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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before calling on the first speaker, I should like to remind representatives of the decisions taken by the General Assembly at its 2123rd meeting, on 21 September, particularly those concerning the closure of the list of speakers and the exercise of the right of reply.

2. Mr. GIBSON BARBOZA (Brazil): Mr. President, I wish to begin by expressing the gratification of the Government of Brazil and my own at your election to preside over the twenty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly. Your vast diplomatic experience and the brilliant services you have always rendered to your country, to the inter-American system and to the international community assure us that our work during this session will be guided by your proven lucidity and political acumen. As a Brazilian, I recognize among your attributes the outstanding values of the noble people of Ecuador, a country which has always been linked to Brazil through friendship, mutual respect and a co-operation which we are today expanding more than ever; as a Latin American, I am aware that your personal attributes are highly representative of the long lineage of statesmen and internationalists who have built up the cultural and political heritage of our continent. The historic deeds of those statesmen and leaders mirrored the common cultural origins of Iberia—that discoverer of seas and continents, sower of civilizations, and heiress to and propagator of the Mediterranean cultures. Luso-Spanish Iberia intermingled with the aboriginal races of America and acquired a new dimension through the contribution of the blood and cultural values of Africa. This is exemplified by my own country, Brazil, where all these influences were amalgamated, rendering it for that very reason so profoundly Latin American and so much part and parcel of the Latin American world which nominated you, Sir, as an authentic representative of our continent, to the presidency of this Assembly.

3. The presence in this hall of the delegations of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, resulting from a long and patient process of political evolution, is a positive sign of the détente now sought by contemporary diplomacy. My country, which did not hesitate to sacrifice the lives of its sons to defend the ideals of freedom and democracy on European battlefields, can well appreciate the true significance of the admission to the United Nations of both those States. To the United Nations, founded as an alternative to the use of force in inter-State relations, this event overcomes one of the most acute problems of the political balance-sheet of the post-war era. Brazil maintains with the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany relations that I dare to describe as exemplary. Wide-ranging common interests have for many years been drawing our two countries together again, under reciprocally and increasingly advantageous conditions.

4. It is my hope that negotiations in progress with the German Democratic Republic, with which we have been sustaining fruitful commercial relations for over a decade, will result very soon in a reciprocally beneficial relationship based on mutual respect.

5. It is with the greatest pleasure that I welcome in a very special way the delegation of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, a sister country from our continent, which we shall receive with an open heart into our Latin American group and with which we wish to develop increasingly broad and cordial co-operation.

6. No one in good faith can fail to applaud a policy of détente which seeks and propounds understanding and co-operation as alternatives to mistrustful isolation and to latent conflict. We look upon this relaxation of tensions with renewed hopes that inspired diplomatic action may gather momentum and reach all the existing hotbeds of crisis and eliminate them. None the less, while squarely facing the political, economic and social realities of our times, we are bound to ask objectively: détente for whom, détente for what?

7. We view as the source of the policies of détente a willingness on the part of the super-Powers and the great Powers to launch a process of peace-seeking and understanding which has brought about a rational and pragmatic placation of the conflicts of interests in the vast field of the political-strategic balance as well as in the area of dominant influences—dominant because they are built on objective conditions of unmatched power. That willingness to desist from further confrontation has motivated and rendered possible new European developments—as evidenced in recently concluded treaties and in other agreements still under way—aimed at establishing peace in Europe and creating a European security system, envisaging the reduction of arsenals and troops and also serving the purpose of stimulating closer economic co-operation. Although laudable, meritorious and of extreme importance, this détente none the less cannot by inference be a regional goal, nor can

it be thought of as a temporary arrangement to accommodate certain conveniences and interests.

8. We hope that this determination to desist from confrontation, this rationalization of what is politically viable and diplomatically feasible, will provide elements of action to extend those processes of peace-bringing and understanding to all areas of conflict, thereby safeguarding and rendering compatible the mutual interests of the parties directly concerned.

9. *Détente*, as we envisage it, should be the extension to the whole of the international scene of this political will to pacify and co-operate. It should inject this political will into the body and system of our Organization. It should offer opportunity for finally implementing the purposes and principles of the Charter, and for the United Nations to pay its ethical debt to itself—namely, the eradication of underdevelopment. To reduce *détente* to a rationale for the use, and for the balance, of power, to regionalize its scope and objectives—and hence to forgo using it as an instrument for normative reconstruction and as an inspiration and guide line for a policy of global relaxation—would be tantamount to reviving the fallacy of arrangements based on considerations of power which are transient and fleeting because they fail to comprehend the dynamics of international problems and because they are uninspired by any sense of the future.

10. From the renewed diplomatic interaction which these first steps in the process of *détente* may set in motion, a more equitable international order must emerge, one which should foster an effective system of collective political and economic security based neither on oppression nor on the alleged acquired rights of the strongest but on the recognition of the just claims and interests of all States, their sovereign right to full economic development and social well-being, and their participation on an equal footing in the institutionalization of the rules of collective behavior. It is hard, if not impossible, to believe that the policy of relaxation of tensions will succeed outside those parameters. The past is teeming with examples of the fragility of arrangements contrived merely to serve the momentary interests of the exercise of power or to allocate such interests within the fallacious framework of spheres of influence. These arrangements have never survived the wear and tear inflicted by crises and contradictions of policies inspired by the myth of power and its alleged rights and hence policies which are unequitable and unjust. What we need today—now that we would appear to be more experienced and more convinced of the frailty of the exclusivist concepts of international security—what we need today, I repeat, more than a temporary harmonization of means, is a common and global concept of the ends we seek.

11. As a means or an instrument, the policy of relaxation of tensions will either achieve greatness or demean itself, depending on the ultimate aims it pursues. As it is not endowed with mechanisms for automatic control and adjustments, the success of *détente* will be contingent on our capacity to expand it so that its long-term aims are not lost sight of and so that it does not become an instrument for the imposition of hegemonic arrangements. I am ready to agree that such is not the purpose. Since it is not, let us stand guard to prevent it from being reduced to such a purpose by temptations along its course and by unforeseen crises. It is our belief, furthermore, that the new orientation that is being sought for international relations will be meaningless in the long term if those attempts aim at no more than drafting a charter to discipline inter-State interests in the

affluent areas of mankind and fail, therefore, to meet the very legitimate claims of countries outside that area.

12. This is an overriding concern of Brazil's foreign policy which, conscious of its global responsibilities and commitments, assigns priority to close co-operation with all developing countries, and especially those of Latin America.

13. During the last few years, it has been my duty to translate into diplomatic action the instructions and directives laid down by President Médici to foster and expand the political, economic and cultural ties between Brazil and the sister nations of our continent. Bilaterally and multilaterally, Brazil's inter-American policy will firmly continue to seek the goals of solidarity, reciprocal assistance, understanding and the minimization of sporadic dissidences, since Brazil is averse to rivalries, resentments and hegemonies which have no place among us.

