Middle East, and this on two conditions alone: that the texts are acceptable to the Arab States, and that they contain no word of specific criticism about the policies or actions of Arab Governments which have led to the murder of our citizens and an overt threat to assassinate our State. One third of the Security Council's members are States whose diplomatic relations and sentimental predilections are exclusively confined to one side of the Middle Eastern dispute; yet this is the only dispute with which the Council deals.

161. Political deadlocks and military escalation mark many of the great conflicts of today, and the causes often lie outside the power and will of the United Nations; but this does not absolve us from the duty of self-appraisal. One salient defect comes to mind. It was frankly expounded by the late President Arenales in closing the twenty-third session [1752nd meeting]. Resolutions are adopted in a rhetorical spirit and by fortuitous majorities without regard to their equity or prospect of fulfilment. It is no wonder that they lack moral or judicial force. The difficulty can be overcome only by resolutely and consistently seeking a consensus including the interested parties. The United Nations role should be to encourage agreement between the Governments at issue, not to sharpen the differences which separate them. The United Nations, in short, should adopt a diplomatic rather than a parliamentary approach to its work. It is built for the conciliation of views and interests, not for adjudication between them—still less for enforcement. And beyond this, it should strive to express the common aspirations of mankind.

162. Cannot this session of the General Assembly, for example, give dramatic form to the central interests and yearnings of the peoples for whom we speak? I suggest that United Nations Day, which falls on 24 October, should this year be proclaimed as a day of universal cease-fire. On that day armed action should be halted all over the world; in Viet-Nam and in Nigeria; along the Soviet-Chinese border; in all parts of Africa and across all the cease-fire lines in the Middle East. When all the guns are silent, the leaders of nations will be able, in that solemn and unparalleled tranquillity, to hear the urgent voice of mankind yearning for a world of peace. Of course, a cease-fire does not in itself solve complex issues. But once a moment of serenity has for the first time been lived universally across the world, there may be a reluctance to give it up; and the hard, long, indispensable road towards negotiated settlements can be taken everywhere without the savage discord of bombs and shells.

163. It is especially in the Middle East during the past year that the roar of guns has been constant and no calm dialogue has been heard. Nothing has gone as rational men expected. In September 1967 the Arab Governments took a united decision to refuse negotiation, to withhold recogni-

tion, to reject peace and to avoid the determination of secure and agreed boundaries with Israel. This graceless policy has since been maintained and reiterated with a tenacity worthy of a higher end. Indeed, there has not yet been any conceptual or political retreat by President Nasser from his attempt in May 1967 to bring about Israel's destruction by strangling encirclement and sudden blockade.

164. Those dramatic events of the summer of 1967 should not be lost from international memory. To forget them is to renounce all understanding of the Middle Eastern reality today. Israel will preserve an eternal and unfading image of the peril and solitude in which it then stood. We live intimately with that recollection. We brood upon it day and night. For it was only by an exceptional vigilance, by independent responsibility and cruel sacrifice that we avoided a disaster which would have ended our people's historic journey and weighed forever on the conscience of mankind. Whenever the summer months come by we shall remember how everything that we loved and cherished seemed likely to be swept into the flames of war and massacre. We knew that without victory there would be no survival. We recall the silence and apathy with which the Security Council, between one adjournment and the next, calmly observed the only attempts in modern history to wipe a sovereign State off the map of the earth. We shall not forget how the declarations, hopes, expectations, understandings, promises, commitments on which Israel had sometimes been advised to rely for its security proved, in the event, fragile and illusory. We shall, of course, remember how the conscience of free men everywhere was roused on Israel's behalf in deep anguish of spirit—but in total impotence. And with the memory of the dark long shadows there will go the recollection of how, in desperate valour and perfect rectitude, we tore the strangling fingers from our throats.

165. After all, a people which still remembers its revolts against ancient tyrannies is not likely to forget the sharper danger and the larger deliverance which it lived two and a half years ago. It is a moment that will linger and shine in the national memory forever—an incomparable moment that will move all Israel to its ultimate generations; and from that memory flows duty and resolve. It is our duty and our resolve to ensure that such perils never recur. Never can we return to the political anarchy and the physical and territorial vulnerability which nearly brought about our doom.

