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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. SCHMELZER (Netherlands): Mr. President, the twenty-seventh annual session of the General Assembly having been placed under your presidency, it is my pleasure to congratulate you, on behalf of the delegation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, upon your unanimous election to your high office. We salute in you, Sir, not only an eminent representative from a country with which the Netherlands shared war-time experiences—a Polish division took part in the liberation of the Netherlands in the last part of the Second World War—but also a prominent representative of another medium-sized European Power actively engaged in the search for ways and means of promoting a political détente in our part of the world.

2. I should be remiss if I did not pay a tribute, on behalf of the Netherlands delegation, to Mr. Adam Malik, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, who presided over our previous annual session with all the courtesy, forbearance, grace and sagacity that characterize the Indonesian people.

3. It is also my pleasant duty to address a personal word of welcome to the Secretary-General and to Under-Secretary-General Morse, both of whom are gracing the podium for the first time.

4. Although I am speaking exclusively on behalf of the Netherlands, and not on behalf of the European community, I stress the European accent of my views, firstly because I do not wish to approach the problems before this Assembly from a purely national standpoint and, secondly, because at this moment the Netherlands has the privilege of presiding over the Council of Ministers of the European Community. The part of the world to which my country belongs is undergoing significant economic and political changes—not that we are without economic difficulties. Inflation, stagnation, unemployment—all these evils beset us from time to time. Their effect should not be underestimated, but I feel confident that in due course and through a better common effort we shall overcome them.

In general the Common Market has proved to be of great benefit to its members; there will be, and there can be, no way back.

5. This morning we were delighted to learn the results of the Danish referendum. The enlargement of the European Community by three new partners, which in our opinion constitutes a break-through of importance not only to us but to the world as a whole, is more limited in scope than we in the Netherlands had hoped. The doors to the Community remain open to democratic countries interested in admission and willing to subscribe to the treaties. The greater European Community as it is to be constituted soon will comprise more than 250 million people with, in general, a very high level of economic and social development, with a vast commercial, industrial, scientific, educational and technological potential, with an outgoing interest in the rest of the world, and with no political or military axes to grind. The harmonization of foreign policies among the European partners will develop as time goes on, and thus enable Europe to play an effective and constructive role in the world. We are approaching this political co-operation pragmatically, but the prospects, in the light of our experiences, look promising.

6. Europe does not want to isolate itself from the world as a whole; nor do we want to become a new super-Power. What we do want is to develop our responsibilities, both towards our own peoples and towards other countries and, more particularly, towards the developing world. You may safely assume that the European Common Market will play an ever more important part in global co-operation for economic development. In this connexion I may point out that the Council of Ministers of the Community, together with the European Commission, last week devoted an extensive discussion, for the first time, to the attitude of the Common Market towards development co-operation.

7. Europe, of course, is more than the countries of the European Community. In the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/8701/Add.1] the Secretary-General has pointed out the developments toward détente on the continent of Europe. We the members of the European Community and its prospective members, as well as our other friends and allies, welcome this development. We are convinced of the need for co-operation between Western and Eastern Europe. Preparations for the convening of a conference on security and co-operation in Europe are getting under way. I hope that in the course of this year it will be possible to start the multilateral preparatory talks which are necessary to ascertain whether the conference can yield tangible results—whether, in other words, the conference will enhance and increase security and trust for all parties concerned, both for individual

countries within the present alliances and between the groupings as a whole. In harmony with the conference on European security and co-operation there will be the need for negotiations on mutual balanced force reductions. Indeed, without the complement of a mutual reduction of forces a conference on European security would make no sense.

8. My Government is looking forward to a positive outcome of all these negotiations, which may result in growing economic, scientific, technological and cultural co-operation. Most important of all, I hope that they will lead to a greater understanding among all the peoples of Europe, who, in our view, must be assured of freedom of movement and of a free exchange of information and ideas.

9. But again, even the whole of Europe does not live in isolation. Europe is only a part of the world, and we Europeans have to play our role and to assume our responsibilities in a global context. For the Netherlands three points are essential. In the first place manifestations of violence must be curbed, both on the level of States and on the level of individuals and groups; in the second place the forces of justice, reason and moderation must be strengthened by world-wide co-operation through the United Nations in all its facets; and in the third place the forces of economic and social growth must be regulated in order to achieve a fairer distribution of wealth and improved standards of living in the world. I should like to elaborate on these three points.

10. In the case of Governments, the curbing of the means of violence in the first place implies arms control and disarmament. The Netherlands takes an active part in the disarmament deliberations in Geneva; we know that results can be attained only after long and patient discussions. The framework of disarmament talks is now under discussion. We may reform the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, we may have a world disarmament conference, we may choose any other suitable framework, but it has now become essential that the principal Powers, especially the five nuclear Powers, the permanent members of the Security Council, should participate in those discussions.

11. In the field of disarmament I wish to emphasize, once again, the importance of concluding an agreement for the cessation of underground nuclear-weapon tests. During the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly the Netherlands delegation expressed the hope that such an agreement might be reached within a year. I deeply regret that those hopes have not materialized. With regard to the question of on-site inspection, the rapid progress of seismology and the sophistication of its technology point towards increasing possibilities for control by national means. I therefore call upon the Powers concerned to take account of this development in order to achieve the comprehensive ban which, in our view, is long overdue. At the same time I repeat our urgent plea to all nuclear-weapon Powers to stop testing in all environments.

12. Concern about the nuclear arms race should not blind us to the urgency of reducing conventional arms as well. The accumulation and the proliferation of conventional armaments create and increase tensions in many parts of

the world and divert resources from the promotion of social and economic goals. In this connexion I want to express, in particular, our concern about the increasing trade, including the second-hand trade, in conventional weapons and military equipment. It is extremely difficult to come to grips with this problem, because many aspects—political and economic—are involved. Nevertheless, I should like to appeal to supplying, trading and receiving countries to consider entering into consultations with a view to finding ways of stemming this alarming development.

13. The problems of curbing violence confront us inevitably with the remaining conflicts in the world. The Middle East, for instance, still presents a bleak picture, in spite of the praiseworthy efforts of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, Ambassador Jarring, and many others. The Netherlands Government remains profoundly interested in a peaceful settlement in the Middle East and in the search for an equitable and mutually acceptable solution.

14. In our view, neither criminal acts such as the Munich outrage nor military retaliatory actions can advance the search for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. In general terms I wish to emphasize the urgent need for the prevention of acts of international terrorism, wherever they occur. I am grateful to the Secretary-General for his initiative to discuss this subject during the session of this Assembly. In the last few years we have tackled one aspect of terrorism, namely, the hijacking of airplanes. The Netherlands has ratified the Tokyo Convention¹ and the ratification procedure for the Conventions of Montreal² and The Hague³ is well under way. We urge other Governments to speed up, too, their ratification procedures. When studying measures against terrorism in its different forms, we will have to look, too, at the underlying causes, and the possibilities of eliminating them. We will have to look at the whole problem, without political bias and in the spirit of a common effort to stop the wanton killing of human beings and the resulting deterioration of international relations. In this spirit my delegation will give its full support to the search for a sensible solution of this intricate problem.

15. The second point—after dealing with the forces of violence—I mentioned as being essential for the United Nations is the strengthening of the forces of justice, reason and moderation. This, of course, involves the actual functioning of the United Nations. Here I must say that, as in many other countries, elections will be held in the Netherlands before long. As in any democratic country, controversies on many issues are rampant. However, there is no controversy in the Netherlands about the question of support of the United Nations. Therefore I know that I am on safe ground when I pledge, on behalf of the Netherlands people, our unrelenting support for strengthening the structures of world-wide co-operation. An arresting subject

¹ Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft, signed at Tokyo on 14 September 1963.

² Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, signed at Montreal on 23 September 1971.

³ Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, signed at The Hague, on 16 December 1970.

of further study in this context might be, in the Netherlands view, the modernization, adaptation and improvement of the process of international legislation.

16. One hundred and thirty two nations are now represented in this Assembly—and we hope that in the near future others may join us in order to turn the principle of universality into reality. Different traditions, varying systems of government and diverging opinions on the problems before the world are guiding us. This remains the inescapable basis of reality in our Organization and this reflects on its effectiveness. We in the Netherlands do not believe that the resulting problems can be solved by a general revision of the Charter. We may adapt Articles of the Charter, whenever circumstances warrant it, but the Charter as a whole must stand as long as the political world situation remains essentially unchanged. To make our Organization more efficient we might devise better conference techniques. Moreover, we might for instance look into the desirability of keeping the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council in some form of permanent session to meet the demands of our times.

17. Last year I advocated the optimal use of the resources and talents available to the United Nations in the Secretariat. The top of the Secretariat has now undergone changes. I wish to assure the Secretary-General that he may always count on the support and the understanding of my Government in his efforts to streamline the Secretariat and to raise its level of competence wherever feasible. One aspect of strengthening the role of the United Nations is, in my opinion, a more effective policy of information on the work done by the United Nations family on all levels.

18. How do we see the role of the Secretary-General in this whole context? Briefly, my Government looks at the Secretary-General's office in the following light. The Secretary-General is the servant of an Organization of 132 Member States and, in questions of security, the servant of the Security Council. In these matters he has little freedom of action or room for manoeuvring. This point is illustrated by the unresolved question of peace-keeping operations. In April of this year the Netherlands made some suggestions in order to try to bridge the differences between those who would like to stress an independent role for the Secretary-General and those who stressed the preponderance of the Security Council for all aspects of those operations. In principle we subscribe to the preponderance of the Security Council, but at the same time we think that a workable way out can be found without infringing principles.

