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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. RAZAK (Malaysia): Mr. President, I feel happy and privileged to be able, in my capacity as Prime Minister of Malaysia, to deliver my first address to the General Assembly under your distinguished Presidency. I have had the pleasure of working closely with you over many years during which we have collaborated together to forge ever-closer relations between our two neighbouring countries and to strengthen regional ties among the countries of South-East Asia. From my long and close association with you I have come to know and to admire your remarkable attributes as a courageous leader of Indonesia and a wise and far-sighted statesman of Asia. Now with you as its President this General Assembly is assured of brisk, impartial and effective guidance of its affairs. It is with special pleasure, therefore, that I offer my sincere congratulations to you on your election as President of the General Assembly.

2. I wish to take this opportunity to convey to your distinguished predecessor, Edvard Hambro of Norway, my delegation's warm admiration and thanks for his patient and statesmanlike leadership in steering the historic and difficult twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly to a successful conclusion.

3. My decision to come to the United Nations at the first available opportunity upon assuming office as Prime Minister of my country just a year ago reflects my Government's continued commitment to the ideals and the purposes and principles of the Charter. It also reflects my keen desire to renew personally my Government's pledge of support for the United Nations system in all its endeavours to secure for humanity a safe, just and prosperous international order.

4. Over the 26 years of its existence, the United Nations can claim to have played an important role in human affairs. It has often been successful in restraining the wilder excesses of power politics on the international stage. Its

efforts have brought the colonial system almost to an end, except for the stubborn resistance to decolonization in southern Africa. It has formulated and implanted certain basic principles of human rights and human dignity. It has played a considerable role in the field of disarmament. Its activities in the field of economic development have been of immense value to developing countries. All that and more the United Nations can rightly claim.

5. It will be noticed that I have described the record quite modestly. I have done so on purpose because I believe it is important that we do not lose ourselves or our bearings in a welter of self-congratulations about the United Nations. The achievements of the United Nations are sufficiently remarkable to stand by themselves without any embellishment. But it is important that, as we meet here each September, we should ask ourselves what part the United Nations plays in the lives of our countries and in the formulation of our foreign policies. Are we in fact serious about the United Nations? It is understandable that the bright glow and expectations of the dawn of 1945 have inevitably paled in the cold light of experience over the last 26 years.

6. We should nevertheless frankly face the question whether the people of the world look with hope and expectation to each session of the General Assembly or whether they, and their Governments, regard it as yet another international meeting which consumes a disproportionately vast expenditure of time and money.

7. Let me say at once that I, for my part, do not regard the annual session of the General Assembly as merely a ritual gathering of world statesmen. Nevertheless, I am acutely conscious of the disillusionment and disappointment experienced by many people and many Governments the world over in the United Nations. This is a fact which we must face; we must not gloss over it; we cannot ignore it in the hope that it will somehow disappear. Of course, the United Nations will go on. But do we take seriously its role in international affairs as a centre for harmonizing conflicting interests and as a catalyst for peaceful change? Or have we established alternative networks of relationships for the solution of our problems while paying suitable and regular obeisance to the United Nations? For my part, it is precisely because I value the United Nations—what it stands for and what it can achieve—that I urge the Assembly to take a dispassionate and even a critical look at the direction in which we are going.

8. By its very nature, of course, the United Nations has to work on the basis of the factors underlying the international society: the interests, the fears and suspicions, the hopes and the expectations of the Member States. It represents the sum total of the national entities of which it

is composed. But it should be more than the sum of its parts. This annual gathering in New York must be something more than a meeting of representatives of national Governments. It should also be an expression of the concept that there is an international community which bears responsibility for dealing with matters that refuse to be confined within our national boundaries. This does not mean that we should ignore the fact that we assemble here to promote the interests of our own national constituencies. But we must try to go beyond that and to remember that we also comprise a collective body whose electorate is the international society. That is the framework within which the United Nations must operate. One of the great challenges of the 70s is whether the nations of the world can, in their pursuit of national objectives, conform to the underlying concepts and norms of the Charter and work together as a global community.

9. I believe that sometimes we have succeeded. From time to time we have shown our consciousness of the fact that we are all fellow passengers on this fragile planet Earth. We are on this journey together; we are becoming inevitably more interdependent. It is this consciousness of a world community which we must carefully cultivate and nurture.

10. The facts of international life in the world today are such that the further development of the United Nations is dependent, in the first place, on the attitude of the major Powers. They have it in them to decide whether the United Nations can become a truly effective Organization which is capable of fulfilling both its purposes and the hopes and expectations of mankind. This is because those hopes and expectations cannot be ignored. The resolutions of the United Nations can be ignored. The weak, developing countries can be ignored. It depends on the major Powers, therefore, what role the United Nations will play on the international stage.

11. There is at the same time a corresponding obligation on the part of the smaller Powers. Just as we must do our utmost to avoid the alienation from the United Nations of smaller countries because of the dominating role of the major Powers, so also we must strive to prevent the alienation of the major Powers from the Organization through the attempted imposition of the will of the majority. Speaking as a representative of a small developing country, I am acutely conscious of the fact that the simple mechanical process of majority voting along group, political or ideological lines will not solve any problem. There is often a need for greater realism and restraint. Greater efforts might be made through the process of negotiation and consultation to arrive at solutions which, while they must be solutions of principle, are at the same time realistic and attainable.

12. There is, however, one aspect of this matter which must not be lost sight of. The rhetoric and resolutions of the United Nations cannot simply be dismissed as a sign of immaturity or irresponsibility, because they are often only the expression of the impotence of the group of developing countries in the United Nations. We cry aloud in the hope that we may be heard. We seek to express our appeal and our outrage at the human condition to which all humanity must bear witness. We seek to remind a callous world of the horrors and injustices of *apartheid* and colonialism in

southern Africa, of the tragic plight of the people of Palestine, and of the continuing struggle against human poverty and human misery which face such a vast majority of mankind. I need not add any more to that list. The problems of the world which cry out for solution are quite familiar to us all.

13. Now let us pause a moment and look again at the situation in southern Africa. The stubborn refusal of the South African Government to abandon its abhorrent *apartheid* policy and its persistent denial of United Nations authority in respect of Namibia must be regarded as constituting one of the grave challenges confronting the United Nations. There are also the entrenched forces of colonialism in Southern Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique. Some five or six years ago, there was a glimmer of hope. Since then, dark clouds have enveloped the horizon almost completely. It cannot be denied that South Africa's contemptuous disregard of the United Nations has established a precedent whose corroding influence on the authority and credibility of the Organization has already begun to assume alarming proportions. Today, it is my hope that the recent advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice¹ will give the necessary impetus to the Security Council to take positive action which could represent a breakthrough in this tragic issue.

14. I refer to another problem with which the United Nations continues to grapple, and that is the situation in West Asia. Resolution 242 (1967) was unanimously approved by the Security Council to provide the framework for a peaceful settlement. Four years have since passed, and we are almost precisely where we were then. Israel continues to be in illegal occupation of Arab territory. The people of Palestine continue to be denied their inalienable rights. While noting with deep regret the negative Israeli attitude, let me express the hope that the positive reply of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the initiative taken by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General will enable the search for a peaceful settlement to proceed forward.

15. I do not wish to sound unduly pessimistic. Looking at the picture as a whole, and looking towards the future, we may find some encouragement in the events of the last session of the General Assembly. That session was characterized by a degree of understanding and co-operation. The culmination of the first quarter-century of the Organization was marked by the adoption of several historic declarations which together sum up the progress already made and the determination to continue with the work of achieving the purposes of the United Nations. I refer to the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)]; the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [resolution 2625 (XXV)]; the Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil Thereof beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction [resolution 2749 (XXV)]; and, finally the International Development Strategy for the Second

¹ *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)]. It is in this sense that I view the decade that we have just begun as one of hope as well as one of great challenge and opportunity for the United Nations.

16. I should like specifically to refer now to the problem of economic development, which is the single most crucial issue facing the developing countries. The challenge facing the international community does not concern merely economic development; it is in its totality a challenge to the peace and stability, and indeed the survival, of mankind. What the world is striving for, to ensure a durable peace, is not merely a balance of power but a balance of prosperity, of opportunity and of well-being—and in this the developed as much as the developing countries have a mutual stake and interest.

17. It is in this context that I view the urgent and compelling need for the effective implementation of the International Development Strategy of the Second Development Decade. While economic development must remain the primary responsibility of the developing countries themselves, it is essential that their dedication and labours should be matched by development assistance and more favourable economic and commercial policies on the part of the developed countries, equally dedicated and committed to the attainment of the goals of the Second Development Decade.

18. The problem of development must, therefore, be approached in the perspective of creating the over-all conditions necessary for peace and stability in the world. Unless there is a genuine partnership between the developed and the developing countries, and unless economic development is accepted as a common challenge to all, the prospects for a radical improvement in the world economic framework and consequently the prospects for establishing a sound basis for world peace and security will remain as remote as ever.

19. What I am advocating, in sum, is a realistic appraisal of the United Nations as it is today and, in the light of that appraisal, a renewed effort to fulfil the dreams and hopes which were born in San Francisco 26 years ago. I am aware that what I have said is not new: we are all conscious of it, though we may not often wish to express our thoughts—but I believe we must if we value the United Nations. It is useless to come to the United Nations each September to say polite things to one another and then to go on our separate ways. Let us even be a little impatient, a little critical of ourselves. Let us look at our agenda and remind ourselves how many of the items on it have become hardy annuals on which we appear to be going through the same debates every year. Is it any wonder, then, that there is increasing disillusionment about the United Nations? What should we think, what would our people think, if every year in our own national assemblies the same debates took place, the same decisions were taken and then things went on precisely as they had been before?

20. Let us reassess our position, let us take stock of where we stand and apply ourselves with vigour and tenacity to solving the problems which face us. Let us remember that words are only words. We must mean what we say and we must do our utmost to see through to the end what we have

agreed upon. We must have a sense of commitment and a clear sense of direction. There must be a definite and sustained follow-through of the sentiments we express here. Only in that way can the United Nations succeed. I believe it is important, indeed vital, that the United Nations should succeed. I should like it to occupy a central place in our consideration of foreign policy. I should like it to capture the imagination and live up to the hopes of our people. To those ends I pledge Malaysia's readiness to play its part.

21. I believe it would be right that in this statement I should also address myself to the political and security situation, especially as it affects South-East Asia. There can be little doubt that the 70s will be a period of great challenge and opportunity. We are already witnessing the beginnings of a momentous drama dawning on the political horizon. In Asia, in particular, while wars and human suffering admittedly still rage, there are already hopeful signs of a gradual thaw in long-held rigid positions of the protagonists in the ideological and political confrontation in the area. The recent announcement by Washington and Peking of a visit by the President of the United States, Mr. Nixon, to China in the near future is a dramatic manifestation of that thaw. I do not entertain any illusions about the outcome of that meeting, but it is essential that we should be aware of the significance of the moment and that we should seize the opportunity to chart a new course of destiny in Asia and the world.

22. While the dialogue among the major Powers is a welcome development, it may be well for the other countries of Asia not to be content to be spectators in this unfolding drama; for in the evolution of a new situation which such dialogue among the major Powers may well bring about it is essential that the interests of all countries, both the big Powers and the small Powers, should be accommodated. In terms of peace and security in Asia, I believe that South-East Asia would have a great relevance in the establishment of an Asian equilibrium and it is incumbent upon the nations of South-East Asia to play a positive role in this dynamic political evolution.