14. It is our conviction, however, that while regional scenarios must be dealt with in accordance with their specific needs, they should be seen in perspective within the system of the United Nations. The lines of negotiation now prevailing cannot run parallel to the normative system of the Charter but on the contrary must be geared to it; otherwise, they will lack consistency and will not profit from the constructive evaluation and invigorating support of the community of States joined together in this Organization in the search of peace for all, security for all and collective progress.

15. It is for this forum to decide on the compatibility between instruments laterally negotiated and the purposes and principles of the Charter, so that the convenience of some will not be construed as the measure of the interests of all the others. Thus, once submitted to the scrutiny of our General Assembly, the agreements on the non-use of force in international relations and on the prevention of nuclear war, which are timely and valid in principle, will gain a new normative dimension, thereby allaying the suspicion that they may become an instrument for the imposition of a tutelage system by the great Powers. The expectations aroused by the policy of *détente* will materialize only if the relaxation of tensions puts an end to the nuclear arms race and if effective measures of general and complete disarmament are not confined to the secret negotiation of agreements that do not go beyond disciplining the expansion and sophistication of nuclear devices.

16. Like so many other Member States, Brazil hopes that the relaxation of tensions in critical areas will prevent the interrelated questions of disarmament and collective security from remaining intractable and unsettled in this forum, as they have been to date. The task of achieving disarmament and arms control was assigned to this General Assembly by the founders of our Organization as one of its primary responsibilities. I would be less than candid were I not to express my Government's disappointment at the lack of concrete results of disarmament negotiations, particularly during the last two years, both in this Assembly and in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. Vitiating by its original flaws, the Special Committee on the World Disarmament Conference has not really come into being.

17. In the specific case of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, we are led to the conclusion that it has increasingly eluded its tasks, or to say the least, that it has been incapable of carrying them out. Notwithstanding a much-touted spirit of conciliation, the meetings of the Conference and the negotiating process itself have been handicapped by political restrictions that have blocked the

possibility of reaching meaningful decisions. What is the explanation for the frustrating results of so many efforts? It seems clear that the work of the Conference has not been as attuned to international trends as one would hope or wish. The ambiguous relationship between the General Assembly and the Conference, which has existed since the very inception of the Disarmament Committee—that is, since the Zorin-Stevenson Declaration of 1961¹—may perhaps have been the greatest obstacle to our goal of making its work more responsive to the aspirations and desires of the community of nations. In reality, the important bilateral understandings between the major nuclear Powers have been arrived at, and continue to be arrived at, outside the Conference. As a result, obviously, the Conference is gradually transforming itself into a mere advisory body.

18. But the widening gap between the General Assembly and the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament does not stem solely or exclusively from a question of deficient machinery or structure. As it happens, negotiations on the most vital disarmament issue, namely, nuclear disarmament, have proceeded without the involvement of all the nuclear Powers, as though the main responsibility for the arms race did not devolve upon all those Powers, individually and collectively. Unless effective steps are taken to ensure the presence and co-operation of all of them around the negotiating table, the quest for disarmament, irrespective of the negotiating machinery available, faces the threat of becoming politically irrelevant or being reduced to a subject of merely academic interest.

19. Brazil believes, therefore, that the time has come for the General Assembly to rededicate itself with renewed vigour and zeal to the disarmament purposes enshrined in the Charter. This would thus appear to be the opportune time for a debate in the Political and Security Committee focusing on the existing machinery for negotiation on disarmament and on the methods of improving it. I am well aware that various proposals to that end have already been put forward and that they all deserve careful study. If a broad exchange of ideas is to prove of value, the General Assembly should consider the advisability of reconvening its own Disarmament Commission, where the full membership of this Organization is represented, to seek new and effective instruments for collective negotiation. The Disarmament Commission could act as a kind of preparatory body for the world disarmament conference.

20. In today's world, political security is intertwined with collective economic security. I have already dwelt on détente, which is undoubtedly one of the major political facts of the 1970s. If it is not allowed to degenerate by having its scope reduced to that of mere political accommodation, if it maintains momentum and creative spirit, the current relaxation of tensions may well open up new and extraordinary prospects for international economic co-operation. To that end, it should go hand in hand with the global objectives of expansion and economic development and should ensure economic security, with which political security will thrive.

21. The world's economy indeed is passing through a critical transitional period; in order to expand, international trade needs new rules to correct present-day distortions in this field; concurrently, the monetary crisis persists unchecked. It would be absurd and dangerous to suppose that minor plastic surgery or superficial measures, unrelated to each other and to the root cause of such evils, might eradicate them. I believe, none the less, that in these times,

so deeply marked by a collective malaise in economic and financial relationships, the elements of disruption and distortion will finally, however paradoxically, arouse our consciences to the need for more effective world-wide solidarity and collective participation in the global enterprise of development and expansion.

22. The complexity of the world's economic and financial system and the growing importance of the external sectors of national economies have made of the adjustments and harmonization of existing diverse interests basic factors conditioning the global security process. The prevailing political situation and the series of bold initiatives which are being taken at the major conceptual and operative levels encourage us to believe that the embryonic awareness of joint responsibility for the settlement of important international economic and financial questions will begin to supersede the view that the affluence and well-being of a few can coexist indefinitely with the under-development of the destitute two thirds of mankind.

23. The trade negotiations which have begun in Tokyo under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [GATT] should provide the world with an opportunity to ascertain whether the principles of solidarity and co-operation which ought to inspire a concerted effort towards development and expansion remain mere dreams, mere abstract expressions of contemporary political semantics, or whether, on the contrary, they will act as a driving force in the reformulation of the world trade system, so as to afford a fair and equitable division of labour, which is an essential condition for the growth of world productivity. The aggregate growth of the world product and its improved distribution call for a recognition of the need to accord special treatment to the developing world so that it may increase its participation in international trade and cease to be a minor, statistical and decreasing part of it. It would be a tragic mistake to believe that only or chiefly the interests of mature economies will be in play in those negotiations, or that the fate of the world's economy is linked merely to the harmonization of the currently conflicting conveniences of those who, as of now, weigh more decisively in international trade. If the multilateral trade negotiations confine themselves to these purposes, they will have rendered a disservice to the international community and will have the effect of curtailing the objectives of global development and expansion. This was the conviction that emerged from the last meeting of the Special Committee on Latin American Co-ordination held in Brasilia, in connexion with the co-ordinated position of the Latin American countries in regard to these negotiations.

24. I believe that, on another level, the same can be said for the crisis that assails the international monetary system and the need to reform it. It would be impossible and futile to conceive of this reform, which is so urgent, without taking into full account the claims of the developing countries, without seeing to it that their needs are met and without affording them solutions for their problems that neither the Bretton Woods Conference nor, more recently, the unproductive and short-lived Smithsonian Agreement² could find.

