

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION

Official Records



**1771st  
PLENARY MEETING**

Tuesday, 30 September 1969,  
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

Agenda item 9:

General debate (*continued*)

Speech by Mr. Odaka (Uganda) . . . . .	2
Speech by Mr. Marko (Czechoslovakia) . . . . .	4
Speech by Mr. Hartling (Denmark) . . . . .	8
Speech by Mr. Valdés (Chile) . . . . .	11

*President:* Miss Angie E. BROOKS (Liberia).

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. ODAKA (Uganda): Madam President, allow me to congratulate you most warmly on your election to the high office of President of this Assembly. Your election reflects the important role which the women of Africa are determined to play in the international community. We wish you a most successful term of office.

2. For the first time in several years, the General Assembly is not admitting a new member. The absence this year of the admission of a new member does not reflect work well done, but rather a regrettable setback for the United Nations in its sacred task of ensuring that colonialism is dead. This session must therefore ensure that this setback is only a temporary one. We must ensure that the still unfinished task of bringing freedom and human dignity to all people is not forgotten but is carried on and successfully completed.

3. Indeed, the urgent problem facing Africa is precisely the issue of colonialism and racial discrimination. The forces of colonialism in Africa are becoming more firmly entrenched. The South African régime has strengthened its arsenals of war. With this continually increasing strength the South African régime has gone further to consolidate its abominable rule of tyranny over the Territory of Namibia, completely ignoring the overwhelming opinion of mankind as expressed in numerous resolutions of the United Nations. Indeed, the United Nations has brought ridicule upon itself by its failure to implement its decisions on Namibia and to save it from the grabbing hand of the Pretoria clique which wishes to usurp it and permanently enslave its people.

4. To the north, in spite of the gallant struggle being waged by the freedom fighters in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau), Portugal has built up confidence and is now striving to consolidate itself, since it sees this as the only way to continue exploiting the riches of Africa and thus save its crumbling economy. Any success it has achieved in fighting the forces of African nationalism has

been carried out only through the massive economic and military assistance which it obtains from its allies. It is this same assistance that sustains the economy and military strength of South Africa. It is for this reason that we appeal to all countries which profess to be opposed to the evils of colonialism and racial discrimination to stop giving military and financial assistance to Portugal and South Africa.

5. The South African régime has also made a determined and persistent thrust northwards. On the one hand, it is seeking to strengthen its allies in Rhodesia and the Portuguese-controlled Territories of Angola and Mozambique and, on the other, it is out to establish puppet régimes in independent African States through deceit and subversion. We do not consider that these gestures are genuine, friendly and calculated to achieve the dignity of the black man on our continent. These gestures are calculated to extend the unacceptable philosophy of the superiority of one race. To make matters worse, those who resist this pressure and stand firm on the principles of equality and human dignity are being threatened with increasing subversion and open aggression from South Africa and Portugal.

6. This year Portugal has attacked Guinea and threatened lives and property in that State. This is in addition to the constant attacks that have been made on Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania. We have no doubt that these acts of aggression will continue unless strong measures are taken by the Security Council to contain the situation. The stage is thus being set for the final confrontation between the minority racist régimes and the independent African States. The world, however, cannot afford to stand by as a passive observer. It is not for love of war but because of their commitment to the principles of human equality and dignity that independent African States are opposed to colonialism and racial discrimination, which is being practised in South Africa. It is also on the basis of their commitment to those universally accepted principles that independent African States appeal to other Members of the United Nations for support. The dignity of all men is destroyed when a section of humanity is denied its rights. Above all, without an acceptance of and a commitment to the principles of human dignity, equality and self-determination, there can be no basis for peace and justice in the world.

7. In April 1969 the Heads of State and Government of East and Central Africa, desirous of spelling out their attitude and purpose in relation to the problems existing in southern Africa, adopted in Lusaka a Manifesto on Southern Africa. Earlier this month this Manifesto was unanimously adopted in Addis Ababa by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its sixth session. The Lusaka Manifesto is an

affirmation of the principles of justice, equality and human dignity. In it the African leaders have stated that they wish to make clear beyond all shadow of doubt their acceptance of the belief that all men are equal and have the right to human dignity. These are the same sentiments as those to which the United Nations Charter is committed. The Manifesto defines the attitude of independent African States to the racist régime in South Africa and to the philosophy of *apartheid*. It explains in very clear terms the alternatives before independent African States and before the liberation movements in southern Africa. The Manifesto highlights the serious situation existing in the region and the threat to and deep concern of the independent African States. It was for that reason that the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity charged its present Chairman, the President of Cameroon, with the duty of presenting the Manifesto to the United Nations General Assembly. We sincerely hope that this Assembly will fully appreciate the spirit in which the Manifesto was conceived and reaffirm its belief in the principles to be found in the United Nations Charter by adopting the Manifesto. Those principles have almost been lost sight of in Rhodesia.

8. In Rhodesia, as we foresaw and feared, we are now witnessing the final abandonment by the United Kingdom of its responsibility. Another *apartheid*-style régime is being created while the United Kingdom Government is passively sitting with its arms folded in complacency. It is now four years since the unilateral declaration of independence and all we have heard from the United Kingdom is that force must not be used and that sanctions will soon bring about a change of heart among the racists and eventually lead them to return to legality and accept majority rule. We say the world has waited long enough. Sanctions have failed, owing to the support which the South African régime and Portugal have given. At the same time Smith and his colleagues have in fact entrenched their positions and they are adopting even more extreme measures to safeguard white supremacy and the enslavement of the Africans who constitute the majority in that country.

9. While Smith is introducing an *apartheid*-style constitution, all that the United Kingdom Government is prepared to do is remove its futile representative and suitably honour him for his services. From now on Rhodesia is no different from South Africa and only over-all action against all the minority régimes in southern Africa can hope to be successful. Therefore, the United Nations should not listen to, and be deceived by, those who preach half-hearted measures. We urge the Security Council to face up to its responsibilities and take strong measures to halt the rapidly deteriorating situation. Until that is done, independent African States have no choice but to support the liberation movements in their armed struggle against those régimes. The Security Council, as the primary organ of the United Nations charged with the maintenance of international peace and security, has a responsibility to perform and should have sufficient courage to take the necessary action. The racists should not be allowed on the one hand to reject the cherished principles of justice and equality and on the other to benefit through friendly international relations which are based on those very same principles. Without action by the Security Council, peace in Africa will remain threatened and insecure.

10. The failure of the members of the Security Council, particularly the permanent members, who are responsible for peace and security in the world, to divorce themselves from siding with those who threaten peace and security is the main reason for the continued worsening of the world situation and the inability of the United Nations to perform its functions effectively. As we approach the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, the role of the Security Council is a matter that needs examination.

11. It is most disturbing to find that in all major conflicts threatening international peace and security, the permanent members of the Security Council, who should always be on the side of peace, are the ones fanning the flames of war. When those most responsible for peace and security are so committed on the side of war, how can they at the same time effectively play the role of mediator and peace-maker? Is it any wonder that the United Nations has become powerless and is not playing a major role in the preservation of peace and security? We must emphasize that the permanent members of the Security Council must play an impartial role. The taking of sides in any major conflict is bound to aggravate the situation and spread tension rather than establish conditions for the settlement of disputes.

12. What lessons can we learn by looking at the major conflicts in the world? The tragic civil war in Nigeria, the Middle East conflict and the war in Viet-Nam all clearly teach us one lesson. In Nigeria, as in the Middle East and Viet-Nam, the major Powers who are the permanent members of the Security Council, and who should be on the side of peace, are actively involved with one party or another in all these wars.

13. The situation in Nigeria is being greatly aggravated by the presence of foreign interests on both sides of the civil war. We believe that a peaceful solution can be achieved through negotiations so long as outside Powers are not involved.

14. The situation in the Middle East could also be quickly solved if all the big Powers were firmly committed to finding a peaceful and just solution. Again, it is most regrettable that some of the members of the Security Council are not devoid of self-interest in this matter and are for selfish reasons actively arming the warring parties. How then can these Powers help to find peace? We patiently wait to hear of any success that may be achieved through the talks of the big Powers now taking place.

15. Similarly, in the case of the Viet-Nam war, we find that the failure of the permanent members of the Security Council to have a common approach to peace is largely responsible for the continuation of this most tragic and costly war. Mankind has waited most patiently to hear the results of the Paris peace talks. We therefore cannot emphasize enough the urgent necessity of reaching an agreement and establishing lasting peace in Viet-Nam.

