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## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (continued)

1. Mr. JÓNSSON (Iceland): Madam President, my delegation congratulates you wholeheartedly on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. We see in this a recognition both of your high personal qualifications and of the contribution and positive role of your country in the United Nations. It is also a tribute to Africa, to all the new countries of your great continent, and to the important role which women are playing and will play in our common effort to build a better world for our children.

2. The United Nations is today faced with great problems. The United Nations is always faced with great problems, and yet in most cases there are very limited possibilities, and sometimes none at all, to find solutions to these problems. There are military conflicts in many places and there is danger of the outbreak of armed clashes in still others. The purpose of the United Nations is, according to the Charter, first of all to bring about adjustments or settlements of international disputes, and in particular to suppress acts of aggression and remove threats to the peace.

3. But what possibilities are open to the United Nations to work for that purpose and to attain it? The Charter says this should be done by peaceful means in the first instance and without the use of armed force. But what has experience shown the result to be? Resolutions are introduced here and recommendations are approved, even with an overwhelming majority of all the Members, but a party or the parties to the dispute completely disregard the recommendations, whereupon the efforts of the United Nations are finished, the matter remains at issue and we are back where we started. There are numerous and flagrant examples of this process.

4. Admittedly, it is not possible to expect the United Nations to settle disputes to which the great Powers are parties, directly or indirectly, but there are many other situations which have arisen and which in normal circumstances should lend themselves to a solution. The usual method is to apply sanctions against the party which

disregards United Nations recommendations, but in most cases—I would almost say always—the result is that these measures become ineffective.

5. The United Nations has also established peace-observer units for the purpose of ensuring compliance with recommendations of the General Assembly and the Security Council. These observers have certainly achieved some success in their work, but, regretfully, it has been all too small a success. These peace-keeping forces have not been numerous enough and their authority has been too limited. They have also been in financial straits and there is no agreement as to how to defray their costs. I have recently seen remarks attributed to a distinguished personage to the effect that it is tragicomic that a world which can afford to maintain, in all, 20 million men under arms at a yearly cost of \$120,000 million cannot afford to maintain a peace-keeping force of 20,000 men under the United Nations, at a cost of approximately \$120 million—which represents, proportionally, one per thousand of the current military expenditures. On an earlier occasion I had the opportunity to describe from this rostrum the sad experience of those who are expected to take measures or undertake actions but have no executive power [1579th meeting]. And the United Nations is no exception; the United Nations has to have the executive power to implement its recommendations—a strong police and peace-keeping force.

6. Let us not confuse this train of thought with the war in Viet-Nam. That conflict will, of course, not be settled until the great Powers that are parties to it, directly or indirectly, come to an agreement among themselves. And generally speaking, I would like to echo the remarks of the Secretary-General, U Thant, when he said recently in a speech that the great Powers do not strongly enough support the all too feeble measures taken by the United Nations to strengthen universal peace. The noble purposes of the United Nations to promote peace will, of course, never be achieved if they do not enjoy the whole-hearted and undivided support of the great Powers, to the exclusion of any extraneous interests.

7. The clashes between Israel and the Arab States seem to become sharper and more serious every day and, consequently, all the indications are that war may again break out soon. Without doubt it is considered possible for peace to be maintained in the Middle East provided the great Powers whole-heartedly support the measures of the United Nations to prevent the outbreak of hostilities, which, it seems, once started could have unpredictable consequences. But it is also clear, as the situation is today, that the tiny United Nations forces in the area are altogether powerless.

8. It is possible to mention other examples where the hostilities are not, however, hostilities between States but

rather civil war between divided nationalities or different tribes. In such cases the United Nations is in a difficult position to intervene. The most obvious example of this nature is the war in Nigeria, where the smaller party to the conflict is being starved, to boot. The starvation affects the public in general, both children and adults, and they are dying, reportedly, by hundreds and by thousands from malnutrition and privation. And people who are quite willing to provide aid are being prevented from carrying out their freely offered assistance.