25. The Brazilian Government is gratified at seeing that the reinvigoration of the Economic and Social Council is taking place concurrently with events of such great importance in the trade and monetary fields. Now that it has gained renewed vigour and is disposed to exercise the

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 19, document A/4879.

² Agreement concluded by the countries members of the Group of 10 at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, on 18 December 1971.

normative role in the field of international economic relations envisaged for it by the Charter, the Council has demonstrated, both in New York and in Geneva, that it has resumed its functions within the panorama of the United Nations. These functions relate essentially to its right to oversee all matters pertinent to social, economic and financial co-operation, a right which will make it a central negotiating forum within our Organization.

26. Parallel to these institutional developments, which augur a more active participation of the United Nations in rendering international economic co-operation more dynamic, we have been given the opportunity in this year of 1973 to embark on a comprehensive review of the nature and range of this co-operation, through the first exercise of review and appraisal of the implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)] as concluded a month ago by the Economic and Social Council. The balance sheet for the first two years of the Decade is not encouraging, to say the least. The gap between developed and developing countries has widened, and even among the developing countries the performance of individual economies has been extremely uneven.

27. While some very positive results have been registered in certain regions or countries, the over-all picture continues to be gloomy. What is worse, the flow of development assistance and financial transfers has lost the momentum reached in the late 1960s. The industrialized world seems more and more concerned with its own internal conflicts.

28. Brazil has taken the initiative of reviving the concept of collective economic security. We see in this economic counterpart of political security the synthesis of our aspirations for a better world, one in which global development, expansion and social progress may become additional components of our concept of peace and security. The Economic and Social Council has already had the opportunity to begin a very timely debate on the subject and should now study the concept and its institutional and functional implications in greater depth.

29. The definition of this concept in terms of doctrine and practical potentialities requires prolonged examination, analysis and critical evaluation. On the basis of the existing interrelationship between political and economic security, one of the possibilities worthy of consideration is a study of ways and means to endow the United Nations with the faculty to launch economic peace-making and peace-keeping operations to prevent or remedy critical situations. Once ideas have matured and the elements of the concept, together with its operational capabilities, are broadly identified and accepted, an effort at negotiation to that end would render the Organization even more active in one of the areas in which it has, it is only fair to say, distinguished itself in these 28 years of its existence.

30. Among the issues attracting the growing attention of the international community, there stand out the peaceful uses and practical applications of outer space in promoting development.

31. The Brazilian Government is convinced that in this area, as in so many others, it is indispensable that the interests of all countries be duly taken into account, regardless of their respective stages of development in the area of space research. Moreover, at this point, it is necessary to discipline activities in the fields of remote sensing by satellite of the natural resources of the earth and of space communications, so as to ensure strict respect of

the sovereign rights of States. On the basis of these principles, which uphold, after all, our international system, it should be possible to ensure that the progressive results of the exploration and peaceful uses of outer space are equitably shared among the members of the world community.

32. While addressing the Assembly last year,¹ I referred broadly to the question of review of the United Nations Charter and I stated that, in the opinion of Brazil, the review or reform of the Charter remains an essential element in the process of the political and diplomatic reactivation of the United Nations. I consider it essential that the General Assembly at its next session finally assert its willingness to study this subject with imagination and political foresight in order to enable us to adjust our constitutional instrument to the realities and the needs of today's world. Brazil will continue to press this point precisely because it believes in the destiny of this Organization.

33. The unrestricted adherence to the ideals, purposes and principles of the United Nations is, and will remain, a fundamental premise of Brazil's foreign policy.

34. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to express my warm thanks to the Minister for External Relations of Brazil for the very kind words he addressed to me.

35. Mr. KISSINGER (United States of America): I should like to add my congratulations to those so well expressed by the Minister for External Relations of Brazil to our new President, Ambassador Benites of Ecuador, whose long experience at the United Nations and his many contributions to international law and to the inter-American system all ensure that this twenty-eighth session of the Assembly will have outstanding leadership.

36. I come before you today—confirmed in office but two days ago—as probably the world's most junior Foreign Minister. That President Nixon should ask me as my first official act to speak here for the United States reaffirms the importance that my country attaches to the values and the ideals of the United Nations.

37. It would be idle to deny that the American people, like many others, have sometimes been disappointed because this Organization has not been more successful in translating its architects' hopes for universal peace into concrete accomplishments.

38. But, despite our disappointments, my country remains committed to the goal of a world community. We will continue to work in this Parliament of Man to make it a reality.

39. Two centuries ago, the philosopher Kant predicted that perpetual peace would come eventually—either as the creation of man's moral aspirations or as the consequence of physical necessity. What seemed Utopian then looms as tomorrow's reality; soon there will be no alternative. Our only choice is whether the world envisaged in the Charter will come about as the result of our vision or of a catastrophe invited by our short-sightedness.

40. The United States has made its choice. My country seeks true peace, not simply an armistice. We strive for a world in which the rule of law governs and fundamental human rights are the birthright of all. Beyond the bilateral diplomacy, the pragmatic agreements and dramatic steps of

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2038th meeting.

recent years, we envisage a comprehensive, institutionalized peace encompassing all nations, large and small, a peace which this Organization is uniquely situated to foster and to anchor in the hearts of men. This will be the spirit of American foreign policy. This attitude will guide our work in this Organization.

41. We start from a bedrock of solid progress. Many of the crises that haunted past sessions of the General Assembly have been put behind us. Agreement has been reached on Berlin; there is a cease-fire in the Middle East; the Vietnam war has been ended. The rigid confrontation that has dominated international life and weakened this Organization for a quarter of a century has been softened.

42. The United States and the Soviet Union have perceived a commonality of interests in avoiding nuclear holocaust and in establishing a broad web of constructive relationships. Talks on strategic arms limitation have already produced historic accords aimed at slowing the arms race and ensuring strategic stability; we have today resumed negotiations on this subject. The positive results we hope for will enhance the security of all mankind.

43. Two decades of estrangement between the United States and the People's Republic of China have given way to constructive dialogue and productive exchanges. President Nixon has met with the leaders of that great nation; we have agreed to a historic communiqué⁴ that honestly sets forth both our differences and our common principles; and we have each opened a liaison office in the capital of the other.

44. Many other countries have seized the initiative and contributed, in substance and spirit, to the relaxation of tensions. The nations of Europe and North America are engaged in a conference to further security and co-operation. The two German States have taken their place in this Assembly. India, Pakistan and Bangladesh have begun to move towards a welcome reconciliation. North and South Korea are at last engaged in a dialogue which, we hope, will lead to a new era of peace and security between them.