16. The problems of achieving peace and security in the world require realism on the part of the permanent members of the Security Council. It is an inescapable fact that no permanent solution of the problems of disarmament, nor those of world peace, can be found while a large

section of mankind is excluded from this world body. This year, when mankind salutes the great scientific achievement of setting the first man on the moon, it is high time that a sense of realism was adopted towards the major problems facing mankind here on earth. It is unfortunate to pretend that a Government which controls and represents the largest nation in the world does not exist. Most important of all, this same nation now possesses means of massive destruction. We must again state that it is in the interest of peace and security that the People's Republic of China should become a Member of the United Nations.

17. The problems of peace are also the problems of human development. His Holiness the Pope, on his arrival in Uganda for his historic visit to Africa, appropriately stated that "Development is the new name for peace". As we approach the Second United Nations Development Decade, we should bear in mind these wise words. It is impossible to have any lasting peace when the world is divided into the rich and the poor, just as it is impossible to have any meaningful development when there is no peace. Poverty cannot be eradicated by the poor alone. While it is imperative that the developing countries play their role, a great responsibility rests with the economically advanced regions. That is why we have persistently called upon those countries to eliminate the discriminatory obstacles which impede the development of the poor regions.

18. Permanent members of the Security Council, who are primarily responsible for peace and security, are also members of the Economic and Social Council, the principal organ of the United Nations for economic and social development. It is therefore imperative that those countries should be on the side of both peace and economic development. It is a fact that poverty still remains the most noticeable and most regrettable characteristic of this world in this modern age. Next year, we shall not only be celebrating the silver jubilee of the formation of this organization, but perhaps what is most significant and vital to Africa is that we shall be entering the Second United Nations Development Decade. It is therefore fitting that we examine the role of the United Nations and see how we can eliminate areas of weakness and make the United Nations and its agencies more effective.

19. The developing countries are making great attempts to help themselves to uplift their standard of living. In our continent, the Organization of African Unity and regional bodies such as the East African Community have attempted to increase trade among Member countries and promote regional co-operation in economic and social spheres. The practical meaning that the United Nations can give this activity is to realize that Africa wants to play its full role in eradicating social and economic evils. We wish to see the United Nations playing a bigger role and working clearly and very closely with the Organization of African Unity in meeting Africa's aspirations in economic spheres.

20. This year, the Organization of African Unity has played an increasingly effective role in economic and social development. It should however be helped by the United Nations and its agencies. This help can be channelled through growing participation in the institutions of the Organization of African Unity, such as the African Development Bank, and through greater co-operation from the Economic Commission for Africa.

21. We in Uganda look to the United Nations and its agencies for active assistance in building our infrastructure. The United Nations and its agencies should not be contented merely with producing feasibility studies which yield no productive results. We expect them to co-operate in the provision of finance for development. It is in this way that we shall appreciate the role of multilateral agencies. It is by determined efforts to understand Africa's development needs that the United Nations economic role will be measured in the coming development decade.

22. It is imperative to educate world opinion about the growing problems created by a continuing divided world of the poor and the rich. In order to do this, the United Nations, and particularly its Secretariat and officials, should themselves fully appreciate the problems they are required to tackle. The senior officials of the United Nations and its agencies should make a point of familiarizing themselves with the problems of development, by physically visiting us in our environment, discussing development priorities and examining how best they can assist in meeting our goals. It is paradoxical that while policy-makers find it necessary to come here every year and discuss these issues, very few visits are made by top officials of the United Nations Secretariat and the United Nations agencies to developing countries where these problems could be examined on the spot. In the Second Development Decade we expect the United Nations and its agencies to move away from preoccupation with theory, and instead actively to deal with practical problems to be found in the field. The top officials of the United Nations, the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme and all the major agencies of the United Nations should, regularly for this purpose, make a point of visiting all the developing countries, especially those in Africa.

23. Uganda welcomed the initiative taken by the President of the World Bank to send the Pearson Commission on International Development to discuss the role of the World Bank in meeting the challenge of economic development. We want to see other organizations, such as the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, following this example. We in Uganda are confident that industrialization is essential to our development. We are therefore most anxious to see the United Nations Industrial Development Organization functioning effectively, making itself familiar with our programmes and actively assisting us to meet the challenge of development.

24. We consider that there is great potential in Africa for the good of mankind. In order fully to utilize this potential, the world must take Africa seriously. In the case of the problems that face us in southern Africa, we expect co-operation and understanding. In the Nigerian conflict we expect permanent members of the Security Council to be on the side of peace. In the case of economic development, we expect the developed countries not to build obstacles and apply restrictive measures but to be the vanguard for increased trade and co-operation between developed and developing countries. The future of mankind is interdependent and no section can be left behind and ignored without seriously affecting the well-being and prosperity of the rest. This is the only way we can make the Second United Nations Development Decade meaningful.



25. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the next speaker, I should like to remind members that the General Assembly decided at its 1769th plenary meeting that the list of speakers in the general debate would be closed this afternoon at 5 o'clock.

26. Mr. MARKO (Czechoslovakia) (*translated from Russian*): Madam President, allow me on my own behalf and on behalf of the Czechoslovakian delegation to congratulate you on your election to the high office of President of the current session of the General Assembly. In congratulating you, we rejoice not only that the President of our session is a representative of the African continent, but also that your election symbolizes one of the purposes of the United Nations—the equal rights of men and women. We hope that under your guidance our session will accomplish the tasks which lie before it.

27. Allow me also to express our wholehearted condolences on the death of Mr. Arenales, the President of the previous session of the General Assembly.

28. For a number of years, the international situation in which the General Assembly session was being held has been described in the general debate as complicated and tense. This year is no exception.

29. And yet, particularly on the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the inception of the United Nations, we should like to express the hope that the day will come when we can rejoice together that war is not raging in any part of the world, that crises have been averted by the common efforts of all the peace-loving countries in the world, that the era of disarmament has begun, and that the heritage of colonialism has been entirely eradicated.

30. We in Czechoslovakia are convinced that such a world situation will ultimately prevail and are prepared to do everything in our power to ensure that the noble objectives which the United Nations set itself at its establishment become a reality. But the reality has so far been entirely different. Instead of a world without wars and crises, we live in a divided world, constantly balancing on the brink of the most terrible of all wars, in a world where dangerous hotbeds of tension are constantly smouldering, the arms race is continuing, and military arsenals are stockpiling increasing reserves of weapons with a destructive power many times greater than that which could transform our earth into a dead planet.

31. Although the United Nations has in past years achieved some partially favourable results in its efforts to alleviate international tension, we cannot rest content with this. The urgent problems of the current international situation impose upon the United Nations the obligation to use all the means at its disposal to transform the ideas contained in its Charter into reality. It would therefore be desirable to try once again at this session to lay some foundations which would enable our Organization next year to enter upon a new twenty-five-year period which would be an era of lasting peace and co-operation, based not on the principle of the "balance of power and fear" but on awareness of the beneficial and useful effects of the only alternative open to mankind, that of peaceful coexistence.

32. In the forthcoming anniversary year we shall have an opportunity of assessing our Organization's contribution to solving the urgent problems which have confronted mankind over the past twenty-five years. We can already note, however, that in the period following the end of the Second World War the peace-loving peoples have succeeded in preventing the outbreak of a new world-wide conflict. The community of socialist States has played a distinguished and decisive part in this effort. This by no means unimportant achievement gives us grounds for hope when we look into the future.

33. Unfortunately there are still not only smouldering but also flaming hotbeds of war in the world which threaten to expand into a world-wide conflagration of unprecedented dimensions. Accordingly, resolute efforts to eliminate existing military conflicts and the constant establishment of conditions for preventing a new war are among the most urgent tasks of our time, and consequently among the most urgent tasks of this session of the General Assembly.

34. The world has on many occasions heard denunciations from this rostrum of the aggressive actions of the United States in Viet-Nam. Yet the war against the people of Viet-Nam still continues. United States soldiers thousands of kilometres from their homes are striving to crush the heroic resistance of patriots fighting for their independence and to preserve the venal Saigon régime.

35. Meanwhile the sound and progressive forces in South Viet-Nam have formed the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, which is gaining increasing international recognition and increasing support among the people of Viet-Nam. This Government is fully entitled to express its views on the future destiny of South Viet-Nam. Its programme and its specific proposals for the establishment of peace provide a realistic solution for the problems of that country's future.

36. With feelings of hope and relief we welcomed last year the news of the opening of negotiations in Paris at which the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Provisional Government of South Viet-Nam submitted their proposals. These negotiations have so far not yielded the desired results. After so many years of suffering and bloodshed, nothing could better promote the settlement of the Viet-Nam problem than an approach to these negotiations by the United States which would allow the conclusion of an honourable and just peace for the entire people of Viet-Nam. It is indeed high time that the United States put an end to this war, withdrew its troops from Viet-Nam and enabled the people of Viet-Nam to live in peace and tranquillity without foreign interference.