166. Now two years and three months ago the United Nations, which had not been able to give Israel aid in its predicament, did rally its moral energies in order to give judgement on three central issues. It was a negative judgement, but of great significance. It refused to condemn the righteous resistance by which Israel has pulled itself back from the threshold of destruction. It repeatedly dismissed by its votes the ridiculous Soviet and Arab charge that Israel's refusal to perish should be defined as "aggression"; and it rejected all proposals for restoring the situation which had led to one war and which would, if reproduced, lead inexorably to another.

167. Thus, the discussions held here two years ago amounted to an implied but incisive criticism of the Arab

hostility which had beset Israel for two decades—and which has still not been renounced. World opinion rejected solutions based on a return to the explosive situation of early June 1967. Voices from all continents echoed that rejection. An African statesman, the Foreign Minister of the Ivory Coast, summarized the issue in three short sentences:

“... to advocate a political *status quo* in the region is to seek escape from an ugly situation only to be brought face to face with it once again... the conflict between Israel and the Arab world can be resolved only by means of negotiation... Let but the dialogue begin, and the solutions will follow.” [1540th meeting, paras. 47 and 49.]

168. Since then representatives of diverse traditions and cultures have raised their voices in favour of a new and stable regional order; against the notion that there could be changes in the cease-fire line except in the context of peace; in favour of establishing agreed permanent boundaries and other arrangements ensuring security from terror and war; against the ambiguities of an obsolete armistice; in favour of a permanent peace to be duly agreed and contractually confirmed.

169. This then is our position. The road back to the explosive and fragile armistice situation is closed, but the path leading forward to peace is wide open. Our business is to ensure that a new story of co-operation and progress, never heard or told before, shall now be enacted in the history of the Middle East.

170. But, unfortunately, the Arab policies in the past 12 months have been designed to close such horizons from view. If we ask ourselves why there has been no progress towards peace in the past year, we come back to the simple fact that there has been no negotiation. In international disputes the existence of negotiations does not ensure success; but the absence of negotiations is an iron guarantee of failure. The principle “no negotiation with Israel” proclaimed at Khartoum in 1967,⁶ repeated ever since and maintained with total obduracy stands out as an insuperable barrier to peace.

171. The emphasis that any Government places on negotiation is not an obsession with procedure. It is the heart and centre of the problem. For a refusal to negotiate is inherently identical with a refusal to establish peace. How can a transition from prolonged belligerency to peaceful co-existence be carried out on the basis of diplomatic boycott and ostracism? Never, never in the history of our times have two States passed from a state of war to a state of peace on the basis of a refusal by one to meet the other. There are apparently laws in international life, just as there are laws in nature and in society. A refusal to negotiate implies the lack of any common political or juridical ground from which the parties can advance towards the harmonization of their interests.

172. In particular, it is an error to regard the United Nations as a substitute for direct settlement; that is the opposite of what this Organization is meant to be. The

United Nations is an instrument for ending conflicts, not an arena for waging them. It expresses its highest ends only when it serves as a bridge, not as a wedge. There is no parallel in international life for the refusal of States to recognize another State, except for the purpose of exercising a state of war against it. The alternative to a directly negotiated settlement would, at best, be the formulation of vague, ambivalent, unchecked arrangements open to contrary interpretations—like the arrangements of 1957 which fell down like a house of cards within a few hours in 1967. The collapse of the 1957 arrangements had much to do with the fact that Egyptian responsibility was never directly affirmed or contractually engaged in 1957. We also learned a stark and unforgettable lesson in 1967 about the fragility of international guarantees and Security Council safeguards in the present state of the world's power balance. We carry this lesson forward into our future history and policy.