19. In peace-keeping operations the Secretary-General can, in our view, have only limited responsibilities.

20. However, that is one side of the picture. The other side is that the Secretary-General of the United Nations, because of his function, has an independent responsibility to speak up and to try to initiate action whenever, in his opinion, great humanitarian problems are involved. I completely agree with the following words used by Mr. Waldheim in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization:

“No matter what criticisms or setbacks may arise, the unwritten moral responsibility which every Secretary-General bears does not allow him to turn a blind eye when innocent civilian lives are placed in jeopardy on a large scale. [A/8701/Add.1, p. 4.]

21. My Government is profoundly concerned over the increasing violation of human rights and the resulting human suffering in various parts of the world. It would be unforgivable if the international community allowed cruelty, terror and other infringements of human rights to go by without comment.

22. Therefore, the General Assembly will also have to discuss, once again and with even more insistence, the policy of *apartheid* in South Africa and the problem of decolonization which still besets the continent of Africa. Progress towards the elimination of *apartheid* is essential for peaceful development. A meaningful dialogue to this end would be of particular importance for the promotion of a solution deemed urgent and indispensable by the world community. As to the decolonization of the few remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories in Africa, my delegation fears that, irrespective of the right of self-determination to which all peoples are entitled under the Charter, further refusals by the Government of Portugal to embark on constructive planning for eventual decolonization will inevitably play into the hands of the forces of violence.

23. Coming now to the third point which we see as vital for the role of the Netherlands in the United Nations, I wish to speak on the subject of regulating the forces of economic and social growth in the world, of achieving a more equitable distribution of wealth and prosperity among the peoples of the world and greater possibilities for human well-being, or—and here I would refer to the terminology used by the Foreign Minister of Brazil—of achieving a system of collective economic security, an idea which deserves further consideration and study.

24. Two years have passed since the adoption by the General Assembly of the International Development Strategy for The Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)] and today doubts have arisen over the prospects of realizing the objectives and the targets of the Strategy, as a result of the expected shortfall in official development assistance in relation to the targets set in the Strategy. There is, however, no reason to dismiss the Strategy or to lose faith in the Second Development Decade.

25. On the contrary, the Strategy was in fact drafted as a dynamic instrument, adaptable to new circumstances and to change, and it was recognized from the outset that periodic review and adjustment would be required. Thus, while the basic objectives and philosophy of the Strategy, as a new framework for world-wide economic co-operation based on freely accepted rights and duties of States, remain unchanged, the need is now clearly felt for enlarging its contents and for adjusting it to a number of new elements which have emerged since its adoption.

26. I refer in the first place to the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held at Stockholm in June, which has confronted the United Nations system

and its Member nations with a new dimension of economic growth and co-operation, namely, with the imperative need to preserve and enhance the human environment. The Conference and its results were in themselves a milestone in the history of the United Nations, to the extent that the United Nations system proved its capacity to tackle new and vital problems, to devise new machinery for dealing with these problems and to integrate this dimension of economic development into the already existing broader framework of United Nations objectives and activities. Stockholm, however, was a beginning; the Development Strategy adopted in 1970 did not sufficiently take into account the problems of the human environment, and it has now become necessary to set new objectives for the preservation and enhancement of the human environment, relating them, in particular, to the economic development of developing countries.

27. A second new element emerged at the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], which met at Santiago in April and May and which projected a new vision of the world-wide interdependence between monetary problems and the problems of the economic development of the developing nations and of the structure of international trade. In this field, too, the International Development Strategy needs elaboration and adjustment. A most important new element in development is the deeply rooted problem of mass poverty in developing countries and its traditional attributes: unemployment, malnutrition, slums, lack of minimum hygiene, lack of education and glaring inequalities in standards of living. The Committee for Development Planning and, last week, Mr. de Seynes, the Under-Secretary-General for Economic and Social Affairs, and Mr. McNamara, the President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, have brought this new conceptual context to the attention of the world. They have recommended that both developing and developed countries and international organizations take a bold approach in tackling this problem and they have thus replaced the traditional statistical approach of *per capita* growth by a new concept which places human well-being in all its aspects in the centre of development policy. There is an urgent necessity to integrate the concept of mass poverty and unemployment into the Development Strategy and to try to set objectives and, if possible, targets for its elimination.

28. In addition to those three new elements, I wish to mention the progress which has recently been made in deepening our understanding of and our possibilities for drafting policies with regard to the problem of the least developed countries and the relationship between growth, prosperity and population. In respect of the least developed countries UNCTAD at its third session adopted important recommendations and it may be necessary also in this field to rethink some of the concepts embodied in the development Strategy.

29. With regard to population, it is encouraging to note that the United Nations Fund for Population Activities is expanding its activities. For 1974, that is to say, one year before the mid-term review and appraisal, it is expected that the World Population Year and the World Population Conference, 1974, will enable us to deepen our under-

standing of the highly complicated, and at the same time delicate, problem of population. In our view, it is essential that we should increase our understanding and our capacity to deal with the problem in relation to development, both at the national and at the international levels.

30. Last, but not least, there remains the inescapable fact that official development assistance is expected to fall short of the target set in the Strategy. As I pointed out, the International Development Strategy was drafted as a dynamic instrument and it recognized, from the outset, the need for review and appraisal. The United Nations system is fortunate to have now at its disposal the broad framework of a machinery for review and appraisal which will enable it to adjust the Strategy to the new trends and new facts which I have just mentioned. This adaptation will perhaps have to lead to new objectives and targets for the fulfilment of the aims of the Strategy or the reaffirmation of accepted targets, and it is therefore of the utmost importance that individual Governments and all the organs of the United Nations family alike prepare themselves thoroughly for the first experimental review and appraisal, to take place in 1973, and particularly for the mid-term review of 1975.

31. The United Nations and its affiliated organizations have in recent years assumed new tasks and new activities and, as a result, the United Nations structure and the co-ordination between its different organs have become increasingly complicated. It therefore seems desirable to us that, parallel to the review and appraisal of the basic concepts and objectives of the International Development Strategy, a review should be undertaken of the institutional structure of the United Nations. This review should be carried out against the background of the provisions of the Charter which have assigned to the Economic and Social Council a central, policy-making and co-ordinating role as well as against the background of subsequent General Assembly decisions setting up new organs like UNCTAD, the United Nations Development Programme and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization.

32. I have tried to explain how my country approaches the important problems before this Assembly. I have stressed the development of the responsibilities of the European Powers, not only among themselves, but also to other countries and, in particular, to the developing part of the world. This is not an exclusive responsibility of a few. The development towards a world community is, and has to be, a common effort of all countries represented in this hall.

33. May God's blessing rest on this joint effort and on the labours of this session!

34. Mr. SARASIN (Thailand): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of Thailand, I should like to extend to you our congratulations on your unanimous election to the presidency of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. Your dynamism, your experience in the negotiating field and your perseverance are among the qualities that will ensure the effectiveness of the present session. You indeed represent the finest attributes of the great Polish nation.

35. My delegation also wishes to pay a tribute to Dr. Adam Malik of Indonesia, the immediate past President, whose devoted services to the General Assembly have contributed greatly to the successful conclusion of the twenty-sixth session.

36. The past 12 months have been replete with politically significant events in many areas of the world. Fortunately for the international community, these events and measures all have one aim—that is, the reduction of world tensions. As the twenty-seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly is being convened, we may perhaps allow ourselves a little feeling of euphoria that prospects for international peace and security have been enhanced by last year's series of contacts, talks, agreements and treaties, both bilateral and multilateral. Whether or not this development will lead to the attainment of a durable peace is still a matter of conjecture.

37. The starting point for this eventful year—a year of détente—was no doubt the entry into the United Nations of the People's Republic of China during the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Since then, the People's Republic of China has been represented increasingly in United Nations organs and bodies. Its participation in all these meetings—and more is yet to come—has certainly added a new dimension to the discussions and deliberations on the complex issues facing the world. It is our belief that its involvement in international affairs has had—and we are confident it will continue to have—a salutary effect on the councils of the world.

38. One such beneficial effect was to move the world off dead centre and to provide a momentum for further dialogues among those who had been in deadlock for too long a time on some bilateral and multilateral problems. Thus the new and positive relationship of the great Powers has slowly emerged.

39. The meeting of the leaders of the most powerful nation on earth, the United States of America, and the most populous nation, the People's Republic of China, helped to set the scene for other meetings of similar purpose. Relaxation of tension, bilateral or otherwise, seems to be the agenda of the day. While the concrete results of the conversations in Peking might have been limited and there was naturally no meeting of minds on the complex issues of war and peace, the fact that the meeting took place at all, and in a friendly and business-like atmosphere, was in itself a triumph of international understanding.

40. President Nixon's journey to Peking was followed closely by another historic visit to Moscow. Here again, the leaders of the two mightiest Powers showed great statesmanship and a determination to create a more stable world. A string of agreements reached between the Soviet Union and the United States, affecting their respective security and economic interests as well as international peace and stability, could not but augur well for the future.