23. This leads me to the policy of neutralization of South-East Asia which Malaysia has been advocating in the past year or so as the only possible and viable long-term solution to bring peace and stability to that region. It is in this context that I welcome the initiative of the Government of Ceylon in proposing that the Indian Ocean area be declared a zone of peace [A/8492]. The United Nations should take action towards this objective while there is still time and before the military involvement of the major Powers in the area assumes significant proportions.

24. As regards the proposal for the neutralization of South-East Asia, my Government has on many occasions explained the considerations which have led us to make the proposal. I do not, therefore, propose to elaborate on them again. What is required in South-East Asia, in our view, is a new international order under which the region would be free and isolated from competition and interference from outside power and under which the neutrality of the region, and the independence and territorial integrity of the countries in it, would be fully guaranteed.

25. The essence of the neutralization proposal must be the recognition and accommodation of the legitimate interests

of all Powers concerned in the area—the guarantor Powers as well as the countries within the area itself. There needs to be a harmonizing of all these interests, the end result of which should be an order everyone can live with. The question really is, therefore: is there room for adjustment and accommodation so that there can emerge in time an international order which is acceptable to all and is compatible with the legitimate interests of all? Surely there must be, if there is a determined will and effort on the part of all concerned to work for the attainment of that objective.

26. The countries in South-East Asia have a primary role to play in bringing about the conditions which are necessary for the realization of the neutralization proposal and to show that a neutralized South-East Asia meets the legitimate interests of the great Powers themselves. The question of peace and war in South-East Asia affects all of us in the region. It is, therefore, my firm conviction that on these questions we in South-East Asia should consult closely together and should move together for the attainment of our common objectives.

27. Central to this approach is the cultivation of a sense of regional cohesion and solidarity. The movement towards regionalism is gaining increasing momentum among the countries of South-East Asia and there have been established many regional bodies covering such matters as education, transport and communication, development financing, and so on. Above all, there is the region's own body, the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN], formed and fashioned by us some five years ago to forge closer links and to promote co-operation in economic, social and cultural matters among its members.

28. For my part, I view the exercise in regional co-operation in South-East Asia exemplified by ASEAN as having a value beyond that of merely economic, social and cultural co-operation. Even more important, such co-operation will engender conditions of stability in the region and a sense of solidarity and cohesion among South-East Asian countries. It will constitute the solid foundation for the realization of the neutralization proposal for South-East Asia.

29. One of the essential prerequisites for the realization of the neutralization proposal is the existence of a dialogue between the major Powers. It is important that the channels of dialogue be opened and widened, and the most important of these channels is China's participation in the United Nations. That China should be in the United Nations is, after 22 years, no longer a matter of dispute. There are, however, certain—shall I say—technical differences among us. I wish, therefore, to take this opportunity to state the position of my Government.

30. Malaysia will oppose any draft resolution which proposes "dual representation" for the seat belonging to China because, in our view, there is one China and one seat for China in the United Nations. It is beyond doubt that the Government of the People's Republic of China is *de jure* and *de facto* the Government of China. Also, in our view, the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations does not involve the expulsion of an existing Member, as this question does not arise. We shall,

therefore, have to oppose any draft resolution that puts forward such a view. As things stand at present, what has been termed the Albanian draft resolution [A/L.630 and Add.1] most nearly meets our position. If there is no other proposal which comes closer to our position, we will support that draft resolution, but I wish to make it clear that, in our view, the question of Taiwan is a separate issue which will have to be resolved by the parties concerned. We are anxious that this question should be peacefully resolved. It is our hope that in the solution of this problem due account will be taken of the wishes of the people of Taiwan, to be ascertained by the process of self-determination.

31. It is my hope that, with the participation of China in the United Nations, we shall enter a new era of meaningful dialogue among all the major Powers of the world so that, as a result of that dialogue, conflicts could be blunted and disparate interests harmonized. One of the great virtues of the United Nations as a centre for harmonizing the actions of States is that it is not only the consensus of the big Powers that counts but the consensus of the entire membership. The United Nations is, therefore, the forum in which not only the interests of the major Powers can be reconciled but the consensus of the major Powers can be reconciled with, and even serve, the interests of the entire international community. That, I submit, is what the United Nations is all about, and it lies within our hands to make our Organization discharge this function.

32. May I finally say a few words about our Secretary-General. He came into office following the tragedy that befell his predecessor. From that moment of tragedy he has unobtrusively but resolutely held the United Nations together by his strength and quiet dignity. It is very difficult for me to express the deep debt of gratitude which we owe to him. Through 10 full years, with unflinching devotion he has steered the Organization through many perils. We all know how difficult is the task of the Secretary-General. But his unflinching perseverance in his endeavours to give practical expression to the aims and purposes of the Charter is an example from which we may draw inspiration. His work will be remembered by present and future leaders of the United Nations, and history will preserve his name as one of the architects of international co-operation and understanding. In many crises, especially in the crises of confidence the United Nations has had to face now and again, U Thant has represented all that is best in the United Nations. We wish to express to him our gratitude. We hope that he will remain available in the future for other great services to the United Nations in fields where his experience and ability would bring the Organization great results. May I, in conclusion, express my wish and my prayer that he and his family will enjoy continued health and happiness in the years to come?

33. Mr. DE PABLO PARDO (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the Argentine Government I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your election as President of the General Assembly. We know that with your well-known ability you will guide the discussions of the Assembly successfully. I should appreciate your conveying to Edvard Hambro the appreciation of the Argentine delegation for the efficient and successful way in which he presided over the twenty-fifth session.

34. My delegation is happy to welcome the three countries that have joined the Organization at this twenty-sixth session. From its seat in the Security Council, Argentina has already had the chance to support their admission and to express its satisfaction at the fact that the United Nations was very soon to benefit from the active participation of Bahrain, Bhutan and Qatar.

35. The Secretary-General has expressed his decision not to continue to perform the tasks that he has been so wisely and devotedly carrying out for the United Nations. The Argentine Republic is still hoping he will reconsider that decision. But if that is not the case, we should like, from this rostrum, to express our thanks to U Thant for the efforts he has made over the years he has dedicated to our Organization. Much of the success achieved has been due to his will to strive and his concern to put into practice the principles of the Charter. For that reason, his voluntary retirement spells a loss that will be felt by those of us who believe that the United Nations can come closer to a fulfilment of its goals if it has a Secretary-General who not only carries out resolutions of our Organization but also possesses sufficient political sensitivity to be able to co-operate in the analysis of and search for solutions to world problems. Since this exactly describes U Thant we can do nothing other than pay a tribute to him for his worthy and fruitful performance.

36. The United Nations, like any other valid normative system, can be considered from two different points of view. On the one hand, it is possible to assess this Organization bearing in mind the principles on which it rests under the rules that constitute it. On the other hand, one may use as a yardstick of its effectiveness the degree of adaptation it shows to the reality it is designed to regulate.

37. From a strictly legal point of view the United Nations represents the most significant model of the establishment of a universal system in the history of mankind.

38. By its very nature the United Nations has always aspired to constitute a complete and coherent regulation of international relations. But in its fulfilment that ambition has been conditioned by the actual reality of the world.

39. The characteristic features of the normative model of the United Nations are the scope of its criteria, its adaptability to a changing world and the capability of incorporating in its framework new actors on the international scene. If peace, security and the promotion of human rights were and are the guiding principles of our Organization, it is also obvious that their maintenance in 1971 calls for the adoption of measures that cannot be the same as those of 1945.

40. During the last quarter-century the world has multiplied its possibilities of economic, political and cultural development. Not only has the political structure of the world changed with the appearance of new States that have brought with them new concepts of life and have enriched the international dialogue, but at the same time the progress of science has created a greater interdependence among the different regions of the world. This means that the implementation of the principles of the Charter demands new methods in order to ensure its efficacy and to

prevent it from resting solely on mere declarations. Therefore any evaluation of the tasks that the United Nations performs presupposes an analysis of those conditions of international life that have been changed since 1945.

41. Twenty-five years ago the world was divided into three large groups: that of the victorious Powers that drafted our Charter, that of the vanquished nations, and that of those other countries that had somehow not been involved in the conflict. The war that was drawing to an end had not only been the result of economic or political factors. Ideological factors also were involved. It was only natural that ideologies should continue to play a preponderant role even after the war, especially if we bear in mind the existence of a strong opposition between the political and social conceptions held by the victorious Powers themselves.

42. It would be false to deny the importance of ideologies as a factor in the transformation of national and international realities. There can be no doubt that the most radical changes of the last two centuries have, to a great extent, been brought about by ideological factors. The belief in the dynamic power of certain principles—many of which were considered Utopian when first formulated—has led people to bend serious efforts to modify the situation of their respective countries or regions. Furthermore, these ideologies have been the lenses through which reality has been viewed. But since ideologies themselves are swayed by historical conditioning, it is obvious that with time they too must change and that their validity is dependent on outside factors.

43. We can at present discern the inverse relation that exists between reason and political maturity, on the one hand, and ideology on the other. As the former grow so the latter seems to shrink in importance, particularly in the field of international relations. While from the seventeenth to the middle of the twentieth centuries ideological conceptions were above political decisions and defined the goals of the State, today they have become explanations, justifications of what purely and objectively must inevitably happen. For that reason political theoreticians have very often without knowing it become the devisers of justifications for what must happen. The technical argument carries weight non-ideologically; it works regardless of the political régime and eliminates fields of decisions that were at one time the purview of ideologies.

44. This fact is the direct result of another basic factor: the growth of the importance of science and technology in human relations. The rational control of nature has reached such a degree that it has substantially altered relations among men and between them and the things that surround them. The scientific and technical yield has become one of the most accurate yardsticks with which to measure the development of a country. Brain-power is now a decisive element in the independence and sovereignty of nations. Those countries that are not able to keep up with the increasing speed of scientific and technical discoveries risk falling into a type of subjection that is incomparably more complete than was classical colonialism. Control over the future will depend on science and technology. A race began some time ago to win dominion over scientific civilization. Contrary to the typical forms of state hegemony, this new type no longer aspires to extend itself in territorial space,

but is measured rather by the intensity of the scientific and technical yield of the competing countries. Since the free availability of the means for scientific and technical innovation has become the basic criterion whereby to measure the sovereign power of a State, it is obvious that the dependence of some countries on others is conditioned by their real or potential capability in this field. It is also obvious that no country can renounce its participation in the possibilities opened up by science and technology.

45. Our Organization has already begun a process of adaptation to these requirements of the present day. The establishment, within the Economic and Social Council, of a standing Committee on science and technology to advise and recommend on the application of science and technology to development is a measure with which my Government agrees. The membership of the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development has also been increased, and we believe it is necessary to widen the spectrum of specialization of its members in accordance with the requests and interests of the countries that are still at a stage of insufficient scientific and technological development.

46. My country has followed with interest the creation of an Inter-Governmental Group on Transfer of Technology, in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD]. We understand that this Group, of which Argentina is a member, will perform important tasks during the present decade within UNCTAD'S sphere of action.