9. The same applies to the Kurds, although in a different way, and it is a sad thing to affirm that no one can intervene effectively on behalf of the oppressed. According to the Charter, the United Nations is not supposed to intervene in so-called internal affairs; but it should be made possible for the United Nations to give effective assistance to such minorities or to open up avenues to enable nations that want to give assistance on humanitarian grounds to provide such assistance. But the most poignant and painful thing is when a small, or relatively small, minority suppresses a great majority and allows the majority not even the barest minimum of human rights. It is saddening that that is the case in many places. Nothing human should be outside the interest of the United Nations. *Nihil humanum a me alienum est* was once said, ages ago, although in a different context, but it should certainly be one of the principles underlying the activities of the United Nations.

10. The Government and people of Iceland have viewed with concern the recent disturbances in the northern part of Ireland, a neighbouring country for whose people we have deep feelings of sympathy. Although Icelanders are primarily of Nordic stock, there runs a good portion of Irish blood in our veins. We wish to assure our friends the people of Ireland that we well understand their concern for the plight of a frustrated minority whose grievances have not been fully redressed. We share their concern at the communal tensions that have been created and at the outbreaks of violence that have resulted in loss of life and property.

11. However, my Government remains in doubt whether it would serve the best interests of the people concerned to inscribe this matter on the agenda of the General Assembly. A public debate sometimes results in inflamed tempers and increased tension in the area concerned. Moreover, it has been called into question whether this matter falls within the competence of the United Nations, in view of Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter. Without expressing an opinion on that point, I note that the Foreign Minister of Ireland has already had the opportunity to explain the situation and the point of view of his Government before the Security Council [1503rd meeting]. We think that was useful. The same opportunity is open to him here in the general debate of the General Assembly. My Government hopes that the fact that the attention of the United Nations has thus been focused on the situation in Northern Ireland may result in speedy efforts by all parties concerned towards an improvement of the situation and a solution of the problem.

12. The United Nations has been especially successful in the humanitarian field. To bring this out clearly it is only

necessary to mention a few of the agencies of the United Nations. I mention only the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the United Nations Children's Fund, the World Health Organization, and the Food and Agriculture Organization, but there are many more that come to mind. In all these fields, under the direction of the United Nations, enormous and successful work has been done, and it would certainly be desirable for such success to be attained in other fields as well. Even if the main purpose of the United Nations is to prevent acts of aggression and to strengthen the peace, one should not underestimate the other activities of the Organization in the humanitarian fields, where the greatest successes have been obtained.

13. Next year, twenty-five years will have passed since the United Nations was created. Without any doubt that anniversary will be commemorated all around the world. So many hopes were raised in the beginning, when the United Nations was established, and so many States have joined this Organization during the last quarter of a century. On that occasion the activities of the United Nations will be reviewed—the successes and the failures as well. The United Nations will never be anything more than the Members want it to be. It is therefore necessary to cultivate among nations the correct attitude of mind in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations to ensure that all nations support resolutions of the United Nations and that they will be implemented.

14. There are, of course differing opinions on how to attain that goal. But in the opinion of my people one possible way towards that goal would be to strengthen the distribution of information about the United Nations. We, Icelanders, consider that that could possibly be done by devoting to the United Nations one class-hour of every month of the school year in all schools, from the elementary to the university level, in all countries. There would be lectures, carefully prepared in accordance with the intellectual stage of the student, on the background of the United Nations, on the establishment and activities of the United Nations, on their strength and their shortcomings, on why they have not fulfilled the tasks enunciated in the Charter—and on the best means to attain the purposes of the Charter. Of course, the stress would be on the primary purpose: the maintenance of peace and the prevention of acts of aggression.

