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**President:** Mr. Emilio ARENAL (Guatemala).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Tarabanov (Bulgaria),  
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. NYASULU (Malawi): It is again my privilege this year to address the President and the Members of the General Assembly at its twenty-third session on behalf of my country, the Republic of Malawi. Indeed, I consider it an honour to be able to participate in the general debate, which also gives me an opportunity of acquainting the General Assembly with the views of my Government on some of the issues that confront the international community today and to which this world body will be giving its attention during the current session.

2. To begin with I should like to congratulate the President on my own behalf and on behalf of my country upon his election to the presidency of this session. His election to this high office represents the trust that the Members have in him and I am confident that his personal qualities will not fail him in discharging the challenging duties of this office to the satisfaction of us all.

3. Let me also take this opportunity of paying a tribute to the President of the twenty-second session for his outstanding performance. His patience, his tact and his impartiality made him a most fitting person for the job, and we were happy that we were privileged to be guided by such a distinguished diplomat as His Excellency Mr. Manescu.

4. Finally I wish to pay a tribute to those who have already addressed this Assembly for their contributions. I am sure that those contributions will go a long way in assisting us in our search for peace—and peace is the primary objective of this world body. Admittedly the speeches made at this Assembly do at times reveal the existence of a wide divergence of opinions among States on different issues, but perhaps this helps us to understand one another better.

5. I do not have much to say that is new on this occasion. I believe that the speech made by my President in 1964, when Malawi was being admitted as a Member of the United Nations, and those delivered in subsequent years by my delegation on similar occasions must have given a clear picture of our stand on many of the issues that come before this Assembly year after year. Therefore, I shall simply reiterate the views of my Government on those matters on which my delegation feels it necessary to do so.

6. In this connexion I shall first deal with the situation in the Middle East. My delegation holds the same views that it clearly expressed in this Assembly at the twenty-second session.

7. These views are that it is negative for any Member of this Organization to dispute the existence of a State which is not only a Member of the United Nations but is also its own creation. The existence of Israel as a Member, and an equal Member, of the community of nations is a fact of life and the sooner this is acknowledged by all Member States, the better chances there will be for peace in the Middle East.

8. Some delegations have accused Israel in this Assembly and the Security Council of aggression. We do not accept these accusations, because no nation can afford to remain idle in the face of threats of extinction. Israel has a right to defend itself against such external threats to its existence and to the lives of its people, threats it has faced in the past and continues to face. This right extends to the destruction of the very tools and implements which are used for aggressive objects.

9. For any Member States to harbour, equip or encourage subversive elements whose sole purpose is to terrorize, to kill and to disrupt the normal way of life of citizens of another Member nation of this world body is contrary to its Charter and its principles. I submit that if the United Nations is not able to safeguard the safety of a Member State against outside aggression, then it becomes necessary for that State to defend itself. This, in the view of my country, is just what Israel is doing.

10. Last year I repeated here the views of my President that no lasting peace can be achieved by force of arms and that any victory won by this method is short lived; it is a victory that represents a temporary solution and the problems it purports to solve will emerge again sooner or later. Malawi, therefore, considers negotiations to be the answer to settling disputes and once again calls upon the parties to the Middle East dispute to get to the conference table and discuss their differences and see if they cannot reach a solution acceptable to both parties without resorting to force of arms. Such a course of action is the only one

that can bring peace and security to that region that has known war and hatred for such a long time.

11. We are strongly convinced that with good will on both sides the Israelis and the Arabs ought to be able to live side by side happily. In this respect I am glad to say that recently my President paid a State visit to Israel and that he was able to see with his own eyes that this can be achieved. There is no reason, therefore, why Israel as a State should not live in peace with its Arab neighbours. All that is required on the part of the latter is to be realistic enough to accept historical facts and face up to the reality of Israel's existence and, of course, to make a genuine effort to promote good will.

12. The other matter on which I should like to restate the position of my country is the question of admitting the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. My Government has always stated that the existence of such a large geographical area with the largest population on earth cannot be disregarded. We should like to see the Chinese of the mainland take part, as a full Member, in the deliberations of this world body. However, we have said that in order to give favourable consideration to this matter three conditions have to be fulfilled.

13. Firstly, the admission or otherwise of the People's Republic of China should be regarded as "an important question", requiring a two-thirds majority decision. Secondly, the admission of the People's Republic of China should not in any way affect membership of the Republic of China, a founding Member of the United Nations. Thirdly, the People's Republic of China should: "demonstrate a genuine change of heart in its attitude towards armed combat, its open interference in the affairs of other nations, and her outspoken antipathy to the United Nations itself, coupled with a genuine willingness . . . to respect and abide by the basic principles of the United Nations" [1591st meeting].

14. I regret that my Government does not feel that the People's Republic of China has yet met any of the requirements of the third condition, and it feels inclined to deny that country the esteemed membership of this world Organization.

15. I now wish to say a few words on an issue which has emerged since we met here last year and which has caused peace-loving nations of the world considerable distress. I refer to the hijacking of aircraft.

16. My Government views the recent development of hijacking of commercial aircraft with apprehension. The hijacking of a commercial airliner not engaged in bellicose activities is contrary to the fundamental principles of international law and practice, as much as is piracy against ships on the open sea, and must therefore not be condoned but condemned outright.

17. As a land-locked country which is dependent in large part on commercial air transport for its communication with the world community, Malawi cannot help but look with concern on any State or States which give overt or tacit support to such practices. It is for this reason that we are forced to mention the recent activities of this nature

which have occurred concerning planes within United States territory which have been hijacked and diverted to Cuba, and concerning planes flying over the open seas which were diverted from their courses to the territory of the State of Algeria.

18. Malawi considers it absolutely necessary for international public order that the principle of non-interference with civil air transport should be maintained, subject to the generally accepted standards laid down in the relevant international agreements and conventions.

19. Should any State find that its territory, through no fault of its own, becomes involved in such an incident initiated by a foreign Government or a non-governmental group, that State has the obligation promptly and immediately to rectify the situation and to do all within its power to preserve the safety of the foreign nationals who are victims of such an illegal act. It must permit the passengers and crew to continue their journey as soon as practicable and must return the aircraft and its cargo to the persons lawfully entitled to possession. Further, that State has the obligation to do everything possible to assist in bringing the persons responsible for such acts to justice within its own judicial system or to assist the aggrieved State to do so.

20. Malawi was, therefore, understandably, most disturbed by recent events in Algeria concerning the hijacking of a commercial civilian air liner en route to Israel which was forcibly diverted to Algeria by members of a terrorist group. Although Algeria promptly made arrangements for all women and children and male passengers of non-Israeli nationality to continue their journey by another route, and is to be commended for doing so, the detention of the crew, the male Israeli passengers and the aircraft itself for thirty-nine days, plus the refusal of the Algerian Government to condemn the act in forthright terms or to bring the perpetrators to justice, leads to the justifiable inference that Algeria condoned and approved this act after the fact. Although Algeria might have had no previous knowledge that such an act would be committed, it subsequently became an accomplice of the outlaws by allowing its territory to be used for their purposes. This is highly regrettable behaviour which is manifestly not in the best interests of the world community.

21. The Algerian action is further to be regretted because the upholding of international law with regard to this incident would have provided a unique opportunity to reduce tensions in the Middle East and to demonstrate to the world the sincerity of the desire of the Arab States, or at least of Algeria, for peace.

22. As in previous years, I should like to express by Government's appreciation and gratitude for the assistance that my country receives from the United Nations and its specialized agencies. I also wish to emphasize what I have said before: that this assistance is of the greatest value to my country in its efforts to achieve economic viability. Our gratitude also goes to donor States for their generous contributions in this respect.

23. While on the subject of United Nations assistance, I am gratified to note that there has been included in the

agenda of the present session an item concerning increase in the production and use of edible proteins. The protein problem is so important that it can no longer be dealt with in any light manner and calls for the urgent attention of this Organization.

24. In conclusion, I should like, on behalf of my country, to extend a warm welcome to Swaziland and to congratulate it upon its admission to this world Organization. It is perhaps pertinent to mention that Swaziland and Malawi share common problems and common difficulties stemming from our geographical positions.

