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*President:* Mr. Edvard HAMBRO (Norway).

**AGENDA ITEM 9**  
**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. AL-JABER (Kuwait):<sup>1</sup> Mr. President, your election to the august position of President of the General Assembly during the present session is tantamount to consecrating the principles which should prevail in our agitated world. My Government would like to offer its felicitations on this happy election as it believes that it will immensely facilitate the work of the present session, owing to your long experience in United Nations affairs, your outstanding reputation in international relations and your exceptional ability and talent.

2. We celebrate during the present session the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, which was founded to save coming generations from the scourge of war, to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights and to establish conditions under which justice can be maintained at a time when the world is convulsed by turmoil, division and violation of the rights of people to live and survive, and while weapons of mass destruction are being stockpiled.

3. This unhappy situation is basically due to a disrespect for the purposes and principles of the United Nations and a disregard for United Nations resolutions. It has deprived the United Nations of efficacy and turned it into an impotent organ, passively watching the sad events in the world without being able to play the role assigned to it in the maintenance of international peace and security.

4. Kuwait has consistently expressed its deep faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter. While reaffirming its faith in these principles during the present session, it calls upon the international community to discuss the most effective means of strengthening and developing the United Nations machinery.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Al-Jaber spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

5. Having made these general observations about the United Nations, I now proceed to consider briefly the role which the Organization has played, as well as the role it is called upon to play, with respect to the intricate crises in our region, which have been gaining in complexity every day.

6. An objective look at the development of history in the Middle East over the last quarter of a century leads to the inescapable conclusion that the United Nations bears the principal responsibility for the rise of those conditions which formed the root cause of the successive explosions in the region, and that it was responsible also for the aggravation of those conditions as well as for the failure to arrive at just solutions.

7. This responsibility springs from the actions as well as the inaction of the United Nations.

8. At the outset, it was the actions taken by the United Nations, in disregard of both the principles of the Charter and the constitutional limitations of its own powers, that gave rise to conditions which soon became, in turn, the cause of continuous tensions and escalating conflicts. For it cannot be gainsaid that the recommendation made by the General Assembly twenty-three years ago to partition Palestine [*resolution 181 (II)*], in spite of the opposition of its indigenous and rightful inhabitants, and to establish in Palestine a political entity reserved for aliens and based on racial segregation and exclusionism, was the initial cause of persistent trouble in our region.

9. This initial action was followed by United Nations inaction. The United Nations failed to adopt necessary corrective measures, even when such measures were called for by its Charter and would have fallen within its competence. Such inaction gave rise to continuing tension and escalating conflicts. Thus, the United Nations refrained from taking decisive action when the alien, racist body planted in Palestine proceeded to displace the indigenous population and take possession of their private and public property. The United Nations refrained from intervening to implement its successive resolutions calling for the return of the displaced Palestinians to their homeland. It also refrained from intervening when the alien body abrogated the armistice agreements it had signed with neighbouring Arab States. And it refrained from intervening when that alien body expanded by war, doubling and redoubling the area of the territories it had originally seized.

10. Had the United Nations taken the opposite course, had it refrained from taking those initial measures which it was not within its rights to take

and had it actually taken decisive action of a preventive or corrective nature when such action was both right and mandatory, the Middle East would not have been burdened by the turmoil and anguish from which it suffers today. Indeed, the whole world would have been spared the anguish of those periodic convulsions which have brought it several times in the past quarter century and bring it again today to the very brink of danger. And, above all, an entire generation of an innocent Arab people would have been spared its tragedy: of coming into being, growing and reaching maturity in the shadow of injustice and deprivation; of the resultant embitterment, desperation and rebelliousness; and of the compulsion to travel the path of ascending violence towards regaining lost rights.

11. That then is the first lesson to be derived from a fair-minded review of the interplay of the actions and inaction of the United Nations with the rise and exacerbation of problems in the Middle East. The first lesson pertains to the past; the second, to the future.

12. The United Nations and all its Members have a special responsibility to put an end to the suffering of which the Organization was the original cause, to achieve a just settlement of the resultant conflicts and to pave the way for a secure and happy future in the region.

13. If the determination to discharge this responsibility faithfully and adequately obtains, the following four fundamentals will jointly constitute the appropriate starting-point.

14. First, violations of international law and the principles of the Charter must no longer be permitted, and past perpetrators of such violations must not be permitted to continue to reap the benefits derived therefrom.

15. Secondly, no acceptable, secure and durable system can be erected on the basis of those very wrongs which have so far produced nothing save injustice, hate and turmoil.

16. Thirdly, no solution can be found for the present crises through continued disregard of the primary victim, which has had thus far to pay the highest price for the wrongs committed by others. I refer to the Palestinian people—its majority displaced, its homeland occupied, its national wealth despoiled and its dignity desecrated.

17. Fourthly, this people may not be expected to acquiesce in the fait accompli forcibly achieved on its own land at the expense of its own rights and aspirations. Nor may it be asked to accept and give its blessing to that fait accompli nor to any solution of the current problems which is predicated on the continued displacement of that people and its continued deprivation of its natural rights. The General Assembly, which rightly decided at its past session to reaffirm "the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine" [*resolution 2535 B (XXIV)*] must not permit that declaration to remain—as countless other resolutions relating to the

Palestinian people have remained—purely verbal and therefore hollow.

18. From those four fundamentals there emerges a procedural principle which should guide the United Nations in its efforts to resolve the crises of the Middle East.

19. Progress towards that end cannot be achieved through the attempt to formulate one comprehensive and integrated solution to all facets of the problem at once, or a "package deal", which would be put into effect at one and the same time. Progress can only be achieved through identifying the root cause and the most important ramifications of the whole problem, applying the principles of the Charter regarding them, and thereby creating a climate conducive to further progress in resolving the remaining issues.

20. Two elements of the problem stand out as having absolute priority, namely, continued Israeli occupation of territories of Arab States Members of the United Nations and continued dispersion of displaced Palestinians who have been barred from return to their homeland and homes.

21. The United Nations does not possess the right to adopt towards either of these issues any position other than that which is prescribed by the Charter and repeatedly enunciated by competent organs of the United Nations in formal resolutions. The only solution to military occupation is withdrawal. The only solution to displacement is repatriation, that is to say, the return of the displaced to their homes, their resumption of normal life in dignity in their homeland and the exercise of their natural right to self-determination on their soil.

22. When the determination to apply faithfully the principles of the Charter with regard to these two issues comes to obtain at the United Nations, and when this has been accomplished, it will be possible to look forward to steady progress towards removing the remaining obstacles impeding the achievement of a just peace.

23. I have spoken thus far of the responsibilities of the United Nations as a whole and all its Members. I must add a word about the big Powers in particular. The big Powers, which initially stood behind the "original sin" in the Middle East and therefore bear special responsibility for the consequences thereof, have aimed in fact at more than just that in pursuit of their interests and ambitions in the region. They may have imagined, and still imagine, that the liquidation of the Palestine problem in a manner which would entrench the fait accompli without redressing wrongs and restoring rights would usher in chaos and turmoil throughout the Arab world, which would in turn serve as a golden opportunity for safeguarding existing big Power interests or achieving outstanding ambitions in the region.

24. The big Powers hope to exploit the crisis of the Arab world in Palestine through fomenting other crises for the Arab nation as a result of which those Powers would be able to subdue the Arab will and exploit

the resources of the Arab world without fear of effective resistance.

25. Such planning will founder on the rock of reality. There is sufficient alertness in the Arab world to such designs, coupled with commensurate determination to safeguard Arab sovereignty and dignity, to frustrate and defeat these designs whatever may be the current manifestations of the possibility of chaos and turmoil emerging as a reaction to the attempts to bring about an unjust settlement to the problem of Palestine.

26. The big Powers will discover that this road to the Arab world is in fact a blind alley. They should know that legitimate, mutual interests may be better and more fully and securely safeguarded through stability resting on satisfaction and consent and that they cannot be served by the ushering in of chaos and turmoil. As for illegitimate ambitions, which elicit no Arab responsiveness or consent, they can be neither attained nor safeguarded whether by the exploitation or fomentation of crises or by resort to force in the aftermath thereof.

27. The area of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction is full of promise, as its vast virgin resources should be used to bridge the gap between the developing and developed countries. This, however, can only be done under an international legal régime based on the concept that the area and its resources are the common heritage of mankind, and should be established by a basic international treaty of a universal character.

28. Such a régime will remain a mere abstract idea unless international machinery is established as an integral part of it and its executive arm. The Kuwait Government has consistently advocated that the international machinery should have jurisdiction over the area and its resources, and be endowed with comprehensive powers which will enable it to exercise both regulatory and operational functions. The machinery should play an effective role in preventing severe fluctuation of prices of mineral resources in world markets. This is a vital issue for those developing countries that depend entirely on the production of non-renewable raw materials.