45. Yet these achievements, solid as they are, have only made less precarious the dangers and divisions inherited from the post-war era. We have ended many of the confrontations of the cold war; yet, even in this room, the vocabulary of suspicion persists. Relaxation of tensions is justified by some as merely a practical interlude before renewed struggle. Others suspect the emergence of a two-Power condominium. And as tension between the two original blocs has eased, a third grouping increasingly assumes the characteristics of a bloc of its own—the alignment of the non-aligned.

46. So the world is uneasily suspended between old slogans and new realities, between a view of peace as but a pause in an unending struggle and a vision of peace as a promise of global co-operation.

47. In 1946 James Byrnes, the first Secretary of State to address this Assembly, spoke of how the United Nations could “help to break down habits of thinking in national isolation and go far to bring about understanding and tolerance.”⁵

48. The United States will never be satisfied with a world of uneasy truces, of offsetting blocs, of accommodations of convenience. We know that power can enforce a resigned passivity, but only a sense of justice can enlist consensus. We strive for a peace whose stability rests not merely on a

balance of forces, but on shared aspirations. We are convinced that a structure which ignores humane values will prove cold and empty and unfulfilling to most of mankind.

49. The United States deeply believes that justice cannot be confined by national frontiers; that truth is universal, and not the peculiar possession of a single people or group or ideology; that compassion and humanity must ennoble all our endeavours.

50. In this spirit we ask this Assembly to move with us from détente among the big Powers to co-operation among all nations, from coexistence to community.

51. Our journey must begin with the world as it is and with the issues now before us. The United States will spare no effort to ease tensions further and to move towards greater stability. We shall continue, in the spirit of the Shanghai communiqué, our search for a new relationship with the People's Republic of China. We shall work to promote positive trends elsewhere in Asia. The uncertain peace in Indo-China must be strengthened; the world community cannot afford, or permit, a relapse into war in that region. We shall continue to pursue vigorously the building of constructive relationships with the Soviet Union. We shall strive to promote conciliation in Europe. In the negotiations beginning next month we shall seek a reduction of the military forces that have faced each other for so long across that divided continent. We shall give new vigour to our policy of partnership in the Western hemisphere. We shall honour our pledge to promote self-determination, economic development and human dignity across the continent of Africa. We shall press on with strategic arms limitations talks. We consider them crucial for security and stability in this period. We shall search for solutions to the world-wide problem of conventional weapons, which drain our resources and fuel the fires of local conflict.

52. In all these efforts the United States will be guided by certain fundamental principles.

53. We have no desire for domination. We will oppose—as we have consistently opposed throughout this century—any nation that chooses this path. We have not been asked to participate in a condominium; we would reject such an appeal if it were made.

54. We will never abandon our allies or our friends. The strengthening of our traditional ties is the essential foundation for the development of new relationships with old adversaries.

55. We will work for peace through the United Nations as well as through bilateral relationships.

56. We recognize our special obligation, as a permanent member of the Security Council, to assist in the search for just solutions in those parts of the world now torn by strife, such as the Middle East. While we cannot substitute for the efforts of those most directly involved, we are prepared to use our influence to generate a spirit of accommodation and to urge the parties towards practical progress.

57. But progress on the traditional agenda is not enough. The more we succeed in solving political problems, the more other and perhaps deeper challenges emerge. As the world grows more stable we must confront the question of the ends of détente. As the threat of war recedes, the problem of the quality of life takes on more urgent significance.

58. We are, in fact, members of a community drawn by modern science, technology and new forms of communica-

⁴ Issued at Shanghai on 27 February 1972.

⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, First part of first session, Plenary Meetings, 7th meeting*, p. 113.

tion into a proximity for which we are still politically unprepared. Technology daily outstrips the ability of our institutions to cope with its fruits. Our political imagination must catch up with our scientific vision. This is at the same time the greatest challenge and the greatest opportunity of this Organization.

59. The pollution of the skies, the seas and the land is a global problem.

60. The increased consumption of cereals has reduced world food reserves to dangerously low levels.

61. The demand for energy is outrunning supply, and the need for technological innovation is urgent.

62. The growth of the world's economy is inhibited by restrictive trading blocs and an insufficiently flexible international monetary system.

63. The exploitation of the resources of the ocean beds, which is essential for the needs of burgeoning populations, requires global co-operation lest it degenerate into global contention.

64. Challenges of this magnitude cannot be solved by a world fragmented into self-contained nation States or rigid blocs.

65. I do not intend, today, to cover the whole agenda of international co-operation. Rather, I shall speak briefly of some illustrative areas for common action. I pledge the readiness of the United States to solve these problems co-operatively and to submit proposals aimed at their resolution.

66. First, a world community requires the curbing of conflicts. The United Nations, in its 28-year history, has not always been idle in this sphere. In Indonesia, the Indian subcontinent, the Middle East, the Congo, and Cyprus, it has shown its ability for effective fact-finding, mediation and peace-keeping missions. This central aspect of the United Nations work must be strengthened. On a small planet, so bound together by technology and so interdependent economically, we can no longer afford the constant eruption of conflict and the danger of its spread.

67. Yet, in recent years, we have found ourselves locked in fruitless debates about the inauguration of peace-keeping operations and over the degree of control the Security Council would exercise over peace-keeping machinery—an impasse which has ensured that permanent peace-keeping machinery would not come into being. Each peace-keeping unit we have formed has been an improvisation growing out of argument and controversy.

68. We should delay no longer. The time has come to agree on peace-keeping guidelines so that this Organization can act swiftly, confidently and effectively in future crises. To break the deadlock, the United States is prepared to consider how the Security Council can play a more central role in the conduct of peace-keeping operations. If all countries concerned approach this problem with a desire to achieve a co-operative solution, the United Nations can achieve a major step forward during this session.

69. Secondly, a world community must have the widest possible membership. The exclusion of any qualified State denies representation not only to Governments, but to peoples. Membership in this body should be a step towards reconciliation, not a source of conflict. The time has come for North and South Korea to be offered their rightful place here without prejudice to a future evolution towards unification. In this spirit also, we support the permanent membership of Japan in the Security Council.

70. Thirdly, a world community must assure that all its people are fed. The growing threat to the world's food supply deserves the urgent attention of this Assembly. Since 1969, global consumption of cereals has risen more rapidly than production; stocks are at the lowest levels in years. We now face the prospect that, even with bumper crops, the world may not rebuild its seriously depleted reserves in this decade.

71. No one country can cope with this problem. The United States therefore proposes that a world food conference should be organized under United Nations auspices in 1974 to discuss ways to maintain adequate food supplies and to harness the efforts of all nations to meet the hunger and malnutrition resulting from natural disasters and that nations in a position to do so offer technical assistance in the conservation of food. The United States is ready to join with others in providing such assistance.