173. To these considerations of principle we must add those of effectiveness. It is only in the context of negotiation that the parties at interest will see the augury of a new era in their relations. It is only then that the discussion will pass from the rhetorical and polemical phase to the concrete, detailed formulation of specific positions on all the matters at issue. Refusal to negotiate creates a tense, suspicious and sceptical atmosphere. Agreement to negotiate would open currents of thought and efforts of imagination utterly different from anything that we have known or that we can now conceive. I would not be overstating the case if I were to say that the idea of passing from war to peace without negotiation is far less realistic than that of flying to the moon. The fact is that the moon has once been attained by mortal man, whereas peace without negotiation has never in all history been achieved at all.

174. The principles formulated by the Security Council in November 1967 [see resolution 242 (1967)] cannot have meaning or utility unless they are interpreted and given precision by negotiation. When the original sponsors and supporters of that resolution commended it to us as a framework for Ambassador Jarring's mission, they stated to us categorically that it was a negotiating framework. It was drafted, as the United States representative said a year ago, as a skeleton of principles on which peace could be erected. It was not meant to be self-executing.

175. In November 1967 the United Kingdom representative said that the resolution that he was presenting to the Security Council was not a call for “a temporary truce or a superficial accommodation”. He said that it reflected a refusal “to be associated with any so-called settlement which was only a continuation of a false truce” [1379th meeting]. He stated further that the “action to be taken must be within the framework of a permanent peace, and withdrawal must be to secure boundaries” [1381st meeting]. It was made clear in the Security Council that secure and recognized boundaries have never existed in the Middle East or in any of the engagements of the parties towards each other. Therefore, they must be fixed by the parties themselves as part of the peace-making process.

176. Experience exists in order that men may learn something from it. Instead of arguing about theory, why should we not look to the experience of the past 28

⁶ Arab Summit Conference, held at Khartoum from 29 August to 1 September 1967.

months? Every possible substitute for normal negotiating procedure has been tried: special sessions of the General Assembly, regular sessions of the General Assembly, meetings of the Security Council, separate encounters of the United Nations Special Representative with some Middle Eastern Governments, talks between four permanent members of the Security Council, consultations between two permanent members of the Security Council—all these techniques and devices have been tried—and nothing has moved forward. Surely if those involved in all this activity have not found an effective substitute for negotiation, it is not through lack of perseverance or skill; it is simply because no such substitute exists. So after these 28 months, I come back to repeat with increased conviction what I said to the Arab Governments at this rostrum in June 1967:

“You have chosen repeatedly to meet us in the arena of battle. You cannot refuse to meet us at the negotiating table.”

177. The absence of negotiation, of course, during the past 12 months is only the symptom of a wider alienation. Organized hostility towards Israel has been methodically intensified. It has taken three forms: first, the cease-fire concluded in pursuance of the Security Council's resolution of 6 June 1967 [233 (1967)] has been constantly violated and subsequently denounced. The formal denunciation took place in the address by President Nasser on 23 July this year, when he said:

“The cease-fire cannot be eternal . . . and we now have to fight. We are now beginning the work of liberation. The six-day war has not ended. The two-year war, the three-year war, the four-year war has begun.”

178. Secondly, the Arab Governments which have not denounced the cease-fire consider themselves in some cases entitled to pursue armed conflict through the terrorist organizations. The actions of terrorist groups are not a consequence of the 1967 war; they were one of its main causes. The problem has nothing essentially to do with the fact that Israel is administering large areas under a cease-fire arrangement. The terrorist assaults came before the June 1967 war, and they would be renewed with far more devastating and perhaps fatal results if Israel were to move from the cease-fire lines before and without the establishment of peace, which, of course, it is under no obligation to do. The nature and quality of these groups are revealed by the methods which they employ: a bomb is thrown into a supermarket filled with housewives doing their shopping; a hand-grenade is diabolically placed in a university cafeteria; a car laden with dynamite is introduced into a crowded market place where humble people transact the simple business of their lives; civilian aircraft are kidnapped or attacked on the ground in exploitation of their incomparable vulnerability. All this activity has no durable political effects. Israel's existence is not affected by it. Not a single inch of the cease-fire territory changes hands as a result of it. Thus the murder of innocent men, women and children becomes not a means to an end, but an end in itself—a dead-end leading nowhere except to bitterness and rancour. If anything, Israel's resolve never to change the cease-fire lines except by permanent peace and in favour of agreed boundaries becomes more passionate than ever.