29. It is a matter of urgent importance that a declaration of principles for the régime governing the area beyond the limits of national jurisdiction should be proclaimed as early as possible.

30. In upholding the provisions of resolution 2574 D (XXIV), my Government is opposed to the establishment of any interim régime which will allow technologically advanced countries to have a free hand in the area beyond the limits of national jurisdiction.

31. I should also like to affirm that my Government objects to the concept of an international trusteeship to be exercised by coastal States on any part of the area lying beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. This is a trusteeship in name only as its real purpose is to make the highly developed countries the major

beneficiaries of the exploitation of the area which belongs to mankind as a whole.

32. My country, which takes pride in the role which has enabled it to assist effectively in promoting the economic and social development of sister and friendly developing countries, attaches special importance to the Second United Nations Development Decade. Though there are encouraging signs that the strategy will soon be launched, yet we have serious apprehensions about the reluctance of most of the developed countries to accept firm commitments. It is not sufficient to lay down broad objectives. We must also define policy measures and programmes of action. Commitments, therefore, must be very precise and of a binding character. A time-table should be set for the implementation of the targets. The strategy should emphasize the interdependence of the world economy and the necessity of making opportunities equally available to all nations, especially the developing countries.

33. The ultimate aim of the strategy should be to enable the developing countries to become self-sufficient through the increase in their export earnings and the diversification of their domestic economies. I would like to express the fervent hope that the new strategy will prove to be a landmark in heralding a new era of co-operation among all nations regardless of their economic and social systems.

34. The main problem which confronts us during the present session is to strive to find some means for rescuing the United Nations from its present apathy and stagnation as we cannot imagine a world without such an international body. The other alternative can only be anarchy and abuse of power which would threaten the future of mankind.

35. The use of force, invasion, occupation, territorial aggrandizement and *apartheid* have become dangerous practices in the world today. Those who perpetrate these vile deeds now believe that they have acquired a right to invade and occupy the territories of other States and face the world with a *fait accompli*, and that they are free to dictate terms for relinquishing part of the territories under their occupation which they had seized by force. Unless we all collaborate to strengthen the machinery of the United Nations by giving it the power to take action for the discharge of its responsibilities, humanity will be faced with a dismal future indeed.

36. It is essential that all States should be allowed to join the United Nations according to the principle of universality and as a means of strengthening the world Organization so that it may become an effective instrument in maintaining international peace and security and meting out justice in the world. It will be incumbent upon the new Members to accept the obligations embodied in the Charter and contribute to solving world problems in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Charter. Hence we call for seating the People's Republic of China in the United Nations so that it may play an effective role in our Organization.

37. We call for the withdrawal of all American and other foreign troops from Indo-China so that the countries of that region may exercise freely their right to self-determination without foreign interference. We also call on all United Nations Members to comply with United Nations resolutions imposing an embargo on Portugal and South Africa, in order to put an end to *apartheid* in Africa. Kuwait thus acts in accordance with the resolutions of the non-aligned summit conference recently held in Zambia<sup>2</sup> which delegated to President Kaunda the task of communicating its resolutions to the United Nations.

38. The world is fervently yearning for peace—peace based on justice, peace based on right, peace based on the right of peoples to live in freedom and dignity. As one month exactly from today we shall celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, it may be pertinent to proclaim as a theme “peace based on justice” and to adhere strictly to this theme, which is the best tribute we can pay to this great anniversary.

39. Mr. HUNLEDE (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, allow me first of all to express to your distinguished predecessor, Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph, the great satisfaction of my Government at the able manner in which she carried out her duties. By her ability, her dignity and her charm, she did honour to Africa in general and to our sister country Liberia in particular.

40. I should like also to convey to you, Sir, the most cordial congratulations of the Government and delegation of Togo on your election to the highest office of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The Western European countries were very well advised indeed to present to our Assembly for unanimous election a candidate who is an experienced diplomat, and whose father was called upon to preside over the last Assembly of the League of Nations. We are convinced that, from the example set by your father and because of your great personal qualities, you will ably carry out the onerous duties that have been entrusted to you.

41. At this time when we are celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization, we cannot allow the occasion to pass without addressing to our Secretary-General, U Thant, and his predecessors an expression of our sincere gratitude for the work they have accomplished with devotion and with complete unselfishness to ensure that the great and noble aspirations proclaimed in the Charter are realized.

42. Twenty-five years ago the representatives of fifty-one nations, learning from the lessons of past generations, adopted the Charter of the United Nations, one of the primary purposes of which is the development of friendly relations among nations founded on respect for the right of peoples to self-determination.

43. Ten years ago, in order to give tangible meaning to that sacred principle, the General Assembly of the

United Nations solemnly adopted resolution 1514 (XV), containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

44. We are overjoyed and we congratulate ourselves on the fact that, owing to the combined efforts of our Organization and of the peoples that love peace and justice, many countries of Asia, South America and Africa have acceded to international sovereignty and have become members of the community of nations. However, we should not forget that at the present time some Territories still remain under the yoke of the racist and colonialist régimes of Lisbon, Pretoria and Salisbury.

45. The question of the decolonization of the Territories under Portuguese domination constitutes, in the eyes of Africa, one of the most disquieting issues. Our continent has been humiliated by burdensome colonial demands for far too long to continue to consent to be subjugated and exploited further by another under-developed country. The very paradox of Portuguese colonialism is that Portugal does not have the necessary means to support its war. Yet, aided by certain countries, its accomplices, who call themselves friends of Africa, it continues unceasingly to spread terror, vandalism and death in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau).

46. We are gratified, however, at the fact that a faint glimmer of light is beginning to dawn in the conscience of a segment of Portuguese public opinion which heretofore has been ill informed on the issue. Submitting the policy of the Portuguese Government in Africa ever since 1930 to critical examination, the opposition party, the Democratic Union party, declared in September 1969: “the right of African communities to self-determination is recognized by all moral authorities in the world and is enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and in the papal encyclicals”.

*Mr. Bohiadi (Chad), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

47. However, Africa will not allow itself to be deceived. Thus it will continue the struggle against Portuguese colonialists wherever it occurs and whatever form it may take in Africa. For that reason, Togo, associating itself with those who participated in the international solidarity conference with the peoples of the Portuguese colonies, which met in Rome last June, makes a pressing appeal to the countries that are aiding Portugal in its colonial war to cease standing solidly behind it. My country endorses the resolution adopted by the Rome conference, demanding that NATO's support of Portugal should cease, that economic and military assistance by the countries friendly to Portugal should cease and, lastly, that the international organizations and the United Nations, in particular, should resolutely determine to isolate Portugal as long as it continues to flout the elementary rules of human rights and the fundamental principle of the right of peoples to self-determination contained in the Charter.

48. Another of the most disturbing problems for Africans is that of South Africa. Despite the praiseworthy

<sup>2</sup> Third Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Lusaka, Zambia, from 8 to 10 September 1970.

and tireless efforts that the United Nations has been making for a quarter of a century to give our Organization the universal character it should have, by working for rapprochement among all nations members of the international community without distinction as to race, religion or sex, we must note with bitterness and indignation that the key principle in the policy of one of the Members of our Organization is *apartheid*.

49. For twenty-five years South Africa, which has established as a principle of Government the odious practice of racial discrimination, continues with impunity to defy the United Nations by flouting its many decisions. The racist policy of the Pretoria Government, the basis of which is the negation of the dignity of African man, is a serious challenge to our Organization and, in particular, to the African continent.

50. It is clear that this deliberate flouting of the elementary principles contained in our Charter constitutes a deliberate threat to international peace and security. That is why the great Powers, which have the responsibility for maintenance of peace in the world, must finally recognize the need to invoke all measures, including the enforcement measures provided for in the Charter, in order to induce South Africa to respect its obligations to the international community.

51. To oppose sanctions against the Government of Pretoria on the grounds that these would impose on the United Nations burdens that it cannot assume is a false issue and an abdication of its responsibilities.

52. To resign oneself to a negative attitude because it has not been shown that the application to the Pretoria Government of enforcement measures as foreseen under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter would lead that Government to renounce *apartheid*, is an attitude of dangerous complicity which can only encourage the unrepentant racists of South Africa to persevere in their inhuman designs.

53. In this connexion—and to demonstrate the truth of what I am saying—we should also recall the annexation—pure and simple—by South Africa of the international Territory of Namibia and its constant refusal to withdraw its administration from this country despite the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the United Nations General Assembly.

54. The sad experience of South Africa is dangerously being followed by the illegal régime in Salisbury. Encouraged by the example of its neighbour and reassured by the presence of the armed forces of the latter on its territory, the rebel régime of the racist minority in Rhodesia is adopting new measures to strengthen its position and to oppress the African majority even further in flagrant violation of resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly.