15. However, the other activities of the United Nations should also be stressed in the economic and social fields, in the humanitarian and cultural fields, in questions of human rights and the elimination of discrimination as well as in other international problems. If we can educate children from their early years in those matters, we shall be able to expect that in coming years the attitude towards the United Nations will change with an improved opinion of it being formed in the world. There is, of course, some doubt whether we shall be able to succeed in this and whether the expected effects will follow, but maybe, along with other efforts, it will have some influence to bear. The Government of Iceland has already discussed this idea of devoting one class-hour per month to the United Nations and it will possibly begin the experiment next year in Icelandic schools in connexion with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

16. When we talk about the United Nations and the youth of this world, my Government finds considerable merit in the proposal, debated in the Economic and Social Council in August 1969, that the United Nations should establish a volunteer corps, similar to the Peace Corps, to help developing countries. Such a venture would certainly provide an opportunity for young people to contribute personally in carrying out the worthy aims and aspirations of the United Nations. In a world of youthful unrest this might prove a sensible undertaking.

17. One very important task of the United Nations, which concerns all nations, is to prevent pollution of the human environment. This matter was discussed at the last session of the General Assembly and it will be discussed again during this session. I should like to mention only one point. The peaceful uses of the sea-bed is now being discussed by the forty-two-member Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor Beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, which is submitting its report to the General Assembly. The use of the sea-bed for peaceful purposes means probably first of all the exploitation of oil resources. But there is always the risk that the oil which is being exploited will, because of some mishap or other unforeseen cause, flow into the oceans and thereby constitute grave dangers for fish and other organic resources in the surrounding sea area. It is therefore very important that such accidents be prevented and to ensure that all possible safeguard measures are taken. The stock of fish in the North Atlantic seems to be diminishing and one aspect of that problem is the pollution of the sea, even if there are also other causes at work with greater effect.

18. The Government of Iceland has been keenly interested in the issue of the peaceful uses of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction from the very beginning when the issue was first introduced in this Assembly. My Government realizes the necessity of adopting internationally recognized rules for this vast area, the last unexplored part of our globe. While the human race has embarked upon adventurous journeys into outer space, it is time to put our house in order and decide upon an effective and just régime for the sub-oceanic areas, whose resources must be harvested for the benefit of all mankind.

19. Iceland is one of the forty-two members of the sea-bed Committee which was established by the last General Assembly. There Iceland has urged the participating nations to strive for the adoption of certain fundamental general principles, which might then be adopted by the General Assembly in a declaration on the peaceful uses of the sea-bed, a procedure similar to that followed by the Assembly on the question concerning the peaceful uses of outer space.

20. The Assembly will soon have before it the latest report of the sea-bed Committee.<sup>1</sup> The Assembly will notice from that report that, while a consensus emerged on certain general principles, the Committee was not ready to recommend a list of principles for adoption by the Assembly at this early stage in its deliberations. That is understandable, and my Government continues to have faith in the ability of the Committee to bring its important task to a fruitful conclusion. But at this stage my Government would like to

enumerate a few of the most important items on which it feels that an international agreement must be reached at an early date. They are the following:

(1) There is an area of the sea-bed and ocean floor which lies beyond the limits of national jurisdiction.

(2) No State may claim or exercise sovereign rights over that area.

(3) That area, as it will be later defined, shall be reserved exclusively for peaceful purposes.

(4) An international régime shall be established for the area.

(5) The exploration and exploitation of the area shall be conducted in accordance with international law, including the Charter of the United Nations.

(6) Use of the area shall be for the benefit of all mankind, with special regard for the needs and interests of the developing countries and international community purposes.

(7) Pollution of the marine environment must be prevented, and obligations and liabilities of States established in this respect.

21. The Government of Iceland feels that these seven general rules make up a firm basis for a future régime of the sea-bed and ocean floor, and I should like to refer them to the First Committee, which is to deal with this item, as a compromise proposal for further discussion.

22. The General Assembly at the twenty-third session unanimously adopted a resolution [2467 B (XXIII)] introduced by Iceland and co-sponsored by a number of nations, which called for a study by the Secretary-General aimed at preventing pollution of the oceans which might adversely affect their living resources. It should come as no surprise that my Government is intensely interested in this topic, as fishing has for many years been the chief means of livelihood of the Icelandic people. My Government was gratified to note the wide support for that resolution in the United Nations. One of the most urgent tasks within the whole environment issue is to draw up an effective international instrument for the prevention of pollution of the oceans, from whatever causes pollution may arise. Such a treaty does not exist today, but it is high time that one was concluded, as recent incidents in ocean exploitation have demonstrated. This topic should, therefore, be given high priority by the sea-bed Committee, as well as by the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization and the international scientific bodies concerned with the problem of pollution so that a draft treaty on marine pollution can at an early date be elaborated and agreed upon.