179. What is threatened is not the existence of Israel but the prospect of peace. The ideal and objective of these organizations is that peace must be banished from the life and prospect of the Middle East. What they do is consistent with what they want. Their mission is not liberation but the destruction of the liberty which a small nation has already won and the enslavement of the Middle East to a destiny of hate and war.

180. Thirdly, the repudiation of the cease-fire and the growth of terrorist activity have been crowned by a recent innovation: hostility to Israel has burst out of the limits which have restricted the techniques of war in all but the most hideous and extreme conflicts. After all, war with all its cruelty and inhumanity is unfortunately the work of human beings. It has only in rare cases been conducted without any inhibition. Today we find Arab organizations, supported by Governments, destroying these civilized restraints. They carry out revolting public hangings in Baghdad streets. They maintain an unbridled religious incitement worthy of the most bigoted phases of the Middle Ages. They involve neutral States in their own savagery and they add a new element by allotting a role to children. When a million of our children were murdered two and a half decades ago, that was held to be the ultimate enormity. Today we see a new refinement: the training of children to be murderers in a cause remote from their understanding and judgement.

181. So at the worst moments of rancour and alienation, we and others have hoped vainly for a future better than the past. We now find Arab leaders projecting their belligerency into the coming generation; a violent anti-Jewish racialism now dominates the Arab educational movement and it spills over into every street.

182. I stress these points because wars have their origin in the soil of ideas. When President Nasser speaks in August 1969, a few weeks ago, of the necessity to “purify” Palestine by armed force, he proves that his mind is still faithful to the concepts by which he disrupted the Middle Eastern structure in May 1967—“to purify Palestine”. He talks as though he is appointed by destiny to cleanse the Middle East from some defilement. Where does that language come from? Where have we heard it before? What memories does it evoke?

183. The military and diplomatic consequences of such virulent ideas are now evident. The military results have been the denunciation of the cease-fire. The indulgence and support of attacks by irregular units have resulted in the transference of the fighting to the soil of other countries. When Arab Governments shelter and sponsor those who carry out or plan violent actions in the territories of Greece, Italy, Switzerland, Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, the Philippines, and the Federal Republic of Germany, or when those Governments fail to condemn and suppress those actions, they show contempt not only for Israel's sovereignty but for the sovereignty of European and other countries as well. They also adopt methods and arenas of combat in which Israel, in accordance with its own conceptions of international civility, is unwilling to make any identical response. So much for the military story.

184. The diplomatic history can be more briefly told. In October 1968 the United Arab Republic, followed by other

Arab States, broke off contact with Israel through the Jarring mission in New York. In April 1969 the Arab Governments, led by the United Arab Republic, formally outlined their policies in written replies to Ambassador Jarring. In its text, the United Arab Republic, while professing to accept the Security Council's resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)], refuses to abandon belligerency unless the armistice lines of 1967 are totally restored, whereas there is, of course, no resolution seeking the restoration of those lines.

185. The United Arab Republic's reply abstains from specifically acknowledging Israel's right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries, free from acts or threats of force. Cairo accepts that right for what it calls "every State"—a phrase which in Egyptian practice and doctrine has never included Israel.

186. It will be recalled that in October 1956, and many times thereafter, Egypt agreed to give free passage in the Suez Canal for every State in the world. Now, what did that mean? "Every State in the world" has meant every State, except for the eternal exception.

187. The Egyptian reply ignores the injunction to seek agreement with Israel—although this is the operative part of the resolution—and the United Arab Republic says that the "secure and recognized boundaries" for Israel are those which Arab violence swept away in 1947 and 1948.

188. The Egyptian reply declines to specify that the freedom of navigation prescribed by the Security Council resolution includes freedom of navigation for Israel. Egypt deliberately avoids response to Mr. Jarring's question whether it understands the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba to be international waterways open to Israel, and not merely to what Cairo calls "all States".