55. My Government solemnly appeals to Member States which are aware of the serious danger with which the total racisms of the authorities of Lisbon, Pretoria and Salisbury confront our Organization. It deplores

the complicity of those States which, despite many resolutions of the Security Council, continue to maintain trade relations with South Africa. It denounces the fact that certain Member States are supplying weapons to that racist country which uses them against innocent people whose only crime is that they are fighting for their freedom. It is high time that our community decides to assume the full measure of its responsibilities so that the advocates of *apartheid* will understand that they can no longer commit crimes "in the name of the law" with impunity.

56. I think I can say, however, that independent Africa is ready to receive with satisfaction the advent in southern Africa of a multiracial community based on freedom and equality. That is why, in accordance with the terms of the Lusaka Manifesto,<sup>3</sup> we ask that an opportunity be given to the peoples of these States to co-operate as equal citizens and to provide themselves with the institutions and systems of Government under the protection of which, by common agreement, they will live and work together to create a harmonious society.

57. Another long-standing problem, no less disturbing for our Organization, is that of the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. We deplore the fact that a country whose extraordinary economic potential and demographic importance is known to our Organization still has not taken its rightful place among us. However, we note with satisfaction the efforts being made by some countries which are working unceasingly in search of an intermediate solution between the various positions which heretofore have always been in conflict in our Assembly. There is no doubt that the Chinese problem has progressed considerably in recent years towards a settlement that has been desired for many years.

58. May I be permitted to reaffirm the position of my Government on this question? In our view, the Organization would only be doing justice to the People's Republic of China by admitting it to the Organization, and it is in the name of that same principle of justice that an opportunity should be given to Nationalist China to continue to sit amongst us.

59. Nor can we pass over in silence the painful problem of Viet-Nam which has been of concern to our Organization for many years. We duly appreciate the United States decision to withdraw its troops from South Viet-Nam, and we hope that the resumption of the Paris negotiations will lead to a compromise settlement satisfactory to all of the parties concerned and will lead to a genuine peace in that part of the world where the civilian populations have been so sorely tried for so long.

60. Turning to the problem of peace, we must note with regret that during all the time that we have been discussing disarmament, no noteworthy progress has been made and that the countries possessing atomic

<sup>3</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

weapons continue, in disregard of the poverty of the underdeveloped countries, to pour astronomical sums of money into the manufacture of instruments of destruction. It would not be fair, however, if I failed to mention the efforts made by both sides to achieve disarmament—in this instance I refer to the United States-Soviet meetings at Helsinki in December 1969 and in Vienna in April 1970. We address ourselves to the countries possessing those weapons of mass destruction with a certain degree of concern, but also with a measure of hope, the hope that in the near future we may see the negotiations for complete and effective disarmament culminate in an extension of the negotiations to all countries possessing atomic weapons.

61. The cease-fire which has just been instituted in the Middle East should not lead us to forget the complexity of the Israeli-Arab conflict.

62. My Government has always felt that there could be no just and lasting peace in the Middle East without the effective implementation by the two parties of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967. The consistent attitude taken by my Government on this issue leads me to state that we support the latest United States peace proposal—and I am referring to the Rogers Plan—which as you know is not different from the resolution of 22 November 1967, both of which look towards the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from the territories occupied during the recent conflict and the recognition of the right of all countries of the region to exist. True, we can criticize the Rogers Plan for not having expressly tackled the Palestinian problem. However, it seems to us that the plan constitutes a step towards the settlement of the conflict. That is why we invite Israel and the Arab States to make a realistic appraisal of the situation and to accept this plan.

63. The recent repeated hijackings of civil aircraft in flight and the resulting danger to the lives of the passengers prompt me to reaffirm the position of the Government of Togo on this question. We condemn these unworthy acts as a means of defending any cause whatsoever. We think that States should take early measures to implement resolution 2551 (XXIV) of the General Assembly.

64. Turning to another question, the particular interest that my Government takes in the German problem is well known. The historical bonds of friendship which unite our two countries are for the Togolese people a reason to share the sorrow of the divided German people. Togo therefore welcomes the development of Bonn-East Berlin and Bonn-Moscow relations. We welcome in particular the contacts between the two parts of Germany and the recent conclusion in Moscow of a treaty on the non-use of force and co-operation between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany.<sup>4</sup> Our dearest wish is to see the current negotiations culminate in self-determination for the whole German people.

65. On the eve of the Second United Nations Development Decade, and also on the tenth anniversary of my country's independence, I should like to mention the economic problems which are of concern to us and, more specifically, that of the widening gap between the economies of the industrialized and developing countries.

66. Article 55 of our Charter sets forth the basic objectives of international economic co-operation, clearly stipulating that, among other things, the United Nations shall promote higher standards of living and conditions of economic and social progress and development.

67. Those noble objectives led our Organization, ten years ago, to outline the work programme for the first United Nations Development Decade, to whose disappointing results we cannot remain indifferent. Within the framework of the first Decade, each developing country was supposed to fix its growth rate, taking as its target a minimum annual growth rate of 5 per cent, to be reached by the end of the first ten-year period.

68. Unfortunately, the economic achievements of most African countries have been very disappointing during the period concerned.

69. We must also note—with those at the head of international economic bodies—that the target of 1 per cent of the gross national product of the wealthy countries as assistance for the developing countries, which was accepted at the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development<sup>5</sup> and which has just been approved by the Preparatory Committee for the Second Decade, is far from having been attained. In 1969 the wealthy countries devoted to the third world only 0.72 per cent of their national income, as compared with 0.79 per cent in 1968. The percentage devoted by the world's wealthiest country has even declined from 0.66 to 0.49 per cent. We sincerely regret this sad reality. On the other hand, my country welcomes the substantial assistance afforded it by certain countries, in particular France and West Germany.

70. We must therefore consider what are the causes of this failure, so as to make sure the Second Decade does not suffer the same fate as the first. Many reasons may be found; but the most important is undoubtedly the non-binding nature of the resolutions and recommendations adopted, which, unfortunately, are all too often no more than a catalogue of good intentions. The developing countries thus have the feeling that the developed countries, which are in part responsible for the success of the measures advocated, are wanting in political will. Even when the political will exists—and in the euphoria of debate one might sometimes suppose that it does—one must wonder whether ultimately the non-binding nature of the commitments entered into does not contribute to blunting and opposing it.

<sup>4</sup> Signed on 12 August 1970.

<sup>5</sup> Held at New Delhi from 1 February to 29 March 1968.

71. The success of the Second Decade will depend, above all, on a sincere desire to extend effective assistance in the take-off of the developing countries' economies; but here too we need something more than vague recommendations. As regards the form of those commitments, if the Second Decade is to be more successful than the first, it is essential that clear-cut action programmes should be drawn up in specific sectors and that definite commitments should be entered into, which might apply to sectors concerning primary commodities, and development programmes in particular.

72. To lose sight of the fact that primary commodities constitute the essential resources of the developing countries would be a grave omission. Among the measures envisaged for the Second Decade the developed countries should undertake to promote the conclusion of international agreements on the more important commodities. On this subject, my country welcomes the success of the Conference of cocoa-producing countries which was held at Lomé late in March this year. We earnestly hope that the concrete results achieved will persuade the consumer countries of our determination to conclude an international agreement on that commodity.

73. If specific commitments should be undertaken in the field of trade, particularly as regards primary commodities, the same applies to development programmes, whose implementation will bring the targets of the Second Decade within reach. Specific obligations should be entered into by the developed countries. Although the 1 per cent target is not sufficient to bring about spectacular results, it constitutes a minimum.

74. At the present time the aid-distributing agencies are unable for want of resources to meet all the requests for financing—often thoroughly justified requests—which are made of them. Here again, the existence of political will in the developed countries should make it possible to find the necessary financial resources.

75. But over and above this political will and the obligations which flow from it, it is essential to mobilize public opinion in those countries where people do not always understand the meaning of the effort which is asked of them, to explain to them the interdependence of the problems of today's world as a result of which the prosperity of countries which are today poor constitute for the wealthy countries an incentive for sustained development and also a guarantee of international peace. This would help to exorcise the demon of Cartierism and to inform public opinion, too long misled, in greater depth.

76. I have mentioned the problems of the Second Development Decade and what, to us, seem to be some of the more essential measures. These measures would have their full effect and would enable the wealthy countries better to discharge their commitments if thousands of millions of dollars were not spent on ruinous and unproductive wars and if the Powers and super-Powers of this world had not hurled themselves into the mad arms race, an arms race that is all the crazier since we are told that those arms will not have to be

used. Many voices have been raised at this rostrum deploring the fact, and it is time the race to build instruments of death gave place to the race to develop the potentialities of men. That is possible only if the peoples and leaders of wealthy countries are moved by a spirit of global solidarity.