37. From the very outset Czechoslovakia has taken the side of the heroic people of Viet-Nam and has given it all possible support in its difficult struggle.

38. Similarly, little success has so far been achieved in the negotiations for terminating Israeli aggression in the Middle East. Vast Arab territories are still occupied by Israeli troops. The rights of the Arab population of these territories are being violated and its plight is appalling. Is it therefore surprising that the situation in this region is explosive and may at any moment break out into a military

conflagration the consequences of which are hard to imagine.

39. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic sees a way out of this crisis in the adoption and particularly in the implementation of all the provisions of the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)]. It now depends on Israel whether it will comply with the demands of the peace-loving nations and, above all, whether it will withdraw its troops from the occupied Arab territories, or whether it will assume full responsibility for further dangerous developments in that region.

40. Among the other sources of international tension is the continuing abnormal situation in Korea. It is deplorable that, sixteen years after signature of the armistice agreement, the armed forces of the United States are still violating security and increasing tension on the Korean peninsula under cover of the United Nations flag. It is essential that the idea of peace should at last prevail in that part of the world. The proposals which the socialist States have submitted to this session of the General Assembly, and of which Czechoslovakia is a co-sponsor, [A/7641/Add.1-5 and A/7642/Add.1-2] are directed towards adoption of equitable requirements for the peaceful unification of the country. We are convinced that their adoption would promote a peaceful settlement of the Korean situation.

41. There is no doubt that the true guarantee of peace and security would be general and complete disarmament. This goal is still before us and we must continue to strive for its attainment. The road to it will be long, and we cannot yet see its end. In any case, however, the prospect of creative activity and of useful human labour in a world without arms provides an inspiration which makes our continued efforts worth while.

42. We are as yet at the very beginning of this road and the first milestones are the so far modest results achieved by negotiation: the treaty partially banning nuclear tests,<sup>1</sup> the demilitarization of Antarctica, the demilitarization of outer space [General Assembly resolution 2222 (XXI)] and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [General Assembly resolution 2373 (XXII)]. Although of course we attach great importance to these agreements, this is not enough in either quantity or quality.

43. For example, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the conclusion of which we enthusiastically welcomed last year, does not of course represent the maximum of what should be achieved in that sphere. Although its entry into force would be a step forward along the road towards alleviating universal tension, even this result has not yet been achieved, since the Treaty has not been ratified by a sufficient number of States. In the opinion of the Czechoslovak delegation, the General Assembly, having adopted this instrument, should consider it a matter of its responsibility and honour to ensure that the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons enters into force and that as many States as possible accede to it.

<sup>1</sup> Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water, signed at Moscow on 5 August 1963. United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480 (1964), No. 6964.

44. During the negotiations in the Disarmament Committee at Geneva new possibilities emerged for reaching agreement on partial measures; although these negotiations did not make the desirable progress for which we are striving. The Czechoslovak delegation hopes that the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly will at least succeed in advancing work on certain measures of disarmament which if implemented would effectively limit the arms race.

45. In addition to nuclear weapons, chemical and bacteriological weapons present a fearful danger which threatens the existence of all human life on our planet. The peace-loving nations are becoming increasingly aware of the danger of these weapons, owing to the relative ease with which they can be obtained, and are actively demanding their elimination from the military arsenals of all States.

46. The solution of this problem could be considerably advanced by the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, concerning these types of weapons and the possible consequences of their use [A/7601/Add.1].

47. In accordance with these recommendations, the socialist States have submitted a draft convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons and on the destruction of such weapons [A/7655]. The consequences of this convention would be a direct and logical extension of the Geneva Protocol of 1925<sup>2</sup> and would ultimately lead to the complete elimination and destruction of these weapons.

48. The Czechoslovak delegation hopes that the draft of the socialist countries will be favourably received, so that this session of the General Assembly may mark a turning-point in this highly important matter.

49. Nearly ten years have elapsed since the adoption in this forum of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)].

50. This is indeed a document of historic importance. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has, among other things, promoted the establishment of dozens of new States which have overthrown colonial domination and subsequently become Members of the United Nations. Nevertheless, it cannot yet be said that the requirements set out in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples have been fully implemented. There are still vast territories whose peoples continue to suffer under the colonial yoke and look to this Organization in the hope of assistance. This hope must not be disappointed; nor must the hopes of peoples which have shaken off colonial domination but which are still obliged to pursue their struggle against various forms of neo-colonialism.

51. The problems of peace and universal security set mankind a task of primordial importance. A world without

<sup>2</sup> Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925.

armaments and wars and the creation of peaceful conditions for the free and creative development of human labour—these are purposes laid down by the United Nations in its Charter at its foundation. We are convinced that it is essential at this time once again to draw attention to these purposes and to concentrate all the efforts of the peoples on their implementation. That is why we welcome the step taken by the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which has requested the inclusion in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly of an item entitled "The strengthening of international security" and has proposed the adoption of an appeal to all States of the world on that subject [A/7654].

52. We consider that this appeal serves the interests of all peace-loving nations and that, during the forthcoming quarter-century of the Organization's existence, it should therefore become a base for the solution of problems related to international security.

53. Speaking of international security, we should also like to stress that Czechoslovakia, as a European State, is vitally interested in establishing security in the European continent in particular.

54. In this connexion we regard as a favourable development the response to the Budapest appeal<sup>3</sup> by the States members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, drawing the attention of nations to the necessity of taking decisive steps towards achieving security in Europe. It is gratifying that most European States have expressed an interest in the constructive programme proposed by the socialist countries, and willingness to co-operate in its implementation. We particularly welcome the fact that the Government of Finland has already given a practical reply to this appeal. We fully support that move and regard it as a significant contribution to the cause of European peace.

55. Europe has its own outstanding problems, which are not insignificant. They are due to the existence of two contradictory trends, which have marked all European development since the Second World War. The first trend is one which strives for peace and mutual co-operation and is supported by all those who have really learnt a lesson from the anti-Fascist struggle and wish peace to prevail in Europe at long last. Czechoslovakia, like the other socialist States, has always advocated, supported and promoted this programme.

56. In contradiction to this positive attitude, however, there are still forces in Europe which do not wish to reconcile themselves to the post-war settlement resulting from the victory over fascism and are trying to pursue a revanchist policy. Czechoslovakia, which has learnt by experience of the expansive tendency of German imperialism, is following with particular concern the activities of militarist and neo-Nazi groups in the Federal Republic of Germany.

57. The Czechoslovak people harbours no feelings of hostility against the people of the Federal Republic of

Germany. On the contrary, in our efforts to achieve European security, we are prepared to do everything in our power to restore our relations with the Federal Republic of Germany to normal. But this will be impossible while revanchist tendencies towards the revision of the European frontiers laid down after the Second World War proliferate in the Federal Republic of Germany. This will, above all, be impossible until the Federal Republic of Germany agrees to declare the infamous Munich *Diktat* null and void and to abandon its unlawful claims to West Berlin and its dangerous nuclear ambitions.

58. It is also necessary to end the unwarranted claim of the Federal Republic of Germany to exclusive representation of the whole German people, and thus also to end discrimination against the German Democratic Republic, which as one of two German States, is pursuing a consistent policy of peaceful co-operation and thus gaining increasing international authority. In October this year the German Democratic Republic will celebrate its twentieth anniversary. This fact shows the absurdity of attempts to ignore the existence of the German Democratic Republic. It must be recognized that urgent problems of European security cannot be solved without the full participation of the German Democratic Republic.

59. In spite of the undesirable phenomena I have mentioned, trends towards the easing of tension and rational peaceful co-operation are emerging with increasing clarity in Europe. Indeed, it could hardly be otherwise. After all, in the past half century this continent has twice been the scene of world wars which have claimed over 70 million human lives. These facts have not yet been obliterated from the memory of entire generations of European peoples. This has also contributed to the favourable response to the Budapest document of the socialist States, which offers possibilities for the settlement of all acute European problems and for improving the atmosphere in Europe. That is why the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic sees as one of the primordial tasks of its foreign policy the implementation of the conclusions of the Budapest appeal, particularly with regard to the convening of an all-European conference on problems of security and co-operation. We have already taken the lead in this connexion and have entered into contact with a number of European States. We cannot say that we have not met with understanding; on the contrary, we are convinced that the time has come for taking specific action in the near future.