189. Finally, the United Arab Republic declines to conclude and sign treaties with Israel establishing peace by reciprocal consent. It is prepared to conclude agreements with the Security Council, with which the United Arab Republic is not at war, with which it does not have a common boundary, and in which Israel's cause cannot be defended or sustained. Nowhere is there any acknowledgement that the relations between the Arab States and Israel are governed not only by a Security Council text, which Cairo interprets as compatible with the Khartoum decisions, but also by the established norms and principles of international law relating to the duties of States and to the transition from war to peace.

190. Now, the suspension of the Jarring mission came in April this year. There has been no forward movement since then. Consultations between the permanent members of the Security Council have, predictably, given no results. The Soviet Union has not been willing to deviate from the Arab positions or to accept the view advanced by the United States that direct meetings between Israel and its neighbours are essential at some stage, if agreement is to be reached.

191. Thus the Arab position, in our eyes, amounts to this: that Israel should give up its security, without obtaining a genuine, normal, stable, irrevocable binding peace. Now, we

shall do no such thing. After 21 years of siege and thousands of years of struggle to maintain and preserve an identity, we cannot put Israel's existence under a mark of interrogation which hovers over no other nation, least of all over the Arab nation, in its 14 States and its continental expanse.

192. The question is whether we can now break out of the deadlock into a humane and rational order of relations. To this problem my colleagues and I in the Israel Government have given renewed attention in recent days. I wish to take the General Assembly into the knowledge and understanding of our views.

193. The first priority belongs to the renewal and reinforcement of the cease-fire. Now, the cease-fire, as proposed by the Security Council, was voluntarily accepted by the Arab States as well as by Israel in June 1967. Its acceptance served an Arab interest then, just as its renewal would be in their interest as well as in ours now. The cease-fire resolution was unconditional; it was not limited in time or scope. No diplomatic effort can prosper without a complete and unconditional cease-fire. United Nations observers, for all their effort and sacrifice, cannot help to maintain a cease-fire if the leading Arab Government regards it as null and void.

194. I propose on Israel's behalf that each of the Governments which accepted the cease-fire resolution of 6 June 1967 [233 (1967)] should now pledge anew its strict adherence to its terms. But the maintenance of the cease-fire requires practical measures to give it effect. I therefore propose further that authorized military representatives of the forces facing each other across the cease-fire lines should meet in order to work out effective arrangements for strict and reciprocal observance. This proposal is in full conformity with many United Nations precedents.

195. But while the prevention of war is our most urgent task, this does not exhaust our duty. The consolidation of the cease-fire should be followed, and indeed accompanied, by a purposeful effort to promote a lasting peace. The States of the Middle East should declare their readiness to establish permanent peace, to liquidate their 21-year-old conflict, and to negotiate detailed agreements on all the matters at issue between them.

196. In a communication to Ambassador Jarring on 2 April 1969 Israel included all these undertakings. It also declared that:

"...it accepts the Security Council resolution 242 (1967) calling for the promotion of agreement on the establishment of a just and lasting peace to be reached by negotiation and agreement between the Governments concerned. Implementation of agreements should begin when agreement has been concluded on all their provisions."

197. In discussing the arrangements, the venue and the agenda for negotiations, we could make full use of the good offices of Ambassador Jarring. Twenty years ago Israel and the Arab States found it possible to devise agreed arrangements for meeting in order to negotiate and sign armistice agreements. Is it really beyond our will and capacity to

make agreed arrangements now for meeting in order to negotiate and sign peace treaties? Let us, the Foreign Ministers of Israel and the Arab States take advantage of our simultaneous presence, and that of Ambassador Jarring, here in New York in order to begin this work here—and in order to begin it now.

198. Let me make clear that Israel is prepared to negotiate without prior conditions of any kind; it does not seek any advance acceptance by Arab Governments of its own proposals. And the word "non-negotiable" is not a part of Israel's vocabulary. You ask what can be discussed and proposed in these negotiations. I answer: everything. You ask what is excluded from discussion. I answer: nothing. In the negotiations, we shall of course define where our vital and indispensable interests lie. But once negotiations begin, the participants must commit themselves to its fortunes; and their task will be not merely to state positions, but also to try to bring them into harmony.