77. We believe that present-day youth's resolve to participate more fully in the activities of our Organization may be nourished by this spirit of solidarity and thus be brought to play an important role in bringing peoples together and in the economic and social development of the third world. We thus share the opinion of our Secretary-General who, when opening the World Youth Assembly<sup>6</sup> in this very chamber some while ago, called for the creation and spread of a new kind of patriotism, a patriotism of man, so as to spread the spirit which we so desperately need if our international institutions are to function.

78. Young people throughout the world can understand this appeal. United, they can represent a new force. But it is also for us, the political leaders, to take courageous decisions and to set an example by giving young people the material means of action. My government, therefore, entirely supports our Secretary-General's idea of creating a United Nations corps of young volunteers to participate in the economic and social development of the underdeveloped countries. I should like to take this opportunity of thanking the developed countries which have already set up national corps of young volunteers to assist our countries in the most varied fields.

79. The problems I have referred to are intimately interrelated and, naturally, lead me to speak of hunger in the world—that anomalous and destructive scourge in our century of advanced science and technology. The situation is so serious in some parts of the world that it should prick the conscience of the most selfish; they must realize that the imbalance in economic and social conditions operates mainly for the benefit of the people in wealthy countries and to the detriment of the poorest peoples in the world. Like the Director-General of FAO, we believe that there is little time left in which to change our attitudes about the vital problems of the third world if we are to avoid an absolutely overwhelming tidal wave of violence. According to the most modest estimates, the total world population in the year 2000 will be about 6,000 million, of which 4,000 million will be in the third world. That is why we firmly believe that our chance of survival rests in increasing assistance, in capital investment and in re-examining terms of trade. The action of the World Food Programme, considerable though it may be, needs to be substantially strengthened.

80. While it would be unjust to say that the balance sheet of our Organization after twenty-five years of existence is negative, it must also be recognized that the hopes of our peoples have not been entirely satisfied. Peoples on our earth are still torn by pointless wars, subjected to abominable injustices and oppressed by inhuman practices.

<sup>6</sup> Held at Headquarters from 9 to 17 July 1970.

81. The effectiveness of our Organization depends, first and foremost, on the authority that States Members are willing to confer upon it. But such authority means that all nations, great and small, must put their faith in the Organization. That is the price of a solution to our problems.

82. In conclusion, may I proclaim here, as we embark upon a new quarter of a century of our Organization's life, that my country, once a ward of the United Nations, intends to contribute, with all its energy and with renewed faith, to helping usher in a new society of peace, justice and progress.

83. Mr. ÇAĞLAYANGIL (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to join previous speakers in extending to President Hambro my warmest congratulations on his election to the Presidency of the General Assembly. The unanimity with which the Presidency has been entrusted to him shows the great prestige he has won in the Assembly by his exceptional talents and qualities as a distinguished statesman and scholar. His constant loyalty to the cause of peace, his experience in diplomacy and his extensive knowledge of international law will be a most valuable help to this Assembly in the course of its deliberations. The President may rest assured of my delegation's full support in his difficult task.

84. May I also be permitted on this occasion to pay tribute to the outgoing President, Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph, who directed our work during the last session of the Assembly with the experience, wisdom and the talent known to us all.

85. Before going on to other subjects, I should like to express my Government's satisfaction at the forthcoming accession of Fiji to membership in the United Nations. This is not only a new stage in the process of decolonization, but also brings us a little closer to our goal of universality for our Organization.

86. The present session marks a milestone in the history of the United Nations. For this year we celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of our Organization. The stage we have reached gives us an opportunity to take stock of our activities and to search our hearts in order to draw useful lessons for the future.

87. When we look to the past, we see a great number of achievements, but also serious shortcomings. This is certainly regrettable, but it is no use ignoring realities, however unpleasant they may be.

88. We all know that since its creation, the United Nations has not always lived up to our expectations and has not played the ambitious role assigned to it by the Charter. The numerous crises which have shaken the world and threatened peace during the past twenty-five years have often found their solutions outside the framework of the United Nations. The great challenges of our times, such as the scientific and technical revolution, the problem of youth, or the problem of the widening development gap between Member

States are not sufficiently reflected in the work of the Organization.

89. It would be unfair to blame the Charter or the lack of material means for this situation. It is perhaps due to the excessive optimism that marked the first years of the United Nations. The effectiveness of the Organization depends, after all, on the common will of its Members. In the present state of the world, selfish considerations often take precedence over the general interest, and one cannot expect age-old habits to be overcome within a period of twenty-five years.

90. It is this, rather than anything else, that prevents our Organization from acting with the desired effectiveness and dynamism. In the circumstances it might be fairer to ask by what miracle the United Nations has been able to accomplish such considerable work in so many fields within the space of twenty-five years. The achievements to its credit are indeed numerous and varied. A host of differences have been settled through the mediation of the United Nations and through the efforts of its Secretary-General or his representatives. An enormous amount of work in depth for the benefit of future generations has been done by the specialized agencies in fields as varied as health, education, agriculture, science and the training of specialists.

91. Hundreds of international agreements have been initiated or concluded under the auspices of the United Nations and we are indebted to it for a large part of the legislation on human rights.

92. If despite all that the United Nations continues to be criticized, it is because its foundation aroused the highest hopes. Those who conceived the Charter were inspired by the noble ideal of a better world free from fear, hunger, sickness—a peaceful world in which all countries could devote their energy to the economic, social and cultural development of their peoples in an atmosphere of stability and prosperity. We are still far from that goal.

93. In order to live up to this challenge, I think it is important above all to preserve the moral authority and the prestige of the United Nations. That is a matter of capital importance, because the greater the moral authority of the United Nations the better position it will be in to exercise a salutary influence upon those who might be tempted to violate the principles of the Charter.

94. Unfortunately, in view of the present state of international mores, it is not enough to preach respect for principles. We must also take practical steps to ensure that they are respected. The Charter provides us with a number of means to that end; what has been lacking thus far is mainly the will to apply them.

95. Such seems to me, in the light of past experience, the main lesson we should learn from the twenty-fifth anniversary.

96. One important item on the agenda of the twenty-fifth session concerns the study of measures to

strengthen international security. This is a many-sided problem which should be considered from both the global and the practical point of view.

97. With regard to the first aspect, we must try first to determine the basic elements that threaten international peace and stability. Among the basic moral causes of tension, we find political ambition, conflicting ideologies and the desire for hegemony. Without wishing to be pessimistic, I believe that the elimination of such factors can be achieved only gradually, as the authority and effectiveness of the Organization are strengthened. As to the major material factor, it is the ever-widening gap between the level of development of industrialized societies and that of other countries. If this gap could be narrowed to tolerable proportions, if not eliminated, it would undoubtedly help to strengthen international peace and security.

98. With regard to practical measures, it should first be noted that theoretically the United Nations has a complex of very effective means at its disposal, but they have not yet been applied on the right scale. Although the obstacles to their application are real enough, the means for giving them practical effect should be seriously studied. One field that offers interesting possibilities in this regard is that of peace-keeping operations. If a solution could be found for the difficulties standing in the way of an agreement, it would be a long step in this direction.

99. Finally, structural reforms could be contemplated. But this is a delicate undertaking which requires caution and imagination, for the problem is to find an acceptable formula which would enable the United Nations to act effectively without impairing its nature of a free association of equal and sovereign nations. In the present circumstances it seems to me wiser to concentrate our priority efforts on the full application of the provisions of the Charter, which contains an ample reserve of means that can make it a highly effective instrument for the preservation of peace, provided we go about it with a will.

100. Another subject which is directly related to the maintenance and strengthening of security is the problem of disarmament. We whole-heartedly welcome the happy initiative of the General Assembly in proclaiming the 1970s the Disarmament Decade [*resolution 2602 E (XXIV)*]. This problem, which concerns the very future of mankind, has been our central preoccupation for many years. This is a field in which negotiations have always been particularly slow and difficult. It is nevertheless possible to say that recently some progress has been achieved.

101. The entry into force of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*] is indeed an important step towards nuclear disarmament. We hope that the increasing efforts to prohibit the use of chemical and biological weapons and the storing of weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor will also lead to positive results. The best guarantee for the success of these efforts lies in the continuing interest and active participation of the General Assembly.

102. The negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on the limitation of strategic arms have also opened new perspectives in a field of vital importance for the security of all the countries in the world. If even a partial agreement could be reached, the chances of putting an end to the frantic arms race would certainly be increased. However, we still have a long and arduous road before us in order to arrive at general and complete disarmament under effective international control. I express the hope that the forthcoming decade will be more fruitful in this respect than the preceding decades.

103. I should like now to express the views of my Government on the various problems which continue to hold the international stage.