47. But scientific progress, together with growing industrialization and the increase in demographic density, has brought into being certain negative aspects that threaten to alter the biological balance in practically all regions of the world. This is not a necessary and therefore unavoidable result of progress. Contamination of the human environment is a consequence that can be rationally controlled. There is no incompatibility between economic development and conservation of the environment. They can both exist concurrently. What is needed is a way to ensure their reconciliation.

48. International collaboration is also imperative in this field. The environment—not only its most obvious aspects such as the air and the seas, but also the aspects of the great waterways and their river-basins, the underground water resources, the reserves of natural resources, the conservation and improvement of animal and vegetable life—are all the heritage of mankind. Therefore mankind must ensure their preservation and their recovery where they have been modified and the ecological balance thus shattered. For this reason, the Argentine Republic attaches great importance to the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment to be held in Stockholm in 1972. We are taking an active part in the Preparatory Committee of the Conference and we were present at the Latin American regional seminar on problems of the environment, held in Mexico in September of this year.

49. It is a known fact that the so-called law of human environment or international law of environment is today a pragmatic and rather non-formalistic branch of international economic law. In that area, a preponderant role is

played by the principle of good neighbourliness which appears in the Preamble and in Article 74 of the Charter. The same holds true for the principle of international solidarity; for the avoidance of the improper application of laws; for reparations for damage caused; for care to avoid injury to the interests of other States, even when exercising a legitimate right. Argentina has endeavoured to put these basic principles into practice in the recently signed agreements with Chile, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay.

50. Together with this process which surpasses the ideological barrier and stresses the scientific and technological aspect of the relations among peoples, there has appeared an increasingly clear tendency to reject what is purely formal and to replace it with concrete programmes permitting the effective development of nations. There no longer is any people that can be satisfied with the mere voicing of the principles of justice, equality and liberty. What is needed at present is to strengthen the principle of legal equality with measures that take into account the real needs of each country. That principle is an irrevocable postulate of any organized society. But when legal equality is limited only to the granting of a more or less conditioned vote or a seat in the international organs, there is a risk of justifying or formalizing a notorious injustice. Equality among States must today be understood as meaning that each country shall have the same possibilities for development; that is to say, the possibility of utilizing to the maximum its own human and material resources.

51. This concern with concrete matters is also a characteristic feature of our day. International co-operation can no longer be a mere expression of desires. Feasible and realistic plans must be carried through, plans that will take into account the needs of the various peoples. Thus, the Second United Nations Development Decade and the plan for an International Development Strategy offer a means and open up an opportunity for achieving the highest degree of international co-operation in a world at peace. The goals set in the International Development Strategy [resolution 2626 (XXV)] for achievement during the present decade can be reached only through close co-operation between the developing and the developed nations, regardless of their political structure and their social and economic levels.

52. Argentina views the Development Decade within the general framework of international co-operation, and not merely as an isolated fact or a programme of individual action within the United Nations. There can be no development in a world that lacks political harmony, and there can be no peace in a world without economic and social harmony.

53. We have successfully identified the elements upon which efforts by nations themselves and international co-operation are to be based. Through unanimous agreements in some cases and a determined desire to compromise in others, we have adopted the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade. Now we have to undertake the practical implementation of what we have agreed to, and there, the success of the project depends on us.

54. In a constant effort to promote development, the work of the United Nations Development Programme is

worthy of praise from Member States. Argentina believes that the reorganization that was begun last year should be completed along lines dictated by experience. This will ensure the necessary flexibility for the Programme. Moreover, it is evident that without the financial support from States the targets set cannot be reached. To this end, we think it advisable that the contributions of countries be increased during the next five years.

55. As a legal organization, the United Nations is also a political institution endeavouring to carry out the ideals of coexistence. The resolutions adopted are in many cases adequate guidelines for the settlement of conflicts that affect the international community. But to contend that peace is necessary and to adopt resolutions to maintain it, and then to fail to implement them, would be to assume an inconsistent and therefore untenable position. Turning the formal into the real is also a requirement of our day.

56. For this reason Argentina calls for the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), unanimously adopted on 22 November 1967, in whose drafting the Argentine delegation took an active part.

57. That resolution is still the instrument most likely to solve the crisis in the Middle East, one which is of very deep concern to my country since it pits against one another countries with which we enjoy ties of cordial friendship. The principles and obligations contained in Security Council resolution 242 (1967) must be complied with and carried out unreservedly. Neither side can expect the other to fulfil some or all of the obligations incumbent upon it if it, in turn, does not fulfil its own duties. The Argentine delegation fully shares and endorses the views expressed by the Secretary-General on this matter in his last report dated 5 March 1971.²

58. We are all aware of the fact that in this conflict time is not necessarily an aid to a peaceful solution. Passivity and lack of progress may well lead to a renewal of hostilities. Therefore it is necessary that the mission entrusted to Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, whose efforts deserve the appreciation of the Organization, should be resumed.

59. Peace is also threatened in a region of the world that is inhabited by tens of millions of human beings. The events taking place in the Indian subcontinent are a source of deep concern to the Government of my country.

60. For the moment, and for humanitarian reasons, we believe the United Nations should continue, as at present, carrying out as effectively as possible the tasks of assistance to the victims of the events that are taking place there.

61. With this end in view the Argentine Government decided some time ago to donate 4,000 tons of wheat in order to co-operate in the endeavour to relieve the sufferings of the displaced persons who find themselves in India.

62. But, as the Secretary-General pointed out in the memorandum to the Security Council of 20 July 1971, we, too, believe that:

“... the United Nations, with its long experience in peace-keeping and its varied resources for conciliation and persuasion, must, and should now play a more forthright role in attempting both to mitigate the human tragedy which has already taken place and to avert the further deterioration of the situation.”

63. An Organization such as ours that has solemnly proclaimed its determination to reaffirm its faith “in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person” cannot be indifferent to the existence of relics of a form of domination by one people over another that repels the human conscience and flouts the most elementary rules of coexistence. I refer specifically to the colonialism that still exists in certain parts of the world.

64. From the time of our entry into the Organization, Argentina has held a clearly anti-colonial position which I once again reaffirm.

65. There can be no doubt that General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) has been a useful instrument in accelerating the process of decolonization and that the bodies dealing with these questions constitute one of the main sources of pride and faith in the work of the United Nations. Yet there still exist colonial situations which engender constant friction and tensions.

66. That is why my country is redoubling its efforts to ensure the most scrupulous compliance by all with the United Nations decisions in this field. To this end, my Government informed the Secretary-General in a note of 2 December 1970 that it had officially notified the Government of South Africa that the Argentine Republic does not recognize any South African authority over Namibia.

67. My Government attaches the greatest importance to the activities of the United Nations Council for Namibia as well as to those of the Sub-Committee of the Security Council³ whose vice-chairmanship we now hold with full awareness of the responsibilities that such a position implies.

68. Furthermore, it is to be hoped that the recent advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on the *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970)* will have an influence on the satisfactory solution of the problem.

69. We also hope for a peaceful solution of the question of Rhodesia through United Nations participation. In this matter my Government has endeavoured to contribute actively to the successful work of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968).

70. There is one question which is particularly close to the Argentine Republic and whose solution is also of importance to the Organization: I refer specifically to the situation of the Malvinas Islands.

71. In my statement of 30 September 1970 [1859th meeting], when speaking of this matter, I stated that

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1971*, document S/10070/Add.2.

³ *Ad Hoc* Sub-Committee established in accordance with Security Council resolution 276 (1970).

conversations at a diplomatic level were continuing with the United Kingdom in order to open up two-way communications between the Argentine mainland and the Malvinas Islands.

72. Those talks have resulted in the approval of a joint declaration [see A/8368 and A/8369] covering different aspects of the exchange of peoples and goods, and are to continue at Port Stanley during the next year.

73. The Argentine Government recognizes the value of the results attained. But this does not, however, close the chapter of negotiations. These negotiations should continue until full implementation is achieved of the terms of General Assembly resolution 2065 (XX) and the objectives of the process of decolonization of the United Nations are fully obtained.

74. We are linked to the United Kingdom by traditional and close ties of friendship. Argentina will continue its endeavours with a spirit in keeping with this long relationship, in the assurance that the self-same spirit is shared by the United Kingdom and that, in an atmosphere of mutual understanding, the problem will soon be definitively solved with the restoration of the Malvinas to the national territory of the Argentine Republic. Thus, we will have cleared away the only obstacle to excellent relations between our two countries.

75. It would be simplistic to believe that the international system is a homogeneous entity as far as the norms that constitute it are concerned, and the States or political bodies that compose it. We are witnesses to the simultaneous existence of different types of subsystems which also have their own different rules. But the common denominator is the shared concern—also within the regional boundaries—with the strengthening of peace and security and with ensuring the welfare of all.

76. The Argentine Republic is part of a continent that has been characterized by its universal approach and its concern to ensure international peace and coexistence. The peoples of Latin America have also achieved a high degree of political maturity. The fraternal ties that have linked us since our beginnings as independent States have been constantly brought up to date with events that tend to make our interdependence more effective. Our countries are increasingly the masters of their own fates and are not to be satisfied with any situation which might leave us outside the current of the universal historic process. We are determined to carry out a dynamic and up-to-date policy that will not be hampered by ideological differences as long as respect is assured for the domestic jurisdiction of every State and their forms of life and political philosophies.

77. Not long ago, Argentina and Chile gave evidence of their freedom of views and political wisdom when they strengthened their ties and laid the solid groundwork for a solution to the last of their border problems. Faith in the law and the conviction that frontier problems can, in our day, be settled peacefully have led Argentina and Chile to submit pending questions concerning our 3,000 kilometres of border to arbitration. I believe that this is one case that deserves mention at this time and place because it stands as a patent example of how positive results can be attained

when the principles of peace and international co-operation, on which our Organization rests, are put into practice. We are thus proving that the Charter has living validity as long as the Member States are really willing to fulfil it.

78. We wish to carry out specific projects with the other sister republics of the region, to allow a reasonable utilization of our natural resources and to take into account the needs and interests of the different countries in the area.

79. With reference to international economic relations, my country wishes to outline, from this lofty rostrum, the importance that the recent agreement with the European communities has for the commercialization of our products. This document, which is the fruit of a political decision on the part of the contracting parties, will open up a new era in the relations with countries with which Argentina has been traditionally linked by its origins and culture.

80. The United Nations has far too often been considered a Utopian organization or a normative luxury that exists outside the margin of the great problems that beset the world. In the first instance, it would then appear to be a desirable, albeit useless, institution, and in the second, an expendable legal framework. It is up to us to see that it is neither the one nor the other.

81. I have referred to the determining factors of the present international situation because I believe that they are the elements on which any realistic assessment of the United Nations must rest. It is not difficult to see that there is a universal feeling that the United Nations cannot be a legal superstructure, satisfied with merely approving more or less vague resolutions that evade the demands and requirements of Member States. There is a known tendency to dwell on the purported universality of the system which, thus far, despite having admitted a large number of countries that have acceded to independence since the Second World War, has nevertheless ignored political realities of decisive importance in our days. There can be no challenge to the need to adopt concrete measures in the field of international co-operation, for it can no longer be just another way of securing historically untenable privileges. It is also obvious that all forms of colonialism or discrimination have been rejected, and it is finally also evident that as a determining factor in the relations among countries, ideologies have lost their sway. And so today, international life is characterized by such elements as the rejection of normative formalism, of the restrictive nature of the system, of disguised or open forms of imperialism, colonialism or discrimination as well as the repudiation of ideological criteria.