23. I come now to another aspect of the marine environment which is of immediate concern to my Government. This is the question of the regulation and protection of the living resources of the sea, with special regard to the needs and interests of coastal States whose economy is dependant upon fisheries. At the twenty-third session of the General

<sup>1</sup> Subsequently circulated as document A/7622.



Assembly, the delegation of Iceland, together with other delegations, introduced a draft resolution on the "Exploitation and conservation of living marine resources", which was unanimously adopted by the Assembly [*resolution 2413 (XXIII)*]. By that resolution, Governments were urged to increase their co-operation in the development and exploitation of living marine resources, and United Nations agencies were asked to improve international collaboration to that end. Under the terms of the resolution, the Secretary-General will report upon those issues to the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, next year.

24. Those are important steps on the way to more effective protection and management of the immeasurably valuable food resources found in the sea. However, my Government is convinced that further action is called for in order to ensure for the coastal state a just and equitable share of the resources found in its coastal waters.

25. If one reviews the situation in some of the world's most important fisheries, one is faced by a gloomy picture. I shall not elaborate upon the gradual extermination of the world's whale stocks, which is indicative of how disastrous the evolution in the world's fisheries can be if rational management is not heeded. Still more important is the situation in the fisheries of the North Atlantic. Recent information has shown that the increased fishing effort there has had an adverse effect on the fish stocks, some of which are now already being over-exploited. The reduction in the number of fisheries in some North Atlantic areas is so severe indeed that definite plans for rationing the resources under a strict quota system are now being proposed.

26. This is an ominous development for all nations like my own, whose existence is based chiefly upon the sea fisheries. When faced with the prospect of the severe rationing of marine resources, nations which practically live from the sea can consider it only equitable that they be granted special rights to the fisheries located outside their present national jurisdictions in order that they may escape economic ruin. The nations I am talking about here are very few in number, and granting them special rights in this respect would in no way threaten world community interest in the freedom of fishing.

27. At present, the 1958 Geneva Convention on Fishing and Conservation of the Living Resources of the High Seas does not grant any State such special rights outside national fisheries jurisdiction. But eleven years ago the situation of the world's fisheries was different. To many of the participants in the Geneva Conference there did not then seem to be any need for special rights for the coastal State in this respect. But, as I have explained, the situation is now radically altered.

28. Therefore, my Government deems it imperative that the international community should formulate under the auspices of the United Nations, such rules as will make certain that those nations whose economies are heavily dependent upon fishing will be enabled to utilize the fisheries of their coastal zone as their situations may require. In our view, such a commitment would be only a reiteration of the fact that all nations, large and small, have a right to a decent economic existence, which is indeed one of the corner-stones of the economic policy of the United

Nations. Next year, when the "Resources of the Sea" will be on the agenda of the General Assembly, we hope to come back to this very important issue with definite plans for action by the United Nations.

29. Mr. MUDENDA (Zambia): Madam President, once again the General Assembly is graced by the election of a woman as President. It is symbolic that this mother of assemblies should be guided by a woman, especially one of such outstanding accomplishments and qualities. On behalf of my delegation I wish to congratulate you most sincerely on your election to the very high office of President of the United Nations General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session. Your credentials, Madam President, show clearly that you are eminently qualified to conduct, to the satisfaction of all, the business of the current session of the General Assembly. You will be able to count on the co-operation of my delegation in making your tenure of office as successful as, I am sure, it will be enjoyable.

30. I should also like, Madam President, to pay particular tribute to your predecessor, the late Dr. Emilio Arenales of Guatemala for his unforgettable devotion to duty during his short but eventful tenure of office. It is only after he has gone that the endurance of the man in his very last year of life can be appraised. All of us who remember the way he steered the meetings over a very eventful period still cherish a warm and respectful admiration for him. We are indebted to him for his tireless efforts in the cause of peace and justice. May his services to mankind never be forgotten.