104. Once again, the Middle East crisis is our main preoccupation and constitutes the major hotbed of tension endangering peace and stability. Two months ago, at a time when the prospects were dark indeed, the United States peace plan revived hopes for a peaceful settlement of the conflict. The acceptance of the cease-fire within the framework of this plan by the countries most directly concerned has halted an alarming military escalation and made possible the reactivation of the Jarring Mission. It must be admitted that the joint efforts of the United States and the Soviet Union to find a peaceful solution to the conflict, as well as the concerted efforts of the four Powers under the auspices of the United Nations, have contributed significantly to the attainment of this result. The observance and maintenance of the cease-fire are the first condition for the success of these efforts. At this delicate juncture it is indeed important that the parties should refrain from any provocation and show patience, sincerity and good faith, without retreating from the right decision they have taken. This is the only way in which the climate of mistrust which poisons the atmosphere and prevents any progress can be dispelled. The second condition is that Ambassador Jarring should be given a chance to continue the conversations with the parties to the conflict, so as to profit from the cessation of hostilities and undertake a frank and open discussion with them on all aspects of the problem. If these two conditions were fulfilled, the talks could proceed on the basis of the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 [*242 (1967)*] to try and find the elements of an agreement.

105. I should like to reiterate here the position of my Government on the various aspects of the conflict. We continue to be firmly opposed to the use of force to gain political advantage, acquire territorial gains and impose unilateral solutions, since nothing lasting can be built on enmity and injustice. Similarly, measures to change unilaterally the status of the Holy City of Jerusalem are unacceptable whatever the reasons claimed. This change in its status in fact goes beyond the strictly regional framework and brings an emotional element into the conflict the explosive nature of which hardly needs to be emphasized.

106. Our objective has always been, and still is, the establishment of a just and lasting peace that will finally bring a healthy atmosphere to the region. War brings

no solution to differences; on the contrary, it only serves to complicate the situation further. The Middle East conflict is no exception to the rule. This conflict which has been going on for years has created a highly complex situation and, as in other similar cases, it leaves the usual legacy of hostility, mistrust, destruction and related problems the elimination of which will require arduous and patient effort.

107. Nevertheless, whatever the difficulties to be overcome, we must always bear in mind that the alternative to success in this new attempt can only be a major crisis with unforeseeable consequences. In view of the seriousness of this prospect, we cannot afford a failure which world opinion would not forgive us. Neither have we the right to disappoint those who are experiencing the daily hardships of the war and to whom the cease-fire brought such welcome relief.

108. Speaking of the Middle East conflict, one cannot pass over in silence the dramatic situation in Jordan. War is surely a dreadful thing, but I believe that civil war, which causes bloodshed among people of the same nation, sowing hatred and desolation among members of the same family, exceeds in horror anything that one can imagine. The sacred desire in the hearts of all Jordanians should be to serve their country better. My most fervent wish is to see this fratricidal struggle stop as soon as possible.

109. I think the present circumstances provide a good opportunity to take advantage of the exceptional talents of Mr. Jarring, whose skill, discreet diplomacy and tact are universally recognized and appreciated.

110. Before leaving the Middle East region, I should like to turn to a problem which is of still more direct concern to my country, namely, the question of Cyprus. The peculiar nature of the Republic of Cyprus, composed of two national communities and based on the equality of rights of the two ethnic entities and on their proportional participation at all levels of political activity, is enshrined in constitutional and contractual provisions.

111. The main objective of the talks going on between the two communities of Cyprus is to explore the possibility of a return to constitutionality and the restoration of normal conditions. These talks, which have been going on since June 1968, have not thus far led to an agreement between the island's two communities.

112. Despite fading hopes, we still look forward to the day when the door will open to a just and equitable solution, safeguarding the independence of Cyprus and the rights and interests of the two communities within the framework of the balance established, recognized and respected at the inception of the State.

113. I should like once again to thank the Secretary-General, his special representative and the authorities of the United Nations peace-keeping force in Cyprus for the interest they have shown in the situation in the island, particularly during a period when certain destructive trends and lack of security further com-

plicated the situation and prevented an agreement between the two communities.

114. I should also like to say a few words about a conflict which continues to be a source of danger to peace, that is, the Viet-Nam war. This war, which has already cost innumerable lives and sown destruction throughout the countries of the region, has not yet been brought to an end despite President Nixon's decision gradually to withdraw United States forces from Viet-Nam and despite the continuation of the Paris talks. So long as the conflict continues the danger of its extension to neighbouring areas cannot be eliminated. We sincerely hope that a solution will be found within the framework of the Geneva Agreements of 1954, and that the brave and unfortunate people of that region will at last be able to decide their own future freely.

115. When we look towards Europe, we see that in that continent at least the efforts towards *détente* are beginning to yield fruit. The gradual improvement of the political climate which started last year is actively continuing. There are now contacts and continued discussions going on among the countries concerned, including the United States and Canada, so as to establish the principles on which the strengthening of European security might be based. Thanks to these contacts, the respective positions have been clarified on many points.

116. However, the division of Europe into two blocs, the presence on the continent of substantial military forces, and conflicting views on fundamental problems make it no easy task to eliminate the points of disagreement. The successive setbacks of the post-war years have taught us caution. In order to avoid new disappointments, the process of *détente* should be pursued progressively and without unnecessary haste. We also need time in order gradually to dispel the lack of mutual trust which is the legacy of the cold war.

117. The recent Treaty signed between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union represents an important step in this respect which, we hope, will be followed by other agreements, thus one by one eliminating the sources of tension.

118. The prospects for convening a conference on European security fall in this context. If progress as promising as that registered to date is achieved in the near future, the way to a real *détente* and fruitful cooperation among all the countries of the continent will at last be clear.

119. This year marks the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which undoubtedly constitutes one of the most important documents adopted by our Organization, a document of which Turkey was a co-sponsor. Since the adoption of that historic Declaration, twenty-six countries have acceded to independence. This is due in large part to the incessant efforts of our Organization, and more particularly to the remarkable work of the Committee of Twenty-Four.

120. Although the progress achieved during the past decade is remarkable, we have not yet succeeded in completely eliminating this anachronism, which persists mainly in the southern part of the African continent.

121. Those who try to prevent the application of measures adopted to help the enslaved peoples fighting for their most natural rights are pursuing an aim as repugnant as it is futile. This is an intolerable attitude. I once again strongly condemn the policy of *apartheid*. Despite all the appeals, that inhuman policy continues to be applied. The South African Government disregards with equal intransigence the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on Namibia terminating the mandate, and is extending its régime of *apartheid* to that country as well.

122. As an active member of the United Nations Council for Namibia since its inception, Turkey would like here to express its satisfaction at being able to report some progress on this question. The Council for Namibia has in fact begun to exercise some of its executive powers. The decision of the Security Council [resolution 284 (1970)] to seek an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice constitutes another positive action which may throw some light on the legal aspects of measures that we may be called upon to take in the future.

123. Still on the subject of Africa, in Southern Rhodesia the illegal and inhuman minority régime continues to perpetuate another example of colonialism. My country has not recognized that régime and strictly observes the mandatory economic sanctions adopted by the Security Council for the first time in the history of the United Nations.

124. Unfortunately, it is now clear that the mandatory economic sanctions have not succeeded, and the diplomatic and economic isolation of the illegal régime has not yielded the anticipated results. We therefore believe the Security Council should find new means of ensuring the implementation of its decisions.

125. The twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly will be a historic turning-point in the field of economic and social co-operation. We shall be adopting the document on the international development strategy [A/7982] and inaugurating the Second Development Decade. These are closely related aspects of one and the same question.

126. The goals and objectives of the development strategy are now being elaborated. Although the document does not seem to be as comprehensive as we would have wished after two years of intensive effort, we nevertheless hope that it will be possible on this basis to reach a general agreement in the course of the decade on political measures for the attainment of these objectives. This is a project in which we cannot afford to fail. The prosperity and welfare of two thirds of humanity depend on the success of the Second Development Decade. To the extent that we can give it real content in harmony with the goals and objectives

of the development strategy, so will our chance of living in a stable and peaceful world be increased.

127. We must, however, bear in mind that it would take a hundred years to double the present average standard of living under the rate of growth proposed in the development strategy. If we take into account the extraordinary dynamism of our age, this objective may turn out to be far too modest.

128. I should also like to say a few words about the negative developments which are taking place in the field of international trade. The share of the developing countries in international trade continues to decline. It is imperative that the measures proposed by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development be implemented in order to reverse this trend.

129. A problem which increasingly affects the lives of men is that of the human environment. We are now seeing an unprecedented population explosion. Rapid urbanization and industrialization have further complicated the problems created by this phenomenon. The exhaustion of natural resources and the pollution of our air and water are affecting the balance of nature. These are highly complex matters which ought to be dealt with on a global scale. The United Nations offers one of the best forums in which such an undertaking can be pursued. We welcome the work done by the Preparatory Committee of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment. My country is actively engaged in these matters and will deem it a duty to contribute to the success of the 1972 conference<sup>7</sup> and to the efforts of the United Nations in this field.