41. Elsewhere in Europe, additional steps, particularly a Treaty on Questions of Surface Transport, relating to Berlin, entered into by the divided States of Germany on 26 May 1972, to strengthen the fabric of peace in that

continent, are also to be commended. Such measures gave an impetus to a trend which brought about an important agreement between the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland. It is our hope that this step-by-step process will generate sufficient confidence in the minds of European leaders and will eventually pave the way for the convening of a conference on European security.

42. In Asia, rays of hope have also appeared on the horizon. The tragic situation in the former East Pakistan, during which millions of people endured suffering and hardship, led to an armed conflict between India and Pakistan and resulted in the emergence of a new nation, the People's Republic of Bangladesh. While the birth of that nation took place in unhappy circumstances and the birth pains may be slow to heal, the existence of Bangladesh with its 75 million people, recognized by many nations, including Thailand, cannot be simply brushed aside. My delegation sincerely believes that in due course the statehood of Bangladesh will have to be given due recognition by the international community as a whole.

43. The war on the Indian subcontinent has left a bitter legacy to the people of the three countries. Yet there are increasing signs that the responsible leaders of Bangladesh, India and Pakistan have not lost sight of the realities of the situation and the advantages of eventual peaceful coexistence and co-operation in the region. Real problems, such as that of prisoners of war, still exist and will not be solved overnight, but, given the goodwill and understanding evidenced by the Simla Agreement of 3 July 1962, we are hopeful that they will be able, with renewed vigour and imagination, to overcome the obstacles and open a new era of peace and harmony in south Asia.

44. Indeed such vigour and imagination have already been detected in another part of Asia. The visit of the Prime Minister of Japan to Peking last week has helped to ease the strained relationship between the two countries which has existed for several decades. We hope that a new beginning has been made and the antagonism of long standing has now given way to better understanding and co-operation.

45. The recent opening of serious dialogue in the Korean peninsula is to be welcomed by all peace-loving peoples of the world. The initiatives taken by the Red Cross societies of North and South Korea to discuss and arrive at a solution to the problem of divided families have won admiration from all quarters. It is the hope of the Thai delegation that the talks will be successfully concluded and their success will give an impetus to a future dialogue on the questions of peace and security in the area and peaceful reunification of the divided country.

46. In this connexion, my delegation believes that the talks between North and South Korea should proceed in a tranquil and constructive climate, uninterrupted by outside interference and not sidetracked by discussions in other forums. It took the two sides more than 20 years to have direct conversations, and both should be given every encouragement and support, so that they may continue to rely on their own efforts to reach a political settlement. Any move in the United Nations, however well-intentioned, may have the unfortunate effect of disrupting the current talks or jeopardizing the prospects of a successful outcome

of the meetings. It was, therefore, gratifying to my delegation that by a clear-cut majority the General Assembly decided, at its 2036th meeting, to defer consideration of the question of Korea to the next session.

47. There are, however, two other areas in Asia where the chances of attaining peace are still remote. The Middle East situation continues to be a source of grave concern. Troops in occupied areas have not been withdrawn. The Jarring mission appears to be at a standstill and to be in no position to break the deadlock which has existed for quite some time. It is, however, our hope that Ambassador Jarring will continue to pursue his efforts to bring the contending parties to a negotiating forum, taking full account of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). The recent military activities on the ground have broken the precarious cease-fire which had been in effect for some time. The operations have, unfortunately, added another link to the chain of violence and reprisals, and the task of achieving peace with justice and security has been made more difficult.

48. The situation in South-East Asia also remains one which is fraught with danger. The invasion of South Viet-Nam by North Viet-Name regular forces through the demilitarized zone last May has brought untold suffering to the people of South Viet-Nam. While the onslaught met with failure, the military operations had the effect of prolonging and enlarging the war, thus lessening the chances for a political settlement.

49. Laos and the Khmer Republic continue to be subjected to interference by outside Powers, and the presence and military activities of the North Viet-Name regular troops against the legally constituted Governments of the countries are in violation of the United Nations Charter and relevant international agreements.

50. We in Thailand also have suffered from the terrorist and subversive activities which are supported, financed and directed by sources outside the country. It is, however, our earnest hope that those foreign sources will begin to see the wisdom and practicability of peaceful coexistence and co-operation on the basis of the principles enunciated at the African-Asian Conference, held at Bandung in 1955. Under such circumstances will the peoples of South-East Asia have a real opportunity to attain their common goal of turning that region into a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality free from any form or manner of interference by outside Powers. This objective embodies our long-term interest as perceived by the Governments of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand and enunciated in the Declaration of the Association of South-East Asia Nations [ASEAN] of 27 November 1971. It also represents our determination to bring about a relaxation of international tension and our desire to achieve a lasting peace in South-East Asia.

51. It goes without saying that, while wars continue to rage in the region, it is difficult to realize such a regional objective. On that basis, the Foreign Ministers of ASEAN at their last meeting in July agreed on a set of proposals and requested the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Dr. Adam Malik, to ascertain the reaction of the parties concerned.

The results have not been forthcoming as we would have wished, but the efforts will be pursued relentlessly.

52. The magnitude of the internal and external problems of economic development has already been stressed by previous speakers. The widening gap between the rich and the poor countries has been mentioned time and again in this as well as in other forums. However, when it is recalled that the basic issues involved are so complex and vital to human welfare and progress, one realizes that repetition is unavoidable and even necessary.

53. The deterioration in the terms of trade of the developing countries continues to be aggravated by fluctuations in the prices of their basic exports and by inflationary pressures in some industrially advanced countries.

54. Further international efforts are needed also in improving access to markets for certain primary commodities. However, it is heartening to note that some industrialized countries have opened their doors to certain products from developing nations on an equitable basis. It is hoped that such doors will open even wider for further access to a broader range of products from the latter. After all, trade and not aid should be the primary concern of both developed and developing countries.

55. These and other problems were discussed at the third session of UNCTAD in Santiago, Chile, early this year. Although the meeting did not fully accomplish what it set out to do, it enabled the developing countries to reach a consensus on the direction in which they should proceed in order to achieve for themselves more equitable treatment and a larger share in the making of important economic decisions affecting their interests. The Conference at that session also provided them with the opportunity to air their legitimate grievances on such matters as shipping conferences, trade barriers that hinder their exports, the inadequate transfer of technology, and foreign control of their natural resources. The real and ultimate problem, however, remains one of translating the resolutions adopted at Santiago into action benefiting mankind. Much work still lies ahead of all of us, and we should all recognize that tangible achievements can only result from self-reliance and international co-operation.

56. The problems of economic development must be considered and their solutions found in the light of man's aspiration and need to live in a healthy and harmonious environment. My delegation notes with satisfaction the successful outcome of the recent United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm and hopes that satisfactory agreement will be reached at the present session of the General Assembly on the various recommendations of the Conference. In the final analysis, the success of this tremendous venture lies in the hands of the Governments of the States Members of the United Nations themselves, for they alone have the political will and the power of decision necessary for the effective implementation of those recommendations.

57. The problems of economic development and the human environment are linked by a common factor, namely the desire of human beings to live a decent life. It

is, therefore, patently clear that, as the world population grows, such problems become increasingly important as well as difficult to solve. It is fitting in this context to acknowledge the significant contributions made by the United Nations system to a better understanding of these related problems and to attempts to find solutions for them.

58. My delegation derives satisfaction from the progress made in the construction of the permanent headquarters for the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East in Bangkok, Thailand. The formal ceremony to mark the laying of the cornerstone is scheduled to be held at the site on United Nations Day this month. The complex of buildings will also provide accommodations and facilities for the other United Nations offices situated in Bangkok.

59. The delegation of Thailand would like to reiterate its strong condemnation of the policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination. It is a matter of grave concern that, despite continued manifestations of outrage by the world at large against such immoral practices, and despite repeated efforts on the part of the United Nations to achieve a just solution, little change can be expected in the near future. If this trend were permitted to continue, the area would undoubtedly become a hotbed of turmoil and conflict. Therefore, persistent endeavours by the international community are essential now to prevent such an event from happening in the future.

60. The efforts of the world Organization to fulfil the deep yearnings and legitimate aspirations of the peoples of Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and other parts of southern Africa have also failed to yield the desired results. It is indeed deplorable that the international will has been and continues to be frustrated, to the detriment of the people concerned. In regard to Namibia, it is to be hoped that the Secretary-General's laudable initiative on behalf of the international community will bring about a just solution in accordance with the United Nations principle of self-determination and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

61. It has become increasingly apparent that international peace and security demand an early establishment of rules and guidelines governing the preparation and conduct of peace-keeping operations. In this important area where inactivity has lasted for too long a period, a solution has at last been found on the organizational questions affecting the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations. Since peace-keeping constitutes a principal function of the United Nations, the Thai delegation thus joins in appealing to the principal members of the Special Committee to demonstrate the necessary degree of co-operation and a spirit of accommodation and compromise in order to enable the Committee to perform its appointed tasks.

62. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East is beset with a financial crisis which will affect the work of that Agency in alleviating the sufferings of the Palestine refugees, whose continued plight should be the concern of all human beings. In this connexion, the Government of Thailand was recently pleased to add its contribution in kind to the relief

of these unfortunate people. We hope that ways and means will soon be found to enable the Agency to continue its humanitarian work with adequate financial support and without further fears of insolvency.