82. This negative listing, *a contrario sensu*, allows us to deduce the positive consequences of measures or principles that must be adopted to keep our Organization viable and up to date. The Organization cannot adopt multilateral measures which, to a certain extent, are anachronistic compared with those adopted bilaterally.

83. I wish to point out that, pursuant to this view, at the beginning of September in Bucharest, representatives of the

Argentine Republic met with representatives of the People's Republic of China in order to explore the possibilities of normalizing diplomatic and trade relations between our two countries. This position is the logical consequence of a consistent historical stand adopted by Argentina regarding our respect for the principle of universality in international relations. I referred to it from this same rostrum during the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly. On 16 March 1970, the Argentine representative to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament asked for the participation of the People's Republic of China in the negotiations on disarmament. In his turn, when referring to President Nixon's projected visit to Peking, the President of the Argentine Republic stated:

"I believe that by accepting an invitation to visit the People's Republic of China, President Nixon is giving a clear example of the scope and flexibility with which international problems and relations must be dealt. I feel that President Nixon's decision shows that in these days, foreign relations must be conducted without prejudices, strings, preconceptions or taboos although, at the same time, without yielding any of the principles that define our way of life and our philosophy."

84. To a large extent, the history of man is a chronicle of his efforts to unmask myths and to progress in a rational interpretation of the world. But paradoxically, the trend to turn reality into a myth seems ever latent and very often serves to disguise failures and to cover up problems we would prefer not to face squarely. Thus, the most serious danger confronting our Organization would be to fall into this myth-making. The more we refuse to act realistically, the greater that risk becomes. This realism requires that we bear in mind the needs of the present historical moment. The United Nations must subject itself to a constant and empiric stock-taking so that it will not lose sight of the real elements that condition international relations: elements which, no doubt, are different from those of 1945.

85. The responsibility for keeping the United Nations up to date is not the exclusive privilege of the great Powers. We all have a task to perform in this endeavour to achieve the ideal of the legal and political universal regulation to which we all aspire. Those States which for historical or geographical reasons have already attained the benefits of modern civilization are in duty bound to share its advantages. Those which are still at other stages of development must become aware that welfare is not achieved merely by defining needs but by separate and joint efforts. Some of all this was already hinted at by one of the founders of international law, Francisco de Vitoria, who contended that, because of the varied distribution of productive resources, the very nature of things dictated the consideration of the unity of mankind as the basis for the freedom of world access to such resources, setting aside man's differences of belief; and, *mutatis mutandi*, the teachings of that master are still valid in our day.

86. More than ever before, man today stands in need of peace and security, precisely because the risks of losing them are greater than ever before. Two possible attitudes can be adopted in the face of this danger: fear of failure or hope for success. I prefer the second. There is in it a dynamism and an impulse towards the future that have

always been present in the great achievements of man. Those who drafted our Charter and also the Member States which contribute to the achievement of its principles are imbued with the firm hope that in this way they are promoting the welfare and happiness of man on earth. When all is said and done, this is the utmost that a normative system can hope for.

87. Because we believe that the United Nations is a good instrument to achieve that goal, we are ready to continue to support it.

88. Mr. SCHMELZER (Netherlands): Mr. President, having been in office as Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands for a relatively short time, I cannot suppress a sense of awe and humility in addressing this august body for the first time. But any trepidation I might feel is dispelled by the pleasure and satisfaction of seeing you, Sir, in the Chair of this Assembly. Allow me to pay you the respects of my Government and my delegation upon your election to the highest office the General Assembly can bestow. I should like to associate myself with those previous speakers who have from this rostrum addressed warm congratulations to you and pledged their co-operation and support in your heavy task. In view of the friendly relationship so happily existing between our countries at the present time, as demonstrated by the recent successful State Visit by Her Majesty the Queen and His Royal Highness the Prince of the Netherlands to your country, I venture to add a personal good wish for a fruitful and smooth session under your guidance: *banjak rezeki* [*much luck*].

89. I should also like to express our appreciation for the splendid work done by your distinguished predecessor, Edvard Hambro of Norway, who not only presided over the historic twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly with great dignity and competence, but has also, between the last session and the present one and in many parts of the world, espoused the cause of the United Nations.

90. We are living in a world of increasing contradictions; that has been said before. All nations are becoming ever more dependent on each other for the advancement of their well-being. This increasing interdependence inexorably results from old and modern developments.

91. Economic changes within nations or groups of nations have world-wide consequences. The technological breakthrough does not halt at national frontiers. The threat of nuclear annihilation is of concern to the whole of mankind, as are the inroads on environmental well-being. The suppression of freedom of thought and political liberty is still with us. The continuing imbalance between rich and poor, between "haves" and "have-nots", with respect to population pressure, is a cause of deep concern.

92. All those factors necessitate action on a world-wide basis to achieve a peaceful and orderly adjustment and underline the interdependence of the world. Which world?

93. While, for the well-being of its peoples, the world depends on the strengthening of our co-operation, the Netherlands Government—like many others—observes with growing concern a number of regrettable developments

which indicate disintegration. Within many nations tensions are growing and from time to time erupting in bloodshed and sorrow. No one can be indifferent to such strife, misery and anguish, and the world has the right and the duty to ask what went wrong and why.

94. We condemn all denials of human rights including *apartheid*. My Government's hope of eliminating the *apartheid* policies by means of a continuing dialogue is in keeping with the spirit and the basic philosophy of the Charter. The Netherlands delegation will play its part in the deliberations of this Assembly on measures to combat *apartheid* and other forms of violation of human rights; indeed, we cannot remain silent in the face of them, wherever they may occur. The machinery available to the international community at present cannot essentially facilitate or promote the universal observance of human rights. Therefore, the Netherlands Government fervently hopes that this session of the Assembly will, as a step in the right direction, decide to create the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, as recommended by the Commission on Human Rights in its resolution 14 (XXIII).

95. Tensions within nations—tensions also between nations. The world has little to be proud of as the record of violence and discord is examined. Tensions between nations and between groups of nations persist and erupt violently from time to time, differing sometimes in character or scope, but remaining very much alive.

96. In spite of these negative tendencies there are, in our view, also some significant improvements in the international situation. In this respect, the Netherlands Government particularly welcomes the impending enlargement of the European Economic Community not only as a development in the interest of the European peoples themselves but also as a positive step forward for the world as a whole. The Community's recent decision to introduce a general system of trade preferences for all developing countries illustrates its interest in and understanding of the needs of less developed countries, although I realize that that decision does not solve all their problems. The larger and the stronger the Community, we feel, the better will Western Europe be placed to promote world trade, economic development and, therefore, peace and stability in the world.

97. Other aspects of recent political developments in Europe are equally worthy of note here, as they are bound to have world-wide repercussions. Matters of European security particularly are under active consideration. The Netherlands Government has been engaged in discussions on European security for some time and will continue these consultations. Aware that substantial progress on the future of the divided city of Berlin is one of the prerequisites for any multilateral conference on European security, my Government welcomes the results of the four-Power negotiations and expresses the hope that they will soon lead to a final and satisfactory agreement.

98. But no European security, and therefore no stability in the world, is possible without peace in the Mediterranean and, to be more explicit, in the Middle East. Inversely, progress on peaceful settlement in the Middle East will

undoubtedly facilitate progress on European security. The great Powers, as permanent members of the Security Council, and the parties directly concerned, bear a heavy responsibility for taking a constructive approach to the search for a solution to the divisions in that sensitive area of the world. Looking forward to such an approach, my Government feels that a degree of optimism on further favourable developments in Europe is not out of place, since the repeated attempts of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to arrive at consultations with the Eastern European countries on mutual and balanced force reductions now seem to find favour with the Soviet Union and its allies. We particularly welcome this ray of hope, because, in our view, any hint of possible progress in the fields of arms control and arms reduction will facilitate the work entrusted to the United Nations in this field under the Charter.

99. All these are welcome signs. As the representative of a European Power, I have highlighted some European developments of note, but in other parts of the world we also discern encouraging signs of growing international co-operation.

100. I could cite many examples: Latin America, a continent in which the Kingdom of the Netherlands, present through its components Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles, is so directly interested; Africa; and other parts of the world. I shall mention just one example: the Association of South-East Asian Nations, of which organization your country, Mr. President, is such an outstanding member.

101. In general, however, the developments in international co-operation are too few in number, too weak in the face of the tremendous problems confronting us, too limited in scope for the interests of the world as a whole. Disintegration within nations, disintegration of the relationships between nations, unfortunately, outweighs the progress we have made.

102. Interdependence on the one hand, and our inability to stem the tides of national and international strife on the other hand, face us with the question of how we should react.

103. We should set ourselves an ultimate goal, a fixed policy which will be an expression of our interdependence and of our will to overrule our divergences. It is my firm opinion that we will have to find that ultimate answer in a world executive, controlled by a world legislative. I am not advocating abandoning national identities, but, indeed, in their own interest to adapt them to common rules applicable on a world-wide basis in those fields where national or regional arrangements are no longer adequate. Here in the United Nations we shall, by our common decisions and by the authority we give to our institutions, go forward step by step on this undoubtedly arduous and long path. We should, however, fail in our responsibilities towards humanity, and particularly towards future generations, if we would not plan our future actions on the basis of a firm belief that the United Nations must become, and indeed is on the way to becoming, a world authority.

104. In following this policy, our guiding principle should be modesty. By means of modest advances we should try to

make the United Nations more workable and more constructive. Our deliberations should always have clear objectives and debates should be directed towards decisions which should be guidelines for national policies.

105. In view of our ultimate goal, I should like to stress three prerequisites: first, the universality of the Organization; second, adequate procedural methods for our work; and third better selection of the fields of action for this Organization.

106. Our first task is to achieve, as soon as practicable, the universality of the United Nations, as you, Mr. President, in your opening address to this Assembly [1934th meeting] so rightly stressed.

107. In this respect I wish to emphasize that the Netherlands, which has had diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China for more than 20 years, looks forward to welcoming the People's Republic at this session of the Assembly. As was stated in the recent Speech from the Throne:

“For the lessening of political tension in the world, my Government deems it indispensable that the People's Republic of China participate in the deliberations of the United Nations.”

108. I take this opportunity also to welcome the three new Members who were admitted to the United Nations last week: Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar. Their presence in this hall will contribute towards the better attainment of the Charter's purposes.

109. Secondly, I wish to stress the necessity of purposeful methods, both institutional and procedural, in order to make optimal use of the talents and resources available to us. It may be considered of minor importance, but I should like to welcome the report of the Special Committee on the Rationalization of the Procedures and Organization of the General Assembly [A/8426]. The consensus which existed in that Committee seems a good omen for our future activities.

110. Thirdly—and in view of various reports of Governments and private institutions, I am aware that such thoughts are shared by many—I am of the opinion that we, the Members of the United Nations, should concentrate our activities on those matters, even modest ones, which open possibilities for world-wide progress. In that respect there is plenty of room for improvement. The Members of the United Nations should always ask themselves, when they are planning to put items on the agenda of the General Assembly or of other United Nations organs, whether results may be expected in a reasonable time; whether they are not squandering time, talents and resources on questions which can only be tackled usefully in some stronger and more united international structure of the future. Even this modest approach would leave the United Nations, today, with plenty of important work to do. We need a selective choice of activities. Which ones am I thinking of?