199. Israel does not claim exclusive or unilateral jurisdiction in the Holy Places of Christianity and Islam in Jerusalem and is willing to discuss this principle with those traditionally concerned. There is a versatile range of possibilities for working out a status for the Holy Places in such a manner as to promote Middle Eastern peace and ecumenical harmony. In the meantime, our policy is that the Moslem and Christian Holy Places should always be under the responsibility of those who hold them sacred. This principle has been in practical effect since 1967.

200. Instead of cease-fire lines or armistice lines, we should establish secure, recognized and agreed boundaries as part of the peace-making process, and dispose armed forces in full accordance with the boundaries to be determined in the peace treaties. It is important to break away from the temporary territorial concepts which have prevailed since 1948 in order to develop, for the first time, a permanent structure of boundaries and security agreements.

201. A central weakness of Foreign Minister Gromyko's assertion this morning is that he totally ignored the need—fully supported by international law—to reach agreement between Israel and each contiguous Arab State on the determination of secure and mutually agreed boundaries of peace. Now, there is no need to be apologetic about the doctrine that peace boundaries are different from armistice lines. The Arab Governments wrote into our 1949 General Armistice Agreements a provision stating that the armistice lines were not to be interpreted as political or territorial boundaries, and that those boundaries remained to be worked out by agreement in the transition to peace. We have now embarked on that transition. Israel in this matter is not in a position of juridical defence. Indeed, in their letter to Ambassador Jarring of April 1969, the United Arab Republic and Jordan interpreted the term "secure and recognized boundaries" as something different from the armistice lines of 4 June 1967. If they interpret the difference in one direction, others can interpret it in another; and the only solution is to submit the problem to the process of negotiation and agreement.

Mr. Borch (Denmark), Vice-President, took the Chair.

202. In conditions of peace, the people of Israel and the Palestinian Arabs on both sides of the Jordan would be

living as citizens of sovereign States in accordance with the boundary agreed to and concluded under the peace. But the inherent geopolitical unity of this region argues in favour of an open frontier such as that now emerging within the European community and in other regional structures. The freedom of movement and commerce which has evolved in that area should be confirmed and broadened under the peace by applying the community principle to the peoples who live on both sides of the Jordan and to both of the negotiating States. It should be possible to reconcile our separate sovereignties with our common regional interests.

203. We propose that a conference of Middle Eastern States should be convened, together with the Governments contributing to refugee relief and the specialized agencies of the United Nations, in order to chart a five-year plan under regional and international responsibility for the solution of the refugee problem in the framework of a lasting peace, and the integration of refugees into productive life. In view of the humanitarian urgencies, such a conference need not await the negotiation of any other issue.

204. Those are our positions. Those are the positions to which Mr. Gromyko, in an unusual expression of humour, referred this morning as Israel's obstruction of peace.

205. Surely the States of the Middle East, by virtue of the independence which they have sought and won, must see the promotion of peace as their own autonomous responsibility. It is anachronistic for them to cast their eyes outward in the hope that a peace settlement can be manufactured and imported ready-made from outside. The peace must be built by Israeli and Arab hands, for it is Israeli and Arab lives which are at stake. We expressed our scepticism and reserve about diplomatic processes which were undertaken early this year with the effect of removing the initiative and responsibility of peace-making from the Governments of the Middle East. For when the complex national interests and rivalries of great Powers are superimposed on a regional tension, the result is often not to reduce the tension but to broaden its scope. Nothing has happened to refute that prediction.