60. The European peoples, like the peoples of other continents, are interested in developing mutually-advantageous economic co-operation in Europe under conditions of peace and security and within the framework of economic co-operation between all the countries of the world. Czechoslovakia, a relatively small industrial country in the centre of Europe, is endowed by its geographical situation, its economic structure and its historic traditions with favourable conditions for the most active participation in such co-operation.

61. However, we are directing this co-operation not only towards European countries but also towards the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Czechoslovakia has participated to the best of its capacity in efforts to secure the accelerated economic growth of the developing coun-

<sup>3</sup> *Appeal by the States members of the Warsaw Treaty to all European countries*, adopted at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization at Budapest on 17 March 1969.



tries, the transformation of their economic structures and the strengthening of their position and role in the world economy.

62. We want to continue to follow a policy of economic co-operation with countries of both social systems, since such co-operation will further the growth of the world economy as a whole. We wish to participate in an appropriate manner in preparing a global strategy within the framework of the Second Development Decade. Attention should be drawn to the fact that optimal development on a world-wide scale cannot be achieved without the solution of certain outstanding problems of economic relations between countries with different social systems, particularly between the developed capitalist and socialist countries, and without the abolition of prevailing trade barriers and restrictions between the countries of these systems.

63. Czechoslovakia considers that the United Nations and the specialized agencies have an important part to play in international economic co-operation. In this connexion I should like to point out that the Czechoslovak Government recently adopted a decision to renew the membership of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. Further evidence of Czechoslovakia's determination to develop and strengthen international co-operation is given by the increase in our contribution to the United Nations Development Programme and in our voluntary contribution to the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, since we regard industrialization as a basic instrument for the economic growth of the developing countries. Accordingly our country is increasingly making its human and material resources available for the solution of these many-sided problems, and intends to continue to do so.

64. The foreign policy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic follows from the socialist nature of our State and the historical experience of the Czech and Slovak peoples, particularly during the period of the national liberation struggle against fascism during the Second World War. It is directed towards ensuring stable peaceful conditions for the all-round development of socialist society in our country.

65. A month ago our country celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Slovak national uprising, an event which we regard as one of the most important in Czechoslovak history. The dignified atmosphere and large scale of the celebrations in honour of this event showed the whole world the true attitude of our people. The objectives of the Slovak national uprising are still a living reality. By its political and military action the Slovak people expressed its noblest aspirations for freedom and independence, as well as its firm resolve to contribute to the cause of defeating fascism and, together with the fraternal Czech people, to establish the Czechoslovak Republic and to develop it on new, democratic and socially equitable foundations. The new constitutional and legal settlement of the relationship between our peoples is a further expression of this sentiment.

66. The experience of the anti-Fascist struggle which culminated in the victory over Nazi Germany and in which the peoples of the Soviet Union played a decisive part

confronted the Czech and Slovak peoples with the acutely urgent problem of safeguarding their future security in Europe. The determination to achieve this end, together with the firm resolve to develop a new and more equitable system of socialism in our country, have unequivocally led our people to stable friendship and mutually-advantageous co-operation with the Soviet Union and other States of the socialist community. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has found a reliable guarantee for its security in the defensive alliance between the countries of the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

67. The socialist development of Czechoslovakia has become a bright page of its history, despite the fact that there were certain shortcomings, as happens in every far-reaching social movement. Anti-socialist forces, inspired and actively supported from abroad, tried to make use of our honest efforts to rectify these errors and shortcomings. Nevertheless, the danger of a counter-revolutionary uprising was averted and eliminated in time.

68. I am dwelling on these facts because an unheard-of campaign of hostility has been unleashed against our country and its Government in recent months. The purpose of this campaign was to confuse public opinion; we are still witnessing slanders and insults levelled at our constitutional representatives, and attempts to turn our Czechoslovak people against its Government and against our binding alliances.

69. Our people has paid a high price for the lesson of history and is perfectly capable of recognizing its real friends and distinguishing between truth and lies. That is why the overwhelming majority rejected these hostile acts. Provocation by anti-socialist forces, which assumed the character of counter-revolutionary acts, culminated in the defeat of those who organized and took part in them. The people supported and still support the necessary measures and policy of their Government.

70. No one will succeed in diverting the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic from the path of building a socialist society, the path of friendship and close co-operation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist States. Nor will this cause be promoted by acts encouraged from abroad, of incitement to uprisings in the country, or by the most subtle ideological campaigns based on pseudo-theories of some kind of "limited sovereignty" and similar concepts. It is therefore not only in the interests of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, but also in the interests of promoting friendly relations between nations, to put an end to attempts to introduce the so-called question of Czechoslovakia into this international forum. There is no such question.

71. The development of Czechoslovakia and the measures we are taking for this development are exclusively our own domestic concern. Decisions on our internal and foreign-policy affairs are taken by constitutional and government organs. These organs are headed by selfless patriots who have fought actively for a free Czechoslovakia, who stood by the cradle of the new, modern, socialist Czechoslovakia, and who enjoy the respect and gratitude of our people. What problems we have, we shall solve by ourselves.

72. The Czechoslovak people and its Government greatly appreciate the friendship and sympathy shown to them by other peoples and their Governments. We realize that many of the countries with which the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic maintains sound, mutually-advantageous friendly relations might, as a result of the complexity of our internal political development and of the lack of truthful information, have reached premature conclusions concerning the so-called events in Czechoslovakia and their causes and might have encouraged or tolerated various acts which the Czechoslovak Government could not and cannot regard as friendly. We hope that these countries will take the point of view of the Czechoslovak Government into consideration.

73. In the existing complex international situation, the Czechoslovak delegation regards the United Nations as an important instrument through which the solution of urgent problems of peace and security could be promoted. The principles and purposes of its Charter provide reliable guidelines for the solution of important international problems and for strengthening the United Nations itself and its role in the contemporary world.

74. We therefore consider that it would be useful for the United Nations, in the year of its twenty-fifth anniversary, first of all to reaffirm the full relevance of these purposes and principles and the necessity of observing them. Efforts must also be made to eliminate the obstacles which lie in the way of the implementation of the purposes of the Charter.

75. Accordingly, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations should be celebrated next year not merely by declarations, but primarily by specific action, by bringing certain unfinished projects to a conclusion and by reaching agreement on outstanding questions. One such action should be the conclusion of work on the declaration on the principles of international law governing mutual relations and co-operation between States. The adoption of these principles would do much to promote the strengthening of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems, increased confidence between States and the stabilization of the hopes and tranquillity of the peoples.

76. Much but by no means everything has been done to enable the world to live without fear of war. We are therefore in duty bound to co-opt all the peace-loving forces and movements in the world which are actively supporting this aim and are striving for its realization and which quite rightly regard the United Nations as an important instrument for the defence of peace and the realization of the noble purposes of the Charter.

77. For my part, therefore, I should like to state that at this session of the General Assembly, as in the past, the Czechoslovak delegation will actively support and promote all measures and steps directed towards the strengthening of the peace and security of all mankind.

78. Mr. HARTLING (Denmark): Madam President, allow me to congratulate you on your election as our President. In the exercise of the functions of your high office you will be able to draw on the extensive and valuable experience which you have gained through your many years of service

to the United Nations. I assure you of my delegation's full co-operation.

79. Preceding speakers in this debate have not failed to point out that if we contemplate the international picture of today there is much reason for concern. War and hostilities, with their inescapable consequences of human suffering and destruction, are raging in South-East Asia, in the Middle East and in West Africa. Internal turmoil has visited many countries. Oppression and violations of human rights and liberties occur in many parts of the world. Poverty and even hunger are the order of the day in a world of larger than ever resources; and let us not forget that the reality behind this general description is the suffering and want of the individual, of the family, of the group.

80. The conflict in Nigeria is continuing unabated. We are faced with a tragedy of incomprehensible dimensions. Famine and deficiency diseases are taking a heavy toll among innocent people and even children. Although the sufferings of the civilian population have assumed alarming proportions, it has not been possible, despite the most strenuous efforts, to establish a permanent arrangement with regard to the humanitarian relief work.

81. As in the past, Denmark is making every possible effort to assist in the aid programmes for the distressed civilians in the afflicted areas on either side of the front line. We continue to direct our attention and our efforts towards the humanitarian problems. The Danish people, deeply moved by the sufferings of their fellow beings in Nigeria, have followed with undiminished and profound sympathy the plight of the victims of the conflict in that country. As a result voluntary contributions to the relief work continue to be forthcoming on an unprecedented scale.