63. On the question of international terrorism, the Thai delegation wishes to commend the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his initiatives in paving the way for an international discussion of this complex and multifaceted problem. In deciding to take up the question, which has understandably given rise to differences of opinion, the Organization has focused the attention of the world on this important problem. My delegation is ready to participate in the consideration of the item on international terrorism with an open mind and all due objectivity.

64. The Thai delegation has consistently shared the widespread feeling of abhorrence at actions which endanger the safety of innocent aircraft passengers and threaten to reduce the benefits of modern air transportation. It wishes to reiterate its conviction that such actions are self-defeating in purpose and must be discouraged at all costs. Thailand is party to relevant international agreements, and it is taking further steps to strengthen its contribution to the international efforts against air piracy.

65. With the problems confronting the United Nations, my delegation takes comfort in the fact that our Organization has a highly dedicated and skilled diplomat as its Secretary-General. During the short time that has elapsed, his energetic efforts to try to solve the difficult administrative and financial problems of the Organization, which have had some encouraging results, have won our sincere admiration. His courage in facing up to certain other issues has invested his office with an aura of moral strength, and evoked our respect as well as our best hopes for the future of the United Nations. He has thus continued the fine tradition set by his predecessor, U Thant, who has left a distinguished record of achievement and a countless number of friends among the members of this Assembly. My delegation's good wishes are extended to both U Thant and the Secretary-General for their continued good health and success.

66. Mr. RABASA (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): History shows that man cannot and should not live alone. Accordingly, since the most remote times of history up until the present day he has persistently tried to become integrated with and to seek a full measure of development within various social nuclei. These efforts were manifested, first, within the family—the essential cell of any human community, then within the tribe, later in towns and finally within the State, which is the most comprehensive social organization.

67. Neither can States live alone. They need to join with others for progress and mutual protection. Although sometimes imperfect and at other times not a complete success, interstate association is required if human beings are to coexist in today's world. That explains why the establishment of the United Nations was not merely a reflection of a feeling of brotherhood but was rather the satisfaction of a great need to develop the international community.

68. The elimination of any act designed to stand in the way of the true union of States is a continuing task to which this world Organization must devote its best efforts. Accordingly, war or ambition for hegemony, as well as economic domination by those with material power, when exercised to the detriment of the fair development of the materially weak, are disturbing elements which must be removed.

69. Freedom, for which millions of human beings have laid down their lives in the course of history, of necessity implies strict respect for human dignity and faithful observance of the legal equality of States. Accordingly, we should always try in our work to ensure that these basic tenets of the San Francisco Charter become general rules which are put into practice and are universally observed.

70. Mr. President, we know that you were elected because of your impartiality and efficiency, which you have displayed on more than one occasion in your conduct of our debates. We offer you sincere congratulations.

71. I should like to convey to the Secretary-General, in addition to our high esteem for his meritorious efforts, the gratitude of my country for having appointed a distinguished Mexican, Mr. Antonio Carrillo Flores, as Secretary-General of the United Nations World Population Conference, which is scheduled to be held in 1974. The population explosion is already a problem which it is urgent to solve and it is a fact of life which commands our utmost attention. As it is a multifaceted issue which has an impact in the educational, political, social and economic fields, it requires the broadest possible approach, subject always to the policy and programme which all our peoples have adopted in the exercise of their sovereignty.

72. Whenever we come together we must, albeit briefly, review the most salient international developments. This year the situation in Central Europe has stabilized, and the efforts of the two largest world Powers to normalize, consolidate and strengthen their relations in all areas have begun to yield gratifying results. It might be said that their mere coexistence, based on a respective capacity for nuclear deterrence, is tending to be transformed into active co-operation between these Powers.

73. We should all welcome the understandings reached, particularly when they diminish the risks of a nuclear confrontation which would engulf mankind. None the less, there are clouds on the horizon if we look in the direction of the third world.

74. The absurd desire to divide the earth into zones of influence or hegemony is not the best approach to international coexistence. Thus, despite ideological divergencies among the great Powers, upon occasion there has emerged a certain identity or at least a similitude of interests with respect to their positions vis-à-vis the third world. When this has occurred their common stand tends to preserve the *status quo*, which certainly has not proved to be favourable to the non-aligned countries. Thus, during the last few years we have noticed a decline in the financial assistance provided by these Powers to the developing countries. In other areas the positions of these great Powers

have also come so close together that they nearly represent a common front vis-à-vis the majority of the countries of the third world; this occurs with respect to the law of the sea and disarmament, where they have only looked after their own interests and have frequently paid little heed to the wishes of almost all other States.

75. As the President of Mexico so aptly put it in addressing the United States Congress recently, we cannot reduce world policy to contacts between the powerful countries, since anything that affects those countries in the final analysis affects all of us. Genuine universal peace, in addition to an understanding between the powerful States, requires the active participation by all members of the international community in a strengthened system of collective security. Accordingly, we believe that we should improve and institutionalize the representation of the third world in international political organs. Later in this statement we will give our ideas on that subject.

76. With respect to continuing efforts within the United Nations to halt the nuclear arms race and to eliminate other weapons of mass destruction, the balance sheet for 1972 could not be more discouraging. As clearly emerges from the last report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament [A/8818], that body in its most recent meetings did not achieve the slightest bit of progress on any of the items it was dealing with.

77. The bogging down of work to bring about the total elimination of chemical weapons, which was the subject of three General Assembly resolutions at its last session, is doubly regrettable, as it may jeopardize the convention that had already been agreed upon for the elimination of biological weapons.

78. A similar situation exists with respect to nuclear weapon tests which, on the initiative of the Mexican delegation, the General Assembly once again last year emphatically and unreservedly condemned for the second time [resolution 2828 A (XXVI)]. However, not only have such practices continued, but there has been an increase in underground testing, a situation which, apart from endangering the health of present and future generations, will inevitably lead, if those tests are continued, to the crumbling of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex], which was concluded only after arduous efforts.

79. The negative results of the work done in Geneva confirm our belief that we must without delay strengthen the system which the United Nations has to fulfil the obligations entrusted to it under the Charter in the field of disarmament. It would appear necessary for both the negotiating body, with its headquarters at Geneva, and the other deliberative bodies available to the United Nations for disarmament to be substantially strengthened and their performance brought into line with the basic principle of the sovereign equality of States.

80. We should as a matter of urgency begin preparatory work on the convening of the World Disarmament Conference wherein all peoples and Governments will have an appropriate forum, a rostrum from which the voices of reason, anguish, impatience and indignation can be heard.

81. It is encouraging that there has been no break in the growth of the nuclear free zone established by the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco). During the current year the number of States parties to the Treaty has risen to 18 as a result of the ratification deposited by Colombia. The Latin American nuclear-free zone today covers an area of some 8 million square kilometres and has a population in excess of 140 million people. With respect to Additional Protocol II to the Treaty, the purpose of which is to ensure that the Treaty's provisions should be fully respected by the nuclear Powers, it would appear appropriate to recall that in the joint communiqué on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States of Mexico and the People's Republic of China [see A/8818, annex 13, sect. 2], the latter Government stated that it supported the just position of Mexico and other Latin American States on the establishment of a Latin American nuclear-free zone and that all States possessing such weapons should assume the obligation not to employ them against the Latin American States. We interpret that statement as a promising sign that we can look forward to the valuable co-operation in the near future of the People's Republic of China with the Treaty of Tlatelolco, which would be signified by its signing and ratifying Additional Protocol II, a position which we believe should also be taken by other States which possess nuclear weapons but which have not yet subscribed to that document.

82. In Mexico City the work of the sixteenth session of The General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency, which began last 26 September, will come to a close very shortly. My country has had the honour to be the host of that Conference, which has considered items of great concern to all mankind. At that Conference Mexico has reiterated its deep interest in having the constant progress of nuclear science help to improve our standards of living and not contribute to the production of weapons which threaten our very existence. The use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes is and will continue to be the constant goal of Mexico. As was so well said by President Echeverría in his opening speech at the Conference, we believe that the word "atom" should not be linked to the idea of death, but to the idea of a power capable of improving the conditions of human life.

83. The Secretary-General expressed his concern over the use of means of warfare which have particularly cruel, devastating and indiscriminate effects, when he emphasized in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization that the moral responsibility which he bears "does not allow him to turn a blind eye when innocent civilian lives are placed in jeopardy on a large scale" [A/8701/Add.1, p. 4].

84. Mexico entirely agrees with that position. Accordingly, it was one of the first to offer its modest co-operation through the appointment of a Mexican governmental adviser to help prepare the report which the General Assembly requested of the Secretary-General in its resolution 2852 (XXVI) [A/8781 and Corr.1], which was intended, as the title indicates, to promote respect for human rights during armed conflicts, and in which the Assembly emphasized its deep concern over the "terrible suffering

that armed conflicts continue to inflict upon combatants and civilians, particularly through the use of cruel means and methods of warfare and through inadequate restraints in defining military objectives". We trust that that report, which the Assembly will be considering at its current session, will contribute to the realization of that noble and pressing objective.

85. It seems appropriate to us that the item on international terrorism should have been included on the agenda of this session [item 92]. Barbarous acts like these merit punishment and the condemnation of all peoples, regardless of the ideological system under which one attempts to conceal them.