206. We particularly ask all Member States to understand the anomaly and injustice of asking Israel to accept proposals and ideas which have a Soviet component; for the Soviet Union played a sinister role in the developments leading up to the 1967 war by constantly stimulating an arms race, by blind identification with Arab policies, by closing the Security Council to the equal and objective examination of Israel's interest, by giving false information to Cairo on an alleged Israeli invasion of Damascus. By diffusing an odious picture of Israel's spiritual heritage and Jewish solidarities, the Soviet Union virtually became a party to the dispute. Instead of being a disinterested source of opinion and counsel. This one-sidedness was compounded, after the hostilities by the rupture of relations with Israel when Israel refused to be wiped out, by a renewal of the arms race at an intensified pace after the hostilities, and by an uncritical endorsement of all Arab policies in the controversy on peace terms. Mr. Gromyko's speech this morning reveals no intention of departing from these attitudes and he virtually promises us an indefinitely continuing arms race.

207. It seems to us that the major Powers can promote peace, if they will, by supporting the cease-fire, by

advocating peace negotiations, by refraining from all temptation to globalize the conflict, by not substituting their own views for the free interaction of Arab and Israeli policies, and by separating the Arab-Israeli conflict as far as possible from their own mutual relations.

208. Israel's encounter with other sovereign States is, in the deep, historical sense, a part of the unending dialogue between the Jewish people and the rest of mankind. There are two urgent problems here which should appeal urgently to the universal conscience. The Secretary-General refers, in the introduction to his annual report, to the widely-felt concern for the plight of helpless Jewish minorities in certain Arab States [A/7601/Add.1, para. 74]. Hopes for an alleviation of the pitiful situation of the Jews of Iraq after the accession of a new régime last July have been dashed to the ground. Once again Jews as well as other Iraqi citizens have, without public trial or evidence of any kind, been judicially murdered on the basis of fabricated charges. The small Jewish community there, which goes back to centuries before the birth of Islam, lives in terror and misery, unable to carry on a normal existence and refused the right to leave even though several Governments of enlightened conscience have offered them admission or refuge. The situation is little better in Syria, and in Egypt scores of heads of families are still in prison without charge or hope of release. We appeal to international opinion to intercede on behalf of these innocent and helpless people and to enable them to secure the right to leave for lands ready to receive them where they may hope to re-establish their lives in conditions of human dignity.

209. Another situation, different in nature and scope but also characterized by relentless hostility, affects the survival of a great and ancient Jewish community in the Soviet Union. Here the pressures exerted are not those of physical persecution; rather there is the more subtle destruction of the religious spiritual and cultural life of the Soviet Jewish entity. At one time the assault was conducted against so-called cosmopolitans, and culminated in the shocking excesses of the "doctors' trial". Today, virulent campaigns, supported by the press, television and other mass media, are directed at so-called international Zionism, as a cover to bring about the spiritual and cultural death of three to four million Jews. There is also, regrettably, a rampant anti-Semitic literature in the Soviet Union which is utterly repugnant to all who remember the Soviet role of resistance to the Nazi plague. This campaign of distortion is not worthy of the Soviet Union, and we appeal to that country to accord to its Jewish minority the same rights to cultural expression and survival that it accords to all other minorities.

210. There are two international questions already mentioned in this debate which engage Israel's concern. Our particular international vocation is to join with other States in promoting accelerated development. We seek to share with them the social insights and technical skills which have contributed to our own economic and scientific growth. This work has brought us into close and fruitful relations with emerging societies in 70 lands with which we have concluded agreements and arrangements on development co-operation. It is, after all, in the creation of new communities that men experience their highest sense of creativity. From that vantage point I express Israel's regret

that the United Nations has not been enabled by its Members, especially the advanced States, to play a more central role in the development drama. The first United Nations Development Decade draws to an end with none of its goals achieved or approached. The rate of economic growth in developing countries is little more than 2.7 per cent instead of the 5 per cent envisaged 10 years ago. In the deadlock and frustration that have attended its political work, the United Nations would have found an enhanced prestige and enlargement of its universal role if it had been given more support for its development activities. In the appropriate Committee discussions, my delegation will criticize all proposals for asking the United Nations to make studies instead of enabling it to fulfil concrete projects. Let us stop making studies. We know what the problems are; the question is not how to investigate them, but how to solve them.