111. Concrete progress can be made within the framework of the United Nations towards world-wide international co-operation for development. This is one of the most

important forms of co-operation in which the United Nations is actively engaged. In your opening address, Mr. President, you recalled that, a year ago, we proclaimed the 1970s as the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)] and that, at the same time, we adopted the International Development Strategy which should guide us to secure its objectives. Those of us who were present at that historic session will remember the general and unanimous sense of purpose and dedication expressed by all delegations which pledged their support for this grand design. However, the first year of the Decade has gone by and the time has now come to decide on action.

112. On behalf of the Netherlands Government, I can assure you, Mr. President, that we shall continue and strengthen our efforts to attain the objectives of the Second Development Decade along the lines of the Strategy agreed upon last year.

113. An important factor in maintaining the dynamic character of our co-operation for development will be the periodic review and appraisal of achievements and shortcomings. Many organs of the United Nations family will be called upon to play their roles in this procedure, each in its own sphere of competence, with special emphasis on the essential part played by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in the fields of trade and aid. In the opinion of my delegation, the Economic and Social Council, under the provisions of the Charter, is specifically designated to co-ordinate all necessary reviews and to prepare a comprehensive report for the General Assembly. At present, the Council with its limited membership may not be regarded as sufficiently representative to play this role in a satisfactory fashion. The Netherlands delegation, therefore, welcomes and supports the recommendation adopted by the Council this summer in its resolution 1621 A (LI) that the General Assembly prepare the necessary measures in order to increase the Council's membership.

114. While discussing these problems of economic co-operation, I also want to express our grave concern about the present monetary crisis in the world. We hope that wisdom will prevail and that all parties concerned will be willing to contribute to the solution of this baffling problem. Otherwise, it would be difficult to avoid serious impairment of world trade, with particularly grave consequences for the developing countries. Their continuous economic growth depends to a large extent on their ability to maintain and increase their export to the profitable markets of the developed countries. The interests of all concerned should, therefore, be taken into account, not only in the short-term decisions, but also in the long-term negotiations on any revision of the monetary system.

115. Concrete progress can be made within the framework of the United Nations when this session will give human rights all the attention they deserve in the interests of the dignity and worth of the human person. In this respect I wish to reiterate the Netherlands' strong support for the creation of the post of a United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights by the Assembly at this session.

116. Also, my Government is in favour of the progressive development of the humanitarian institution of territorial

asylum, which my country has applied consistently during the course of the centuries. It is well known that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees considers it highly important that the Declaration on Territorial Asylum [*resolution 2312 (XXII)*] be strengthened by the adoption of a convention ruling this subject. My Government, too, would welcome such a step.

117. Mankind has from its very beginning, been plagued by natural disasters, which have brought immeasurable sufferings and hardship to millions. It is one of the most hope-giving expressions of solidarity among the peoples of the world that in recent times there has appeared an ever-growing awareness that the international community should give all the help it can afford to give whenever a natural disaster strikes.

118. The United Nations, embodying the community of nations, can and should play a central part in mobilizing and co-ordinating relief activities, as well as in undertaking and promoting studies for the prevention, control and prediction of natural disasters. Concrete progress within the framework of the United Nations would be the adoption of the recommendation by the Economic and Social Council in its resolution 1612 (LI) that the Secretary-General should appoint a disaster relief co-ordinator. The Netherlands will give its full co-operation to ensure the smooth functioning of all such arrangements and will continue to make available, in the event of natural, and also man-made, disasters, its contributions through the appropriate channels of the United Nations system.

119. We are witnessing a new disaster in South Asia. We hope that a United Nations presence in Pakistan will enhance the efficacy of the relief operation of the international community. We hope as well that a substantial flow of resources, provided in response to the appeal by the Secretary-General, will be channelled to Pakistan and India, as the prevailing situation is a very serious set-back in the development of those countries.

120. In the future, when the function of the disaster relief co-ordinator has been established, I hope that, wherever feasible, his assistance will also be called upon in the case of man-made disasters.

121. Concrete progress is urgently needed in formulating an action plan to protect our environment. In June 1972, the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment to be held at Stockholm will have to take important decisions which will have great impact for the world at large. Let us come to Stockholm well prepared.

122. This session of the General Assembly will be faced with some important decisions in this respect, particularly on the preparation of a general declaration on the human environment. I promise the full co-operation of the Netherlands, convinced that world-wide action through the United Nations is essential in this field.

123. Wars, even more horrifying than natural disasters, have been and are another scourge of mankind. General and complete disarmament under adequate international control should remain our firm goal; but here, too, I should like to counsel modesty in order to achieve concrete

progress. It has not been huge international gatherings, but the quiet and expert framework of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva that has made it possible to break the back of many highly technical and complex disarmament problems. For this reason the Netherlands Government attaches great value to the continuation of the proceedings of this negotiating forum. I express the hope that in a not too distant future all nuclear Powers will participate in the work of this Committee.

124. It is with pleasure and satisfaction that we have taken note of the most recent result of the Committee's deliberations, that is, a draft convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons and on their destruction [*A/8457-DC/234, annex A*]. My country is co-sponsoring this draft convention and I hope that this General Assembly will endorse it unanimously. In this context it seems appropriate to me to emphasize that this draft convention—albeit important in itself—is only a first step that will have to be followed by similar measures in the field of chemical weapons.

125. It is also my pleasure to announce that the constitutional procedure for ratification by the Netherlands of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] will start during the current session of the Netherlands Parliament.

126. I emphatically recommend as a field for concrete progress the activities of the United Nations to end colonialism. The world must eradicate, as soon as possible, the last remnants of an era which definitely belongs to the past. The Netherlands will give its full co-operation to the search for peaceful solutions for the problems of southern Africa, whether they concern the Portuguese colonial territories, Namibia or Rhodesia.

127. In the view of my delegation the key-word in our activities is "peaceful". In this respect, I should like to express the appreciation of the Netherlands Government for the decision of the Security Council in its resolution 284 (1970) to ask for an advisory opinion on Namibia from the International Court of Justice.

128. Likewise, we welcome the wise and useful opinion of the Court, with which I am happy to say we in the Netherlands have the very best relations. My country accepts the conclusions of the Court as a guideline for its policies. We are hopeful that its opinion might stimulate all organs of the United Nations, in conformity with the provisions of Article 96 of the Charter, to engage the Court more often in questions which it might with profit review. In this way it will be possible to lift controversial issues out of the sphere of emotional and political passion onto the plane of objective juridical deliberation and advice.

129. Those are some of the questions which the Assembly might tackle here and now with profit, and to which my delegation will therefore address itself with energy and in concert with others.

130. Some time ago our Secretary-General U Thant—to whom I want to pay a warm tribute at the concluding stage

of his eminent career as the world's top international civil servant—said on the occasion of United Nations Day 1970:

“The world is bursting out of its narrow political vestments. The behaviour of many nations is certainly inadequate to meet the new challenges of our small and rapidly changing planet. International co-operation is lagging considerably. The United Nations, this hesitant, almost reluctant instrument of nations for world peace and unity, can only succeed if its constituent Members support it, love it, give it their best and want it to succeed. It will fail if Governments scoff at it and continue to tread their isolated, divisive and selfish paths.”

131. Last year Member States rendered an account of what they had made of the United Nations. But they also looked ahead and rededicated themselves to the ideals of San Francisco and to the aims and purposes of the Charter.

132. Today it cannot truthfully be said that the world presents a rosier picture than it did last year thanks to the activities of our Organization. The world is rightly shocked and angered by the abject misery of millions of people caught in cruel political strife they did not want but could not avert. The peoples of the United Nations are disheartened when they hear about renewed tensions in areas where United Nations activities had restored a measure of peace and quiet. They are indignant because the end of colonialism is not yet in sight and because racial discrimination is still the official government policy in a small area of our planet. They shake their heads in disbelief when they hear that some States, although rightly concerned about racial discrimination and *apartheid*, at the same time oppose the creation of the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. To put it in a nutshell, the peoples of the United Nations fail to understand why their representatives in New York do not match their words with deeds.

133. And yet gloom should not prevail in these halls. I see a lofty goal ahead: gradually the United Nations must be developed into a world authority. The attainment of this goal will take time—much time. Every concrete, common decision we take is a step in the direction of our ultimate aim.

134. I have tried to outline some of the fields in which, in the opinion of the Netherlands, constructive steps can be taken. To those who would object that such steps would “depoliticize” the United Nations, that they are limited to a pedestrian, technical level, and that they do not deal with the burning political questions of our time, I should like to put the question: what responsibilities and tasks should Governments assume—on both the national and international levels—to make this world a better place for our citizens to live in? Surely it is the task of Governments to promote, nationally and internationally, conditions favourable to human well-being. Politics in themselves do not create a better world. It is the objective—or, if you want, the vocation—of politics to create conditions which would enable man in freedom and responsibility to make a greater contribution to the happiness and well-being of himself and his fellow men.

135. If the Members of the United Nations dedicate themselves to the tasks they can do in the present world situation, if they are realistic in their aims while keeping ultimate goals in mind and if this Organization does not fail in vigour and perseverance, it can, and it will, make progress.

136. The tasks facing us are great and all-embracing. We must therefore arm ourselves with patience, courage and determination.

137. The Netherlands delegation faces the General Assembly in that spirit and will, with the Almighty's indispensable blessing, make its contribution to a successful twenty-sixth annual session.

138. Mr. ALMEYDA (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of Chile, I have the honour to offer you our warmest congratulations on your election to preside over the twenty-sixth regular session of the General Assembly. Your nomination is a tribute to your capacity and your experience. We cannot lose sight of the fact that in Bandung, in 1955,⁴ basic principles were established for common action on the part of the countries of the third world.

139. My delegation is also particularly happy to welcome the representatives of the three new States that have just been admitted to our Organization: Bahrain, Qatar and Bhutan. We are sure that we shall establish solid ties of friendship and co-operation with them.

140. To U Thant I bring a very special greeting from the people and the Government of Chile. We should have preferred him to stay at the head of our Organization. His performance has been deeply imbued with heartfelt idealism but, at the same time, with very acute and wise understanding. He has advocated the peaceful settlement of disputes, international co-operation and the strengthening of the moral authority of the United Nations. His work has been exemplary, and we are most appreciative. We know that he will continue to co-operate in all the great undertakings that may spell a benefit for mankind as a whole.

141. A political and electoral decision by the Chilean people, ratified by the National Congress in accordance with our Constitution, last year led to the establishment in our country of a new Government that has decided to begin the creation of a socialist society in Chile in keeping with our own national characteristics.

142. The triumph obtained was the result not only of an electoral exercise but also of a crystallization of a long period of struggle and experience which tempered and organized the Chilean people, awakening its political awareness and teaching it to start through new roads an ambitious and important revolutionary undertaking. The strength and flexibility of the Chilean political institutions, reinforced by the loyalty of our armed forces to democracy, is enabling us, with the least possible social cost, to cross the bridge between the past and the future, although

⁴ African-Asian Conference, held at Bandung from 18 to 24 April 1955.

not without having to confront the stubborn and insistent resistance of the interests affected by the changes taking place within and outside the country.