82. My Government has often addressed itself to the imperative need for all those involved in the conflict to co-operate fully and actively with the international organizations which are engaged in the relief effort. I take this opportunity of renewing our appeal to all concerned to ensure such co-operation.

83. We have followed with close interest the efforts carried out through the Organization of African Unity with a view to solving the Nigerian conflict. We acknowledge that this organization is especially qualified to help to provide a basis for a negotiated solution. Consequently, we shall continue to give our full support to mediation efforts through the Organization of African Unity and other channels particularly well suited for bringing about contact and negotiation between the parties. By the same token I must repeat that, in our view, an arms embargo might have assisted these efforts and we find it most regrettable that outside countries have not refrained from supplying weapons.

84. In Europe during the past year no real progress has been seen towards finding a solution to crucial political problems. None of us have forgotten the serious events in Czechoslovakia immediately before the last session of the General Assembly and subsequent events have occupied our minds. Notwithstanding the impact of these events on conditions for a *détente* in Europe, the only way of



obtaining a true *détente* is to continue the dialogue between East and West. My country will therefore pursue a policy designed to bring about meaningful discussions between East and West—at bilateral or multilateral levels—on subjects which appear to be ripe for solution.

85. The ideal of convening a conference to discuss European security problems is still attracting considerable attention in the international debate. Denmark supports this idea as one of the appropriate methods of promoting *détente* and co-operation. It is essential that the United States and Canada should take part in the work from the very beginning and it is equally essential that the preparations should reveal that such a conference or conferences would have reasonable prospects of achieving results in the areas selected for discussion.

86. After some years of regrettable stalemate in European integration, there is again some auspicious movement. The Foreign Minister of France, Mr. Maurice Schumann, when addressing this Assembly last week, said about the Common Market:

“There are numerous applications for associate and even full membership, and it is not only conceivable but eminently desirable that they may succeed.” [1763rd meeting, para. 56.]

87. My country has consistently supported efforts taken towards European integration as a matter of high priority in our foreign policy. It remains the wish of Denmark to obtain full membership in the Common Market together with other countries which have applied for such membership and we shall continue to direct our efforts towards that goal. Together with other Nordic countries, we are at present examining the possibilities of an extended Nordic economic co-operation, not as an alternative to our basic goal—membership of the Common Market—but as a means of improving the conditions under which Nordic countries may participate in the building of Europe.

88. The situation in the Middle East continues to be a cause for concern. There has been no progress made towards a political solution, and military actions and counteractions as well as acts of violence within and outside the area are causing death and destruction and are a constant source of tension. In order to promote constructive developments it is essential that this vicious circle of violence is broken, and all the parties to the conflict should therefore direct their urgent attention to this end.

89. We deeply regret that a political solution on the basis of the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)] has not yet been achieved. It is the duty of all parties to the conflict to co-operate actively and in good faith with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Jarring, in the performance of his task under the resolution. In this context we welcome the consultation between permanent members of the Security Council undertaken with a view to strengthening Mr. Jarring's hand.

90. Turning to the humanitarian aspects of the situation in the Middle East, I should like to stress that my country considers it highly important that international human

solidarity be translated into practical and humanitarian action. Denmark has, therefore, over the years rendered substantial and increasing contributions to the activities of UNRWA, with special emphasis on the Agency's educational and training programmes.

91. When last year the United States decided to discontinue all bombings of North Viet-Nam the Danish Government stated that a decisive step had been taken towards transferring the conflict in Viet-Nam from the battlefield to the negotiating table. Like everybody else, we were, of course, most gratified when subsequently the talks now going on in Paris were initiated. We agree with the Secretary-General that, although these talks have not produced any conclusive results so far, the very fact that all the parties involved in the conflict are engaged in these discussions is a most important step in the right direction. We remain convinced that only through negotiation can a settlement be brought about.

92. The Government of the United States recently announced its decision to carry out certain troop withdrawals from Viet-Nam. In our opinion, measures of this kind reflect the right trend. It is our fervent hope that the parties involved will show flexibility and make the necessary concessions that will give the severely afflicted Viet-Nameese people hope for a future in peace.

93. When hostilities cease, concerted and large-scale efforts must be made to relieve the distress of the civilian population and to rebuild Viet-Nam. As already mentioned by my Swedish colleague [1757th meeting], the Nordic countries are conducting investigations concerning what part they can play in such endeavours.

94. As for the situation in southern Africa, it is deeply regrettable that the General Assembly is again convening without a solution having been found to the problems emanating from the racial and colonial policies pursued by the Governments in power in that part of the world. My country's position with regard to the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, to the policy of that Government vis-à-vis the former Mandated Territory of Namibia, to the illegal régime in Salisbury and to the colonial policies of Portugal remains unchanged. We are deeply concerned about the reprehensible policy of *apartheid* not only because of the political dangers involved but also because of the fundamental moral issue. We continue to insist that the colonial problems I have mentioned should be solved through strict application of the principle of self-determination, thus honouring the inalienable right of the peoples of those Territories to shape their own national destiny.

95. In this connexion I would suggest that developments during the past year strongly indicate that if the international community as organized in the United Nations is to exert any real influence on these various problems it must be through concerted action based on meaningful support from the membership.

96. My country has scrupulously endeavoured to observe and implement the mandatory measures adopted by the Security Council with respect to Southern Rhodesia and

the arms embargo called for by the Security Council in relation to South Africa. We shall certainly go on doing so, not only because of our moral and legal obligations in the questions at issue but also because, looking at the matter in a wider perspective, the very United Nations system of peaceful enforcement might be at stake. It is deplorable that a few countries have failed to honour their commitments in those respects under the Charter.

97. The problems related to disarmament are global; they are at the same time of a highly complicated technical nature. If, therefore, the consideration of these problems is to be meaningful there must be a combination of involvement of the entire international community with discussion in a more limited and technically highly qualified and well equipped forum. With the annual deliberations in this General Assembly and the continuous efforts of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva, we thus have the necessary international institutional framework. We share the opinion expressed by the Secretary-General that it is of the highest importance that all five nuclear Powers are associated with the negotiations for disarmament. Meanwhile we welcome the enlargement of the Conference in Geneva. We are confident that it will not only benefit the work of the Conference but also serve to strengthen the ties to the world Organization.

98. Admittedly, tangible results have not so far been achieved in the disarmament field since the twenty-third session of the General Assembly. It is true that since then a number of States have ratified the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*]. However, as long as the Treaty has not been signed and ratified by the principal nuclear-weapon Powers and by other States with a potential nuclear capability, it cannot fulfil its purpose. Moreover, it is to be feared that a further *délai* in the entry into force of the Treaty would entail the risk that the efforts to halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons would prove futile because of the rapid technological development. The Government of Denmark therefore hopes that the Powers which, by virtue of their international position and importance, have a special responsibility in these matters will accede to the Treaty without further delay.

99. It is gratifying that contact has been resumed between the two great nuclear Powers on the opening of negotiations for the limitation of offensive and defensive nuclear weapon systems. It is of crucial importance for further progress in the disarmament field in general that the negotiations should get under way as soon as possible and that they should produce results within a foreseeable future. Failing that, there is a danger of an acceleration of the arms race with all its possible implications for international stability.

100. It is still too early to say whether the intensive negotiations in Geneva on concrete disarmament measures will lead to results. But the negotiations have reflected a genuine will to move ahead on the path to disarmament. The Danish Government therefore trusts that it will prove possible for the Conference to submit to this Assembly a draft treaty on the demilitarization of the sea-bed and to suggest practicable solutions concerning a complete test-ban treaty and to the prohibition of the development, stock-

piling and use of bacteriological and chemical weapons in warfare.

101. With regard to the question of the representation of China, it remains the position of the Danish Government that only the People's Republic of China is entitled to represent China in the United Nations.

102. Now I should like to make a few observations of a general nature on economic development and the activities of the United Nations in this area. One of the most important tasks for the United Nations is to secure the success of the Second United Nations Development Decade. To achieve this, it is necessary to establish an effective co-ordination of all efforts. While the principal responsibility for promoting economic development clearly lies with the developing countries themselves, the industrialized world must give its full support to the concept of concerted action underlying an international strategy for development.

103. It is important that there should be clearly defined areas of action for the organizations involved, in particular the United Nations itself, the World Bank Group, the United Nations Development Programme and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Their contributions should be included in specified programmes of action taking into account the commitments which the industrialized countries have already accepted in these organizations.