72. Fourthly, a world community cannot remain divided between the permanently rich and the permanently poor. Let us therefore resolve that this Assembly, this year, initiate a search, drawing on the world's best minds, for new and imaginative solutions to the problems of development. Our search must be candid and realistic, but it must also be free of peremptory demands, antagonistic propositions, ideological confrontation, or propagandistic rhetoric, or we will surely fail.

73. The United States is prepared to join this new search, providing freely of the experience gained over two decades. We have learned not to exaggerate our capacity to transform nations, but we have also learned much about what progress is possible. We will participate without pre-conditions, with a conciliatory attitude and a co-operative commitment. We ask only that others adopt the same approach.

74. In this spirit, the United States is willing to examine seriously the proposal by the distinguished President of Mexico for a charter of the economic rights and duties of States.⁶ Such a document will make a significant and historic contribution if it reflects the true aspirations of all nations; it will accomplish nothing if it is turned into an indictment of one group of countries by another. To command general support, and to be implemented, the proposed rights and duties must be defined equitably and take into account the concerns of industrialized as well as of developing countries. The United States stands ready to define its responsibilities in a humane and co-operative spirit.

75. Fifthly, a world community must harness science and technology for the benefit of all. We must begin to match our remarkable technological skills with our equally remarkable technological needs. We must find the means for the co-operative and judicious development of energy resources. We must responsibly confront the problems of population growth, which are fast pushing humanity towards the limits of what our earth can sustain. We must embark on a new scientific revolution to increase agricultural productivity in all lands. No field of human endeavour is so dependent upon an open world for its advancement, no field is so in need of international co-operation to cope with its potential dangers.

76. Are we prepared to accept the imperatives of a global society and infuse our labours with new vision? Or shall we

⁶ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Third Session*, vol. I A, part one, *Summaries of Statements by Heads of Delegations* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.D. Mim.1, part one), p. 186.

content ourselves with a temporary pause in the turmoil that has racked our century? Shall we proceed with one-sided demands and sterile confrontation? Or shall we proceed in a spirit of compromise produced by a sense of common destiny? We are convinced that we must move from hesitant co-operation born of necessity to genuine collective effort based on common purpose.

77. It is a choice no country can make alone. We can repeat old slogans or strive for new hope. We can fill the record of our proceedings with acrimony, or we can dedicate ourselves to dealing with man's deepest needs. The ideal of a world community may be decried as unrealistic, but great constructions have always been ideals before they can become realities. Let us therefore dedicate ourselves to this noblest of all possible goals and achieve at last what has so long eluded us: true understanding and tolerance among mankind.

78. Mr. DE LA FLOR VALLE (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, on behalf of the Government and the people of Peru, may I express my cordial congratulations to you on the fitting choice this great Assembly has made in electing you to preside over its twenty-eighth session. This election is a well-earned recognition of your outstanding qualifications as a diplomat and your brilliant career as a jurist and an internationalist. For Ecuador, a country with which we are very closely linked by fraternal ties of friendship, it is a just tribute with which all Latin America can identify. We are sure that with your abilities you will preside over this session of the Assembly with the necessary skill, capacity and firmness and that this will be a further success in your triumphant diplomatic career.

79. May I also express my friendly greetings to Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, whose efficient handling of the last session confirmed the qualities that we all recognized in him and whom my Government had the pleasure of receiving in Peru.

80. I should also like to offer my sincere appreciation to our illustrious Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his effective and devoted efforts to bring about a full application of the principles and tenets of the Charter to the relations among our countries.

81. I should also like to express our greetings to the new States Members of the United Nations—the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic and the Bahamas. The participation of these new Members will certainly be a valuable contribution to our endeavours to achieve fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the Charter and a manifest expression of the universality of the Organization.

82. The process of relaxation of tension encouraged by the great Powers has proceeded apace, reducing the risk of a nuclear confrontation. There are signs of improvement in the world situation. The Viet-Nam agreements, the International Conference on Viet Nam, held in Paris, the initial approaches between the two Koreas concerning reunification, the agreements between India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, the convening of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and the admission to membership in the United Nations of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic are so many proofs.

83. The East-West rapprochement taking place at present stands as a solution to the problems inherited from the Second World War, although basically limited to the developed areas of the world and the result of strategies of nuclear deterrence between the two greatest rival Powers.

84. However, the security and peace yearned for by two thirds of mankind—that is, the countries of the third world—is not included in the blueprint for détente, for aggression and intervention are still sources of permanent danger that thwart the liberation of peoples struggling for their freedom.

85. The Paris agreements are not being fully complied with in the countries of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, for foreign interference still continues and self-determination of the peoples is ignored. There is no reason to be encouraged about a solution to the Middle East question. The impasse persists without withdrawal from the occupied territories, respect for the existence and sovereignty of all the States of the region or recognition of the rights of the Palestine people. In sum, Security Council resolution 242 (1967) is not being carried out, nor is there determined support for the important efforts being made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

86. The rivalry among the great Powers in the Mediterranean continues, and this aggravates the already existing situation in the Middle East. Tensions flowing from power politics create insecurity in the Persian Gulf.

87. Tension in the Caribbean countries continues; the persistence in keeping Cuba semi-isolated shows that. In the same region an anachronistic neo-colonial mentality stands in the way of the effective exercise by Panama of sovereignty and jurisdiction over the entirety of its territory.

88. In Africa, cruel and retrograde colonial wars and repressive policies of racial discrimination and *apartheid* continue to cause suffering to the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

89. In the South Pacific, the pronouncements of international public opinion and justice are overlooked and atmospheric thermonuclear tests continue.

90. One of the principal tasks of the Organization should be to strive to extend the present détente to all regions of the world, thus eliminating the sources of stress that I have listed. Regions like the Mediterranean, the Caribbean, the South Pacific and the Persian Gulf must be constantly kept under surveillance by the United Nations so as to ensure in them respect for national independence, the renunciation of the use of force, the dismantling of military bases, the prohibition of nuclear tests and the development of peaceful co-operation in general. It will thus be possible to establish international security that will encompass all areas of the world and be equally applicable to all countries, both of the prosperous zones and of the third world.

91. The impoverishment of the populations of the regions outside the main centres of world power is increasing at an accelerating rate, and with it there emerge new forms of domination and dependency in economic, political and technological fields.

92. But within this general scene the absence of a nuclear conflict between the great Powers does not spell security for the third world. In the underdeveloped areas uncertainty and social unrest are rife, appearing in new shapes and forms. Security for the third world lies in an over-all and self-sustaining development, the basic liberating instrument for peace. It is for that reason that both here and elsewhere we have stressed the concept that security must be completed in a new and significant dimension that will define the reality of the developing countries. I refer to what I have already mentioned, that is, that in our revolutionary experience security and development have been shown to be aspects of

the same reality, and for that reason security cannot be described only as the absence of warlike conflict.