31. On a personal note, Madam President, allow me to recall a friend, Tom Mboya, Kenya's late Minister for Economic Development and Planning, who for the greater part of his life devoted himself to the noble causes of freedom; the right to self-determination and development of the nations and the peoples of Africa. The Zambian delegation deeply mourns his death. His efforts and contribution cannot be erased from the minds of those who knew him.

32. The Secretary-General, as always, deserves our gratitude and encouragement. Ever since he came to office in the shadow of that tragic event the loss of his predecessor, Dag Hammarskjöld, he has grappled with the ceaseless spate of international crises, and it is to his credit that we are still sitting together to nurse the wounds of the past years and to review progress towards a better world in which nations can, hopefully, put an end to intolerance of race and internecine wars. We are all aware that our world is prone to disintegration.

33. The United Nations is charged with the grave responsibility of maintaining international peace and security. The Organization is expected to take effective measures to prevent and remove threats to peace, to suppress acts of aggression and other breaches of the peace and by peaceful means in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, to bring about adjustments in or a settlement of international disputes. It is also expected to prevent situations likely to lead to a breach of the peace. It cannot hope to succeed by taking negative measures only of a curative nature. A more important task is for the Organization to foster the development among nations of friendly relations based on respect for the principles of

equal rights and self-determination of all peoples. Another important function of the Organization is to promote international trade on a world-wide basis and to encourage co-operative and complementary development in the economic, scientific, social and cultural fields.

34. If, therefore, Madam President, the Zambian delegation has sought your permission to speak at this stage, it is to remind ourselves of these lofty aims and objectives of the international Organization. All of us representing our countries here today have resolved to honour these invaluable objectives and to turn them into reality.

35. But, alas, it is also fact that many of us have expediently chosen to make a mockery of our obligations under the Charter. The Charter's most cherished, fundamental clauses have been honoured by so many of us more in the breach than in the observance; injustice, exploitation of man by man and of State by State have become the order of the day, breeding tension bound to lead to international strife and the rupture of peace, security and stability. Certain Members of this Organization have repeatedly committed acts contrary to the spirit of the Charter and have defied all appeals to accept their obligations under the Charter. As long as this defiant attitude prevails and people continue to sit in this Assembly year in and year out, speaking of peace and justice and of equal rights for all men without meaning what they say, these monstrous crimes against humanity will continue. The principle of self-determination of countries and peoples—a principle, time and again reaffirmed by this international body—will continue to be flouted with impunity. This spectre of decadence appears in varying shapes and degrees all over the world and in its most objectionable form in Zimbabwe, South Africa, Namibia and the territories controlled by colonialist Portugal.

36. Coming from a country sharing common borders with minority régimes, I would be failing in my duty if in discussing international peace and security I did not draw the attention of the world to the miserable plight of millions of Africans who continue to be denied the human rights enshrined in the Charter and so cherished by the United Nations.

37. For nearly four years now, a clique of white settlers in Rhodesia have been living in a state of continuous rebellion refusing to surrender the political power wrested from the metropolitan Power unwilling to topple the rebel régime.

38. My Government believes that, so far, the half-hearted measures applied by the United Kingdom Government in trying to normalize the situation in Rhodesia, have been deplorably ineffective. We in Zambia believe that this is a result of deliberate indifference on the part of Britain. Bilateral talks between the United Kingdom Prime Minister and the chief representative of the rebels, Ian Smith, the self-styled Prime Minister of Rhodesia, have failed; and they were meant to fail. We submit that the policy of economic sanctions adopted by the Security Council has also failed dismally. We submit further that, unless backed by effective means of enforcement, the policy of sanctions cannot bring about the required change. Although the United Kingdom has broken off diplomatic relations with Rhodesia, there are still British financial corporations conducting open

trade and investing heavily in Rhodesia through their agents and subsidiaries based in South Africa, thereby giving aid and comfort to the rebels. Besides stating that it cannot apply force in Rhodesia, the United Kingdom Government has also stated that because of its vital economic interests in South Africa it cannot lay on an embargo against South Africa and Portugal which are aiding the rebel colony.