104. While planning for the Second United Nations Development Decade, we should in no way reduce the pace of the efforts in which we are already engaged. I think, in particular, of the system of general preferences in favour of the developing countries. Denmark, in close co-operation with the other Nordic countries, has taken an active part in the deliberations within the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development on shaping the main features of such a system of preferences. The preference scheme would be valuable in bringing the trade in manufactured goods from the developing countries in an effective and orderly manner into the present system of world trade. My Government hopes that the negotiations ahead, though undoubtedly difficult, will meet with success.

105. The important factor is, in our view, that the planning for the Second Development Decade is carried out in a spirit of partnership between the developed and the developing countries and not in a spirit of confrontation. The Danish Government is prepared, through the execution of its long-term plans for co-operation with the developing countries, to assist in making this process one of real benefit to those countries.

106. I now turn to the problems of the human environment. The very name implies that this is a problem of common concern to us all, in North and South, East and West; it is a problem which should therefore be tackled through a joint effort of all nations. Quite clearly, this is one of the basic ideas behind and expressed in the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council and in the report presented by the Secretary-General to the Economic and Social Council in the summer of 1969.<sup>4</sup> The problem is urgent in

<sup>4</sup> Document E/4667 (final offset).

two ways. For the so-called highly developed countries it is essential that the present dangerous trend should be halted and reversed before we reach the point of no return; for other countries it is equally essential that they should start now to prevent their falling victim to similar mistakes and that they should instead take advantage of the costly lesson hopefully learned by the developed countries. As an appropriate incentive to these endeavours, all countries should keep in mind the words of the Secretary-General that if current trends continue the future of life on earth could be endangered.

107. We therefore consider that the initiative taken by the Government of Sweden in this matter and the invitation to hold the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm should be highly appreciated. The Government of Denmark intends, within its resources, to engage fully in the future international endeavours in this matter and we shall contemplate what we might be able to offer in the fields of research and experimentation.

108. The subject of United Nations peace-keeping operations is another important question facing our Organization. It was a hopeful sign when the twenty-third session of the General Assembly decided [*resolution 2451 (XXIII)*] to entrust the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations with the task of preparing a comprehensive report on United Nations military observers established or authorized by the Security Council for observation purposes pursuant to Council resolutions. Admittedly, the formulation of this mandate reflected rather a restricted conception of the United Nations peace-keeping activities but we consider it a first step in the right direction and, as such, a satisfactory development. Though much useful work has been accomplished and some progress achieved during the deliberations in the Special Committee, we cannot but feel some disappointment that it has not as yet proved possible to obtain comprehensive agreement about a full report on military observers as called for in the resolution.

109. Considering the historical background of this specific field of United Nations activities, I certainly do not wish to minimize the difficulties involved in building a comprehensive framework for United Nations peace-keeping activities; nor shall I overlook the legitimate interests involved on all sides. However, the Danish Government is of the opinion that, while taking these basic observations into consideration, we must press on for constructive achievements.

110. It is with satisfaction that we have learnt that consultations are taking place among members of the Special Committee concerning the character of a model on United Nations operations involving military contingents.

111. Recently, incidents involving the hijacking of planes and their diversion to unauthorized destinations have attracted considerable attention and provoked justified alarm and condemnation. Such irresponsible and criminal acts present incalculable risks to international air traffic in general, and to innocent passengers and crew members of hijacked planes in particular. Urgent steps should therefore be taken in an appropriate international context with a view to preventing further acts of this kind.

112. I should like to make a few concluding remarks on a specific subject of common interest. I refer to the obser-

vations made by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report [*A/7601/Add.1*] concerning his informal and confidential activity, sometimes covered by the broad term "good offices". I think that these observations by the Secretary-General were both timely and pertinent. Of course, he has a political role to play within the framework and in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. If governments ask the Secretary-General for help in dealing with delicate problems that face them the Secretary-General is competent under the Charter to comply with such requests—and I would perhaps even go so far as to say duty-bound to do so.

*Mr. Abdulgani (Indonesia), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

113. I wish to take this opportunity of assuring the present holder of the high office, U Thant, of our full confidence in him and our deep respect for the way in which he discharges his many heavy responsibilities.

114. Mr. VALDES (Chile) (*translated from Spanish*): Mr. President, in the absence of Miss Brooks, I should like to pay my tribute to her; her election was an inspiring and most auspicious event. Her long, intelligent and active participation in the work of the United Nations, her loyalty to it, her personal distinction and, above all, the fact that she is a woman, will lend a family tone to this Assembly, most appropriate for the celebration of the United Nations' twenty-fifth anniversary. We applauded her speech, especially her profound and much-needed comments on youth. We feel sure that she will direct our proceedings most efficiently, following her request that we should concern ourselves with life and not with death and that the challenge is to do as much as possible for the future of life in the universe.

115. We again express our sorrow at the premature death of President Emilio Arenales, a valued friend and outstanding American statesman. We extend our condolences to the delegation of Guatemala.

116. I have to thank you for the honour you have done to my country by electing me as Vice-President of the General Assembly. This is a high responsibility which we shall discharge with the loyalty and devotion we have given unreservedly to the United Nations for twenty-five years. I should like to pay our respects to the Secretary-General, U Thant, who has served the Organization with truly exemplary devotion.

117. The Charter signed at San Francisco will be a quarter of a century old next year. During those twenty-five years there have been radical changes in the structure of international relations. We have been awed spectators of the most extraordinary scientific conquests of mankind and also of some of the bloodiest wars. We have seen many peoples formerly living in subjection under colonial systems raised in strength and dignity to the full legitimate exercise of their sovereignty. We have seen the developed countries reach the pinnacle of economic well-being and productive capacity, while the vast majority of mankind are struggling with the frustrations of poverty. New forms of internal organization have appeared and others have vanished. Quarrels between some nations have brought the world to the edge of the nuclear precipice.



118. However, the United Nations has prevented many calamities and holds out great hopes. Many are the fields in which its patient efforts have produced an awareness of problems which were formerly at most the concern of academic bodies. It has also, with greater or lesser success, promoted solutions for some of the agonizing situations with which the world has been faced during the last twenty-five years. Nevertheless, there is a wide gulf between the potential for action incorporated by the nations in the Charter of San Francisco and the actual achievements.

119. Although the present generation has not undergone the universal experience of man engaged in the large-scale deliberate slaughter of his fellows, this has not meant peace. We have had innumerable localized wars and violence is spreading everywhere, in practically all countries.

120. That there is a close connexion between local wars and the violence unleashed in so many parts of the world is undeniable. But of all the conflicts, the war in Viet-Nam is undoubtedly the one which through its senseless continuation is producing the greatest moral erosion and the most profound and widespread damage to an entire system of principles and values.

121. Today the world is threatened by the emergence of irrational forms of violence. It is no longer a question of violence stemming from the clash of interests between social groups or between States, or rebellion against imperialism, but of the glorification of violence, its intellectual justification, the advocacy of its moral legitimacy and its large-scale dissemination by modern mass media. The techniques of cruelty are part of the pattern of life today which is poisoning the youth of the whole world, even of the rich and prosperous nations. In nearly all parts of the world and in varying degrees, a Viet-Nam type of war, in the heroic image of a struggle between man and technology, between the power of a natural ideal and that of modern force, seems to be repeating itself. This image has led many groups to magnify the potentialities of armed, violent rebellion and to imitate methods that cannot be transferred from one country to another, just as if violent action against a free, democratic régime were the same thing as guerrilla warfare against an aggressor or dictator.

122. It is true that the phenomenon of violence has very deep cultural roots, marking a crisis in our civilization, and that in Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Latin America and the United States every act of violence has its roots and its objectives; but it is likewise true that its existence is conditioned by the overall situation of mankind.

123. Peace is indivisible; bellicose violence in one part of the world leads to insurgence or violence in another. In a world of rapid communications, frustrations, growing inequalities and rationalization of obsessions, there is a desire to participate in violence just as there is a desire to participate in well-being, culture and fashion.

124. Warfare in Viet-Nam and the Middle East is intolerable not only because of the death and suffering it causes but also because of the moral and psychological degradation of mankind which it produces. This is a responsibility devolving on all the Governments in this Assembly, but especially on the great Powers, and, I might say, the

super-Powers which, by seeking security through power are forgetting their responsibilities. They are thus creating zones of influence in foreign countries which need to develop the autonomy vital to human dignity.

125. It is in those countries that an attempt is being made to impose a hard and fast distinction between good and evil, even in economic affairs, whereas in many cases, a closer approximation to the truth is to be found in the wisdom of the East, which holds that there are always two sides to every question, that light always goes hand in hand with darkness and that morning follows night.