25. Mr. GAYE (Senegal) (*translated from French*): My delegation offers Mr. Arenales its warmest congratulations on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly of the United Nations. His election as the head of this great international tribunal is evidence of the growing importance of the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, and of their sincere desire to be present wherever the community of free nations demonstrates its will to strengthen peace and establish justice through understanding among peoples. My delegation welcomes this election because it knows that Guatemala is devoted to the cause of peaceful coexistence based on mutual respect, and to co-operation among States, and also because that country is a declared advocate of regional organizations as a means of restoring to Latin America the feeling for its own destiny, thereby following the same path as that taken by the young African States, which have organized themselves into regional groups and embarked on a process of progressive integration in an endeavour to fulfil their aspirations through organization.

*Mr. Jimenez (Philippines), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

26. In an Africa which is rediscovering its identity, the Government and people of Senegal wish to welcome the accession to independence of the Kingdom of Swaziland. This independence is of course a source of satisfaction to the United Nations, but it also gives us food for thought and grounds for hope. It is a source of satisfaction in the first place for the people of Swaziland and also for the community of freedom-loving nations which always feel encouraged whenever a new State freely takes its place among the independent Members of the United Nations.

27. But beyond the Kingdom of Swaziland, to which today full external and internal sovereignty has been restored, the international community faces once again the problem of countries, peoples and men still subject to foreign domination. This problem is a challenge to the conscience of us all, and especially of those States which have subscribed to the principles of the United Nations.

28. Since the Charter was signed in San Francisco, 1,000 million human beings have recovered the right to settle their own fate. They have recovered it by various means and in various ways, assisted in many cases by the efforts of the United Nations, and also by the developments following the last war, of a more acute awareness of the human state. Where men have regained their human dignity, colonial repression and dependence have been replaced by free and open co-operation based on mutual respect for national sovereignty and legitimate interests.

29. We are confounded by the apparently blind obstinacy of those who oppose the great liberation movement of the African peoples—the peoples who are subjected to Portuguese extortion and repression in Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique where they are fighting and dying to wrest back their freedom or who are fighting in Namibia and Rhodesia to obtain the right to govern themselves.

30. My delegation does not recall these problems merely in order to deplore yet again the bitter incomprehension attending them, nor even in order to add to the numerous condemnations of Portugal and of the Pretoria and Salisbury régimes. From the United Nations we all expect more than that. Did the United Nations affirm that its role was to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, did it proclaim its faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small and did it inscribe these principles in its Charter like a motto—merely in order to watch resignedly the summary execution of Rhodesian patriots, the humiliating practice of *apartheid* in South Africa and a war of colonial reconquest and domination in Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique and Angola?

31. The law of the United Nations can only mean the law of respect for the human person, of respect for the right of peoples—all peoples—to self-determination, and of justice as the formation of peaceful social order. If relations among nations and people were to be governed by the iniquitous law of violence and force, the brutal law of force which violates all freedoms, then the prospect would be dismal for all, even for those who now uphold colonial oppression, *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

32. But already, on the threshold of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly, the international community has grave causes for concern: an alarming situation in the Middle East; seething tension elsewhere; an ever-growing accumulation of weapons of destruction with the almost inconceivable spectre of their destructive power; the intolerable pauperization of the countries of the third world which are now the proletarians of the international community.

33. In the Middle East, we cannot view the disquieting developments in the Arab-Israel crisis without deep misgivings. Violations by Israel of the cease-fire have increased; the refugee situation, which was already difficult, has deteriorated; the city of Jerusalem has been *de facto* annexed by Israel; Arab territories are still occupied by Israel troops; the mission of Ambassador Jarring, to whom we wish to pay tribute, is based essentially on faith in the mission of the United Nations.

34. The Government of Senegal has already defined its position on this complex and distressing situation. It is against all war or use of force as a means of settlement of disputes between nations, and wishes to reaffirm its opposition to all military occupation or annexation of the territory of one country by another. In its opinion, the solution to the Arab-Israel crises lies essentially in compliance with United Nations resolutions. These call for the withdrawal of Israel troops from the occupied territories, for respect for the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of the contending States, for a just settlement of the

refugee problem, for restoration of the international status of the city of Jerusalem, and for freedom of navigation in the international waterways of the region.

35. In my Government's view, the best guarantee of a stable and firm peace in the Middle East is to be sought in the guarantee—after the withdrawal of the Israeli troops—of the frontiers of the States of the region—Israel and the Arab States—by the United Nations in general, and by the four great Powers in particular. My Government considers that negotiations should be undertaken under United Nations auspices because—and it should not be forgotten—it was under United Nations auspices that Israel was created.

36. Having thus restated its position, my Government appeals with the utmost earnestness for peace in the Middle East, in that land from which have issued so many messages of peace and brotherhood. For the world has not yet forgotten the atrocities of the Hitler régime or the recent tribulations of the Jewish people. The black world remembers them still more clearly, because it shared with the Jews, not, of course, the Nazi concentration camps, but the same Nazi opprobrium and hatred.

37. Our solidarity with the Arab people is in consequence even stronger because the Arab-Israel problem is not an ethnic or religious problem; it is a political problem of peaceful coexistence. We are bound to the Arab people by many ties—geographical, historical and political. It is a fact that of 100 million Arabs all told, 80 million live in Africa. It is a second fact that they are members of the Organization of African Unity. It is a third fact that it is they who today are being put to the test. And it is for all these reasons—geographical, moral and political—that we stand today by the Arab people, and hope to achieve with them a just and lasting peace.

38. Peace in the Middle East and in the Far East, a peace long anxiously awaited. Peace in Viet-Nam, a country which has experienced one of the most grievous situations of the post-war era, Viet-Nam which has revealed a new face of South-East Asia—a face of undaunted courage. Tenacity, heroism and poignant sacrifice have transformed the Viet-Nam war, no matter how we look at it, into the martyrdom of an entire nation. That is why the whole world was relieved to learn of the opening of negotiations in Paris between Viet-Nam and the United States, with the hope that the dialogue thus initiated would lead to peace and put an end to the omnipresent spectacle of devastation and sacrifice.

39. The world awaits and hopes for a halt to the bombing of North Viet-Nam, as a decisive contribution to the cause of peace and to the success of negotiations.

40. Nevertheless, the events in stricken South-East Asia, in still partly unliberated Africa, and in the ravaged Middle East cannot mask in Europe the vestiges and aftermath of the Second—one would like to say the last—World War. Spheres of influence, opposing blocs, the resurgence now and then of the cold war—in this strange situation the third world States realize their tragic weakness with feelings of anguish.

41. The leaders of these young States feel that the only way to achieve harmony and understanding among peoples

is by respecting their right to self-determination, and to the full and free development of their own particular genius. My Government has always considered that the internal régimes of States, their political, cultural, social and economic choices, must be determined by the free play of their institutions, without any external interference. It is convinced that this must be so for the young States of Africa.

42. Could it be that it was otherwise in Western Europe, which has the singular privilege of being the birthplace of one of the most illustrious of cultures—the German culture—and the breeding-ground of the two most destructive wars ever known? Peace then for all, through the confrontation and exchange of ideas and experience, through free discussion, through consultation and a patient will to reach an understanding, and through social justice, in the service of the secure development of all States, or rather perhaps of the less-developed States. For are not armed conflicts, like conflicts of interest, struggles for influence, and are not ideological conflicts often based on economic factors?

43. Thus, while progress, trade and development have become a vital need for the third world States, they also represent a factor of peace and stability for the international community. For how can we hope for lasting stability so long as the general economic imbalance persists?

44. On the one hand, we have the industrial world, equipped with human resources, admittedly, its highly skilled and efficient personnel, its industries, its infrastructure, its capital, its substantial accumulation of goods and services.

45. On the other hand, we have countries with more limited resources—often agricultural—whose mineral industries, when they exist, are generally extractive and usually supply industries situated elsewhere, whose road, social, economic and industrial infrastructures are mostly still very incomplete, if they exist at all, and whose capital and investment resources are scarce because income and savings are scanty. That is the all-too-familiar picture of the third world and the coming States, particularly those which have just acceded to independence. Of course, there are islands of prosperity, but in reality it is only a relative prosperity in the general desolation.