39. It is necessary for me at this stage to reiterate briefly the kind of steps we in Zambia believe are necessary to bring about the desired results in Rhodesia. And in this connexion I can do no better than restate what I said to the Security Council on 13 June 1969 [1475th meeting] when I last addressed it on the question of Rhodesia. I said then:

“If the Security Council wishes to succeed in Rhodesia, then it must be prepared to apply the provisions of Articles 41 and 42 of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. South Africa and Portugal will have to decide whether to co-operate with the noble efforts of the Council or to obstruct this Council's decisions for the sake of merely supporting an illegal racist minority régime in Rhodesia and, therefore, be prepared for the consequences.

“If, however, for reasons of trade and colour, or racialism, as well as global military strategy, certain members of the Council are not prepared for a confrontation with South Africa, the alternative is the use of force in Rhodesia itself. We have been realistic enough to know that the loss of life would have been, and would still be, minimized if the administering Power had used that force, rather than the Security Council or any other organ of the United Nations. Unfortunately, however, hitherto the United Kingdom—and we must stress that Rhodesia is its responsibility—while at first talking about its intention to quell the rebellion, to restore constitutionality and ultimately prepare the people for majority rule in Zimbabwe, has ruled out the only weapon it could have used to achieve those objectives. Instead, the United Kingdom resorted to manoeuvres which ultimately aimed not at quelling the rebellion any longer, but rather at ending illegality.”

40. The appeal we made to the Security Council on 13 June 1969 is valid even today. It is the view of my delegation that, with only a little goodwill and despite the oppressive developments that have taken place in Rhodesia since then, the Government of the United Kingdom could alter the course of events in that country. Rhodesia, we repeat, is Britain's responsibility and we cannot acquit it of this responsibility until the people of Zimbabwe attain majority rule.

41. Let me now turn briefly to the situation in Namibia with which this Organization is so familiar. My delegation deeply regrets the fact that in spite of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) terminating the authority of the Government of South Africa over Namibia no effective steps have yet been taken by the United Nations to establish the Organization's authority in the Territory. This body must bring more pressure to bear on the Pretoria Government. The oppressed people of the world who look upon the United Nations as the only hope for the future have begun to ask questions regarding the effectiveness of

this body. Self-respecting nations feel disillusioned now that Namibia is being segmented into the meaningless political units called bantustans, and is the immediate target of the policy of *apartheid*.

42. If the United Nations must rid the world of oppression, racial discrimination and intolerance, it is vitally urgent that effective measures be adopted to terminate any pretended claims which the South African Government may have over any part of Namibia. The United Nations Council for Namibia, created by the General Assembly, must be given full support and assistance by all Member States of the United Nations so that it can assume the responsibility entrusted to it to prepare the indigenous people for self-determination and independence. The latest Security Council resolution [269 (1969)], adopted on 12 August 1969, prescribed 4 October 1969 as the definite date of withdrawal by the Government of South Africa from the Territory of Namibia, and my delegation would like to see effect given to this resolution.

43. The position in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) remains, of course, unchanged. Portugal now maintains about 150,000 troops to support its colonial war effort in Africa. This is possible because of the active support that Portugal enjoys from its allies in NATO. On the other hand, as expected, the freedom movement in these territories is gaining strength. South Africa is also intervening as much in Angola and Mozambique as it has done in Zimbabwe. Regarding the Portuguese colonies in Africa, the new Caetano administration has so far shown no sign of modifying the hard-line oppressive administration of Salazar.

44. My delegation must warn Portugal and its supporters that the oppressed people of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) will not give up the struggle until they actually govern and shape the destinies of their own countries. It is an irony of modern imperialism that a country as poor, as illiterate and as comparatively backward as Portugal should allot the greater percentage of its budget to arms and weapons in order to suppress a people so far away from the Iberian Peninsula. Allies of Portugal, particularly members of NATO, must urge it to refrain from pursuing such a disastrous policy.