143. Therefore, I do not speak on behalf of a stagnant people, or one that is wanting in the great ideals of peace, justice and liberty which underlie the United Nations. I speak for a people that calls for respect and encouragement from the international community for its laborious efforts to obtain that justice within the framework of the law, in strengthening and widening fundamental freedoms and human rights.

144. The domestic and foreign forces that oppose the social transformations we are carrying out constantly endeavour to distort our image to the world in order to alienate us from our friends and to make it difficult for us to obtain international and bilateral assistance, with the final aim of blocking our revolutionary task and trying to maintain a past that no longer has the support of our people nor any historical justification.

145. That is why this appearance before the Assembly is not mere routine. We have a determined purpose, and that is to fit our policy within the framework of the United Nations, and thus contribute to the efforts of the Members of the international community represented here to achieve a stronger and effective peace, which is the imperative condition for the progress of the world's peoples. We are here also to encourage and assist the United Nations in the work being carried out by peoples, to convert foreign dependence, which immobilizes and deforms them, into a vast and authentic framework of international co-operation.

146. Chile is now undertaking a policy aimed at nationalizing its natural resources which are in foreign hands, widening and extending our agrarian reform, and taking over control by the State of the essential economic activities of the country so as to allow us, in a rational and planned manner, to utilize our natural, human and financial resources for the common good. We are deeply convinced that these objectives are at one with the achievement by the United Nations of its own supreme goals.

147. We value, support, and are endeavouring to contribute to a transformation of the humanistic principles of the United Nations into tangible reality. We recognize that this entity is the most valuable instrument thus far created to encourage international peace and justice and, thereby, to help man to reach a fuller and better future. These aspirations have met with great obstacles created by vested interests desirous of maintaining in nations, and in their mutual relations, the irrational, dependent and unjust structure which, unfortunately, still prevails in the world.

148. The United Nations has now become an irreplaceable world forum; a network of agencies that are of undeniable advantage and a source of law. But it is still not the tool that we need in order to permit a solution to the problems linked to international peace: that is, the full strengthening of the sovereignty of States, respect for the principle of the self-determination of peoples, and the economic progress of the developing countries.

149. The principles of the Charter of the United Nations are still valid and are consonant with the aspirations of

peoples. But they must be translated into positive action in order to alleviate the lot of man and keep up with the revolutionary transformations taking place in our world.

150. Chile fully shares the concerns and views expressed about these matters at Lusaka and at other conferences of non-aligned nations. We must point out that in the last 26 years economic and social development, impelled by the United Nations, has been fruitful in some cases, but sterile in others. Hundreds of millions of persons have been liberated from the colonial yoke; peoples have acquired a greater awareness of their needs and of their future. But we still live in a period of armed peace, and therefore a precarious peace. Moreover, the contrasts and distances between the wealthy countries and the dispossessed masses of mankind are increasing, while the basic principles of peaceful coexistence are violated as are those of respect for the political and economic sovereignty of States and unconditional co-operation without interference. The reactionary forces of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism have no compunction in putting down or pressuring peoples struggling for independence or desirous of consolidating it through economic emancipation.

151. There is an indifference or perhaps an inability to face tragedies such as the flight to India of millions of East Pakistanis. Surely this is a problem worthy of special attention by this Assembly, as the President of Chile expressed in a letter addressed to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. There is a war of extermination in Indo-China; there is a constant threat of war in the Middle East; there are African peoples that are still the victims of colonial slavery or of brutal racial persecution; and in Latin America there is an increasing feeling of frustration and helplessness.

152. Yet, despite these sombre aspects of the international picture, despite these limitations to the work of the United Nations, we still believe that we must in that work stress the formulation of important principles of international law which respond to the voiced aspirations of the great majority of peoples and which help to create a new and more just world order.

153. Among such principles I think it most timely to recall those that have established the right of peoples not only to political independence, but also to economic sovereignty.

154. It is obvious that the principle of the self-determination of peoples and its corollary, the termination of colonialism, have been greatly strengthened by resolutions of the General Assembly, particularly 1514 (XV), the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, a resolution which has now made unchallengeable the right to struggle for full political emancipation.

155. In the same way, other fundamental resolutions, such as resolution 1803 (XVII), which proclaims the right of States freely to exploit their resources and natural wealth, as well as to exercise permanent sovereignty over them, and have therefore signified explicit recognition, on the part of the international community, of the right of peoples to economic independence.

156. It is within the very context of these principles, so solemnly declared by the United Nations, that the Government of Chile, as a means of overcoming its economic dependence, has undertaken a process of recovery for the country of those natural resources and wealth which are basic for the development of the national economy. Pursuant to that policy we have nationalized the great copper-mining industry, within the framework of respect for the principles of international law and our own traditional observance of the domestic legal order. That nationalization was born of an initiative taken by the Government of Popular Unity, which was unanimously approved by the National Congress, in which the opposition is in the majority.

157. The Government of Chile is convinced that the exercise of its sovereign right to recover for the country its natural resources—a right recognized by the United Nations—will be respected by the affected interests. We therefore hope that no new pressures or reprisals will be taken against us for that reason.

158. I am happy to point out that in the recently issued Joint Declarations signed by our own President and the Presidents of Ecuador, Colombia and Peru on 26 August, 31 August and 3 September respectively, in accordance with those principles, express mention was made of the repudiation by all our countries of any undue pressure to limit or condition the free exercise of the right to recover control over natural resources.

159. The exercise of sovereignty over basic resources cannot be divorced from another very important question being discussed at the moment in this Organization. I speak of the law of the sea.

160. For developing countries such as my own, utilization of the national resources of the maritime areas adjacent to their coasts is intended primarily to meet economic needs in order to ensure the welfare of the population.

161. It was these measures which led an increasing number of Latin American States, including Chile, to proclaim our sovereignty and jurisdiction up to a distance of 200 marine miles in order to ensure the conservation and exploitation of those natural resources.

162. Chile is convinced that the aims we seek are hindered if, in all the extension over which we exercise our jurisdiction, there is any restriction of the freedom of navigation or over-flight to which all planes and ships of any flag have a perfect right.

163. Chile will continue to participate actively in the debate on the law of the sea in order to contribute to the establishment of norms and regulations which, while recognizing the just interests of other States particularly in the field of international communications, will guarantee the right of the coastal States to exercise their sovereignty over the natural resources of the marine areas adjacent to their coasts.

164. The efficacy of the United Nations depends to a large extent on the degree of universality it is able to achieve. Universality means to throw open the doors of the

Organization to those countries that have so far been excluded, such as the People's Republic of China, the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic and the now divided States such as Viet-Nam and Korea; it also means to welcome the countries and territories that are still under colonial domination.

165. Chile hopes that at this session we will redress the enormous historic error of having kept the People's Republic of China out of the world Organization. When we correct an unjust and anomalous situation, we will be breathing new life into the United Nations. We will, with the co-operation of China, be given a new impulse to all the undertakings leading to peace and welfare of all peoples. The recognition of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China must be stated clearly and unambiguously, without subterfuge. It is a question of recognizing it as the legitimate representative of all China with a just right to occupy a seat in the Security Council and in all other United Nations organs and conferences and to recognize that Taiwan is part of China and to bar any other representation.

166. Guided by the principles of the Charter, which set forth the sovereignty of peoples and respect for international agreements freely arrived at, my country wishes to express its solidarity with the heroic people of Viet-Nam that have never yielded to the cruel sufferings of a war imposed on them by invading forces and that prefer to die rather than bend the knee and abdicate their freedom and dignity. We express our desire for an immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops from Viet-Nam and support the seven-point proposal of the Provisional Government of Viet-Nam to solve this grave conflict.

167. We also repudiate the invasion of the other peoples of Indo-China, such as Cambodia and Laos, and we support their aspirations to live in peace and to decide upon their own future without foreign intervention.

168. For the same reasons of principle, with regard to the conflict in the Middle East, my Government is still convinced that resolution 242 (1967) of the Security Council, accepted by the parties concerned, is the key to restore peace to that tormented region. We consider that the people of Palestine deserves not only humanitarian attention, but a recognition of its legitimate rights. In accordance with that resolution, we feel that the Israeli troops should withdraw from occupied territories, that any effort to annex such territories should be condemned, that all States of the zone, excluding none, have a perfect right to a recognition of their territorial integrity, their sovereignty and political independence, as well as to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries. We trust that Ambassador Jarring's mission will be resumed and that the four great Powers will continue to seek the best way of ensuring application of resolution 242 (1967) and that both the Security Council and the General Assembly will again examine all possibilities of finding a just solution to the conflict in the Middle East which threatens international peace and security.

169. My delegation is very happy at the very felicitous African initiative to co-operate in the search for a solution

among the countries that are now in conflict and that may lead to a formula that will solve the question in a way the entire world desires.

170. We wish to state our understanding of and solidarity with the African and Asian peoples that struggle for independence. This Organization that has contributed to the liquidation of colonialism must increase its efforts supporting the movements of national liberation and forcing the colonial Powers to fulfil the terms of the Charter. The people and Government of Chile trust that very soon the delegations of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia will take their seats in this hall, but in the meantime those territories and peoples are being martyred in their just struggle for independence, and in southern Africa there is being created an extremely dangerous colonialist and racist bloc. Once again Chile condemns the practices of *apartheid* and of racial discrimination, which are an insult to mankind.

171. Reaffirming these points of views, we have very often expressed our support for the agreements arrived at during the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka in September 1970. I am happy to state that China is now a full member of the group of non-aligned nations, where we will be able actively to co-operate in the achievement of true peaceful co-existence, avoiding a division of the world into blocs and endeavouring to ensure that all countries, great and small, will contribute to understanding and co-operation among peoples.

172. The Government of Chile considers that at this new session of the General Assembly two subjects will be thoroughly and jointly discussed: the strengthening of international security and general and complete disarmament. We believe that this Assembly must implement the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted last year [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*]. Furthermore, a Soviet Union suggestion was put forward for the holding of a world disarmament conference [*A/8491*], and my Government supports it whole-heartedly.

173. The arms race is in direct proportion to international tension. One provokes the other. Despite agreements arrived at, we believe it is in the interest of the smaller and non-aligned nations that any initiative to slow down the arms race, be it nuclear or conventional, be welcomed. Chile is ready to co-operate in a task which we consider to be the most important of our day.

174. Along this line of reasoning, we cannot but condemn the proliferation of nuclear weapon tests, particularly those carried out in the atmosphere over the Pacific Ocean, which have caused a number of justifiable complaints from the coastal States. For this reason, in the Organization of American States we supported the Colombian proposal to study an effective limitation of armaments in Latin America.

175. This concern shown by our country to diminish international tension and bring us closer to a world system of security to replace the blocs we inherited from the cold-war period leads us enthusiastically to welcome the

Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, signed in that city on 3 September 1971. These agreements help to solve the German problems on the strength of full recognition of the international personality both of the Federal Republic of Germany and of the German Democratic Republic. At the same time they open the way for the holding of a conference on European security to herald the dawn of a new era of peace and co-operation in that vital part of the world.