211. The second point refers to freedom of aviation. The historic journey to the moon was, after all, a development of man's earlier mastery of the air. Is it not intolerable that the year of Apollo 11 should, on earth, have been a record year for hijackers? In their indiscriminate warfare, Arab terrorists have not passed over innocent civil aircraft far from the arena of conflict. The events of Algeria and Damascus are well known. Only a few weeks ago a foreign aircraft on an international flight was forced at gunpoint into Damascus, where the passengers and crew barely managed to scramble out of the emergency chutes before a bomb which the hijackers had placed in the flight-deck exploded. Some passengers have been released, but two Israeli nationals on board, one a professor of the Medical School of the Hebrew University, and the other a citizen suffering from chronic sickness, are still being forcibly detained in Damascus. I wonder if any Syrian representative could come and tell us on what possible grounds these two people are being detained.

212. Other recent instances of political hijacking, especially those affecting Ethiopia, are not unknown to Members of the United Nations. Israel shares the view that has been expressed here that these developments pose new challenges to the United Nations and to the organizations charged with civil aviation. The Government of Israel is a party to the Tokyo Convention.⁷ We are following with close attention the attempts being made, both in the International Civil Aviation Organization and elsewhere, to strengthen international practices so as to ensure that whenever hijackings occur the passengers and crew are all, without exception, enabled to continue on their journey without delay and that the perpetrators of piratical acts are brought to justice. I will say no more, for the Prime Minister of New Zealand—not for the first time—has been the voice of a disinterested conscience on that matter this afternoon.

213. In an older and more chivalrous period pirates on the sea were regarded as enemies of the human race: *generis humani hostis*. They were given no asylum or quarter. Swift justice struck them wherever they could be caught. The new pirates of the air are no different; they are enemies of all mankind and should be so treated by the international

⁷ Convention on offences and certain other acts committed on board aircraft, signed at Tokyo on 14 September 1963.

community. But would it not be a gross paradox if a State which is now in offence, in flagrant offence, against these international principles were to be received in the Security Council as a guardian of international peace and security?

214. If I close without any prediction about the prospects of peace in the Middle East it is because so much depends on the incalculable evolution of ideas. I fear that the essence of the matter is ideological.

215. The Arab view of Israel and of the Middle East is deformed by a refusal to confront two essential attributes of our region. The first is the depth and authenticity of the historic forces which tie our people to the land of Israel. Much of human history is unintelligible unless that connexion is taken into due account. Remove Israel and all that has flowed from Israel out of Middle Eastern history and you evacuate that history of its central experiences. Here we have the only State in the world which speaks the same tongue, upholds the same faith and inhabits the same land as it did 3,000 years ago. And our neighbours speak of it as though it were some sudden eruption which might be persuaded to disappear.

216. Arab political and intellectual leaders have never tried, even in a reluctant spirit, to probe the factors which make of Israel an integral part of the past history, the present reality and the future destination of the Middle East. They must ultimately come to terms, not just with a community of Jews or Israelis, but with a sovereign Israel of marked singularity and identity, embodying a tradition

and outlook which are separate from the Arab tradition and the Arab outlook. For Israel can be a good neighbour of the Arab world; it cannot be a part of it.

217. That involves the second issue, which is that of diversity. The Middle East is a concept which cannot be exhausted by Arab terms alone. Its genius in the past and its vocation in the future lie in the diversity of faiths, cultures, tongues, societies and sovereignties which compose its life. It is a mosaic; it is not a monolith. It is the cradle and the home of more nations than one.

218. The issue is how to bring about the peaceful harmony of States which have different origins but common interests and which belong in equal logic and in equal justice to the Middle Eastern story.

219. There is room for profound disquiet, but not for fatalistic despair. There is no such thing in history as an irreconcilable conflict. In our own generation deeply-rooted, traditional animosities between nations have passed away. New forms and structures of international co-operation have evolved. The world community should summon the Arab Governments to abandon a hostility which flows against the ecumenical and unifying currents of twentieth-century life. If this is done, then the Middle East will have a future even greater than its past, inspired by a new and spacious vision, a continuing hope fed by continuing achievement.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.