45. We learn with satisfaction that the African freedom-fighters in Guinea (Bissau) have already, through their own determined efforts, seized a substantial part of their own territory from the Portuguese colonial grip. We also know that in Mozambique military activity has spread to the north and north-western parts of Tete District. These clashes have reached such proportions that the Tete Regional Hospital has been turned into a military hospital. Because of these clashes, villages close to the Zambian border have been regrouped into special villages.

46. The liberation and nationalist movements now control at least one fifth of Mozambique and have at their disposal thousands of patriots prepared to make even greater sacrifices to ensure the total liberation of their motherland. In 1968 not only did activity in the Tete District break out into the open, but liberation movement meetings were held for the first time in Mozambique itself. In Angola, the same pattern is manifest. Military activity has spread from

northern and eastern Angola as far as the Caprivi Strip. The annual loss of life for Portugal in Angola alone has increased by some 30 per cent, and, while Portugal's total armed forces now stand at 180,000, a majority of these are in colonies distributed roughly as follows: 55,000 in Angola, 30,000 in Guinea (Bissau) and 65,000 in Mozambique. The cost of maintaining these troops for the period 1965 to 1967 constituted some 44 per cent of the total public expenditure and covered some 50 per cent of the annual income. The figures for 1969 show that, out of a budget of about 25 billion escudos, about 11 billion are earmarked for defence and security.

47. We live very close to the scene of racial strife in southern Africa. We understand both the absurdities and the tragedies of individual losses of life, the stagnation of the economy and the general impoverishment of the indigenous peoples of southern Africa resulting from the oppressive activities of a decaying Portuguese empire and the implacable domineering element made up of its racist minorities in Rhodesia and South Africa. With the best will in the world, the free and independent African countries bordering on southern Africa cannot escape a bloody involvement unless the world body takes positive pre-emptive measures for its prevention.

48. Permit me to say that if I have dwelt at length on exposing the fierce threat of a racial war in the southern part of Africa it is to inform this body that Africa is still a victim of colonialism and imperialism. As long as these vicious forces exist, the peace and security of the world in general, and that of Africa in particular, will continue to be threatened. In its pursuit of colonial wars in Africa, Portugal has already violated the territorial integrity of the sovereign States of Senegal, Guinea, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Tanzania and Zambia. We condemn these violations most strongly and we urge Portugal to reappraise its policies immediately. By doing so it will lessen the number of areas of conflict and tension in the world, clearly amplified in the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa which was endorsed by the Assembly of African Heads of State and Government recently held in Addis Ababa.<sup>2</sup>

49. Let me touch briefly on another subject which my delegation views with considerable sorrow and grief: the Biafra-Nigeria conflict. Over the last two years and a quarter the war between Biafra and Nigeria has been brought to a complete stalemate. The victims of this war are the innocent children and the helpless women. The conflict is still far from being solved. We believe that, in the effort to bring about a settlement, the means tried so far have failed. Apparently, the Governments of the United Kingdom and the USSR believe that the solution lies in increasing the supply of weapons of mass destruction. We submit that the greatest contribution the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union can make is to use their high diplomatic offices to impress upon the parties to the conflict the need and urgency for a negotiated and peaceful settlement. Any such attempt, however, must recognize the fact that there are two sides involved in the conflict, and these must be invited together to a round-table conference.

<sup>2</sup> Sixth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held from 6 to 9 September 1969.



The problem is one of determining the future juridical and political structure of Nigeria and Biafra. This must be decided upon by the people of that part of Africa, for it is they who know what is best for them. My Government and people will do their utmost to see to it that under the right conditions—and one of them is an immediate cease-fire—peace and stability are restored to that region of Africa so badly torn by fratricide.