176. Consistent with the political beliefs I have mentioned, in bilateral relations my Government has endeavoured to strengthen, establish and maintain relations with all countries all over the world, regardless of their domestic régimes but on the basis of unconditional respect for self-determination and non-intervention. Following that line of conduct, we have re-established relations with Cuba and thus redressed a historic injustice. We have also established relations with the People's Republic of China, the German Democratic Republic, Guyana, Nigeria, the People's Republic of Mongolia, the United Republic of Tanzania, the Arab Republic of Libya and Albania.

177. The visit that I made to the socialist countries of Europe, heading a fruitful political and economic mission, and the welcome we offered in Chile to a number of high-level delegations from all regions of the world, including those of very old countries of Western Europe that have contributed so greatly to our progress, attest to this true opening up of Chile to a new and wider understanding of international relations.

178. We have endeavoured successfully to broaden our relations and ties with the sister Republics of Latin America. The recent visit of President Allende to Ecuador, Colombia and Peru, and the wide consensus reached with those countries, and set forth in constructive joint declarations, as well as the support and impetus which we have impressed on the Andean Subregional Integration Agreement within the framework of the Latin American Free Trade Association, also reflect this new orientation of our policy.

179. I wish to state with great satisfaction that we have reached an agreement with the Argentine Republic to solve through arbitration, the pending border problems with that country at the Beagle Canal. This attests to the warm and friendly relations between our country and that great neighbour and is an example of a peaceful and legal solution to an international problem, which the Presidents of the two countries attempted to establish at their historic meeting in Salta.

180. We have been, and are, ready to resume diplomatic relations with Bolivia unconditionally and thus to put an end to an unjustified state of affairs and allow an always necessary dialogue to take place between two sister Republics.

181. This entire policy bespeaks our vocation of fraternity and co-operation in Latin America, and that is why we are concerned about the unjust economic isolation to which the sister Republic of Cuba has been subjected. To continue that situation of discrimination against that country seems to us juridically and morally unacceptable and we shall do

all in our power to do justice to that valiant people that, in different ways but still in keeping with its own desires, is, like Chile, pursuing the dream of creating a socialist society on American soil.

182. My country is happy to note that we have normal relations with the United States of America. We believe that questions pending involving private American interests should not alter our traditional friendship with that great nation.

183. At the last session of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States [OAS] held in San José, Costa Rica, in April 1971, the Government of Chile expressed its views regarding the role which that organization has been playing in inter-American relations. We contended then that the OAS had been used to increase the relation of dependency between the United States and Latin America. We said that for an inter-American system to serve as a means of constructive dialogue between the North and the South of the continent, the fictitious principles on which the OAS at present rests must be replaced by others more in keeping with reality that will recognize the objective divergence of interests of the United States and Latin America, as expressed in the concrete practice of international relations and as we have begun now to see them in the Special Committee for Latin American Coordination (CECLA) since the Consensus of Viña del Mar of May 1969.

184. That practice has shown that the gap between the advanced capitalist countries and the developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America tends to increase; despite words, despite declarations and despite international agreements, what people see is a failure on the part of the traditional patterns for development, the repeated lack of fulfilment by the prosperous countries of their commitment to eradicate under-development, and the systematic refusal of the industrialized nations to adopt measures to redress the imbalance of international trade.

185. To prove these statements, suffice it to recall what has been happening to the trade of the dependent nations whose participation shrinks constantly and is less equitable than ever on the world market: the result of the measures for financial assistance which have turned the nations of the third world into constant debtors, the uncontrolled exploitation of the natural resources and wealth of the countries which were purportedly being helped by investments by monopolies, the costly transfer of a minimum of technology and the abusive control of marine trade.

186. The instruments and machinery regulating the monetary system of the world, as well as international trade, established at the end of the Second World War, despite their declared principles, have proved to be incapable of achieving a balanced development of the world economy and have hindered the economic growth of the backward regions. Today, when these systems turn out to be unfavourable to their proponents, they are abandoned unilaterally and upheavals are created that have negative effects on the developing countries.

187. We must protest vigorously against this unjust situation for which we are not responsible. Latin American

Governments shared this opinion unanimously at the session of CECLA held in September of this year, in Buenos Aires, where they stressed the damage which the recently adopted measures of the United States would do to Latin American economy and the economy of the developing nations in general. That position of Latin America was also expressed at the seventh session of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council where, unfortunately, no positive understanding was shown by the United States delegation. Lately we have seen that new formulae have been studied to reorganize the world monetary system. We hope that those formulae will not overlook the legitimate interests of the under-developed countries and will not further increase the vulnerability and dependence of their economies.

188. The formulation of the bases for international trade relations must be discussed at the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD]. The agreements of the developing countries to be arrived at by the Group of 77 when it meets in Lima in October must improve upon previous agreements and establish the background for the debates at the third session of UNCTAD, to be held in Santiago, Chile, in April 1972. In so doing, the dialogue which was begun in New Delhi among the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America with the capitalist industrialized countries and the socialist countries will be resumed: It is to be hoped that by that time the outlines for a general system of tariff preferences will be implemented as the European Economic Community and Japan are already doing and as the United Kingdom and the Nordic countries have promised to do very soon.

189. As the host country we shall do all in our power not only to ensure the material success of the conference but also to contribute, in close co-operation with the other countries of the Group of 77, so that the aspiration to international justice will gain ground and set aside egotism and recalcitrance.

190. To succeed, all undertakings in that direction must be met by a corresponding domestic effort on the part of each of the developing States to develop, increase, mobilize and make rational use of their natural and human resources. But in order to achieve that end, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America must develop their own scientific and technological capacities, make profound changes in their social and economic structures. They will have to adjust the foreign components of the development process to the needs and priorities of national development. They will also have to channel the role played by foreign private capital in order to achieve those priorities, and they will have to encourage the preparation of regional and subregional plans for integration as well as increase their mutual co-operation.

191. This struggle of the under-developed countries to impress an impulse on their economic development, to strengthen their political sovereignty and to achieve their social emancipation is supported by the workers of the whole world and by the progressive and advanced nations whose policy is not committed to the maintenance of the present unjust domestic and external structures.

192. In its activities the United Nations must reflect the combination of all those forces, which doubtless are the

most powerful in the world and thus make accessible to man and society the new and greater form of coexistence.

193. The people and Government of Chile will stint no effort to succeed in the struggle, nor shall we be found wanting. This is proved by the fact that domestically we are trying to reconstruct our society along the lines of socialism, under the auspices of justice and freedom, and when we give our assistance to peace, *détente*, security and international co-operation.

194. By our assistance we contribute to the creation of a future that we wish to be more just and free. Inexorably, that is the course of history, and we Chileans, consistent with our austere and hard-working tradition, will make all sacrifices to assume our full responsibility within a more active, creative and united international community.

195. Mr. ARIKPO (Nigeria): May I offer you, Sir, the warm congratulations of the Nigerian delegation on your election as President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

196. Your personal qualities as a diplomat and statesman and your wisdom and long experience in the affairs of the United Nations will, I am sure, make your tenure of this high office as memorable as that of your predecessor, Edvard Hambro of Norway.

197. At the commemorative twenty-fifth session of the United Nations, last year, the General Assembly adopted four documents: a programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 2621 (XXV)*]; the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*]; the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV)*]; and a reaffirmation of the dedication of States Members of the United Nations to the objectives and purposes of the Charter and to the anniversary objectives of peace, justice and progress [*resolution 2627 (XXV)*].

198. The Government and people of the Federal Republic of Nigeria believe that the effectiveness or otherwise of the United Nations will be judged by the determination of the United Nations to meet the challenges and achieve the objectives so movingly set out in the Organization's own declarations.

199. Unfortunately, even a cursory review of the world situation will show that the rate of progress, if any, in achieving the objectives set out in the General Assembly's declarations at the 1970 commemorative session has been disappointing. You will permit me to refer to the situation in the southern parts of my own continent, Africa, to illustrate the continuing frustration of the ideals and goals to which we all are committed in this Organization and which must be implemented in the interest of the United Nations and the whole of mankind.

200. We have all witnessed the steady and deplorable deterioration in the situation in southern Africa during the

last few years. In many parts of southern Africa repressive minority Governments continue to hold large populations of Africans in bondage and to inflict the most humiliating and brutal assault on them in defiance of world opinion and in contravention of the very fundamentals of the Charter of this Organization. It is a matter for serious regret that in spite of repeated exhortations, and in spite of the universal expressions of distress and disgust over the situation in southern Africa, the intransigence of the colonial or white minority Governments still continue unchecked and unabated.

201. We have before us the recent historic pronouncement, in the form of an advisory opinion, of the International Court of Justice regarding the situation in Namibia.⁵ The world Court has categorically stated that South African presence in that Territory is illegal. That memorable pronouncement can only be given effect if this Organization rises to its duty and its obligations in order to implement, especially in such a clear and indisputable situation, some of the ideals and objectives which the General Assembly and other organs of the United Nations have repeatedly asserted in the past. The unambiguous and unequivocal declaration of the world Court is a challenge to this Organization. South Africa still remains in illegal and defiant occupation of a Territory to which it has no legitimate or legal claim. The major task of this twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly would, therefore, be to devise ways and means of re-establishing without further delay United Nations authority in the Territory.

202. The Zimbabwe people still languish under the oppression of a misguided group of adventurers who usurped the rights of the people and established a totally unrepresentative and illegal administration over the United Kingdom colony of Southern Rhodesia. Clearly, all fair-minded and objective observers have come to the conclusion that the pious hopes that were assiduously pressed upon us some time ago that this illegal Government would be removed by the application of economic sanctions have not been realized. Meanwhile, brutality against the rightful owners of the land and the usurpation of their freedom continue unabated. Leading nationalists and leaders of the people of Zimbabwe are still being held without just cause in cruel imprisonment and under the most inhuman and degrading circumstances. Many have been killed in the defence of their elementary human right to exist; others have died in prison.

203. We have before us a strange spectacle. For the first time in British colonial history, an unmitigated act of open rebellion and high treason against the Crown has not been crushed or dislodged. There are now widespread fears in some quarters that the legitimate and responsible Government for that Territory—I refer to the United Kingdom Government—may have lost its will to assert its sovereign authority in Rhodesia and to undertake its sacred duty to prepare the people of Zimbabwe for orderly, rapid and urgent progress towards genuine independence. The whole world is watching that situation with anxiety, bearing in

⁵ *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

mind the repeated assurances that had been given to the world that any political solution in Rhodesia would be based on the principles of equal rights, responsibilities and duties for all its citizens, without discrimination as to colour or creed.

204. Elsewhere in the continent of Africa, especially in the southern parts thereof, colonial exploitation and undisguised oppression still continue. No progress has been made, since the declarations of the last session of the General Assembly, in the situation of the African Territories controlled by Portugal. On the contrary, the Security Council has had evidence, on the basis of a report by an impartial fact-finding committee, of a direct and outrageous armed incursion and invasion into the Territory and capital of an independent, sovereign African country. This flagrant act of open aggression against the United Nations Charter and the elementary principles of international law is compounded by reports of further designs on the part of Portugal to continue this policy of naked aggression and intimidation of African countries situated near its colonial Territories. The spirit of the oppressed peoples is not crushed, however, and the struggle for freedom goes on in the Territories under the colonial domination of Portugal. But there is, alas, no sign of the colonial authorities' initiating the legitimate and rational steps that would end confrontation and conflict and begin the preparation of those Territories for independence and fruitful co-operation.