46. The causes? Backwardness, partly due no doubt to physical factors, but partly also to historical and political factors which have left their mark on the economies of those countries. The long strands of a web of economic dependence and specialization integrated into the modern economic system, mostly under the colonial régime, and woven over the years to meet the needs of a system foreign to their natural conditions, and sometimes to their interests, have in many cases turned over young states into open markets for the industrial countries and producers almost exclusively of raw materials.

47. The results can be seen today from the statistics and studies prepared by the United Nations itself. Nearly half the world population, excluding mainland China, accounts for only one-eighth of the world production of goods and

services. A third of that population accounts for 80 per cent of the world's exports. The gross product *per capita* in the market-economy industrial countries is about eleven times higher than in the developing countries.

48. It is easy to understand why the developing countries had such high hopes of the United Nations Development Decade and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. It has already been sufficiently stressed that the results have not come up to our expectations. But it is very disturbing for the two thirds of the world's population who live in countries where *per capita* output is still below \$100. For stability and equilibrium are not affected so much by political tensions, the periodic emergence of danger spots and outbreaks of violence as by the difficult conditions of life in the developing countries.

49. What in fact is lacking is a positive feeling of solidarity between the third world States and the countries which, in the words of the United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Economic Affairs "bear the main responsibility for the world economic order" [*cf. A/C.2/L.1002*]—and I would add, for world peace. It would be easier to find a solution, compatible with our common destiny, to problems of investment, aid, technical assistance, structural equipment and trade preferences, if these problems were envisaged in the perspective of a common strategy. With those words I will conclude, a common strategy, to build, to achieve, to consolidate peace through the participation of the strong in the efforts of the weak, through mutual assistance, fraternal co-operation, through social justice, applied to the redress of a grossly distorted economic system.

50. That is the profound aspiration of the countries of the Third World, ever ready to welcome any measures which may improve their economic condition. And tomorrow, perhaps, as new ideas, methods and concepts of trade and development emerge, the resources now expended on the arms race may eventually be released for peaceful endeavours. That is the ardent desire of Senegal, as of all countries which cherish no ambitions of leadership. That is its desire because reason and wisdom dictate it. That is why Senegal has now acceded to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*General Assembly resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] because its only desire is for peace, because we cannot be and do not wish to become a threat to any nation in the world.

51. In conclusion I should like to say a few words about Nigeria. All the African States are deeply shocked at the tragedy of Nigeria. Because Nigeria with its human and material resources, its potential, its extent, has always been an object of pride and a source of hope for all of us. Nigeria, with its different races and languages, its peoples and beliefs, its social structures and even its political institutions, embraces within its frontiers all the factors which are to be found in our own States. The fratricidal struggle now tearing it apart must leave its mark not only on Nigeria, but on the future of Africa itself.

52. Our States have turned to the Organization of African Unity for a solution to this bitter conflict. That is the purpose of the mission entrusted by the CAU to the Heads of State of Cameroon, Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia and Nigeria. The immediate objective is to obtain an uncondi-

tional cease-fire so that negotiations can be undertaken, under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity, for the safety and protection of persons and property under conditions which will, we hope, safeguard the integrity of a Nigeria reconciled with itself.

53. Mr. CASTIELLA (Spain) (*translated from Spanish*): Mr. President, for the second time in a few years I have the honour and the satisfaction of addressing this Assembly under the Presidency of an eminent personality who speaks my own tongue and who comes from one of the countries of the community to which Spain is proud to belong. Therefore, after expressing our appreciation to Mr. Corneliu Manescu, Foreign Minister of Romania, for the wisdom he showed when presiding over the last session of the General Assembly, I wish to extend my warmest congratulations to our new President, whose absence due to illness I deeply regret. The election by the Assembly of the Foreign Minister of Guatemala, Mr. Emilio Arenales, fills me with deep satisfaction. His mature youthfulness, moulded in the great Guatemalan university of San Carlos—with its three centuries of tradition—and his political and diplomatic experience are the guarantee of the success I know he will have in this difficult task.

54. As a Spaniard, I cannot continue without first addressing a few words to our President, Foreign Minister Arenales, straight from the heart. Because Spain carries in its memory all the names of Spanish America, I cannot forget the name of his own country, Guatemala. For us, his is not only a marvellous land of lakes and volcanoes, the mysterious "ancient Empire" of the Mayas, astronomers, architects and poets; the fantastic landscape that Diego Garcia del Palacio described with wonder in his letter to Philip II; the deep jungle that Pedro de Alvarado or Bartolome de las Cases crossed; or the rather phantasmagorical ruins of La Antigua, the capital of the old Spanish *Audiencia* that one day peacefully separated, without hatred or violence, from its mother country.

55. Guatemala is also the four-and-a-half million Guatemalans of today, with their problems and their hopes, their sorrows and their joys. Guatemala, on the isthmus between the two continents, fulfils, together with its sister Central American countries, that mission of unification to which it was destined by virtue of its geography and its history. A living being, not merely a nostalgic memory of the past, Guatemala represents that Spanish America which today struggles for the development of its peoples, for justice in its societies and for the place to which it is fully entitled in the concept of nations.

56. To speak of Latin America is, in a way, to speak of the most crucial problems of the world today, for there they all appear in acute form. The recent, deeply stirring visit of Pope Paul VI to Colombia has brought this great question to the attention of the entire world, with dramatic force and spiritual feeling. Latin America is still virtually unknown to those who, although they should be most aware of its problems, seem to ignore the fact that in their solution lies the key to many of the important events we are destined to witness. Hand-in-hand with the Latin American question, therefore, I shall now enter upon a discussion of the most burning questions of our day. I could not possibly cover them all here, but I would like to

say that, in my opinion, beneath the great crises of the world today, about which I do not wish to sound gloomy but rather hopeful and positive, lie the four great problems of our time, namely, development, decolonization, disarmament and human rights. I shall refer to them, although only to the extent that they affect our direct interests or are of obvious concern to us all.

57. To begin with, I shall refer to the burning question of development in Latin America. Although it does not treat lightly the problem of development throughout the world generally—as has been proved by its economic and technical co-operation with the Afro-Asian countries and its position at the second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in New Delhi—Spain does wish to draw your attention to the pressing development needs of Latin America, whose problems and hopes are of great concern to all of us.

58. Something has been done, it is true, to remedy those problems. I have not forgotten that worthy effort called the Alliance for Progress. But we all know—eighteen Presidents of Latin American Republics said so in Punta del Este in 1967<sup>1</sup> and several Foreign Ministers of those countries have repeated it from this very platform—that the effort has fallen a long way short of its target.

59. In the difficult and arduous process of Latin American development, we can distinguish three headings under which the generosity and foresight that would have provided three levers rather than three obstacles to progress have been lacking, namely, foreign financing, international trade and technological assistance. In the first case, no solution has been found to the distressing problem of the growing discrepancy between foreign capital contributions and interest and amortization payments, which have led the intended beneficiaries deeper and deeper in debt. In the second case, the result has been excessive profits for the rich and serious losses for the poor. And as for technical assistance, it has been inadequate and has not taken into account the Latin American capacity to assimilate new technology.

60. Within its modest means, Spain has tried to see that these vital aspects of development operate positively rather than negatively. As regards financing, in 1967 alone some \$100 million were loaned to Latin America. This figure includes subscriptions to International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and Inter-American Development bonds.

61. In the field of international trade, we have endeavoured to make sure that our relations with Latin America do not, as happens in other cases, turn out to be a subtle form of exploitation. Since 1960 Spanish imports from Latin America have multiplied five and a half times, and in 1967 they accounted for 25 per cent of the trade between the countries belonging to the Latin American Free Trade Association. The features of this influx of Latin American exports to the Spanish market have been Latin America's increasingly favourable balance and the market contrast between Spain's cash payments for imports and the credit facilities Spain grants for exports.

<sup>1</sup> Meeting of American Heads of State held in Punta del Este, Uruguay, from 12 to 14 April 1967.

62. Spain's attitude to this problem, which it hopes will help to increase the value of Latin American products through profitable trade, must also be judged in the light of the alarming drop in the over-all export figures for Latin America as a percentage of world trade: from 10.6 per cent in 1960 to 6 per cent in 1966 and even less in 1967.