50. It now remains for me to refer again briefly to yet another conflict continuing in the Middle East. We stand solidly behind the 22 November 1967 resolution of the Security Council and we call upon both parties to create an atmosphere in which an honourable settlement can be reached. We do not believe that these conditions of peaceful negotiation are possible outside the terms of this resolution. The world has witnessed continuous violations of cease-fire pledges and other forms of violent actions culminating in wanton destruction of sacred edifices. Surely it is time that parties to the Middle East conflict modified their attitudes in order to bring peace to that disturbed area.

51. In his address to this Assembly on 18 September 1969, President Nixon referred to the "self-imposed isolation" [1755th meeting, para. 70] of the People's Republic of China. My delegation understood that statement to mean that, during the course of this General Assembly session, the delegation of the United States would accept the proposal to welcome the People's Republic of China to the fold of the international community and to the resumption of its permanent seat in the Security Council and its role in this Organization. Indeed we make a mockery of peace and nuclear disarmament if we do not include so powerful a nation as China and invite it to take part in the orderly conduct of international affairs according to the Charter of the United Nations.

52. No argument can be taken seriously that ignores the realities of twentieth-century Asian politics and the pre-eminence in Asia, and for that matter the rest of the world, of China as a great and powerful nation. The small nations of the world can do nothing but appeal to the consciences of the big Powers to limit the production of nuclear armament and equipment that might lead to the eventual destruction of humanity. In the words of our illustrious Secretary-General, the inclusion of the People's Republic of China in disarmament talks would at last break the "mad momentum of the arms race" and point out the road to a world free from fear. We believe that those who seek to exclude the People's Republic of China from the important deliberations of the world community by imposing prohibitive conditions are indeed unaware of the hard fact that international peace and security will be determined by the type of relationship that exists between Peking on the one hand and Washington and Moscow on the other.

53. We meet today in the sad memory of the death of one of the great revolutionary leaders of all time, Ho Chi Minh. He was a man of great courage and determination. Through self-sacrifice and personal defiance of the forces of oppres-

sion, he rose to be one of the world's greatest leaders. We would have peace in Viet-Nam if it were not for so much external interference. It stands to reason that until Viet-Nam is ruled and controlled by the indigenous people of that country we cannot honestly hope for any peace. My delegation takes note of President Nixon's token withdrawal of United States troops from Viet-Nam and hopes that all foreign troops will be withdrawn as quickly as possible to enable the people of Viet-Nam to decide their own destiny without outside influence.

54. My delegation holds a similar view regarding the situation in Korea. The presence of foreign troops in South Korea militates against a dialogue between the North and the South. Those troops must be withdrawn at once, for if there is to be any peace in Korea, it will be a peace worked out by the peoples of that country alone. The United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea has obviously outlived its usefulness and shall therefore be dissolved.

55. I have given an incomplete balance sheet of the international conflicts and tensions that have existed for some time now. Grave and intolerable as they are, they still do not shake our confidence and the trust we place in the United Nations. We, in Zambia, have always attached great importance to the role of the United Nations, not only in the political but also in the economic, cultural and social fields, and we express our whole-hearted appreciation of the endeavours of the United Nations and its agencies in seeking to improve the lot of man. As we enter the Second Development Decade, it is the hope of my delegation that precise attention will be paid to reducing the economic gaps that exist between the rich and the poor nations and, between the developed and developing States of the world. The small and economically weaker nations cannot for ever depend on aid from developed nations, but must be assisted in the development and exploitation of their own resources. We also hope that as we enter the 1970s priority will be given to the improvement of the quality of life, the elimination of exploitation of man by man, and the increased educational programmes to prepare our youth for work in national reconstruction and in helping to make this world a happy place to live in.

56. In conclusion, I should like to re-emphasize our firm conviction in the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and to reiterate our belief in the equality and sovereignty of all States, as well as in the right of self-determination. We believe that unless all nations of the world begin to proceed from and to be guided by these tenets, the peace of the world cannot be assured. We, for our part, pledge our fullest co-operation in pursuit of these noble objectives.

57. The PRESIDENT: May I take this opportunity to thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iceland and the Minister of Development and Finance for Zambia for the compliments that they have paid me.

*The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.*