130. Speaking of the human environment, I should like to dwell briefly on a problem which I am sure is of interest to all of us. I refer to the natural disasters which affect the lives of tens of thousands of people and cause ravages in all the countries of the world. Many countries, including my own, have been the victims of natural catastrophes such as earthquakes, floods, and so forth. A few months after the disaster which struck Gediz, in Anatolie, Peru had to face a similar earthquake disaster that ravaged the country and took tens of thousands of human lives. Once again I should like to express our deep sympathy with that courageous and grievously afflicted people and also with the Romanian people who have recently been the victims of disastrous floods.

131. The human conscience quite naturally revolts against such destruction and all peoples of the world spontaneously offer whatever they can in generous assistance to the victims. The help of the United Nations and its specialized agencies in those difficult times, too, is received with gratitude by those who suffer these ordeals.

132. I believe that the time has come to tackle this problem on a world scale and in a more systematic manner. It would be desirable to establish machinery

<sup>7</sup> United Nations Conference on the Human Environment to be held in Sweden in June 1972.

equipped with adequate technical and financial means within the framework of the United Nations so as to make possible the rapid organization of assistance and to provide the necessary material and technical supplies to those who are in urgent need of them. In the course of this session my delegation intends to propose the inclusion of a new agenda item and a draft resolution to that effect. We shall be happy to associate ourselves with other delegations wishing to join us in this humanitarian initiative, the sole purpose of which is to ease the suffering of the countries and peoples so afflicted.

133. In conclusion, I should like to reiterate here a hope which I had the privilege of expressing once before and which I believe deserves to be repeated, that is, the hope that we may be able to live in a better world in which all our problems will be solved. Much remains to be done to arrive at that stage. Yet I believe that despite the great number of major obstacles that remain to be overcome, we are all aware that there is a spark of hope which illuminates the road to be followed. This spark is the genius of man, which has enabled mankind to achieve such brilliant success in the field of science. The day we succeed in putting this genius at the service of peace, the main obstacle will have been overcome.

134. I should like to conclude my statement on this hopeful note and to express my strong conviction that to hope for a better world is not an unrealizable dream, but a perfectly accessible ideal.

135. Mr. CAMACHO OMISTE (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to congratulate the President on his well-deserved election. His personal qualities and the noble tradition of service to the fundamental values of mankind and peace which are the characteristic of the Norwegian Government give him ample claim to preside over this Assembly of the peoples of the world.

136. I wish also to congratulate Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph, who ably directed the work of the twenty-fourth session.

137. To Secretary-General U Thant I wish to convey again the cordial greetings of my Government. His concern and exemplary dedication to the cause of the United Nations have earned our gratitude and satisfaction.

138. Also I should like to pay a tribute to the founders of this Organization, which was established twenty-five years ago to strengthen unity and understanding among men. We express our gratitude and admiration to those who fought and died in two world wars defending the right of peoples to live free from oppression, fear and want; to the statesmen who drafted and signed the Charter of the United Nations; to the intellectuals, scientists, soldiers, workers and peasants who supported and made possible the existence of this forum; and to those who continue working, fighting and sacrificing their lives to ensure that peace, justice and progress for men and nations may become a fruitful reality in every corner of the earth.

139. The Revolutionary Government of my country conveys to the Members of this Assembly, through me, this message of friendship which, in the first instance, constitutes an act of faith in the United Nations. In this connexion I may say that, like other nations, Bolivia believes in international peace and security; we believe in the principles of coexistence and co-operation; and we believe that the still undeveloped nations will obtain justice and progress through the exercise of self-determination and respect for the sovereign equality of States.

140. We have faith in the intelligence, the creative capacity and the peaceful vocation of mankind; we restate our belief in the vast potential which joint actions by Governments can open up for the future. We affirm our belief in the future of the young nations, in their ability to unite effectively in the effort to transform international society, to overcome conditions of oppression, poverty and dependence which are characteristic of the present age and to decide on the emergence of a world in which mutual respect, harmony and interdependence will constitute the basis of international coexistence.

141. The Government that I have the honour to represent assumed office on 26 September 1969. The twelve months that have elapsed have been marked by the application of a clear national leftist programme which advocates economic transformation, social justice and liberation, in the revolutionary sense, as regards its internal actions. Bolivia has proclaimed an independent foreign policy which, above and beyond considerations of ideological confrontation between East and West, makes it possible to open the door wide to all countries members of the international community and permits the closest solidarity with the interests and aspirations of the peoples of the third world. Thus our foreign policy is the decisive complement of our national effort to overcome structures that shape the system of dependence and presupposes broad popular participation.

142. Just as the rate of economic and social change is closely linked to the degree of effective participation given to the people in the definition and application of development programmes and the general policy of the country, the commitment and support of the people is an essential guarantee for national emancipation and for the fulfilment of the goals of our development strategy and of our foreign policy. In the light of the lessons of history, we see that the smaller States that do not have large armies and vast economic resources can rely for their security and progress only on the confidence and will for change that motivate their own peoples.

143. Our international policy, therefore, expresses the position of the people of Bolivia, who are seeking the affirmation of their own personality. It is reflected in a frank, objective, friendly and constructive attitude; it does not conceal its positions, disguise its intentions or act by slogans or by preconceived notions; it looks at the realities and expresses its best will to participate in any initiative that will make it possible to ensure

peaceful coexistence among the countries of the world. That is the approach that we hope will be reflected in a new diplomacy; it is the approach which the young generations expect of us.

144. All the principles proclaimed by the United Nations Charter constitute the essence of the concept and practice of peaceful coexistence. It will be impossible for States to ensure harmony and coexistence unless they respect the territorial integrity of other States, unless they refrain from intervening in the internal affairs of their neighbours, ignoring the sovereign equality of all, overlooking the right to self-determination or disregarding their duties in respect of co-operation and international solidarity.

145. However, by definition coexistence fundamentally presupposes pluralism. Those who try to make the world uniform under a single religion, a single way of life, a common ideology or identical cultural values are mistaken. We proclaim the right of peoples to affirm their particular national characteristics and their own form of development, to utilize their natural resources, to trade and sail the high seas freely, to define their foreign policy and establish their institutions in accordance with their internal requirements. The only possible limitation is respect for the right of other States and for human freedoms. Coexistence inevitably is based on diversity; it should be guaranteed and observed at the world and at the regional level, in the United Nations and in the Organization of American States, in Europe, Asia and Africa—in other words, wherever more than one organized society exists.

146. “Unity in diversity”, which was the theme of the last meeting of non-aligned countries in Lusaka, sums up very succinctly the concept that I have set forth.

147. Convinced as we are of the contribution that an effort at mutual understanding among peoples can mean towards achieving this spiritual disarmament that we long for, we entertain the most cordial diplomatic relations with the United States Government and with the Soviet Government. The traditional links which tie us to Latin America and numerous countries of Europe are now extended to the socialist world and to the new States emerging throughout the world. As part of this policy of opening the way to new horizons, we seek to win friends, to eliminate ideological barriers in international relations, to open channels for discussion and brotherly co-operation and to make possible new formulas of mutual co-operation.

148. The friendly attitude that we have adopted towards all the States of the world asks in turn only a recognition of our own right to self-determination and compliance with the principle of non-intervention. The reasons are clear, inasmuch as the recognition of States and Governments, leaping over the barriers of the cold war, constitutes an unrenounceable sovereign right which we are not prepared to cede or to make conditional upon the will of third parties. It will be applied when we consider that it suits our own national interests.

149. Like all other delegations here, we are concerned about the problems of world security. They are of special concern to us because of the peaceful tradition of Bolivia and because our country, like many others, has never attacked anyone. We can affirm with legitimate pride that not a single inch of Bolivian territory was won in an international war.

150. Therefore, when the question arises as to which are the peace-loving nations, we can answer clearly that peace is endangered by those that stockpile arms, those that place imperialist and colonialist interests above the common advantage of the international community, those that flout the declarations and resolutions of the United Nations and its organs, those that exploit, invade and pillage other countries, those that refuse to recognize the right of others to freedom, equality and economic development.

151. It has been said that it is illusory to think that world peace depends on the United Nations and that, on the contrary, the Organization depends on peace between the world Powers. We do not share that opinion and we admire everything that the United Nations has done to avoid war.

152. However, we recognize the need to ensure through a process of democratization of international relations that the influence of smaller and medium States is really effective in the decisions affecting mankind. The developing countries cannot confine themselves to playing the role of instruments for preserving the interests of the super-Powers. Bolivia is not nor does it desire to be an aligned country or a country that is a satellite of any of the super-Powers.