63. In the field of technological assistance, we have worked intensely along two main lines: receiving students in our centres of higher education and sending technical missions to Latin America, either to teach or to carry out specific projects. Today there are some 12,000 Latin American students in Spain, more than in all the rest of Europe. These students are assisted in one way or another by the Spanish Government, and anyone who is aware of the budgetary cost of providing and maintaining a single higher education post will appreciate the size of the economic burden that represents. The organization of specialized training courses and the growing number of Spanish technicians in Latin America complete this picture of the Spanish contribution to the training of administrators and the development of the enormous economic potential of the Latin American continent.

64. I realize, however, that Spain's effort, which I have mentioned more as an illustration of its attitude than as a decisive factor, is really quite modest. Spain feels that all outside contributions to Latin America should be co-ordinated in a collective effort—with the participation of the interested parties as well as of the contributing countries and organizations—in order to allow for a frank exchange of views, on an equal footing, regarding the possible effect of each action on the common objective of Latin American development.

65. As a matter of fact, the Foreign Minister of Colombia, Mr. Alfonso Lopez Michelsen, recently told us from this very platform [*1692nd meeting*], in a speech of great wisdom and clarity, that only multilateral action, perhaps through some foreign aid fund administered by the United Nations, can redress the evils caused by so-called unilateral assistance. This assistance is being transformed, through the selfish inertia of the great Powers, into a means for putting pressure on other countries, promoting the lenders' exports, gaining political and economic advantages in areas where they wish to exercise influence, and creating economic dependencies that destroy the true freedom of the country receiving aid to use the aid as it thinks best. And all this, as Mr. Lopez Michelsen says, just as in the case of peace, without the United Nations doing much more than act as a notary public and place on record what others have decided.

66. In view of the situation I have just described, let us not forget that the chronic under-development of vast regions between the Rio Grande and Tierra del Fuego is not only an intolerable injustice but also a danger to the world in general. If development is—as it has been said—the new name for peace, then it is precisely in this area that peace is in danger. Let us not forget this.

67. But I have already said that I did not take a gloomy view of the crises of our times. I wish to proclaim here that Spain has high hopes for Latin America. Its immense vitality, its cultural tradition, its vast natural resources, its

human values and, above all, what we might call its Bolivarian ideal of unity—a residue perhaps of the community ideal left by Spain which is slowly but surely winning the minds of all Latin Americans—are the guarantee of the bright future that we can already glimpse.

68. Mr. President, the disturbing subject of development, which so closely affects many countries of the world and which I, for obvious reasons, have touched on in connexion with Latin America, leads me to another subject, that of decolonization, which more than any other will give my words a certain symbolic value which I am sure you will perceive. I do not wish to be in any way rhetorical about this. But we have just celebrated—on 12 October—the 476th anniversary of the discovery of America by Spain, a simple but immense event to which is due the existence of twenty Spanish-speaking countries represented in this Assembly. And on that same recent date we witnessed the birth—that is to say, another discovery—of a new country that speaks our own language and comes to enrich our community.

69. Exactly five years ago, in addressing the eighteenth session of the General Assembly [*1213th meeting*] from this same platform, I announced that Spain, believing in the principle of the self-determination of peoples, was going to act on this principle, giving it direction and reality. Spain has kept its word. And so we have recently witnessed the accession to independence of Equatorial Guinea. I believe, Mr. President, that you will understand me full well if I say, simply but proudly, that Spain has once again lived up to its tradition as a founder of nations.

70. It has been said that the independence of Guinea may set a precedent as a model of co-operation between the United Nations and each of its Members. This was stressed in the many speeches in the Fourth Committee and at the plenary meetings of the General Assembly, where Equatorial Guinea and Spain were congratulated on the event. To all those friends who have spoken of their “homage” to Spain, I wish to express my deepest gratitude. Their words are the best witness to Spain’s fidelity to the principles of the Charter. Indeed, loyally following the guidelines of the Organization and complying exactly with the Assembly resolutions, we embarked on the talks on decolonization to which we were called, we provided the information requested of us, we invited and received several United Nations missions that travelled through Guinea with complete freedom and the fullest access to information. We held a constitutional conference, a referendum on the text is produced, general elections and, finally—just a few days ago—we transferred all the powers of the Spanish State to the newly born sovereign entity. And all without any violence, without the shedding of a single drop of blood, without hatred or bitterness, in a climate of friendship and complete freedom. Guinea gained its independence, “as a single entity in conditions of peace and harmony”, as the Organization desired and Spain wished, as our Secretary-General, U Thant, points in the interesting and valuable introduction to his Annual Report [*A/7201/Add.1, para. 155*].

71. But I cannot conclude my remarks on the subject of decolonization without mentioning another matter that affects us. I refer to the Spanish Territory of Ifni which, as

you well know, is not a real country but simply an enclave within Morocco, of which geographically it forms part.

72. Our present rights over Ifni, which derive from centuries of Spanish presence in the area, were confirmed by Morocco in the Treaty of 1860,<sup>2</sup> before Morocco had come under any protectorate, and again after it had recovered its independence in 1956. We therefore have no doubt as to the legitimacy and validity of our title to that territory. But we also realize that the world has changed and that the reasons that at one time induced Morocco to cede the territory to us are now out of date. Spain is fully aware of this fact. And although its rights over the territory are complete and perpetual, it has no intention of clinging to them and disregarding—as some others do—the evident evolution of the international community. As a consequence—and following the guidelines of the United Nations resolutions—the diplomatic negotiations with Morocco, which were referred to here by the Moroccan Foreign Minister, Mr. Laraki [*1683rd meeting, paragraph 133*] have reached an advanced stage, and trust will soon lead to a satisfactory conclusion.

73. I have just explained to you how Spain is complying with its obligations with respect to that great problem of our time, decolonization. But at the same time I am obliged to tell you that my country is the only one in the world which, while itself decolonizing, still has to endure the colonization of a part of its own national territory.

74. I refer, as you will imagine, to Gibraltar, a piece of Spanish soil that Great Britain occupied by force and transformed into a military base, where it subsequently established a colony—the only one in Europe—that has destroyed the territorial integrity and national unity of my country.

75. On the problem of Gibraltar, there are also obligations still unfulfilled and guidelines laid down by the United Nations. For five years, the United Nations has been working on the problem of Gibraltar, five years of studies and deliberations in the course of which every aspect of the problem has been ventilated and every interested party has been heard. Slowly, deliberately and progressively, the United Nations has been working out a formula to solve the problem. The way has been marked by a series of resolutions culminating in the final one: General Assembly resolution 2353 (XXII) adopted on 19 December 1967. This resolution is not, therefore, an improvisation; it is not a formula devised or thought up on the spur of the moment in an emergency, under the pressure of acts of war or similar crisis. It is a mature product; it is a piece of doctrine carefully constructed by the United Nations and not just approved—although that in itself would place it beyond dispute—but approved overwhelmingly by the great majority of the Members of the Organization, in successive votes in the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Fourth Committee and plenary meetings of the General Assembly. I do not understand, therefore, how anyone can say that the resolution is impracticable, a danger to the

<sup>2</sup> Treaty of Peace and Friendship, signed in Tetuan on 26 April 1860.

Organization or contrary to the principles of the Charter. I would like to know by what objective procedure—other than a majority vote—we can adopt resolutions in this Assembly. It seems to me that, in any case, we cannot be guided merely by the opinion of one of the parties directly concerned.

76. Let us now see what this resolution recommends. That the territory of Gibraltar should be returned to Spain, thus restoring the territorial integrity and the national unity of my country.

77. Let us remember that respect for the territorial integrity and the national unity of Member States is one of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter and is repeated in paragraph 6 of resolution 1514 (XV), which is the Magna Charta of decolonization. How could the General Assembly have recommended a formula for putting an end to the colonial situation in Gibraltar that ignored this principle and would have perpetuated the division of Spanish territory? In his speech on the 14th of this month, my colleague the British Secretary of State, Mr. Stewart, forgot this principle, and instead only told us that when we are dealing with colonial or former colonial questions, the interests of the inhabitants should be paramount [2693rd meeting, paragraph 106]. But resolution 2353 (XXII), in addition to the principle of territorial integrity, did not overlook the present population of Gibraltar, but states that their interests should be safeguarded upon the termination of the colonial situation. And may I point out that in so doing the General Assembly took note of and endorsed a Spanish offer, which is still open and to which I would now like to refer, because it proves that Spain has not forgotten the present population of Gibraltar either.