86. In 1970 Mexico defined terrorist acts in its penal laws. Furthermore, within the system of the Organization of American States, we attended in February 1971 a meeting of the Permanent Council of the Organization which had been convened in Washington for that very purpose, and we signed the final document adopted by the Council.

87. Despite our determination to repress acts which are in themselves abominable, we stated then, and we should like to repeat now, our concern to ensure that the instruments on this question that are prepared should not infringe or limit in any way the right of territorial or diplomatic asylum, which is so deeply rooted in the traditions of the countries of Latin America. It is also necessary that the definition of terrorism should be worked out with the utmost caution, in order to avoid its serving as a pretext to restrict or suppress individual freedoms or to limit the exercise of the right of self-determination of those peoples which are still subject to colonialism. Lastly, it seems essential to us that the determination of terrorist acts should always be the responsibility of the State in whose territory those acts have occurred, inasmuch as only in this way can we avoid violations of the State's sovereignty. On those conditions, we are prepared to enter into a dialogue in this international forum and provide our unstinting co-operation in a study of measures that appear advisable to bring about the elimination of international terrorism.

88. We are still convinced that one of the fundamental tasks of the United Nations continues to be the proper and complete application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. It is incredible, in the opinion of my country, that in this space age in which we live, we should still be debating this item and placing it exclusively within a political framework, which has long since been superseded, as indeed it should be; it is high time that we now deal with the other form of colonialism which is equally ominous, and I refer to economic colonialism.

89. Absolute decolonization, in accordance with the United Nations Declaration, solemnly proclaimed in 1960, and the elimination of the remnants of colonialism in all of its forms and manifestations are essential prerequisites if developing States are to be able fully to exercise their economic rights in the international arena.

90. The Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National

Jurisdiction has made progress which in our opinion gives grounds for the hope that the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea may start on the substantive portion of its work in 1974. Indeed, after two years of arduous and sometimes frustrating negotiations, the list of topics and issues to serve as the framework of the study and approval of the various articles to be included in the instrument or instruments to be adopted by the Conference was finally adopted.

91. With respect to the priorities that should be assigned to the consideration of the items, it would be well to make an effort to reconcile the various approaches that have been expressed on this point, starting from the fact—which is already obvious at this stage—that it will be necessary to preserve and always bear in mind the unity of the various branches of law which come under the law of the sea. If this premise is accepted, it seems to us that we could easily avoid the procedural obstacle of discussing a pre-established order for the presentation of proposals on any of the topics and issues included in the list already approved.

92. Apart from the concept, which is steadily gaining ground, of a 12-mile-wide territorial sea, Mexico recently spoke out in favour of the universal recognition of the coastal State's right to exercise jurisdiction over a zone whose maximum width should not exceed 200 miles. In that zone, for which we are in favour of the term "patrimonial sea", the coastal State would be entitled to exploit and explore resources for the benefit of its people, without this signifying that we are thinking of establishing limitations on the laying of under-water cables, navigation or over-flight by other States.

93. Last June we participated, together with other countries of the Caribbean region, in the Specialized Conference of the Caribbean Countries on Problems of the Sea, convened by the Government of the Dominican Republic. There we supported and clearly defined the characteristic features which, in our opinion, should be contained in the thesis of the patrimonial sea. The Declaration of Santo Domingo [A/8721, annex I sect. 2] took up this theory, which we very much hope will eventually become, after the changes and additions to be agreed upon by common accord, a formula encompassing all of the States of Latin America.

94. Unquestionably, one of the most important international events which have occurred under the auspices of the United Nations was the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, which took place in the capital of Sweden also in June of this year. The preservation of the human environment is the responsibility of all States. Those that because of their degree of development have contributed the most to the deterioration of the environment should assume greater technical and financial responsibilities for the establishment of corrective machinery.

95. Thus, it is the duty of all States to see to it that pollution caused by activities within their jurisdiction or under their control should not go beyond national boundaries, and also to provide compensation for the damage caused. Mexico has been the victim of non-compliance with this equitable and commonsensical rule, which should be accepted by all on a bilateral as well as multilateral basis.

96. No policy for the preservation of the human environment adopted by the international community should impede the development effort of the non-industrialized countries.

97. In our opinion, the foregoing should appear first and among the fundamental rules which we hope will be adopted at the second United Nations conference on the human environment, which we would hope would be convened in 1975, with the active participation of all States. Because of the benefits of such a conference for mankind and because of the importance that my country attributes to the protection of the national environment, as is shown by the especially significant legislative and practical measures it has adopted to prevent pollution, Mexico has announced that it would be pleased to have the second conference held in our capital. We repeat now this cordial and sincere invitation.

98. As is well known, a great deal of the extraordinary economic and social progress registered in recent decades is the result of advances in science and, more specifically, the application of scientific knowledge to technology investments and, in general, production processes. However, every day the gap between the technological achievements of the more advanced and the less developed countries is growing.

99. Accordingly, the developed countries are duty bound to support without reservation the preparation of an international programme designed to promote the transfer of appropriate technology to the developing countries including, *inter alia*, the revision of international agreements on patents, the conclusion of agreements or conventions required to facilitate, in permanent and favourable conditions, the access of developing countries to patented and non-patented technology and the adoption of measures designed to promote those countries own technology.

100. At the outset of this statement we expressed our conviction that we should improve and institutionalize the participation of the third world in the system of collective security of the United Nations, and we would venture to put forward now a few specific ideas on this point.

101. Ever since 1945, when our Organization was created at the San Francisco Conference, Mexico has advanced serious reservations on the system adopted for the membership and the voting procedure of the Security Council, that organ to which the Charter has entrusted primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Since the amendment which we proposed at that time in the appropriate Committee of the Conference⁴ was not adopted, Mexico stated for the record that it had decided to accept the text of Article 23 of the Charter because it interpreted that Article as an implicit application of the rule of law that there is a connection between powers and obligations which leaves intact the basic principles of the equal rights of all States.⁵

⁴ *United Nations Conference on International Organization*, Doc.2, G/7 (c) (1).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1149, III/11.

102. No delegation came forward to object to this interpretation of ours, which, for that matter, had a solid foundation in numerous official declarations made by the Heads of State of the Powers that participated in the Dumbarton Oaks talks. Thus, we wish now to propose in this forum that we should include in the Security Council at least one representative of the third world with the status of a permanent member of the Council and given the same powers as are enjoyed by the five permanent members now on the Council.

103. Our proposal has the same logical, legal and political basis which we expounded in San Francisco in explaining our acceptance of the privileged position that the five permanent members of the Council have been enjoying through the years. We think that since that time a new fact has emerged which would more than justify the idea that we should immediately accept this proposal, that is, the emergence of a third world, which was practically non-existent in San Francisco but which today makes up the largest group of States Members of our Organization. If, taken in isolation, the countries of the third world cannot hope to be counted either among the most wealthy or the most powerful, taken together they represent, beyond question, one of the most forceful elements in the United Nations. It is this moral force—this force which they have by virtue of being spokesmen for about two thirds of the world's population and frequently the champions of the principles of the Charter—which gives us grounds for asserting that they have a capacity to contribute to the maintenance of peace equal to or even greater than that of some of the States that have been sitting as permanent members. That is why, I repeat, we are convinced that it would be entirely just and, furthermore, of great benefit to the Organization if the third world had a permanent representative in the Security Council.

104. Peace is not merely the absence of war; it is rather the implementation of measures necessary for the socio-economic progress of nations. Peace will not be complete as long as some live in abundance and many others subsist in poverty. Peace is one of the natural consequences of the exercise of freedom, at all levels and in all realms. However, as was already said by a famous English liberal: "Liberty is subject to control, and he who controls conditions controls freedom." In our times, as long as some have a monopoly on the world's economic elements, they will control in varying degrees the freedom of the rest.

105. An examination of the world economic situation shows definitely that the policy of the developed countries is departing every day more and more from the objectives of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)]. International co-operation has reached its lowest point since the United Nations was established, and the growing social and economic abyss that divides the developed from the developing States poses today one of the most serious threats to world peace. The alarming picture that we are confronted with makes it of pressing urgency to ensure that the principle of the juridical equality of States ceases to be a Utopian arrangement devoid of any real content and that international economic co-operation should not be viewed in terms of goodwill but should rather

enter fully into the field of law so that the prevalent inequality in the world may be diminished and we can bring about a more equitable distribution of wealth.

106. That is why the President of Mexico proposed, during the third session of UNCTAD, that there should be drawn up a charter of the economic rights and duties of States which would be complementary to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and an appropriate means for bringing about an atmosphere of social equity which would promote the full flowering of all human beings.⁶

107. The development of nations is both a duty and a right, and access to the benefits of scientific progress, the application of technology, the development of natural resources and the promotion of foreign trade and financial co-operation are continuing prerogatives of mankind. All States are in duty bound to carry out a foreign and domestic policy designed to accelerate the balanced economic growth of the world as a whole and, in particular, to foster in the developing countries a rate of growth consistent with the need to achieve a substantial and continuing increase in the average income, in order to reduce the vast difference which exists between the standard of living in the developing countries and that obtaining in the developed countries and to create an atmosphere which will guarantee social justice. The developed countries will have to apply to the developing countries generalized, non-reciprocal and non-discriminatory preferential treatment with respect to all goods which may be objects of trade.