153. Probably the greatest risk to the United Nations now lies not in the danger that it might cease to exist, but rather that through its exclusion from political decisions, it would end by becoming converted into a technically useful but politically innocuous organization.

154. The world will not accept a *pax romana*, understood to mean order imposed by the powerful. At this juncture of civilization the international community has sufficient means available to it to solve large and small conflicts. It is only necessary to adopt the effective measures that are spelled out in the Charter, to prevent and eliminate threats to the peace and to repress acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace. It is also necessary that States should take the decisions and assume responsibilities incumbent upon them. How much more reasonable the world would be if only the principles of the Charter were complied with.

155. With respect to the future of the United Nations—and we are now celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary—we should take timely care to ensure that this Organization does not meet the fate of the defunct League of Nations. In the case of the League, “the triumphs went unnoticed while its failures were publicized in resounding terms”. We still have time to adapt this Organization to the needs of contemporary international life. Moreover, we should not forget the

telling lessons of the past: just as the non-participation of the United States in the Covenant of the League of Nations constituted its fundamental weakness, so the absence of important States divests these deliberations of universality.

156. In the face of a specific situation recognized by a large number of countries, we must apply the rule of universality. Otherwise the United Nations will end by converting itself into a limited association. As we understand this principle, we cannot support an exclusivist position which would claim to set aside any State whose existence is an unquestioned reality. This argument is valid in all cases. Accordingly, the President of my country, General Alfredo Ovando Candia, recently stated in respect of one of these States—in clear and categorical terms—that within the framework of his international policy, Bolivia would like to see represented in this Organization both the Republic of China, a country with which we maintain traditional diplomatic relations, and the People's Republic of China.

157. We are well aware of the difficulties inherent in this position, but we are more concerned about the consequences that may flow from the fact that a large proportion of the world's population is absent from the United Nations and does not share the obligations of the Charter.

158. On previous occasions we have stated that our delegation vehemently condemns the survival of colonial régimes and the emergence of a system of neo-colonialism—problems which are worsened by the maintenance of situations of racial discrimination and the flouting of human dignity. Unfortunately, it would appear that the declarations and resolutions adopted to overcome these situations prove ineffective in the face of the lack of understanding of Governments determined to retard the course of history and persist in an attitude of continuing violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter. However, we are encouraged to learn that the developing awareness of mankind of such serious problems and the desire of the colonial peoples to emancipate themselves will in the long run, finally, overcome this deplorable situation. In this same connexion the struggle of the African peoples has been exemplary and commands general admiration.

159. The evils that colonialism afflicts on countries are serious indeed. Not only does it destroy their population and their economy, but in addition it distorts the historical process of countries in such a way that even after the lapse of many years, the damages inflicted are difficult to repair. The conflict in the Middle East is one of the worst legacies of a similar past. Accordingly, we are sure that the problems that we solve in our time are the evils that we will be sparing future generations.

160. Bolivia has always refused to recognize the legality of territorial conquests achieved by force. We have not changed this position of principle. Neither have we changed the criterion that we adduced in 1947 when we supported the creation of a new State in the Middle East. If conquest and victory do not justify or con-

solidate rights, much less can they justify situations of injustice for the original population of a territory. All peoples, large and small, should have an equal opportunity to organize their societies and live in peace with their neighbours. Accordingly, any steps originating in the United Nations, or any action of Governments of goodwill, which are designed to find an adequate solution, will receive our support and certainly that of the majority of the international community. We express the hope that the final outcome of these events will bring peace to this region in turmoil.

161. The questions that the great Powers left unsolved at the end of the Second World War—the sequel of the cold war and the division of the world into areas of influence—are also difficult.

162. However, in the midst of uncertainty, we are pleased to note as a positive step the Treaty recently signed between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union. Humanity will receive with relief the announcement of similar agreements between Eastern and Western States which, although having different political and social systems, are trying to live together in peace through dialogue and recognition of indisputable realities.

163. The anguish and the worries confronting the world continue. The events which have been occurring for the past years in South-East Asia constitute another dramatic and disquieting issue. A people which, like every other people, aspires to live in peace is suffering the consequences of the universal confrontation of our age. Although total war has so far been averted, armed conflicts localized in various regions clearly endanger world security and call into question the ability of the international Organization and the great Powers to ensure peaceful coexistence. Unquestionably, one of the reasons for the dissatisfaction and the revolt of the younger generations throughout the world stems from the fact that it is impossible to explain events such as those which are occurring daily in Viet-Nam. The repeated demonstration of the useless waste of life and material resources cannot fail to cause demoralization, impotence and frustration, not to say desperate reactions, that would seem to find their justification in these facts. To put an end to such a serious problem, as part of the contest of confrontation, the parties most directly concerned must devote their greatest efforts to the task of reconstruction and development in these regions which, instead of being the testing grounds for war, should be the arenas of constructive and helpful competition. The point of departure in such an undertaking would, of necessity, have to be the recognition of the right of these people to self-determination. Otherwise we would see fulfilled the old proclamation of the prophet Isaiah, who asserted "the ambassadors of peace shall weep bitterly".

164. I do not believe that the failure to consider or even to refer to the delicate problems of the international community contributes to the finding of adequate solutions to those problems. Nor will the mere passage of time help to solve these problems. We are fully aware that these are burning and difficult issues and that, accordingly, they generate contrary

reactions. We are convinced, however, that in presenting our own positions in a fair and honest manner we will facilitate a better understanding among States. How much suffering could we have spared mankind if we had applied this simple idea. Moreover, a duty of friendship and solidarity that my Government has towards the other Members of this Organization compels me to be consistent with this principle. Public opinion in Bolivia knows that my words accurately reflect its convictions and feelings.

165. The fact of pinpointing questions that are awaiting solution can never be interpreted as a denial of the important progress and victories achieved by our Organization for the common good. The United Nations has contributed significantly to the development of international law, to the rendering of invaluable services designed to combat disease and hunger and to promote culture and education, to bring about a better understanding of social problems, to ensure specialized administrative co-operation, to render technical assistance and to confront the complicated problems of international trade and development. But, above all, the United Nations has avoided total war for a quarter of a century. We feel a sense of satisfaction for such contributions and we express our gratitude to and recognition of the help of the States, the institutions and the men who have made this possible.

166. One of the most important records that the United Nations will leave for posterity is the invaluable legal structure set up to deal with a wide variety of concepts. Starting with the Charter of the United Nations, the treaties and other agreements worked out within the framework of the Organization lay down rules governing ever-wider aspects of international relations. My Government has approved many of those conventions, and in the next few days I shall have the pleasure of depositing personally new instruments of ratification.

167. Among the questions that the Assembly will take up this year, we are particularly interested in the question of reserving the sea-bed and the ocean floor, and the subsoil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction exclusively for peaceful purposes. It is already universally recognized that those resources are the common heritage of mankind and that they constitute a valuable resource which must be preserved and exploited rationally for the common good. The practices of depletion and waste which darken the history of the exploitation of natural resources in general should not be repeated in the rich regions of the sea-bed.

168. In defining the legal scope of this question, it is essential to guarantee both this general interest as well as the legitimate rights of the riparian States. In the same fashion it would be impossible to ignore the special position of those countries which, for one reason or another, have no coastline of their own and which make up one quarter of the Members of this Organization, approximately one half of them being developing countries. A special meeting of the land-locked countries to examine those matters would help to find adequate forms of solution.

169. Bolivia is prepared to continue rendering its fullest co-operation to the perfecting of the basic principles which will prevail in this field. In addition, we should like to offer our support to the concepts supported by the majority of the developing countries. To do so, we ask only that future exploitation and utilization of the resources of the sea-bed and the ocean floor should substantially alleviate the restriction imposed upon a country which cannot count on the benefits deriving from an independent coastal area of its own. This will also require the perfecting of a system of free access to the sea, including the possibility of building the necessary means of communication by agreement with the riparian countries, in order to make this right effective and to enable those countries to participate in the preferential development of the area in quantitative and qualitative terms as is the rightful due of those countries that are placed in an inferior position because they have no coastline of their own. When this item is taken up in the First Committee, my delegation will speak again on the point in greater detail.

170. On many occasions in the past we have said that the Bolivian aspiration to have sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean is unwavering and independent of the foregoing proposals. In restating this position, the President of Bolivia, General Alfredo Ovando Candia, further stated that he is prepared to engage in a frank conversation which would lead to an honourable and constructive understanding with the Republic of Chile, considering the reciprocal interests of both countries, that would make possible the solution of the old problem which divides us and so pave the way for a new stage of friendship and co-operation. An agreement along those lines would prove the best step forward in the cause of Latin American unity, a magnificent contribution to coexistence and an example of international understanding.