93. By the same token, it is appropriate to recall that of the 55 conflicts that have broken out since the founding of the United Nations and of the 255 subversive movements that have shaken world peace, 95 per cent have had their roots in the third world, as the lamentable result of the imperialist policies and neo-colonial pressures on our countries. For this reason, any peace that overlooks that majority of mankind, any peace that ignores the liberation of the people of the third world, any peace that is merely the absence of hostilities among the great Powers is a precarious, unreal, unjust peace. It does not spell security or stability for us, much less justice for our development. It is peace in opulence—which is not that of the third world.

94. Security among the States Members of the United Nations must also include the concept of an economic security that will guarantee the right of the majority of mankind to a comprehensive development and prevent threats of economic coercion or pressures of any sort.

95. Collective economic security in international relations would imply the renunciation of the use of economic force and unilateral power politics and assure respect for the overall development of States. Collective economic security would also imply a commitment to take "collective action" to repel measures of economic force tending to oppress the sovereignty of States, and also united action to help meet emergency situations that cannot be resolved by the internal effort of a developing country, in order to provide the necessary assistance.

96. The Security Council meeting in Panama in March this year was proof of a qualitative change of approach regarding the use of force in international relations. The Security Council considered that in Latin America there did exist threats to international peace and security, not only due to armed aggression but also to structural situations of dependency, domination and colonialism. Resolution 330 (1973), adopted by the Council at that meeting, is a significant step in the repudiation of the use of force.

97. We believe that resolution is a great contribution by the developing countries to the strengthening of the United Nations as a mechanism for safeguarding the development of the countries of the third world. Without doubt it will also serve as the foundation for the system of collective economic security under study that must urgently be set up, and for this reason it is imperative to accelerate the studies being done by the United Nations.

98. Aware of the changes taking place in the world today and of the situations arising from the constant emergence of new States, Peru joins those who contend that the Security Council, as constituted at present, is not representative of the aspirations of peoples. The present composition of the Security Council, in which a small minority of Powers wields the veto, is a situation that must be altered, since within the organ itself it allows the play of power politics by the great Powers.

99. The right of veto was intended to meet a political reality arising from the Second World War. For this reason we should weigh the need to devise a formula to avoid the paralysis of the Council in the exercise of its high functions due to an abuse of powers which in themselves violate the political and juridical equality of States and gainsay the true democratization of international relations. A first step might be to apply the provisions of the Charter itself which provide that the States parties to a dispute shall not vote. Likewise, as some have stated, the General Assembly

should be empowered to reject a veto cast by a single State against the votes of all the other members of the Security Council, who do in fact represent the international community.

100. Peru considers that a further indispensable step for strengthening international peace and security is the convening by the United Nations of a world disarmament conference with the participation of all States.

101. The objective of such a conference would be first to achieve a qualitative disarmament, that is, the suspension of all nuclear tests in all environments to forestall any improvement in such weapons. Secondly, the conference would go on to quantitative disarmament through the elimination of existing nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.

102. Despite the pronouncements of the General Assembly, of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment,⁷ of the International Court of Justice and of the coastal States of the South Pacific, atmospheric tests on the atoll of Mururoa continue.

103. The Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces of Peru is aware of its moral authority to oppose such tests and considers that the United Nations should take up the request of the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held this month at Algiers, that an end be put to the atmospheric nuclear tests in the South Pacific.⁸

104. We also consider it imperative that the United Nations strengthen the effectiveness of the Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation, so that it may be able to complete its work with the assistance of, and benefiting from the experience of, all peace-loving countries and provide information, as objective as possible, requested by the countries affected by nuclear explosions. The Committee can no longer continue to depend on information supplied by nuclear States, when it is very often unable to detect the explosions and the magnitude of the radiation.

105. True to the principles and purposes of the Charter, and in keeping with the evolution of the international situation, Peru considers it its duty to reinforce and universalize peace and security through effective and realistic inter-American co-operation reflecting the process of détente among the great Powers.

106. In the American region, the Organization of American States [OAS] has supplied the purely formal framework for political, ideological, economic and cultural institutions of intracontinental co-operation and solidarity. Although its charter⁹ prescribes the principles and norms for international conduct in the hemisphere, we cannot overlook the fact that behind these stand countries possessing differing economic and social structures and at different stages of development. On the one hand, there is a world super-Power with its opulent and expanding market economy, and on the other, developing countries with disjointed, economically dependent societies.

107. From the very outset the basic standards of inter-American relations were warped because of the hegemony of the United States over the countries of Latin America. The creation of inter-American organs and institutions, such as the Interamerican Development Bank, though they are apparently multilateral, in no way changed this structural

⁷ Held at Stockholm from 5 to 16 June 1972.

⁸ See document A/9330 and Corr.1, para. 73.

⁹ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 119, No. 1609, p. 48.

flaw in our relations. Thus, a lopsided and imperfect system has grown up based on domestic and foreign domination and within the context of the defence of spheres of influence of the cold war.

108. Recent developments in Latin America attest to the emergence of growing community awareness, the result of common and parallel histories, of shared conditioning from the outside and a common destiny which we now begin to see clearly. The restructuring of the inter-American system now taking place is a clear proof of the degree of awareness and compromise that our countries have achieved along these lines. It also anticipates the new profile we seek for our continent. The Revolutionary Government of Peru, together with other nations, called for the convening of a special commission for the restructuring of the inter-American system; that was an act which we believe clearly shows our dedication to a true America and for the effective application of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations in our region.

109. The work being done by that special commission in Lima and Washington should lead to the outlining of a restructuring that we trust will permit a true adaptation to the new inter-American reality. It could then become a regional system that would effectively serve the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

110. In one word, we want an end in Latin America to all forms of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. We want a Latin America united on the strength of a genuine development with justice for its peoples, and, finally, the promotion of Latin America to the forefront of the international dialogue as full-fledged spokesmen and free actors in our own destiny.

111. The contribution of the third world to world peace is an objective reality primarily confirmed through the non-aligned movement. The evolution of international relations has only gone to prove the certainty and permanence of the objectives of the policy of non-alignment.

112. The growth of the progressive forces of peace, independence and the progress of mankind is proved by the fact that more than half of the States members of the international community were represented at the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers. Once again non-alignment showed its dynamism and pluralist vitality with the presence of Latin American countries in an evolving world, thus reaffirming their stand against all types of imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism.

113. For the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces of Peru, its foreign policy of non-alignment is a correlative of the profound commitment of the Peruvian revolution to insuring the participation of our people in both the process and the benefits of development through a society in keeping with our national realities. Thus, we have devised a coherent ideo-political formulation that impresses its independent and autonomous personality on our revolution. The goal of our revolution is to transform the economic, social and political system of our country. To do so our revolution draws its inspiration from the richest currents of humanism and socialism, which by nature are imbued with the concept of liberty and therefore imply a clear stand on dogmatism and totalitarianism. In practical terms our objective is to establish in Peru a pluralistic economy with full participation for all.