78. But first I must remind you that, after the occupation of the fortress of Gibraltar by the English in 1704—when our two countries were not at war—and the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht,<sup>3</sup> the Spanish population was expelled. The vacuum thus produced was gradually filled by a heterogeneous population imported to supply the needs of the British military garrison. England never allowed my countrymen to return to Gibraltar to settle there. It used them as labourers, but obliged and still obliges them to return every night to their homes in the neighbouring villages outside the fortress. They have continued to live in this way, despite this exploitation, because when all is said and done that is their land, they had had their work there for generations before the British occupation, and by staying there and putting up with colonialist discrimination, they are doing no more than affirming the complete Spanishness of the entire territory up to the last square inch. It is they then who are the real victims of colonization, they and the 32 million Spaniards in whose territory the British colony has been planted.

79. When a territory is decolonized, it is the occupied population that have to be considered, but not the occupiers, and the present inhabitants of Gibraltar are mere British civilians serving a base which is also British, and therefore simply occupiers. Despite this, and despite the fact that British policy tries to portray the interests of the

present population of Gibraltar as conflicting with those of Spain, as soon as this problem was taken up by the United Nations, my country publicly announced that it had no wish either to see the inhabitants of the Rock suffer in the decolonization process or to disregard their legitimate rights.

80. On 18 May 1966 I explained this to my British colleague, Mr. Stewart, and I trust he remembers it, although the day before yesterday he seemed to have forgotten it. I offered to negotiate and sign an agreement in which the interests of the Gibraltarians would be recognized and safeguarded, not by any colonial "status" backed by British troops as heretofore, but by Spain, by the United Kingdom itself and by the United Nations, where the agreement would be registered.

81. Spain's offer was rejected. Instead—in a delaying manoeuvre, a diversionary action—the United Kingdom proposed that the question be submitted to the International Court of Justice. But as it is purely colonial, and therefore essentially a political question, it is only right that it should be dealt with by this Organization and not by the Court, which deals with legal questions. It is as though Spain, instead of opening talks with Morocco on Ifni, had tried to submit to the International Court of Justice the question of the validity of its title, instead of agreeing to settle the question on political lines.

82. Later on, the United Kingdom rejected [resolution 2353 (XXII)] and broke off negotiations with my country finally. What reasons has the London Government adduced to justify this? Essentially that the interests of the population of Gibraltar must come before any other consideration, including the unity of Spain.

83. This is an argument that Spain cannot accept, because it could lead to the future of Gibraltar being decided by the present inhabitants, which would be completely unjust, since the present population is made up of British civilians serving a military base that is also British. As the eminent Spanish liberal writer, Salvador Madariaga, who lives in England and is well known and respected by the British, has so rightly said:

“... the base cannot possibly be justified by the interests of a few Gibraltarians, for whom the base is their own sole justification”.

Spain, however, is and always has been willing, once the principle of territorial integrity is accepted, to ensure that the legitimate interests of the inhabitants of the Rock are safeguarded, thereby adhering strictly to United Nations doctrine.

84. The United Kingdom insists that in every political situation human interests are paramount. Spain is not attempting to ignore that fact and I must add that, if this were really the British Government's first concern, both countries would long since have been negotiating over the personal status that my Government offered the Gibraltarians, for their interests cannot be protected or guaranteed by the British alone, without the benevolent co-operation of Spain, since Gibraltar—less than five square kilometres of steep rock—has no geographical, political or economic base to make it self-supporting. And let me once

<sup>3</sup> Treaty between England and Spain signed on 13 July 1713.

more make it absolutely clear that Spain has not the slightest desire to absorb these people or deprive them of their British nationality.

85. The truth is that the United Kingdom, in confronting the Gibraltarians with Spain, is placing its military concerns and its old dreams of imperial power before the specific interests of the present civilian inhabitants of the fortress of Gibraltar.

86. For what can the Gibraltarians logically aspire to? Respect for their municipal organization, their legal institutions, their nationality, their freedoms, their jobs and their economic resources, their educational system; in other words, for their way and style of life. Very well, then, Spain, in return for the restoration of its territorial integrity, in conformity with the United Nations resolution, is prepared to respect all that and, furthermore, to guarantee for its part that the present situation evolves normally towards a promising future. This we have affirmed on countless occasions, but the British do not seem to have paid any attention.

87. What does England want instead? The truth is—and everyone knows this very well—that what it wants is to maintain a military presence in the Mediterranean, even though its coasts are not washed by the Mediterranean, on the pretext of a supposed threat from the East. As a consequence, England demands the active cooperation of its allies, at the cost of keeping our territory divided and our national unity and territorial sovereignty mediatized.

88. But what is more, Great Britain's military presence is not merely a vestige of imperialism, it is the only case of aggressive colonialism in the world today, for, incredible though it may seem, in these times, Great Britain is trying to extend its dominion by land, sea and air, in disregard of Spanish sovereignty. This I feel is a situation that cannot be allowed to continue.

89. I repeat, at its last session the General Assembly pointed out a reasonable way to a Spanish-English understanding on this question. Not only did England not follow that way, it took a radically different course, so much so that only ten days after the condemnation by the Special Committee of Twenty-Four—on 1 September 1967—of a British plan to hold a referendum in Gibraltar, it held the referendum on terms which, instead of inviting the Gibraltarians to decide their individual and collective destiny, actually invited them to decide the future of a territory that does not belong to them. And to emphasize further its refusal to talk with Spain, it now proposes to promulgate a constitution for Gibraltar, which, by disguising the territory in a false cloak of autonomy, would keep it firmly attached to Great Britain.

90. I feel that England's obstinacy in refusing to start talks with Spain, as requested by the United Nations, augurs ill for the United Nations. We reprove England's attitude not only because it is gravely prejudicial to our interests, but also because—by clinging to its position as a colonial power—it undermines the very foundations of this Organization, in which we sincerely believe, as we believe that in its prestige and efficacy lies the best, perhaps the only, hope for peace in the world. Indeed a few days ago, in a clarity

of phrase that should give us pause, the Chilean Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Gabriel Valdes, defined the United Nations as "our last hope" [1685th meeting, paragraph 56].

91. But I will not confine my examples to cases that most directly concern Spain. Every violation of the principle of decolonization is also a violation of the basic principles of the United Nations. And not only because we Spaniards regard every example of colonialism imposed on the Hispanic nations as an encroachment on our own territory, but also because objectively they are flagrant cases of disrespect for those principles, Spain wishes to declare its support for Argentina's claim to the Falkland Islands, Guatemala's claim to Belize, and Venezuela's claim to Essequiban Guyana. All these sister countries of Spain have, because of their love of peace, renounced the use of force in the pursuit of their just claims. The United Nations, when required to do so, should pay a tribute to such behaviour. In this connexion, it is a pleasure to note that we have also had some good examples recently from an occupying Power. I would remind you of the just manner in which the United States settled Mexico's claim to the territory of Chamizal and of its positive attitude in its negotiations with Honduras over that country's legitimate claim to the Swan Islands.

92. Our faith in the future of the United Nations does not absolve us from the duty of admitting in all sincerity that it has reached a serious crisis that threatens to paralyze it. In a few brief words, I should like to give you an outline analysis of this situation.

93. I believe that not a few Member States agree with me in the view that the present crisis of the United Nations is due, in the main, to three factors.

94. First, to the fact that the great problems of international peace, whose solution was the primary aim of the United Nations at its birth, are in practice dealt with outside the United Nations, behind the scenes of the world stage, where the great Powers that decide these issues prefer to act.

95. Secondly, we note the extremely limited part played by the small medium States in the decisions of the great Powers.

96. And finally, we must in all honesty recognize the practical inability of the United Nations to ensure compliance with its resolutions.