108. We should draw a precise distinction between those natural resources, be they on land or in the sea, which belong to a State and which that State therefore enjoys the sovereign right to make free use of in order to promote the economic development and well-being of its people and those resources which constitute the common heritage of mankind, be they in the sea or in outer space, the exploration and exploitation of which should be carried out for the benefit of mankind.

109. I have set forth some of the key ideas which, in the opinion of my country, should govern economic relations among States. We are gratified that Mexico's initiative has met with enthusiastic support from the developing countries and is also supported by some highly developed and industrialized countries. We have already established the procedures that should be followed in the elaboration of the draft charter of the economic rights and duties of States,⁷ which we hope can be submitted for the consideration of the General Assembly at its next session.

110. A document of universal legal validity such as the one Mexico has suggested to the community of nations will test the readiness of the powerful countries to put into practice true international solidarity which, resting on the

⁶ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Third Session*, vol. 1a, part one, *Summaries of Statements by Heads of Delegations* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.D.Mim.1, part one), p. 185.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.D.4), annex I.A., resolution 45 (III).

principles of the sovereign equality of States, non-intervention and the self-determination of peoples, and governed by binding legal rules, could become the best instrument to achieve and consolidate stable and lasting peace.

111. As we have already stated, neither man nor the State can live alone.

112. Without further delay we must end the arms race. We must severely punish those who use human lives as a means of political extortion. We must put an end to colonialism, draw up regulations for the equitable exploitation of the resources of the sea, improve our environment, and use science and technology for the harmonious development of all peoples. We must provide permanent representation for the third world in the maintenance of peace and security. We must reduce the vast gap between the overwhelmingly wealthy and the bitterly poor by adopting a rule of general application clearly establishing the economic rights and duties of States.

113. Unless these tasks are fulfilled our planet earth will be converted into a piece of the cosmos pursuing its eternal course forever in solitude.

114. Mr. DÍAZ-CASANUEVA (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, the delegation of Chile takes pleasure in congratulating this Assembly on its wisdom in electing you to preside over its deliberations. Your intelligence, tact and experience, which are necessary for such an important international post, have unanimously been recognized. Our pleasure is enhanced because there are strong ties of friendship and close co-operation between your country and my own.

115. We wish respectfully and warmly to salute the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim. We should like to convey to him our gratitude for his praiseworthy efforts to revitalize the United Nations so that it may more actively engage in the search for solutions to the many serious and urgent problems facing mankind today.

116. The Chilean delegation has considered with the greatest interest the Secretary-General's proposal for the inclusion on the agenda of this session of an item on terrorism [A/8791 and Add.1]. We have followed the debate on this subject with utmost attention. For reasons unconnected with the Secretary-General but having to do with the very nature of the phenomenon he has highlighted, the formulation of the item may be ambiguous and involve many contradictory issues, depending on the standpoint from which one approaches the problem. Hence the amendments that have been adopted and the need for a calm and exhaustive examination going to the very roots of the problem that each day assumes new and unforeseen dimensions.

117. The people and Government of Chile have expressed their sincere grief for the innocent victims of blind terrorism motivated by desperation, hatred or madness. Chile, whose Government rejects terrorism, is bringing about intensive social and economic changes within the free functioning of democracy. Nevertheless, as is well known to

world public opinion, we have had to defend ourselves against international plots and sabotage that have tried to bring to our country coups d'état, chaos and civil war. Had such sinister plans been successful, there would have been worse consequences for our people than international terrorism on a large scale.

118. We share the concern of many delegations that it might be possible, given the imprecision and vagueness of the term, to describe as terrorists the heroic fighters against colonial exploitation and shameful racism or those who legitimately rebel against oppression, injustice or poverty. Similarly, we should not like to see the adoption of measures against terrorism signifying an international coalition of reactionary forces against the progressive forces of mankind, nor should we like to see provisions hastily arrived at that would actually undermine the institution of the right of asylum, which has been upheld by Latin-American juridical traditions and has been an unchanging norm in the republican history of my own country.

119. Many of the causes of terrorism would be eliminated if there were respect for the principles of the Charter and self-determination, if there were no violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and if a responsible approach were taken to the tragedy of the growing impoverishment of the developing countries which, instead of being given co-operation, are being pillaged, boycotted and driven to desperation. The delegation of Chile is ready to participate in the examination of this item whose complexity should not be used as an excuse for not examining it dispassionately in all its aspects.

120. My Government believes that this session of the General Assembly is being held in favourable international circumstances, which augur well for a reduction of tension and the search for paths leading to real peace. Contacts and negotiations between great Powers, the beginning of dialogues which only a few months ago were difficult to imagine, and the emergence of a will to examine squarely the problems which constitute threats of hostility or confrontation have given birth to hopes which, we trust, will not fade or be disappointed.

121. It is a fact that by means of bilateral diplomacy the great Powers have made praiseworthy efforts to reduce their rivalries, thus making less likely a nuclear catastrophe. There are new prospects for disarmament, and there has been a reduction in the degree to which the world is divided into blocs. There is an increase in the possibilities of peaceful and active coexistence. There is emerging what the Secretary-General calls a new "balance of caution", which should replace the balance of power based on mutual nuclear terror, suspicion, rivalry and the arms race.

122. We welcome the rapprochement of the great capitalist Powers and the great socialist Powers. It would certainly yield positive results for humanity if the capitalist world would decide once and for all to put an end to the policy of the cold war and to realize that socialism is an irreversible historical fact which manifests itself in various forms in accordance with the special character of the country adopting it.

123. We take great satisfaction in the fact that there has been a normalization of relations among all European States and that a system of security which strengthens the machinery of peace, channels the energies of those States towards scientific and technological progress and extends the benefits of such progress to the whole of mankind, and in particular to the countries which most need it, such as those of the third world, has been consolidated in that continent. But we are convinced that the thaw in international relations, if it is to be genuine and promising, cannot be something which exists only among the great Powers or in certain highly developed areas. Tension and threats to peace, the desperate situation of millions of human beings who are suffering from malnutrition, illiteracy, exploitation and imperialist penetration, violent or covert, often lead to tragedy in other parts of the world, specifically in Asia, Africa and Latin America, where we witness wars and coercion and where there are no signs of relief. That is where there is no perceptible relaxation of tension.

124. Paradoxically, along with the improvement in international relations, the aggression in Viet-Nam continues, as does the conflict in the Middle East, the subjugation of peoples in Africa and the exercise of pressure by imperialism in Latin America. We recognize as a real and historical fact the existence of great Powers with sufficient might to bring the world to the brink of destruction or to guide it towards peace, security and progress. Those Powers bear a special responsibility towards the peoples of the third world, who have been kept outside the mainstream of the progress of civilization.

125. If a great capitalist Power decides not only to avoid confrontation with other great Powers, but indeed decides to extend and increase its co-operation and trade with them while insisting on continuing its imperialist policy of exploitation and aggression vis-à-vis small nations which are jealous of their sovereignty, the relaxation of tension may be positive, but it can only come to full fruition if it is extended to all the peoples of the world.

126. There is something else we should add. Bilateral diplomacy is of the utmost effectiveness, but the results attained would be more tangible and beneficial if they were consolidated through the collective system so patiently worked out by the United Nations on the basis of international law, which develops in accordance with the requirements of justice for the whole of humanity. Nevertheless, we must condemn here the attempts made to invalidate the collective system of the United Nations, to deny it the resources and the means for its organs to discharge their functions of assistance to developing countries or, in brief, to diminish the prestige of our Organization so that it cannot really and properly participate in the political, economic and social leadership of today's world, whose problems require fresh vision and new approaches.

127. My delegation cannot help referring to the tragedy of Viet-Nam. The Government and people of Chile reiterate their firm solidarity with the people of Viet-Nam, as well as with the peoples of Cambodia and Laos. We should like to express once again our condemnation of the bombings, the mining and the blockading of North Viet-Name ports, the

destruction of dikes and the so-called Viet-Namization of the war. An act of aggression is being committed against the people of Viet-Nam, which could be described as systematic and highly mechanized terrorism—I repeat, systematic and highly mechanized terrorism—which has produced innumerable innocent victims and has laid waste the entire country.

128. The peace in Viet-Nam so longed for throughout the world, longed for indeed by vast sectors of the public of the United States, can be achieved only by the total withdrawal of United States troops, the acceptance of the proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, and the respect of the territorial integrity and self-determination of all the peoples of Indo-China.

129. Certainly this General Assembly session, like so many others, will condemn colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. The colonialist and racist countries continue to enjoy the support of certain Powers, in spite of resolutions of the United Nations. On the other hand, the resistance and liberation movements, which are opposed by modern armies and arms, do not enjoy sufficient support. It is impossible for Africa to realize its true potential for progress, unity and security, if in the southernmost part of that continent a colonialist and racist bloc is allowed to consolidate, a bloc which, with the complicity of imperialism, is entrenching itself and disregarding the agreements of our Organization.

130. Chile, as a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, is following with great attention the contacts established between the Secretary-General and the Government of South Africa to clear the way for the final independence of the people of Namibia. However, we are surprised and disturbed at the fact that this Government, on the one hand, has welcomed the important initiative of the Secretary-General while, on the other hand, it pursues a policy of dividing the people of Namibia, persecuting its leaders and entrenching the evil system of *apartheid*, a crime against humanity which should be considered urgently in order to devise juridical instruments which would be binding on States.