126. During the nineteenth century, Latin America was visited by distinguished scholars like Humboldt and Darwin, whose detailed and conscientious geographical, geological and anthropological studies made a decisive contribution to the formation of our own natural sciences. The dissemination of political ideas was left to the governing élites of our countries. This earlier disinterested scientific research has now disappeared. A century later, various philosophers and social scientists, some—I might say many—of them Europeans, knowing nothing about our actual conditions conclude, after reflecting on the ethical aspects of the war in Viet-Nam, world imperialism or the penetration of foreign capital in their own countries, that their military service should consist in preaching guerrilla warfare in Latin America or, what is easier, helping to finance it.

127. Thus rebellion, whether warranted or not, against the excesses of the industrial society is confused with the growing pains afflicting developing societies and their unquestionable need for constructive practical assistance. Action on this problem is urgently needed, with each State taking the appropriate political decisions because, even though the United Nations is a forum for discussion between States, we are committed to the protection of human rights as the essential basis of the entire system. Nothing is more harmful than to create, as was done in the past with our folklore, images of nations providing fertile ground for the adventurers of the atomic age. The vast majority of our population, with its social relationships, its progress and poverty, cannot be the subject of experiments by intellectuals who know little about our real situation. I am certainly not upholding conservatism or the *status quo* for my country, but I wish to draw attention to those protagonists of violence who despise our progress and essential transformation because of their own frustrations, thus confusing revolutions of popular origin with the chaos produced by arid theories. World public opinion and those who always mould it—scientists, the clergy, writers and politicians—must help in the present world-wide exchange of views to present an accurate image of our countries, the result of fruitful, progressive and unprejudiced collaboration.

128. It has not been possible to do anything to settle the conflict in the Middle East, for which a realistic and progressive solution should be found during this Assembly, starting with an agreement to halt the piling up of armaments which, by themselves, will destroy the economic capacity of those countries.

129. In their search for assistance, representatives of the region of Biafra came to Chile. My country is deeply moved

by this tragic problem, which vitally affects the implementation of the most fundamental of human rights. Justice requires that an end be put to that tragedy and that an equitable solution be found here and now.

130. As far as mainland China is concerned, we regret that no progress has been made in the efforts to bring that country into the world Organization. We consider that realism and the interests of peace require its presence here, alongside all the other Members, provided it adheres to the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations.

131. Unfortunately, the constructive proposals made by a group of countries, including Chile, in past years do not seem to have gained any ground. Although this is a difficult problem, we believe that the issue must be faced if the achievement of universality, which is of the essence of the United Nations and indeed conditions its very survival, is not to be held back.

132. The United Nations is undoubtedly passing through an "effectiveness crisis". With very few exceptions, like the United Nations Development Programme, the international machinery is moving at a slow and barely productive pace. This is mainly the fault of Governments. Many of the problems of war and peace have not been brought to this forum and, even when they have, no political decisions have been taken. There are Governments which have not heeded the United Nations and, what is worse, there are resolutions which are being ignored, when they are not trampled underfoot, by the very Governments which supported them.

133. However, in these circumstances, the international civil servants also bear some responsibility. We must hope that they will show great intellectual agility in dealing with world problems, both political and economic. Their duties do not allow them to indulge in the intellectual luxury of considering themselves "international bureaucrats", level-headed, circumspect, conservative, guardians of the *status quo*. On the contrary, they must produce new ideas and propose novel solutions going far beyond the traditional orthodox approach. Governments need the co-operation of independent men with imagination, audacity and creative ability.

134. This "effectiveness crisis" is clearly apparent in all the fields in which the United Nations operates, but it is in international co-operation for development that it is most glaring. This Organization, through the tutelage exercised by the Economic and Social Council in this area, has allowed the differences—of all kinds—between rich and poor countries to reach a degree of gravity never before known by mankind. In recent years, and without finding a solution, we have had evidence of the fact that development and under-development are no more than different, complementary and mutually determined manifestations of one and the same process of economic and social development.

135. World economic structures continue to be modelled upon a system of imperialistic relations between the centre and the periphery which does not necessarily have its origin in a deliberate will to impose the political and economic hegemony of one country over another, but is usually the

natural outcome of the existing rules governing economic relations between nations—rules which the great centres of power still consider sound and normal. As long as these conditions prevail, the developing countries are inexorably condemned to be mere spectators of the wealth of others, completely excluded from the mainstream of history.

136. This situation leads us to the unavoidable conclusion that the existence of a single international community, with common ties and common aims of security and development, is a myth which is discernible here and on many platforms where speeches are made by distinguished persons who promise in grandiloquent language things we know they are not prepared to put into practice. This gigantic hoax conceals the true political fact that the interests and objectives of developed countries are not the same as those of developing countries and, on the contrary, tend to conflict with them more and more. The "international community" as such does not exist; what do exist are national interests with more or less strength, influence and power. We have moved away from the arbitrary use of power to a kind of joint stock company in which some shareholders hold preference shares of such a kind that not only do they control all the decisions but they also keep all the profits. In this process, the relative importance of developing countries within the world power structure has been declining day by day, and at present it is markedly less than it was twenty-five years ago.

137. The growing understanding between the chief protagonists of the cold war, a factor which has unquestionably promoted peace, has made it less and less necessary to rely on the understanding, support and votes of the developing countries. But improved relations between the northern countries has led to the southern countries being excluded from the discussions. Politically, it is undoubtedly true that we are no longer necessary for the national security of the great Powers.

138. Furthermore, technology has changed the conditions of dependence on the southern world in which the northern world found itself in some sectors. Economic and commercial ties between the industrialized countries have become ever closer and more complex, while the relative share of the developing countries in the growth of world economy has declined. Between 1953 and 1968 their share in world trade fell from 27 per cent to approximately 18 per cent.

139. The failure of successive meetings to take economic policy decisions is forcing the developing countries to become self-reliant, to have less faith in the promises and commitments of the developed countries and to seek in their own strength and creative ability the foundations of a more equitable and more efficient society.

140. For my part, I believe that there is a keen and clear awareness of this phenomenon in Latin America today. A profound, momentous and general attack on traditional structures is taking place in our continent. The whole ideological and institutional framework which sustained our development for nearly 150 years, is being systematically called in question, the speed with which this is being done varying with the country concerned.

141. The way has been opened for investigation and substitution. Nevertheless, one element emerges quite clearly—a growing and justified continental nationalism, which seeks to establish a Latin American personality with its own criteria and values. We have temporized for too long, trying to apply intellectual theories ill-suited to our particular circumstances. We grew accustomed to being influenced by doctrines developed in other continents and we used our intelligence to answer questions which did not concern us. In this way, we became victims of the most serious form of dependence—psychological subordination to foreign countries.

142. In a world which is becoming increasingly unified through the development of technology, which brings continents into contact with one another, puts goods into circulation and links together man's productive activities, Latin America has remained divided.

143. Our continent has often been treated as a collection of picturesque communities, each of them concentrating on the easiest means of communication for exports, so that their internal unity, their capacity to join together, were destroyed and the centripetal force of their common origin and culture lay dormant. But this situation has become incompatible with the will of the peoples and the rational process of national development. Hence, the advantages of unity have been expressed in various ways. Areas of economic interest are being identified; common political concepts are being developed; progress is being made in the integration of national groups and regions.

144. In this way the foundations of Latin American nationalism are being laid. Material resources are being recovered; a group of organizations representative of all Latin America is actively engaged in carrying on joint activities. By this means, an interrelated system is being established, that is to say a Latin American system—a house with many mansions, a nationalism comprising many nationalities.

145. Nevertheless, our efforts to find ways and means of taking joint action with all the nations of the world, and particularly with those with which we share the common status of developing countries, are continuing. As a great Latin American writer said:

“Our nationalism, if it is not a mental disease or idolatry, should lead to a universal search. We must first of all realize that our state of alienation is that of the majority of countries. If we are to be true to ourselves, we must advance not at the traditionally slow rate of glaciers but at a pace consistent with the active mind of man. So much the better if we have no prescriptions or patent remedies for our ailments. We can at least think and act soberly and with resolution.”

146. The real challenge which now faces us is how to create in Latin America an environment worthy of man so as to ensure his freedom, culture and security. That is why we need to think for ourselves and to take our own decisions. The most recent and important manifestation of this new nationalism was the meeting of the Special Commission on Latin American Co-ordination in May of this year. There for the first time the hopes and expecta-

tions of Latin America in the field of international economic relations emerged clearly and with precision. A document was drawn up and signed by the Ministers; it was addressed to the President of the United States of America, but, in fact, it has universal validity. In it we draw attention to principles which must be respected and specific measures which need to be taken in the sectors of trade, transport, financing, investment and invisibles, technical co-operation, and social, scientific and technological development. In that document, called the Consensus of Vina del Mar,<sup>5</sup> it was agreed: first, that the emergence of a growing nationalism, seeking to affirm the Latin American personality, with its own concepts, values and organizational structures, must be accepted as irreversible and legitimate.