205. In South Africa, the Government persists in pursuing, in the name of its national interest, the horrors and inhuman policies of *apartheid* which seriously offend the spirit and the Charter of this great Organization, and the conscience of the world. It is, of course, universally acknowledged that the South African Government is much assisted in its repressive policies by the support it receives from some prominent Member States of this Organization, and is thereby emboldened to continue in its inventions of additional methods of terror and oppression against the poor, defenceless black population. Not only the legitimate nationalist leaders, but even universally respected prelates of the Church, now fall victim to the capricious reign of terror unleashed upon the population of that unhappy country. The threats of the South African Government to the security and independence of sovereign African States continue with impunity. This Organization and the whole world look on in horror while those great Powers which have the influence and the means to check this steady deterioration in that part of the world stand idly by, wringing their hands in pretended agony.

206. In the light of the well-documented record of cruel oppression and blatant racial discrimination against the black population in South Africa, many people have rightly viewed with scepticism the recently reported desire of the authorities in South Africa to engage in a dialogue with other countries and Governments on the African continent. This scepticism arises from the basic fact that it is illogical, even ludicrous, for the South African Government to refuse to meet and accept the black citizens of its own country on terms of equality, while pretending to want contacts with leaders of independent African States. Unless the whole effort is a ruse to deflect African and world attention from the cruel inhumanities which characterize the rule of the

present Government in South Africa, it is difficult to understand why such dialogues should not begin at home, within South Africa itself.

207. I make no apologies for speaking so long on the situation in Africa, because it is one part of the world where the glaring examples of historical inequities and racial injustice remain unresolved and are pursued with impunity by those who perpetrate them. It is our conviction that the solution of those problems, and indeed the urgency and dispatch with which they are resolved, will seriously affect the faith of mankind, especially in the developing world, in the validity of the claims and assumptions on which the ideals of the United Nations are based.

208. My delegation deeply regrets the lack of substantial improvement in the Middle East situation over the last year. The fragile peace, or rather the fragile state of near-conflict, which subsists in that area of the world is a source of continued concern to all peace-loving people. The Organization of African Unity has, as you may be aware, felt so strongly on this subject that the Heads of State and Government of Africa set up a committee of 10 heads of African States for the purpose of doing what we in Africa can do to assist in the process of finding a solution to the situation in the Middle East. Nigeria, as a member of that committee, will co-operate fully in every effort to reach an equitable and honourable solution that will take into account all the main elements of that confused and tangled situation. For us in Nigeria, Security Council resolution 242 (1967) still remains the best hope, and still contains the most acceptable principles, for a genuine solution to the Middle East situation.

209. Let me mention that the Committee established by the Organization of African Unity is not an alternative to the valiant and highly commendable efforts of Ambassador Gunnar Jarring in his mission as the Secretary-General's Special Representative to the Middle East. On the contrary, the functions of the new Committee of the Organization of African Unity will be complementary to the efforts of the United Nations. The African Committee is an impartial, yet deeply concerned, body which hopes that it can convey to the principal parties in the dispute a sense of the agony and concern of Africa as a whole over the increasingly dangerous situation in the Middle East.

210. One of the crucial issues before this Assembly is the question of the representation of the Chinese people in the United Nations. My delegation is gratified to note that, this year, even those who, for nearly 25 years past, have sought to prevent the seating of the representatives of the People's Republic of China in this Organization have now found the movement of world opinion inevitable, and have themselves moved somewhat from their previous opposition to the People's Republic taking its rightful place in the councils of the world. It was evident from the record of voting on this issue last year [1913th meeting], that a substantial majority of Member States represented in this Organization had publicly acknowledged that it is an untenable proposition for a Government representing nearly a quarter of mankind to continue to be prevented from participating in the deliberations and activities of the United Nations. The Nigerian position on this issue has always been clear and

simple. We have always indicated that the representatives of such a large, populous and important nation should legitimately take their place in the United Nations Organization. We have always said that there is a popular error in describing this issue as the question of the "admission of China". China has always been a Member of this Organization and is, in fact, a permanent member of the Security Council. The issue before the General Assembly is, therefore, a question of which of the administrations claiming rightful representation of China should legitimately occupy that seat. There is no doubt in our mind that, in the circumstances, the People's Republic of China should take its rightful place in this Organization. My delegation will express itself more fully on this subject when this particular issue comes to be discussed in this Assembly.

211. Owing to the deep points of difference between the great Powers, without whose agreement no progress would be possible in this particular case, the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations has witnessed an impasse since 1969. Differences over the establishment of observer missions, their direction and control and the relevant, legal and financial arrangements have not been resolved. Over the past two years it has not been possible to reach agreement on the respective roles of the Security Council and the General Assembly on the important question of authorization of missions and, therefore, no work could be done on the definition and task of peace-keeping operations involving military contingents. The present state of affairs is clearly frustrating. We believe in the usefulness of the United Nations peace-keeping role in appropriate circumstances and we hope that renewed efforts will be made during the current session to break the impasse.

212. My delegation places a high priority on the urgent need for progress in the area of disarmament, especially in the face of the constantly growing and multiplying stocks of armaments, including nuclear weapons of unspeakable horror, developed and stockpiled by some advanced countries. The situation, already urgent and pressing, is complicated by the fact that a number of other countries may well be on the way to developing their own nuclear capabilities. It is true that a few useful but highly limited achievements have been recorded in the general question of disarmament; but my delegation must register its disappointment at the lack of more substantial progress in this matter.

213. While Nigeria takes solace from the reported measure of progress in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between the Governments of the United States and of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, we cannot but express our disappointment at the minimal results of the negotiations on disarmament being conducted in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. It is tragic that, after all these years, no agreement has yet been reached on a comprehensive test ban. In fact, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has hardly touched the issue this year. Also, although the agreement on a draft convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons and on their destruction [A/8457-DC/234, annex A] is a definite step towards the fulfilment of mankind's yearning to be rid of the danger and the burden of frightening armaments, my delegation feels, nevertheless, that a greater willingness, and

a clear demonstration of it, by the great Powers to co-operate in the urgent search for wider and more effective disarmament arrangements, is very much needed. Nigeria, as a member of the conference, has always held the view that both chemical and biological weapons form a whole, and prohibition of both types of destructive weapons should equally engage the serious attention of all. The General Assembly endorsed this view last year [resolution 2662 (XXV)]. It is, therefore, disappointing that the agreement so far concluded was limited to biological weapons. We are, of course, aware that negotiations for an agreement to ban chemical weapons will, it is promised, be continued in the days ahead. However, we recall that a similar commitment was made in respect of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] with regard to a ban on underground tests; but we all know that that commitment which was said to be made "in good faith" has not yet been implemented by those concerned. My delegation will have more to say on this in the appropriate Committee.

214. The present decade has been designated as the Second United Nations Development Decade. It is a simple statement of fact that the First United Nations Development Decade did not satisfy the expectations of many Member States. As we now enter the second year of the Second Development Decade, my delegation hopes that a change of attitude and concept will be manifested, especially on the part of the advanced countries, if the objectives of the Development Decade are to be fulfilled. The reluctance of some advanced countries to contribute to the development of the less advanced areas of the world should be overcome. Although we in Nigeria do not believe that true economic independence can be built on charity, we nevertheless recognize the continued need for a flow of technical expertise and equipment, and in some cases of capital, from the industrialized countries to the less advantageously placed areas of the world, to enable the latter to prepare their economies towards a desirable level of development.

215. In this connexion I wish to draw attention to the co-operative efforts of African countries to establish a road link between Mombasa on the east coast of Africa and Lagos on the west, a project which we believe deserves the support of the international community.

216. My delegation looks forward to the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. We also welcome the proposed meeting in Lima of the Group of 77. We hope that these conferences will evolve a global trade strategy which can revitalize international commerce and promote mutual benefit for the advanced and the developing countries alike.

217. One cannot conclude even this brief review of the world situation without reference to the recent events in the economic and monetary arrangements of the world which have seriously affected the orderly development of legitimate transactions between the Member States of this Organization. These events have also affected the economic basis of the development of many less advanced countries.

218. Recent economic and financial measures adopted by some powerful countries have inevitably disorganized—we

hope only for a brief period—international trade and payments arrangements that have been in force for nearly three decades. We acknowledge that the Bretton Woods agreements of 1944 and the policies and practices set out in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade have not always been perfect. On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that world trade and international commerce have experienced a considerable degree of satisfactorily progressive expansion during the past 25 years. Today the financial measures taken by a few advanced and powerful countries with highly developed economies have caused uncertainties which will have a serious effect on the development processes of the countries whose economies are not so advanced. No one can deny a Member State of this Organization its right to take such action as it considers necessary in its own national interest. We must, however, express the anxiety that such measures taken in the national interest should always embrace and take into account the need for promoting a continued, orderly, international economic arrangement, without which the whole process of international development would be jeopardized.

219. Evidently, it is now essential for those whose policies have had the effect of disorganizing the existing arrangements to take the initiative of instituting and ensuring the necessary wide-ranging consultations, either in the existing international monetary and financial bodies or by other means, with a view to establishing new and more generally agreed, even if not universally acclaimed, arrangements for the regularizing of international monetary affairs and the free exchange of goods and services between nations. It is our sincere hope that any such measures or any such consultations would fully involve the developing countries, which constitute an important element in world trade and whose fortunes and future development depend on a stable international order. Indeed, any solution of world economic and political problems must involve the developing countries, especially in the preparation or examination of the means designed to achieve such solutions.

220. Nigeria shares the concern of the international community about the misuse of the environment in both developed and developing countries. We acknowledge the importance of United Nations responsibility in this field and we pledge our full support for, and active participation

in, the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment which is scheduled to take place at Stockholm in 1972. Similarly, my Government and my delegation have followed with close interest the work of the sea-bed Committee⁶ because we believe that the uses of the high seas and the exploitation of the sea-bed through the development of modern technology are vital issues for the future of the world's resources. My delegation will express its opinion more fully on this issue in the relevant Committee.

221. The tasks that face our Organization have not always been easy nor have the procedures which have been followed been as economical as might be desired. My delegation therefore welcomes the efforts which are being made to rationalize the procedures and organization of the General Assembly. The aim, in our view, should be to save time and to reduce the volume of documentation without impairing the efficiency of the functioning of the General Assembly and other United Nations organs. To this end, my delegation expects that the recommendations of the Special Committee on the Rationalization of the Procedures and Organization of the General Assembly will be sympathetically considered and adopted by the General Assembly [see A/8426].

222. Lastly, on behalf of the Government and people of Nigeria, I wish to pay tribute to our beloved Secretary-General, U Thant, for his sterling qualities and outstanding statesmanship and for his invaluable services to this Organization and to the whole of mankind. I salute him for his devotion and dedication to the ideals of the United Nations. Reports of the decision of this dedicated servant of peace and distinguished statesman not to offer himself for continued service in his present post have been received with deep regret in my country. We firmly believe that not only this era, but also the future history of this Organization and of mankind will fully acknowledge the great services which he has performed and the imprint of calm and wisdom he left upon this Organization and the community of mankind.

The meeting rose at 1.50 p.m.

⁶ Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction.