131. My Government categorically supports the peoples of Africa fighting for independence and considers that the United Nations should intensify its decolonization activities, primarily condemning the colonialism and racism of Pretoria and Salisbury.

132. Still in the field of decolonization, as far as Latin America is concerned we consider it a memorable event of the utmost importance that the Special Committee on decolonization⁸ should have decided in favour of "the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence in conformity with resolution 1514 (XV)" [see A/8723/Rev.1, chap. I, para. 85].

133. My Government regrets that in the Middle East there has been no progress towards a just and stable peace. Indeed, a distressing sequence of events has occurred, including the massacres at Lod and Munich and the armed

⁸ Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

attacks in Lebanon and Syria. The occupation of Arab territories continues; the Jarring mission is paralysed; and no real efforts are being made to gain respect for the lawful rights of the people of Palestine. We trust that this Assembly will reach more effective agreements in keeping with Security Council resolution 242 (1967). Our Organization should actively work to end one of the most distressing tragedies of our time and one of the most terrible threats to the peace of the world.

134. Chile is undergoing intense economic and social changes designed to remove the outmoded and unjust structures of a society based on exploitation and to achieve socialism. This is a process designed to eliminate our dependence on imperialist monopolies and finances and in this way to bring about complete national independence. We do not conceal our difficulties and the desperation and hostility of reactionary forces which cannot reconcile themselves to the loss of their privileges.

135. In two years the Government of Popular Unity in Chile has brought about substantial changes in the life of Chile. We have nationalized our basic resources, copper, iron and saltpeter. We have eliminated large estates. We have nationalized and democratized the system of credit by making our bank State-owned. We have made progress in the area of social ownership, and we have included in this system very important monopolistic businesses. We have provided new educational opportunities and we have extended protection to the mother and child. Above all, the working classes have assumed responsibility and enjoy participation at all levels of the State.

136. Chile's experience, considered as one of the great social experiments in the world, is being acquired in respect for the constitutional and legal norms of our country, democratic pluralism and the free functioning of opposition forces. Much has been written and reported about the Chilean experiment, sometimes objectively but at other times obscurely and misleadingly. However, Chile is a country open to anyone who wants to understand the tremendous importance of the historic phase our people is passing through. We have nothing to hide, nor do we fear criticism. We simply want people to deal with us without mystification or falsehood.

137. Our foreign policy, rooted in the facts of our national life, is entirely in harmony with the principles of the Charter and the resolutions of this Organization. We have often given evidence in these two years of the Popular Government of faithful compliance with principles such as non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, respect for the self-determination of peoples, human rights and peaceful coexistence, which transcend political or economic doctrines or systems.

138. Chile, which would appear to be cut off and remote because of its geographical position, has extended its network of international relations to all corners of the earth in the desire to establish bonds of friendship and co-operation with all peoples. Fundamentally, we proclaim that we belong to Latin America, and we are striving to achieve with all Latin American peoples not only profound friendship but genuine integration in various areas.

139. Our feelings of belonging to Latin America have inspired us to do everything we can to bring about the integration of Latin America. We are ready to seek alternatives and new possibilities within the Latin American Free Trade Association. In this context, we attach particular importance to the strengthening of the Cartagena Agreement of 1969, in which, along with Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru, we have succeeded in establishing a subregional plan of integration, and the progress we have already achieved is virtually irreversible. This is an example of integration which will surely have an impact on the entire region in keeping with our common destiny as Latin Americans.

140. We are full members of the group of non-aligned countries. Our non-alignment is not directed against any great Power. It is simply against the division of the world into blocs or spheres of influence. We want to contribute to the establishment of peaceful co-operation in keeping with the principles and resolutions of the United Nations.

141. With regard to progress towards a solution of the questions relating to the sea, my delegation considers that this session of the General Assembly should play a particularly positive role. The decisions which it should adopt with regard to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, and the opportunity it will give to continue during this decisive phase the necessary political negotiations, encourages my Government to hope that the world Organization will demonstrate in this field its potential for resolving problems of interest to all States.

142. Chile takes particular satisfaction in the progress achieved towards the formation of a political plan for a solution. My Government believes that the growing support for the concept of zones of maritime jurisdiction of up to 200 miles, with an economic content, contributes in large measure to this plan, which should take into account the aspirations for justice and development of all peoples. The recent announcements, to this effect, of the States of Latin America, Africa and Asia, strengthen the economic interest of the countries of the third world, an interest which should be fully safeguarded if we want to achieve a global international solution.

143. My Government is concerned at the fact that the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond the limit of national jurisdiction—which was solemnly declared in resolution 2749 (XXV) of the General Assembly, along with the resources of the zone, to be the common heritage of mankind—may begin to be exploited, in contravention of this declaration and what was known as the moratorium resolution [*resolution 2574 D (XXIV)*].

144. Chile has offered the facilities of its capital for the first session of the Conference, which it would like to be held in Santiago. I should like to express the thanks of my Government for the warm reception which this invitation received, in countries of all regions and systems, during the last session of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction. We are confident that this session of the Assembly will decide to accept the invitation. For Chile, a favourable decision would be a tremendous

encouragement to its policy of negotiation and international co-operation, both in the Latin American sphere and on the world level.

145. We support the initiative of the Government of the Soviet Union in proposing as an item for this session the "Non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons" [A/8793]. We consider that an agreement on this subject, together with the convening of a World Disarmament Conference and the adoption of concrete measures to implement the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)], will be positive contributions to the cause of world peace.

146. We oppose all nuclear tests, in whatever environment they are carried out. Chile witnessed with particular concern the continuation of the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, in the Pacific Ocean.

147. The delegation of Chile has already had occasion to make substantive comments at the 1451st meeting of the Second Committee on the economic and social situation in the world and particularly on the external economic and financial relations of our country. Nevertheless, we consider it necessary to say, from this lofty rostrum, something about the principal aspects of our thinking with respect to these matters.

148. It is clear that the new manifestations of a relaxation of political tension also involve positive prospects for trade and economic relations at the world level. Nevertheless, it would be a bad mistake if these hopeful prospects were to reduce the deep concern over the world's plight brought about by the tragic economic and social conditions in which a large proportion of mankind lives.

149. We are witnessing events which are so dismaying to the third world that perhaps instinctively we tend to repose tremendous hopes in any positive sign offered to us. Our enthusiasm is great when there is some progress in the ruinous arms race, even though military expenditures continue to remain on the order of \$200,000 million a year. We hear expressions of satisfaction at the steps taken to overcome the crisis threatening the world monetary system, although we are aware that this progress is very precarious and that it suffers from the fundamental shortcoming that in the formulation of the reform, which is under way, there is no part being played by the socialist countries of Eastern Europe and the People's Republic of China. It pointed out as an encouraging sign that in the last three years the *per capita* increase in production has reached a higher rate in the less developed countries than that recorded in the countries of the industrialized world, even though this fact clearly contradicts the projections of present trends, which show that there will be a continued increase, at an accelerated pace, of the widening gap between the standard of living of the third world and the standard enjoyed by the great capitalist, economic and financial Powers, which have already accumulated a disturbing proportion of the world's wealth.

150. Without doubt, one of the great problems of our time and the most critical and serious one which should be

at the very forefront of the minds of world leaders is that created by the unjust international division of labour and the unjust distribution of income and the technological gap. Various studies have shown that if present trends continue, within 25 years the developed countries will be enjoying an income of more than \$8,000 *per capita* per annum, while the impoverished masses—who by that date will number more than 2,250 million persons—will be earning on the average less than \$200 *per capita* annually, and 800 million people will have an income of less than \$100 a year. This is a problem which affects individual lives as well as the peace of the entire world.

151. The crisis of international economic co-operation is so acute that it would appear that some political leaders of the great Western Powers would prefer in fact to overlook the problem notwithstanding their many statements at meetings of international bodies.

152. With regard to trade, some important countries show no sign whatsoever of keeping the undertakings formally made with regard to the application of a general system of preferences. In the area of international financing we do not see here either any compliance with the principle of transferring at least the equivalent of 1 per cent of the gross national product to the developing countries. And in important cases we even witness significant reductions in the indicators of transfer, particularly with regard to public financial co-operation. This is happening while conditions in which international financing is granted are becoming ever less favourable and hence are leading to an accelerated increase in the servicing of the external debt of the developing countries. These payments are at the present time exerting almost intolerable pressure on the balance of payments of many of our countries.

153. Therefore my delegation considers that we should continue using and strengthening the instruments of international co-operation, particularly UNCTAD, whose third session we had the honour of playing host to in Santiago. In our view, this session, which was attended by more than 140 States, had the virtue of examining in depth the great problems of development and its proposed solutions which will be effective if the countries of the third world press for them in all international forums.

154. It was gratifying to our delegation, after having submitted to the Second Committee the evaluation and programme of action prepared by the member countries of the Special Committee on Latin American Co-ordination, to see that this evaluation and the statements made from this rostrum by the Foreign Ministers of Western European countries were very largely in agreement.