97. Spain does not wish to be unrealistic in its survey of the world scene. We are aware that the international community has a *de facto* structure in which the great Powers have acquired such strength that inevitably the responsibility for many decisions of universal scope also lies with them. We have to face this reality. But we must also—because otherwise we should fall under the tyranny of the powerful or return to the law of the jungle—we must also keep alive and operative the ideal that all countries should play an ever increasing part in the great decisions. We must strive continually to narrow the gap between reality and this ideal. We must never forsake this endeavour. It must be our daily inspiration and aim if we wish the

United Nations truly to fulfil its mission. Precisely in order to narrow that gap, the United Nations must set itself the immediate task of preserving its most precious quality, namely, the quality that enables countries which are not powerful to take part in important decisions. What I mean is that its resolutions should be implemented strictly and faithfully and that no one should be able to flout them, particularly by reason of its predominant power, since that would cut away the Organization's very foundations. It is neither logical nor honest to demand obedience from the less powerful countries, which can, in the last resort, be punished, coerced and even obliged to fulfil their obligations, when the great Powers, because of their strength, can avoid complying with the obligations imposed on them.

98. While our spirit of realism prompts us to hope that the great Powers will reach an understanding among themselves, our spirit of justice and our instinct for self-preservation impel us to request them never to do so at the expense of others. Strict observance of United Nations resolutions is, in our view, the best guarantee against the crisis which threatens.

99. I have said that another of the issues of the moment is disarmament. The arms race is bringing such tension into the world and so much scepticism about the possibilities of a peaceful settlement that in the end such a settlement may prove to be unobtainable.

100. While some progress has been made in the attempts at world-wide disarmament, especially in the prohibition of nuclear tests—and Spain played its part in this both here and in Geneva—the fact remains that nothing has been done to impose any effective restraint on the increase in conventional armaments, and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons contains an essentially negative element for countries like my own, in that it fails to provide proper safeguards in the event of war and impedes development in the field of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes.

101. Last of all, in the background of this panorama of today's problems, we find as man himself always finds in life, human rights, the ultimate essence and *raison d'être* of the United Nations. In this respect, my country, which has solemnly commemorated International Human Rights Year proclaimed by General Assembly resolution 1961 (XVIII), will continue, as it has always done, to lend its unswerving support, to any agreement designed to eliminate any form of religious or racial intolerance, and to defend the other fundamental freedoms contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, whose twentieth anniversary we are now celebrating.

102. I cannot mention the subject of man without thinking of those millions of human beings who are now suffering from the scourge of war or armed occupation. Let us not forget this terrible reality even for a moment. Let us not rest until we have removed it. Let us not forget those who are responsible for it, the aggressors, those who have disrupted the peace.

103. But among all the examples of this sorry condition of our present-day world, I should like to refer specifically to one question, which, regretfully, has been on our agenda

for many years, as a witness to the impotence that threatens the United Nations, namely, the question of the Palestine refugees, the bitter fruit of the endless conflict in the Middle East. Still fresh in the memory of all of us is the attack unleashed by a Member State of this Organization on other Member States, large parts of whose territory it subsequently retained. It is natural that a Spaniard, a friend of the Arab peoples for profound and unforgettable reasons of geography and common history, should be especially moved by situations such as this and should feel, with heartfelt solidarity, all the sufferings and deprivations of those friendly countries. Spain, aware of certain realities of the situation which has come about in the Near East and anxious that no people should be denied its right to live, fervently desires that an end be put to a situation maintained by force of arms alone, that peace be restored, that justice be rendered to certain countries, and in short, that this crisis of immobility and impotence which is inflicting grave hardship upon great masses of people subjected to the hazards of war, expatriation and uncertainty, and which is threatening our Organization, be overcome.

104. These are, in essence, our thoughts on the situation confronting the United Nations and on a number of other problems which are either of importance to the international community or affect us directly and immediately as Spaniards. I have attempted merely to outline our policies on those questions and at the same time to express Spain's most valuable contribution to the world, its fervent desire for peace and solidarity between all men.

105. I believe that my country has given ample proof that it does not pay mere lip-service to this ideal. For a long time now Spain has renounced all violence, although it has had to defend itself energetically against violence which has been used and is still being used against it, such as the permanent violence entailed in maintaining on our soil the only colony in Europe. Being concerned to safeguard our national security, we have not participated in the political game of opposing blocs and threats of war, either hot or cold. We believe in the possibilities of peaceful co-existence between countries with different political and social systems and we support a *détente* between the great nuclear Powers, although, on the other hand, we energetically reject any interference in our domestic policies. We have always proclaimed our European vocation, which we have made the keystone of our policy, although at the same time we cannot help experiencing a feeling of fraternal unity with the Latin American countries and the Philippines, and with our good Arab friends and the peoples of Africa, our neighbouring continent to which we are linked by geography and in which, to our great satisfaction, the new State of Equatorial Guinea has just been born. Finally, we have loyally followed the guidelines laid down by this Organization, as I have just shown.

106. For these reasons, both here in the United Nations and in bilateral relations, all who choose as their guiding principle justice among peoples, freedom for men of any race, country or religion, economic co-operation and the coexistence of all nations on a basis of equality, that is to say, all who are sincerely working for peace, will find Spain at their side.

107. Mr. COSTA MENDEZ (Argentina) (*translated from Spanish*): May I first of all offer a word of greeting to Mr. Emilio Arenales Catalan, whose absence we deeply regret and to whom we sincerely wish a speedy recovery.

108. An eminent Latin American is now President, the highest post in this General Assembly. We all know his intellectual and personal qualifications and so are sure that we shall all receive fair and proper treatment from the Chair.

109. I am also happy to express the appreciation of my country for the work done by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Romania, Mr. Corneliu Manescu, the President of the twenty-second session of the Assembly, whom we shall very soon have the pleasure of welcoming in Argentina.

110. I should also like to express, on behalf of my Government and my country, our gratification at the admission of the Kingdom of Swaziland to membership of the United Nations and to extend to that country friendly greetings and our best wishes for its independent life.

111. This session is opening in an atmosphere of tension and despondency. The number of problems afflicting the international community is growing continually. Critical situations become chronic and others, just as grave or even more so, follow hard on them. The despondency arises from a marked tendency for countries to forget the principles of the Charter or to proclaim a formal adherence to them with which their subsequent political behaviour is inconsistent.

112. Many of those who have spoken before me have expressed similar concern over the international situation. Now to some extent, that is an encouraging sign. Realization of the problems is the first step in the search for a solution and a clear sign of the concern of Member States to revitalize an organization which, in the difficult post-war years, has rendered invaluable service in preserving the world from fresh general conflict. But today that is not enough and it is becoming increasingly necessary to reflect on the principles that should guide international action.

113. A lot of people have told us recently that the world is now moving towards a reduction in tension, a *détente* that will safeguard international peace and security permanently. The truth is that, at least until now, all these retrograde attitudes which I have mentioned certainly offer no real basis for true coexistence among nations.

114. For a reduction in tension to be effective, to lead to positive steps towards peace, it must not mean just limited understandings between the great Powers in their own interests. It means, or should mean, the adoption of a standard of international conduct applicable in the general framework of international relations. It is certainly not easy to establish such an attitude, but it is not impossible. First of all, it means respecting the principles and machinery of the United Nations Charter that have so often been forgotten in recent times.

115. But it is not enough merely to recall them, just as the good intention to comply with them is not enough. Good intentions, to have any real moral relevance and practical

effect, must be accompanied by a genuine determination to put them into effect.

116. The peace which we need is not a respite between great Power conflicts, a natural consequence of the nuclear equilibrium. Nor is it the mere absence of a conflagration, the sole outcome of which would be the total destruction of the human race. We cannot accept a negative conception of peace, which is all the more deceptive at this time when the only step which appears to be excluded is the possibility of collective suicide.

117. We cannot speak of peace while the principles of our Charter remain a dead letter or old incantations which many take leave to doubt, since peace is incompatible with ignorance, with economic misery, with the blatant imbalance between Member States, with the exclusion of the smaller countries from political responsibility, with the cynical concept of a theoretical equality that is seldom practised, with the monopoly of the benefits of modern science and technology. *Détente* is, without any doubt, a pressing need for the international community. The fundamental point is that it should not be obtained at the expense of the independence of the countries which are not in the forefront of the process.