171. The third world, which is the world of the poor countries, is going through the adventure of independence and freedom. But, paradoxically, at times and in circumstances in which foreign contribution to the development of those countries should be more effective, it is discouraging to note that the first Development Decade has not satisfied either the aims or the expectations of the peoples. By comparison we can affirm that the past decade represents to the world what at the regional level the alliance for progress has meant to Latin America.

172. It would be naïve to claim that any country should sacrifice its national interests on the altar of international co-operation. It is certainly by no means a question of demanding anything that is not in the common interest. We only hope that people will understand that poverty in two thirds of the world is of concern above all to the prosperous countries, which should realize that their comfortable existence cannot be permanent in a world beset by dissatisfaction.

173. Obviously, the developed countries have encountered particularly acute difficulties in the period that is just coming to a close. None the less, history

and economic science show that societies will never be completely free of problems. If compliance with the duties of solidarity had to be delayed pending the advent of exceedingly favourable and lasting economic cycles in the developed countries, no co-operation would ever actually come about. Just as the European reconstruction programme was carried out under the most adverse conditions for victor and vanquished in the Second World War and yet achieved complete success, so we can assure the Assembly that the tensions of the present world do not allow us to wait until there has been a total and perfect adjustment of the domestic situation of the countries which are duty bound to co-operate in this task. The complicated internal situations that face them are, in many cases, closely linked to the serious deterioration of the world's economy and will find simultaneous solutions only within the framework of a global strategy.

174. Probably an inadequate understanding of the meaning and scope of the concept of international co-operation has helped to cause the past decade to fail. For some time co-operation has ceased to be an expression of charity or philanthropy. Apart from the aspects that are linked to debts of justice and reparations for the distortions originating from colonialism and the defective structure of world trade, international assistance is, in the terms of the Charter, in the nature of an inescapable legal obligation. It also constitutes an inherent right of the developing countries. And, lastly, it is a necessity in a life of international relationships and a basic prerequisite for safeguarding the necessary interdependence which world peace requires. In preparing the strategy for the Second Development Decade, the United Nations will have to think about the general theoretical framework and clearly lay down the reciprocal rights and duties, the commitments that will be assumed, the time-table to be followed, and will have categorically to affirm the will to change the painful present realities by a systematic long range effort.

175. A special analysis should be made of the situation of the lesser developed countries in the whole group of developing countries. They are the opposite pole of the opulent consumer societies that accumulate the wealth of the world. There, the principal social tensions are concentrated and, therefore, there lie the greatest potential threats to peace and security. In these regions, more than anywhere else, we find lacking the postulates of justice and progress which constitute the motto of this anniversary year.

176. The granting of large-scale credits on terms in inverse proportion to the degree of development would help to bring about their capitalization. The immediate opening of markets for their exports would relieve the throttling of their foreign trade. Energetic action designed to correct social and geographic inequities would step up their progress.

177. Many of the fundamental ideas on economic relations have repeatedly been set forth. They can be found in the agreements and resolutions of the United Nations Trade and Development Conferences. The Group of

Seventy-Seven summed up its aspirations in the Algiers Charter,<sup>8</sup> and Latin America did the same in the consensus of Viña del Mar.<sup>9</sup> Now, the important thing is to admit that this does not involve a group of isolated and fortuitous measures, but, rather, a coherent, long-range programme, destined substantially to change the forms of co-operation and trade.

178. It is no longer possible to accept the contradiction inherent in the transfer of limited financial resources on the one hand, with on the other hand the impatient, not to say over-hasty, recovery of capital and dividends, which have not had the necessary time to achieve their initial development goals.

179. Certainly, private foreign investment does not represent a generous contribution. It is useful when it promotes industrialization and when it is adapted to local development plans. But we should not forget that, primarily, we are talking about a business which, like all others, must cope with the contingencies inherent in businesses of its kind, without hoping for privileged treatment that would nullify the interest to be derived by the recipient country. The ideal social and political climate, which has so often been called for, can never be provided in societies that are afflicted by necessity.

180. Moreover, the process of recovery of natural resources in the strategic sectors of the economy is not only irreversible but, in addition, it forms a part, as has been said on some occasion, of the recognized rules of the game. Obviously, the format will be different, depending on circumstances.

181. It has been stressed that the ties on foreign loans should be eliminated to make it possible to use these monies in accordance with the best choices open. Some progress has been made but it is necessary to go even further. Other ties of a political nature still persist—and in this case, as in previous cases, I am not referring only to the United States of America—which indirectly confine the area of decision open to the countries receiving this assistance. It is to a certain extent understandable that the policy of co-operation should be linked to national objectives of the countries providing the co-operation. But such ties are sometimes so rigid that they prevent countries from taking advantage of other equally interesting, financial, technological and commercial opportunities.

182. Lastly, it is high time to provide a solution to the long-studied question of stable remunerative prices for basic resources.

183. There can be true co-operation only in the exercise of an authentic independent foreign policy, for otherwise co-operation would prove to be the result of a situation stemming from subordination, servitude or dependence.

<sup>8</sup> *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Second Session*, vol. 1 and Corr.1 and Add. 1, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.68.II.D.14), p. 431.

<sup>9</sup> Adopted by the Special Commission on Latin-American Co-ordination on 17 May 1969.

184. And as an expression of the height of absurdity, the old technology of the Egyptian plough, of vehicles drawn by animals, the sailing vessels and the watermill, continues to be the basis of the economy of three quarters of the earth. And not because these peoples are devoid of talent, but, rather, because they were deprived of access to modern life. Here we find a new and fertile field for the United Nations: to awaken the dormant energy of peoples and launch them upon the adventure of thought, science and self-transformation.

185. In the effort to promote progress, co-operation among the developing countries will play a primary role. The expansion of markets, the broadening of cultural horizons, better opportunities for technological research, and, finally, the exchange of people, ideas and goods, will promote solidarity and strengthen economies. In this connexion we have vigorously supported the process of Latin American integration at the regional and sub-regional level, and we trust that these efforts will meet with success.

186. All that has just been said does not, of course, mean we fail to recognize that the primary responsibility for development devolves upon the parties directly concerned and, above all, on their leaders, which in any event presupposes that the necessary changes will be introduced to ensure social mobility and a better distribution of income. It is not a question of transferring our own obligations to a third party, but, rather, of creating a common undertaking of general interest for the benefit of all mankind.

187. Recalling past errors and events of the relatively recent past, in which the will of the stronger knew no limitations and was subject to no rules of any kind, we can realize that time has not passed in vain for the United Nations. It is true that the present imperfections are many and that the path ahead is very long indeed. However, a universal awareness of common values has matured, which undoubtedly will off set and moderate the excesses of power politics. This may well be the most important task achieved by this Organization. Because of this mission fulfilled, we joyfully welcome the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary.

188. The achievement of the commitments of today is projected into the future. Therefore, it will be up to the coming generations to assume with serenity the resultant responsibilities and to build a society where peace, justice and progress will become an obvious reality.

189. Youthful expressions of dissatisfaction and protest, which are the reflection of a dehumanized

world, will acquire a constructive and creative physiognomy at the dawn of the new history to which we aspire for all peoples: a true and completely human history.

190. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the representative of Cyprus who has expressed a desire to exercise the right of reply.

191. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I take the floor not so much to reply to the very distinguished Foreign Minister of Turkey as to offer a brief clarification of our stand in reference to the question of Cyprus, and I hope that we are not in disagreement. My Government firmly believes in equality, balance and justice in all cases, and more particularly, of course, in the case of Cyprus. We therefore strongly support the equality of all citizens of Cyprus irrespective of race, colour, creed or ethnic origin, and, consequently, we support rights of citizenship for the members of the Turkish Cypriot community equal to those of the Greek Cypriot people, on the basis of universally accepted democratic norms. Also we are in agreement with proportionate representation of the Turkish Cypriots in the public bodies—legislative, judicial and other.

192. In spite of the difficulties in the present negotiations, we look forward with faith to reaching a just, sound and workable solution in a unitary State and in a spirit of mutual understanding, conciliation and co-operation between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots for their common benefit. For what unites them far transcends what may seem to divide them.

193. In our present age, when technology has in effect unified our world, it is very out-dated to have differences which are not at all fundamental but result from old-fashioned notions.

194. I am very happy to have had the occasion to say these things to the Foreign Minister of Turkey, and I take this opportunity to congratulate him and his country most warmly on the excellent idea of presenting to the United Nations a replica of the treaty of 1269 BC between Hattusil and Ramses II, the first known treaty between two countries containing the ideas of peace, co-operation and friendship. It is, I believe, the most meaningful presentation so far made to the United Nations, and I congratulate him again.

195. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The list of speakers wishing to participate in the general debate is now closed.

*The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.*