114. I should like to recall a paragraph from the message by the President of Peru, General Juan Velasco Alvarado,

on the one hundred fifty-second anniversary of national independence:

"The achievement of the great ideal of full participation, the very essence of the revolutionary humanism which we advocate, presupposes the gradual but definitive abandonment of manipulative behaviour and intermediary machinery that in the past deprived our citizens of the right to share in and decide upon all aspects of social life. It also calls for the equally gradual but also definitive break with paternalistic and authoritarian conduct that illegally presupposes a position of inferiority for those who are humble and poor. All this is in order to safeguard and defend the basic concept of dignity and the pre-eminence of man as a specific social being and as the forger of history and life."

115. We are witnessing a qualitative shift in history; the contradictions of the opulent societies of the industrialized States have become obvious. The enormous concentration of capital, the disorderly use of technology, the greed for power and endless wealth are all producing dire situations which are manifested in the energy crisis, raw materials and the dehumanizing conditions of life. At the same time we are witnessing a growing inflation in the developed economies.

116. The countries of the third world are confronting immensely important political possibilities. It is within our grasp to achieve our total liberation and it is up to our political will to turn weakness into strength with our unity. Replacement of the strategy of claims by one of uniting for negotiation is a legitimate way to defend our national resources.

117. The non-aligned nations, and Peru among them, consider recovery and full exercise of permanent sovereignty over natural resources and control of the basic economic activities of those resources to be some of the immediate steps to be taken. The right of the developing nations to nationalize their natural wealth and to adapt the payment of compensation for them to their own domestic systems has been supported by the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries meeting in Algiers.

118. Furthermore, exploitation and direct merchandising, as well as support for and creation of associations of raw material-producing countries, are very effective means for strengthening our negotiating power and obtaining mutually advantageous international trade both for the producers and for the consumers. That will also strengthen our development. In this respect, the non-aligned nations have agreed to the convening in the near future of a conference of developing nations to co-ordinate a global strategy on raw materials in the light of the critical situation that could activate irrational exploitation of our resources and unjust price policies.

119. Two agreements which are examples of the increasing solidarity among the non-aligned nations and which allow of a certain optimism regarding the future of our countries are to favour the creation of a fund for development and solidarity among the non-aligned nations, to promote financial and technical co-operation among them; and the establishment of a system of consultations and emergency measures within the group for mutual assistance in cases of aggression in economic relations, such as pressures, coercion, economic blockade, the freezing of credit and any direct or indirect measures aimed at limiting the sovereignty of States and curtailing the right of all countries to their own autonomous development.

120. The controversy over the law of the sea has finally been understood as one of the basic chapters of the struggle against underdevelopment and against the hegemony of certain Powers that would confine the sovereignty and jurisdiction of other States to narrow limits while remaining free themselves to exploit the natural resources of distant seas.

121. The Algiers Conference saw more than 60 Heads of State or Government support the 200-mile limit without prejudice to the freedom of navigation or to the régime of the continental shelf. They also supported the notion of regional solutions, the elimination of threats to the security and sovereignty of States and the establishment of an international authority empowered to undertake the exploitation of the sea-bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction as the common heritage of mankind.

122. For 26 years Peru has defended its maritime sovereignty and jurisdiction over the 200-mile limit, and therefore we are gratified by this support, which reaffirms the reasons and validity of a cause once deemed unrealistic and rash, and allows us to foresee, as set forth at Algiers, "the establishment of a new régime governing ocean space which is based on the principles of justice, security, peaceful coexistence, development and well-being for all peoples."¹⁰

123. We trust that this new order will be established and that there will be an end to the obstinacy and short-sightedness of those who would extend to the sea the very imperialism we are fighting. Be that as it may, Peru will maintain its resolve to preserve its maritime sovereignty and jurisdiction with the unshakable and unyielding will of one who knows that he defends his own independence and destiny as a nation.

124. Co-ordination, co-operation and solidarity among the developing countries are characteristics of the present international situation, but together with this laudable effort on the part of the countries of the third world external conditions must also be created propitious to self-sustaining and independent development.

125. I cannot fail to mention the concern of the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces of Peru over the steadily deteriorating economic conditions of the developing countries caused by policies foreign to their own efforts. Interference in the sovereignty of States multiplies; neo-colonialism in the developing countries and the unfettered activities of transnational corporations continue; trade and monetary agreements among the developed countries tend to diminish the participation of the third world in world trade and to flout the principles of international co-operation.

126. It therefore becomes imperative for the developed countries to realize that international co-operation for development is one of the basic components of a permanent, universal peace that will permit full security for all States.

127. According to United Nations surveys, everything seems to indicate that by 1975—that is, just half-way through the Second Development Decade—the trade and financial deficit of all the developing countries will amount to at least \$17 billion. Half this amount, or perhaps more, will be to cover the flow of capital to pay for utilities from foreign private investment and invisible services and the other half to cover the trade deficit caused by the deterioration in terms of trade. We must therefore abandon our role as exporters of capital and importers of inflation.

128. This circle of domination that characterizes the structure of the economic relations between the third world and the industrialized countries makes it impossible to fulfil the modest objectives of the International Development Strategy. The countries of the third world, with 70 per cent of the world population, subsist on a meagre 30 per cent of world income, and by the end of this decade the average *per capita* income will be \$3,600 for the developed countries and a paltry \$265 for the developing countries. Surely we must all agree that the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade is failing thus far. International action is required, as called for by the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in the Action Programme for Economic Co-operation adopted in Algiers in order to convene "a special session of the General Assembly at a high political level devoted exclusively to the problems of development,"¹¹ including the achievement of the objectives of the International Development Strategy and the revitalization of the organizations of the United Nations system devoted to international co-operation.

129. Among the efforts of the developing countries to make international co-operation more dynamic, Peru supports the holding of the Second General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization in 1975, and we reiterate our offer of the city of Lima as the venue for the Conference.

130. The present international situation is characterized by the coexistence and convergence of the great Powers and by the multipolarity of the world. But this is the result not only of the bold diplomacy of the powerful nations but of the long historical struggle of new forces and social values emerging in the world of today. These new social forces have challenged the established order and set forth an undeniable need for world coexistence as a basis for ideological pluralism. The development of these progressive forces is manifested mainly in the regions of the third world and is embodied in the unshakable struggle of the peoples of those areas for more just living conditions and for their own autonomous solutions for freeing themselves from domestic and foreign domination. Because of the increase in world poverty and the just struggle against it, the centre of gravity of international relations and conflicts is shifting to the third world, thus giving our people considerable revolutionary weight which is making them new protagonists in contemporary history.