147. Secondly, there must be a clear recognition of the principles of equality of States; non-intervention in the internal or external affairs of other States in any form whatsoever which constitutes an attack on the personality of the State and its political, economic and cultural elements; respect for the validity of treaties; the sovereign right of each country to dispose freely of its natural resources; and of the fact that economic co-operation cannot be subjected to political or military conditions. Likewise, the principle that no State shall apply or promote coercive measures of an economic or political nature to weaken the sovereign will of another State in order to obtain advantages of any kind from it but, on the contrary, that every effort must be made to prevent the adoption of policies, actions and measures which endanger the economic and social development of another State. These principles, which already form part of the Latin American Consensus, undoubtedly have universal validity.

148. Thirdly, co-operation in Latin American development cannot be made conditional upon our acceptance of a given political, social or economic system.

149. Fourthly, private foreign investment must not be considered as aid or computed as part of financial assistance for development.

150. Fifthly, co-operation must meet the needs and priorities specified by the countries concerned themselves.

151. These then, are the principles which, in our view, should be followed in the next stage of international co-operation for development and, in particular, in the measures to be agreed upon as an integral part of the next United Nations Development Decade.

152. Last year when I addressed this Assembly [1685th meeting], I analyzed the factors which were responsible for the failure of the First United Nations Development Decade. As I said then, there was and there still is a strong conceptual resistance to the principles and measures proposed, an enormous lack of understanding on the part of the prosperous countries, a serious lack of unity and vision on the part of the developing countries and a progressive decline in the efficiency of the international machinery. I do not wish to analyze these different points now, except

<sup>5</sup> Latin American Consensus of Vina del Mar (Chile) approved by the Special Commission on Latin American Co-ordination, which met at Vina del Mar from 15 to 17 May 1969.



to confirm that, in reality, nothing has changed. On the contrary, the UNCTAD meetings which ended in Geneva a few days ago<sup>6</sup> were a complete disaster. These were the least rewarding of all the meetings held and demonstrated the total absence among the great Powers of the political will to go forward.

153. The Government of Chile has made known its views, in the appropriate forum, about what the Second Development Decade should comprise, but I should now like to put forward further considerations. In the first place, with regard to the transfer of financial resources, the industrialized countries have not kept their publicly repeated promises to transfer 1 per cent of their gross national product. If that were done, the next decade could be called the Development Decade. This should be recognized forthwith because the strategy of the developing countries can no longer treat with respect the diplomatic excuses, which are always circumstantial, put forward to justify the non-fulfilment of promises: balance-of-payments problems, the gold crisis, devaluations, warlike acts, even disputes between government departments of individual States.

154. And the worst feature is that while these excuses are being made, the flow of financial resources in question is reversed, to the great advantage of the rich countries. Of course, the nationals of those countries are still convinced that they and their Governments are making great sacrifices to help the poor countries. But nothing is further from the truth. All this would change if Governments had the political will, because the resources exist, as the military activities in progress show. Moreover, as a factor of their own development, the industrialized countries continue to believe that the best form of aid is the encouragement of foreign investment and that our role should be to provide guarantees and create a climate of confidence for those investments.

155. This solution, which is the very epitome of nineteenth century international capitalism, is not only deeply rooted in the mentality of the Western Governments but is also manifest—which is lamentable and, I would say, unacceptable—in the thinking of the financial and economic organs of the United Nations family, owing to the undue influence on their decisions exerted by men trained intellectually in an affluent world, who despise, or are ignorant of, the political and social factors involved in the actual phenomenon of development.

156. I feel it necessary to say quite frankly that the solution to under-development based on the transfer of huge amounts of private capital, under the conditions in which that transfer has been taking place, is politically intolerable and economically self-defeating, as Latin America's present experience shows, and only helps to widen the gap. Of course, there is no question of prohibiting the flow of financial resources or of denying the value of foreign investments as a factor in promoting the advance of technology and managerial skills, but it is time to reject that highly esteemed symbol of capitalist mythology which serves only to increase dependence and to perpetuate subtle but enduring forms of imperialism.

<sup>6</sup> The Trade and Development Board met in Geneva as follows: Ninth session—25 August to 15 September 1969; First resumed ninth session—16 to 23 September 1969.

157. In expressing these views, the Government of Chile is not motivated by an extremist ideology or a spirit of hatred against anyone. They are the natural and logical outcome of a process of political, social and technical maturing involving the active and growing participation of the whole community in decision-making and in the actual benefits of development.

158. Inherent in this process is the exercise of national sovereignty over the State's economic resources, whether they be raw materials or the product of the people's labour. The right of a State to nationalize what it regards as basic or essential resources is a sovereign, legitimate and inalienable right. It is this right which Chile has exercised with respect to our copper, which is the mainstay of our economy, and we have done so with adequate compensation.

159. This is why new rules of the game for transfers of funds must be sought, providing for human and, therefore, political and technological progress, which is the very essence of development. If technological advances necessitate constant change in the developed industrialized countries, the developing countries should not be asked to ensure stability and a "climate of confidence" for foreign investments, if their aim is to remain an enclave which freezes development. The progress of a community necessarily involves changes, the purpose of which is to increase the extent of national ownership and to take independent decisions.

160. There are new ideas which must be studied. Reference has been made, *inter alia*, to nationalization which is planned at the time of the initial investment and to the provision of sufficient foreign exchange earnings to amortize the capital invested.

161. But the question of the flow of private capital is important, since it is now the main channel for the transfer of science and technology. The decade ahead of us will be marked by scientific and technological advances. The laws of outer space have already been tamed. But the decade of the 1970s cannot be used to enable some countries—a very few and increasingly fewer—to tame the majority of mankind through control of science and technology.

162. I have mentioned the search for methods permitting the transfer of knowledge through foreign investment on terms more favourable than the present ones. But no method will be able to correct the imbalance between nations in this respect and prevent the abuse of power which it will engender unless there are changes in the principles and in the actual systems that regulate these factors. Basically, science and technology cannot continue to be private property.

163. If the effects and even the very concept of private property are being examined and reviewed and in many respects even eliminated in the interests of collective security, health or welfare, the Roman concept of property cannot continue to be applied to the practice, use and enjoyment of the benefits of contemporary science. If Roman law was a law of privilege, so is the existing law in so far as it reserves for a favoured few the product of the knowledge accumulated throughout the history of mankind.

164. It is no longer tolerable that private power and gain should be the prime movers of development and should determine the rules, subjects and beneficiaries of the immense progress which is taking place, especially in the realm of production, living standards and communications. That a moral problem of the highest order is involved is undeniable. Since in the case of outer space it has been agreed to abandon the concept of private and national property, because already people are speaking in terms of human rights, the same concept should apply to the sea-bed. The sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction are the common heritage of mankind. Therefore, in this context, we maintain that no one should be able to acquire or claim any right over them, or exploit their resources without the consent of the international community; and it should be the latter which determines, through machinery or an institution to be established, the conditions under which that exploitation will be carried out and the share which the international community will have in the benefits derived therefrom.

165. We are not in the United Nations to promote the extension and consolidation of the power of any nation, or of two or more nations; precisely the opposite is true. If this Organization, which is first and foremost a political one, is to serve any real purpose, it must create legal and financial instruments to control the abuse of power by the large nations and to enable all its Members to participate in progress. That is why we should begin to think about

establishing an international institution to control science and technology and put them at the service of mankind.

166. When we remember that fifty years ago—not more—financial resources were entirely in private hands while today, in contrast, there are international agencies which distribute them, it is not Utopian to believe that scientific and technical resources may also become common property. These questions cannot continue to be governed by laws and regulations dating back to the nineteenth century, when science has already put two men on the moon. This should be the challenge for the 1970s and the greatest contribution of the United Nations to peace and development. Until the nineteenth century research was marked by freedom of thought and objectivity. Today research is governed by military budgets and industrial interests.

167. With the advent of the twenty-first century, man's accumulated knowledge should cease to be a commodity offered for sale or, what is worse, for hire and should become the common heritage of mankind. If we have the courage to put science and technology unreservedly at the service of mankind, scientists will have a horizon free of moral impediments, youth will recover its confidence and will no longer encounter obstacles to its efforts on behalf of justice and human progress, and the United Nations will grow in stature to meet the needs of the international community.

*The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.*