118. The nations which form the international community wish to live by their own decisions. This statement is as simple as it is human, as clear as it is easy to prove in practice. Although it may seem superfluous to mention it, it is the very basis of all political action in the international system.

119. Every people wishes to realize its own values, to fulfil its own destiny, to carry through the enterprises it plans, and whatever criticisms may be levelled against this attitude, or however out-of-date it may be declared, it is an undeniable truth that it is a part of the very nature of man.

120. But, the international community obviously cannot be based solely on the desire to safeguard the individual characteristics of Member States. This natural tendency must be harmonized with an active and creative solidarity welded together by the fundamental principle of mutual respect among nations.

121. To a large extent, the United Nations should be the body for channelling efforts to achieve the lasting and close international co-operation which this spirit of solidarity demands. The Organization's ability to put these principles into practice basically depends on the support it receives from Member States, particularly those which, by virtue of their power, have a greater responsibility. But we specifically wish to point out that all Members should play a dynamic role. It would distort the real meaning of the Organization and conflict with the purposes proclaimed in the Charter if the role of some states were limited to that of mere onlookers and only the strategic schemes of the great powers were to prevail.

122. Only if we accept these fundamental principles—national diversity and international solidarity—will we be able to tackle the thorny problems of the world of today.

123. International life poses two kinds of problems.

124. The first reflects situations which generate serious international tensions as a consequence of the disregard of the basic principles of coexistence or of a refusal to recognize the great renovating currents flowing through the international community.

125. The second comprises a variety of problems which can only be solved by a genuine joint effort to lay lasting foundations for co-operation between States. And an effort will undoubtedly provide the constituent elements of a new international system.

126. Both kinds are closely linked. It will be impossible to build the world of tomorrow if we do not solve the problems of today. On the other hand we cannot be satisfied with finding answers to current problems because that would mean abandoning any vision of the future—and our hope of improving the international community.

127. Among problems of the first kind—those which bring tension to the international world—we must mention the situation that has been created in Czechoslovakia. No state may claim the two-fold advantage of security of the juridical order and the indiscriminate use of force for the exclusive benefit of its national interests.

128. In endeavouring to impose its own systems on the development of other national entities, the Soviet Union has attempted to reverse the lessons of history, an attempt which is doomed to failure.

129. In the light of these recent events, we must once again vigorously proclaim the principle of the sovereign equality of all States. This principle continues to be the best guarantee of full and active participation of our peoples in the present-day world. Another principle equal in importance and dear to the hearts of Latin-Americans, provides its natural complement, is the principle of non-intervention. The Soviet Union, which supported General Assembly resolution 2131 (XX), has flagrantly violated the rules therein laid down.

130. The curious dogma of the infallibility of the Soviet concept of socialism—based on strategic ideas rather than political theory—seems to underlie a new theology and we have no doubt that, if Marx came back to life he would find it hard to adjust to this latest orthodoxy. The liberalization of socialism and the need to adapt it to the peculiar characteristics of each country are a necessary consequence of national aspirations which will not be suppressed. The tanks which invaded Czechoslovakia have merely delayed a process which cannot be halted, and have done so through the application of policies based on obsolete ideas about spheres of influence.

131. There is no necessity to dwell on the analysis of a situation which violates the principles of the Charter and impairs the authority and prestige of the Organization. I must, however, underline once again the need to give lasting effect to the principles of non-intervention, independence and national sovereignty. If a group of States, parties to a multilateral arrangement, assented to the future abandonment of their own jurisdiction to the most powerful State, they would have totally alienated their national potential, and international life would unquestionably thereby lose strength, richness and, above all, security.

132. The situation created in central Europe has brought into relief a problem which is of particular importance for the peace and stability of the area. This is the problem of the dismemberment of one of its countries. The Federal Republic of Germany has spared no efforts to facilitate national reunification. Unfortunately it has not been successful. Common values unite a people which today is artificially divided. What is more, ideological barriers have been erected to restrain this natural process and the legitimate desire for reunification of a people that has been systematically denied the right to self-determination has been quite wrongly described as “revanchism”.

133. On earlier occasions, from this platform I have set out Argentina's position with regard to the tragic conflict in Viet-Nam. I should now like to express my Government's satisfaction at the opening of diplomatic contacts in Paris. Even though the results up to now have not been encouraging, we nevertheless hope that in the future appropriate solutions will be found or that at least conditions conducive to early solutions will be created. The solutions will only be lasting if they ensure that the Viet-Nameese people obtain the right to self-determination in a climate of freedom, and of the proclamation and defence of human values.

134. The problem of the Middle East continues to be of concern to the Argentine delegation. Today, as last year, we appeal to those directly involved to make an honest effort to achieve stable coexistence in the area. This means faithful compliance with all the provisions of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and all possible support for Ambassador Jarring, Special Representative of the Secretary-General, by the international community. The gravity of the conflict and its repercussions on world peace must make the parties concerned realize that they too have a duty to demonstrate their solidarity and willingness to co-operate with the rest of the international community.

135. One of the most significant movements in the present-day world is the process of decolonization. Argentina has pledged its fullest support to the guiding principles of that process and will continue to do so in the future. We should also like to express our gratitude to the United Nations and in particular, to the Committee of Twenty-Four for the work they have done in that field.

136. Nevertheless, we must express our concern at the continued existence of certain colonial situations which show no signs of evolving favourably, situations such as those in Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea and that of the régime which illegally holds power in Southern Rhodesia. The maintenance in Namibia of an administration outlawed by General Assembly resolutions and illegal occupation of the Territory is unacceptable to my Government, especially when under that administration attempts are made to introduce a system of local governments which openly violates the principle of territorial integrity set forth in paragraph 6 of General Assembly resolution 1514 (IV).

137. The same principle of territorial integrity, among others, justifies Spain's legitimate claim for the immediate restoration of Gibraltar to Spanish hands. Argentina fully supports this claim.

138. There is one item on the agenda that is linked to these matters and which affects us immediately and directly, and that is the question of the Malvinas Islands. The titles on which Argentine sovereignty over these Islands is founded are well known and do not need repeating here. The position of the Argentine people and Government is therefore clear and irrevocable: we claim the restoration to the Republic of a part of our national heritage which was wrested from us by force.

139. And while on this matter I feel bound to recall the resolution which proclaimed the international community's interest in the elimination of colonial situations and affirmed respect for national unity and territorial integrity as one of the basic principles of the decolonization process.

140. This principle is the justification for my Government's bringing the problem of the recovery of the Malvinas before the United Nations. The international community is aware that amputated territories can never be relinquished by the country injured. That is why my Government voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 2353 (XXII) which states that:

“any colonial situation which partially or completely destroys the national unity and territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter”.

141. Argentina therefore demands that its undeniable sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands be recognized. Nevertheless it has agreed to negotiate such recognition with the United Kingdom in accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2065 (XX) and in so doing it has remained faithful to the tradition of seeking peaceful solutions to international disputes.

142. Again faithful to the provisions of that resolution, my Government has affirmed that the interests of the population of the Islands are its greatest concern. It would not be consistent with fundamental laws and its international tradition if Argentina did not affirm its irreversible decision to treat them with absolute equity and justice.

143. All the aspects we have mentioned here are receiving our careful consideration. We must also make it perfectly clear that in the course of those negotiations we shall not accept any solution which departs from the basic principles set forth by the United Nations concerning either the protection of the interests of the inhabitants or the restoration of national territory.

144. The second kind of problem facing the international community—problem whose solution will constitute the starting point for the establishment of a new system of inter-State relations in accordance with the needs of the age in which we live—represents a challenge to our will to mould a more worthy future for mankind and to our ability to maintain a strict observance of the principles on which coexistence must of necessity be based. It is essential that we should recognize this because on it depend our chances of success.

145. The great attempts of the past to organize a stable international system failed not through any lack of means but through lack of a true spirit of solidarity. It is this

co-operation which is needed today to ensure both general peace and peace within nations.

146. As I have said, the peace we aspire to is not mere peaceful coexistence based exclusively on what has been called the “balance of terror”, which is the result of the deadlock produced by the confrontation of great strategic nuclear forces. If we accepted this system as the only basis for coexistence between nations, it is obvious that all power relationships other than nuclear would continue. The precarious strategic balance would lead to a dangerous conformity and a false sense of security which, through some error of calculation, could plunge us into a conflict of catastrophic dimensions.