155. However, within this overall framework, which is in itself disheartening, there are particular circumstances which make more acute the problems of the external economic and financial relations of the developing countries. Chile in the last two years has had consistently to confront these circumstances and for this reason we want to lay special stress on them on this solemn occasion. I am referring to new threats to the development and sovereignty of peoples first constituted by foreign attempts at economic coercion, aided and abetted by multinational corpo-

rations which operate beyond anyone's control and exert pressure to produce political decisions in behalf of the greatest world capitalist Power and which, in their desire to exploit the developing countries, carry out all kinds of illicit actions whenever the developing countries decide to recover their natural resources or those sectors of their economic activity which are of fundamental importance for the well being of their peoples.

156. The Government of Chile has carried out the nationalization of its principal resource, copper, with the unanimous support of the country, keeping strictly within the framework of our domestic legislation in accordance with the principles of international law emanating from resolutions adopted by the United Nations. Chile has acted in all its relations with external private interests in strict compliance with equitable and non-discriminatory juridical norms.

157. Nevertheless we have been faced with brutal financial and economic pressure, pressure exerted by some of the corporations affected by the sovereign decisions of the people of Chile. In various international forums, particularly at the third session of UNCTAD and at the last session of the Economic and Social Council, we have denounced the actions of which we have been the victim. We have indicated that the International Telephone and Telegraph Company (ITT), even before President Allende came to power, initiated contacts with the Government of the United States and proposed various measures for intervention in our country, including the launching literally of a plan for a campaign of economic terror. This same international corporation, the ITT, subsequently, while rejecting a formal offer from the Chilean Government, which was known to the Government of the United States, to the effect that its investments in the telephone company of our country would be compensated in accordance with international standards, presented to high officials of the United States Government an action plan which involved the economic and financial strangulation of Chile and the overthrow of the Government democratically elected by the people of my country.

158. Recently, another multinational corporation, the Kennecott Copper Corporation, after being engaged in litigation for about a year with the Chilean State before the competent tribunal and because this tribunal did not grant its claims, initiated a campaign designed to obstruct free trade in Chilean copper in various markets, by means of public threats against purchasers of our copper and pressure exerted on commodity markets and brokers trading in this metal.

159. That was an attempt to prevent the people and Government of Chile from marketing its principal export product. Such actions violate the most elementary principles of international coexistence and, if not stopped immediately and responsibly by the Governments in question, will tend to create a climate incompatible with the kind of relations based on positive dialogue which the Government of Chile wishes to maintain with the United States. Since over the past few days these reprehensible actions have been assuming even graver proportions, my Government reserves its right to raise these matters again in

the General Assembly in the manner and at the time it deems appropriate.

160. We believe that there is an increasing awareness of the many serious problems arising both internally and in the sphere of international relations because of the actions of those large international corporations. Consequently, as we pointed out in our statement in the Second Committee, we hope that the Secretary-General of the United Nations will shortly, or in any event before the end of this session, report to us on steps already taken by the study group set up by resolution 1721 (LIII) of the Economic and Social Council, adopted by consensus, to study the role of multinational corporations and their impact on the development process, and also their implications for international relations, and to submit recommendations for appropriate international action.

161. The Government and people of Chile hope that the United Nations will soon set in train the appropriate measures to deal with the actions of the multinational businesses of which developing countries are the victims, and of which my country has been the principal victim without the international community having done anything so far to prevent such odious aggressive manoeuvres. For its part my Government, in all international forums, will bring to the attention of the world, and will denounce, the attacks and subversive actions aimed at Chilean democracy perpetrated by those powerful imperialist interests.

162. Last week the representative of Chile at the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, stressed that international finance organizations should not be the instruments of the bilateral policy of any member country of those institutions. We mentioned there that it was a well-known fact that there existed differences between the views of my own country and those of the United States Government with regard to the process of nationalizing our basic resources. We added that, although this was a fact, it did not authorize the United States to exert its powerful influence in the World Bank to get that agency of the United Nations to join in what was being done to put financial pressure on Chile by suspending its loans to our country.

163. Within the discouraging framework of international financing for developing countries, perhaps one of the few positive signs over the past few years has been the strengthening of multilateral approaches and the expansion of the operations of international financing agencies for development, such as the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, the African Development Bank and the Asian Development Bank. Nevertheless, today the persistent efforts of many countries to strengthen the multilateral approach of those institutions are very likely to be thwarted by the actions of one Government which is bent on utilizing those agencies as instruments of its own bilateral international policy. It is unacceptable that people should try to justify a reduction in that Government's bilateral public aid to the developing countries by arguing that it is due to a desire to channel as high a proportion of resources as possible through multilateral organs, and at the same time should try to impose on each allocation of

resources to those organizations restrictions and conditions which prejudice their independence and actually undermine their multilateral nature.

164. Since the coming to power of the Government of President Salvador Allende, Chile has received no new loans from the World Bank or the Inter-American Development Bank, agencies which up to that point had been granting an annual amount of financing to Chile on the order of \$100 million. Clearly, this was not due to technical considerations, but to the decision made public by the United States to prevent such bodies from extending financial support to our country as a result of the differences of view existing between Chile and the United States over the nationalization of our basic resources.

165. For that reason we made the point at the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank that if some Governments were not capable of understanding the need to preserve the multilateral nature of international financing bodies it would be necessary to study new ways and means for them to acquire their resources: through compulsory contributions established according to the level of the gross national product of each country, or some other, similar scheme, in order to prevent a situation in which we find in each of the laws for the allocation of resources certain restrictions and conditions which in the final analysis only negate the international nature of those very organizations. We believe that here the United Nations also has an important role to play—particularly the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council.

166. If we consider that there was an abrupt suspension of the foreign aid which Chile had been receiving during the 1960s from both public and private sources in the United States, as well as from international agencies of which Chile is a full-fledged member with all rights implicit therein; and at the same time, if we analyse the actions taken against our country by large international consortia, we cannot fail to recognize that Chile has been the victim of real economic aggression, which although it is less tangible than physical aggression, is no less reprehensible.

167. The balance of payments of Chile has been in a very difficult situation recently. This is due to the suspension of financing from certain external sources which have been traditionally available to Chile, and to a sharp drop in the price of copper and an increase in the imports which have been occasioned by great industrial activity and an increase in internal demand. Apart from this, another factor in our balance-of-payments position has been the increase in the international prices of products imported by Chile.

168. In the face of this situation, our Government, in order to maintain the normal functioning of the economy and, at the same time, to ensure payments for the servicing of the external debt to all our creditors, in accordance with the actual resources and possibilities of the country, decided at the end of last year to proceed to a renegotiation of this debt. The servicing of the external debt represented in 1972 an amount higher than 30 per cent of the value of the country's imports.

169. We should like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the Government of France for the important task that country has been carrying out as co-ordinator of the so-called Paris Club, through which last April a general agreement was reached to renegotiate the servicing of the debt for this year. Similarly, we are pleased to say that bilateral agreements have been reached with most of Chile's creditor countries, in accordance with the terms laid down in the general agreement of the Paris Club. At the same time, may we say that it is our desire to sign bilateral agreements as soon as possible with the other countries with whom we are at present negotiating. We hope, furthermore, that in the bilateral talks with our principal creditor country there will be no attempt to bring up issues which have nothing to do with the nature of those financial transactions, since this would only serve to hold up the settlement we all desire.

170. As the beginning of a new spirit in international relations is now perceptible we believe that the United Nations should be considered to be on the threshold of a new period of history. It must therefore be made a more dynamic instrument capable of meeting the needs of today's world. My delegation would like to stress that a real threat hangs over our Organization: people are trying to destroy its power, to drown it in fictions and deprive it of the authority which it must have in order to speed up the liberation and progress of the peoples of the third world.

171. No one can ignore the work done by the United Nations, but we should not underestimate the impatience and the scepticism of vast sectors of world public opinion over the passivity and ineffectiveness which the United Nations sometimes displays in its handling of the urgent and burning issues facing mankind.

172. But since the United Nations is not a super-national organization, nor does it have any autonomous powers which it can assume outside the body of States which compose it, its full authority can only be brought to bear through the determination of all its Members to respect common obligations and to take collective action, by taking up within it the tragic problems afflicting mankind, by making its working methods more flexible, by increasing its financing capacities and by broadening its power and action.

173. The United Nations has made progress with regard to the matter of universality, particularly with the inclusion of the People's Republic of China—something which was so indispensable for our Organization—but there still remain nations and peoples which should come into the United Nations as soon as possible. My delegation would like to mention particularly the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. Both German States are indispensable components of a system of European security. Their scientific and technological achievement are extraordinary and their participation in the United Nations would be a powerful shot in the arm. We should also like to mention Bangladesh, divided States like Korea and Viet-Nam, and peoples who possess a national identity, but have not succeeded in becoming nations or States due to their subjugation to the colonial yoke.

174. Thanks in large measure to the action of progressive forces, the United Nations has succeeded in containing many crises; it has contributed to the independence of many peoples; it has promoted juridical, economic and social progress. But now more than ever we have the duty of strengthening the United Nations until responsible international conduct becomes the norm, until selfish interests are set aside, until neo-colonialism and imperialism are done away with, until, in a word, a new form of international law which is at once more just and more effective is enshrined.

175. The Government of Chile expresses its confidence that this session of the General Assembly will work in a spirit of understanding, with a firm and renewed will to reach agreements which will actually be carried out and make a genuine contribution to the struggle of peoples to enjoy full justice, peace and human dignity.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.