147. In order to prevent these attitudes from gaining ground, it is essential to make progress with measures of general and complete disarmament under strict international control. In this direction we are bound to note that the results up to now are far from satisfactory. We hope that the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament may take some positive decisions which will go beyond mere declarations.

148. The Argentine delegation's position on the question of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons has been both clear and consistent. We are opposed to the proliferation of nuclear weapons. We believe, however, that the principle is not yet sufficiently safeguarded by legal instruments. Recent experience has shown us conclusively that the smaller countries need a system of guarantees properly adapted to their requirements and—I emphasize this particularly—need also and especially an assurance that they can count on a wide measure of freedom for their technological progress. If this were not forthcoming, we should be helping to crystallize the *status quo* and to establish indefinitely a system of political and technological dependence with gloomy and unacceptable consequences.

149. It was concern with these questions that dominated the recent conference of non-nuclear States. The importance of the matters dealt with and their implications for the future structure of the international system make it essential to keep the subject open to allow of more detailed analysis of it.

150. The international community is now concerned with the question of the peaceful uses of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond national jurisdiction. We are strongly in favour of legal regulation of this question which will allow the abyssal plain to be exploited for the benefit of civilization, and we are prepared to continue our co-operation, as we have done, in the task being carried out by the Special Committee established pursuant to General Assembly resolution 2340 (XXII).

151. But while pledging our support, we wish at the same time to place on record that studies by the United Nations should be restricted to the areas specified in that resolution, for reasons of elementary respect for domestic jurisdiction. Any approach liable to infringe domestic jurisdiction would not provide a real solution and would only create new international tension.

152. Economic affairs require our analysis and constant attention. The Argentine Minister of Economy and Labour,

speaking on behalf of Latin America at the meeting of the governing bodies of the specialized economic and financial agencies, drew attention to the marked discrepancy between the levels achieved in international monetary co-operation and the results obtained in world trade.

153. Our country has co-operated to the utmost, so far as its resources allow, in ensuring the stability of the international financial system and is also prepared to contribute to the growth of international trade. International trade has created such a state of interdependence between the different peoples of the world that it is becoming increasingly essential to create a harmonious and balanced structure for it.

154. International solidarity and peace also need free, intense and active trade. Regional discrimination, attempts to introduce an international division of labour, the refusal of the industrial countries to pay fair and proper prices for the manufactured products or raw materials of the less developed countries, and the refusal to recognize their quality, all seriously circumscribe national independence and create serious tensions among States.

155. But it is also true that we all have an equal responsibility in this matter. The solidarity we call for of course requires the contribution of the more industrialized countries. This contribution, however, would not be enough unless it were accompanied by a firm determination on the part of the other countries to make serious and constant efforts to promote their own development.

156. At this point we must also point out that it is this approach of mutual co-operation that offers the best possibilities of achieving satisfactory progress. We should beware of the fallacy that new international machinery can make up for the lack of will to undertake concerted action. The last few years have produced an astonishing number of agencies which are already a heavy burden on national budgets and a stimulant to the growth of international bureaucracy. Because of the difficulty of reaching effective agreement at intergovernmental level, the activities of the new agencies are usually confined to drawing up abstract plans which can never be put into effect.

157. The session of the General Assembly is taking place just after the Economic and Social Council has completed its analysis, at its forty-fifth session, of the problems connected with the Second United Nations Development Decade<sup>4</sup> Argentina is gratified to note that the Economic Committee has been entrusted with the task of drawing up an outline of the international development strategy for the Decade, as we suggested. It is precisely the Economic and Social Council, as one of the principal organs of the United Nations, which is competent to consider questions of such importance as the one we are considering. It is at that level—technical, but at the same time of obvious political authority—that the targets should be fixed.

158. To speak of problems of economic development without considering the role of technology in contemporary society would be to forget one of the key factors in fruitful international co-operation. Disparity in the oppor-

tunity to utilize the knowledge offered by modern technology may constitute an insuperable obstacle to bridging the gap between the industrialized countries and the developing countries, as well as a threat to political peace in the world. That is why at the various international meetings we have stressed the need to face the problem resolutely, and prepare programmes of action which will meet the existing needs.

159. In this connexion we should note the work accomplished by those United Nations bodies operating in the field of technical assistance and investment. In particular I should like to express our satisfaction at the important work being carried out by the United Nations Development Programme.

160. Consistently with the importance we attach to these activities, it is a pleasure for me to announce that Argentina's contribution to the Development Programme will be increased this year by a third and that, taken with our contributions to the United Nations Industrial Development Organization's programmes and the United Nations Capital Development Fund, this will increase our financial contribution to technical assistance, pre-investment and investment activities by approximately 50 per cent in comparison with the previous year.

161. Neither the liberalization of international trade, which we have urged, nor co-operation and assistance for technical development, would be sufficient unless they were accompanied by a sustained and systematic will to solve social problems at the international level. There will be no economic progress without social peace. The United Nations' justifiable concern in this regard is fully endorsed by my Government.

162. Argentina is following and taking an active part in all the studies which have been made in this field, and the Draft Declaration on Social Development [*agenda item 50*] which is today being considered by the Assembly was based on an Argentine proposal.<sup>5</sup> However, we must take care that no ideological notes are introduced into the Declaration which would be foreign to the nature of the instrument and to the purposes which inspired its drafting.

163. Lastly, my delegation wishes to emphasize one auspicious event whose importance will not, I am sure, escape this Assembly. I refer to the report which has been submitted, for the first time, by the International Court of Justice [*A/7217*]. It is important to mention this because the Court is the body prescribed by the Charter for the settlement of legal disputes and, as is specifically stated in Article 92, is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. For the Argentine Republic, whose legal tradition in the international field is well known, it is particularly gratifying that this General Assembly, fully representative of the international community, should take note of the activities of an organ which is so qualified to provide peaceful solutions to disputes between States. We also hope that this report will remind all the nations gathered together here of the valuable contribution which the Court can make to the solution of existing differences.

<sup>4</sup> See Economic and Social Council resolution 1356 (XLV).

<sup>5</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Annexes, agenda item 54, document A/C.3/L.14-19.*

164. This then, in broad outline, is the position of the Argentine Republic on the great problems facing the international community. We have not been sparing in our criticism because we believe that an understanding of the world situation is an essential prerequisite in the search for effective solutions. The military intervention in Czechoslovakia, the long conflict in Viet-Nam, the situation in the Middle East, the attempts to maintain colonial situations despite the will of the international community, the lack of real progress on the problem of disarmament and the precarious strategic situation in Central Europe, are negative factors whose importance and consequences we must underline if we wish to advance along the road to peace and security for all.

165. We recognize that it is a difficult road to follow unless we abandon dangerous practices and show sufficient imagination to realize that the international situation is essentially changing, and that therefore it is not possible to apply criteria and formulas which are not adapted to the facts of contemporary political life.

166. But the basic questions of our time also offer great opportunities for laying the foundations of harmonious coexistence in which national objectives could be met in a framework of international co-operation if we would look at our problems from a different angle and not lose sight of our goals. The United Nations can and should make a decisive contribution to the fulfilment of this task and my country solemnly pledges itself to make every effort to achieve that aim.

167. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Algeria, who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

168. Mr. AZZOUT (Algeria) (*translated from French*): Malawi, an African country, has just attacked Algeria. We would have preferred that it had directed its energies against Africa's real enemies. Malawi has attacked Algeria, the spokesman of freedom and independence for the peoples of Africa, but has carefully refrained from mentioning the policy of *apartheid*, now more rampant than ever right up to its very borders and of which its own brothers are the victims.

169. With respect to the matter mentioned by Malawi, we have stated that we would act in accordance with law and international morality, and we have done so. No one except Malawi denies that my Government has behaved responsibly.

170. We have no wish to engage in polemics with Malawi, the extent of whose independence we know only too well. This is clearly a political operation; we know who is behind it, and Malawi has come forward as their mouth-piece. It will be sufficient for us if, at the proper time, self-respecting African countries and national liberation movements in Africa give Africa's answer to the Malawi authorities.

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*