131. The new historic moment in which we find ourselves calls for a new approach on the part of the developed countries, an approach that must understand that the interrelation between development and underdevelopment requires co-operation and solidarity.

132. Once again Peru reaffirms its faith in the world Organization as the forum most apt to know the problems affecting international peace, security and co-operation and as the appropriate institutional framework for just solutions to disputes occurring among States.

133. Mr. LUCIO PAREDES (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am happy, Mr. President, to greet you cordially on behalf of my Government and to congratulate you on your election to preside over this new session of the General Assembly. For the people of Ecuador it is a matter of rejoicing and pride that a most worthy compatriot such as yourself has been raised to that high post in recognition of outstanding ability and qualifications and experience in the

¹⁰ See document A/9330 and Corr.1, page 54.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

United Nations. All of that is a guarantee of the effectiveness with which the General Assembly will be directed.

134. I wish also to greet and pay tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, the distinguished Polish diplomat, who with wisdom and skill fulfilled his noble duties.

135. Having read the news in the paper this morning, I wish to pay a posthumous tribute to a great man of this hemisphere and a great poet of the world, Pablo Neruda.

136. My first words are also words of welcome to the Organization to the three new States which have become Members this year—the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Bahamas. The admission of those peoples to the United Nations will strengthen its bodies and constitute a ratification of the principle of universality foreseen in the Charter, a principle that my country fully supports. The admission of the two German States will also be a great contribution to relieving tension in Europe, with salutary reactions in the entire world, and certainly there will be repercussions entirely favourable to the work being done by the United Nations to fulfil its purposes and principles.

137. I have just spoken of strengthening the United Nations, and on behalf of my Government I must stress that although during the passage of the long years since its foundation the Organization has made undeniable contributions to the cause of peace, its role still is not everything that the peoples expect or hope. We are watching the opening up of a dark, upset and troubled world, where contradictory forces struggle to deprive men and communities of possibilities of progress and social justice which they quite justifiably seek and require.

138. Can we deny that at present there are upheavals and tensions? The complexity of a world becoming more technical although less human, the damage to basic values of the human spirit in all spheres, the irrepressible clamour of the less favoured classes prove to us clearly that the United Nations must give greater pragmatic and concrete assistance in the solution of international problems, for the sake of peoples and of security in general. States must fully comply with the obligations imposed upon them as Members of the United Nations. One of the unchallengeable premises for strengthening peace is the observation of the Charter of the United Nations. But if certain resolutions are not complied with, if they are casuistically or subtly evaded, if they are ignored, then the moral weight of the United Nations is also but meagre and the statements we make here on behalf of our States are of no value.

139. The world Organization is duty bound to ensure that the resolutions and recommendations adopted by common agreement are implemented. My country is fully convinced that the efficacy of the United Nations must hinge upon the political will of its Members to carry out in good faith the fundamental obligations incumbent upon them in accordance with the Charter and their desire to co-operate in the solution of problems of general interest. If we wish to strengthen the Organization and avoid its prestige and authority being sapped, it is imperative that words be accompanied by deeds, so that resolutions will not be reduced to mere declarations of principles, without concrete results.

140. There can be no doubt that on certain levels positive changes in international life have been achieved. These are intended to improve the political climate, and this has led to the creation of new and excellent possibilities for lessening international tensions. Now it is necessary that dialogue

between the parties to a conflict should continue. The end of the war in Viet Nam, while it must please all of us, must serve as a lesson, one that will warn all of us of the dangers, the atrocious calamities that follow upon a state of violence and undeclared war, or what happens when in one way or another peoples are denied the exercise of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

141. Satisfied as we are at the end of the conflict in Viet Nam, so, too, my Government and delegation are gratified at the way in which the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic have carried out their dialogue and laid the groundwork for a worthy contribution to détente and European security, which must obviously have repercussions on the security of the entire world.

142. The admission of the two Germanys to the world Organization, a fruit of that dialogue, is a clear example of the beneficial results to world peace generated by good will and the desire for justice and equity when applied by parties in the solution of their disputes. The results of the multilateral consultations to prepare the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which have also confirmed the relaxation of tension and confrontation in Europe, point now to practical collaboration and prove that when a matter is tackled with a desire for a solution, that has a favourable effect on all other matters which may be the seed of future difficulties and problems in world order and which can also catch the same spirit of understanding and the same desire for solution.

143. We would hope that all these events would serve as an example so that other problems besetting the world will also be successfully solved through negotiation within the framework of the spirit of good will and understanding, for the benefit of all peoples of the world, of peace and of international co-operation.

144. And yet there are still conflicts in the world. The situation in Indochina, particularly in Cambodia, is continuing obscure and tumultuous and is reaching the levels of unbearable anguish and horror experienced in Viet Nam.

145. The situation in the Middle East, too, remains disturbed. My country, peace-loving by conviction and tradition, wants with all the force of its confidence in law to make a warm and urgent appeal to the parties in conflict. My Government feels that a sincere effort on the part of the governments concerned to carry out a dialogue without prior conditions, without prejudice and without imposition could do much for a final and just solution. Thus my delegation considers it equally necessary for all efforts to be made to find a solution to the conflict on the basis of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967. That resolution contains the basic tenets of international law as set forth in the Charter. A possible solution must in any case take into account all aspects of the problem of the Middle East and be based indisputably on the principles of equity and justice, without taking into account hatred or prejudice of any sort. We believe that in any case the solution must be sought within the framework of the United Nations, and I must say it is equally necessary that the activities of the great Powers, that in one way or another support the different parties to the conflict in the Middle East, must be directed to finding solutions for the establishment of constructive peace and not stand in the way of possible formulas of agreement and understanding. The conflict in the Middle East, because of its explosive nature, obliges the United Nations to try unflaggingly to end it.

146. In the light of so important a problem as that of Korea, my delegation considers that the world Organization

should encourage any free pronouncement by the entire Korean people and allow the two Koreas to continue their contacts to find the most just and appropriate road to a solution to the problem.

147. My delegation draws attention to the fact that, despite the many resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council regarding racial or religious discrimination and colonialism, millions of human beings are still suffering the consequences of these illegal and inhuman systems.

148. These resolutions of the world Organization seem to be challenged almost openly by the countries that practice these forms that are so contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations. The practice of racial and religious discrimination is retrograde and turns back centuries of civilization and progress. As far as colonialism is concerned, it is the very denial of freedom itself and of the right of peoples to self-determination. It coerces them with political occupation, economic pressures or inadmissible armed threats.

149. Paradoxically enough, while man has shaken off the forces that tied him to earth and has launched himself into the conquest of the stars, there are still subject peoples whose fate is in foreign hands which resort to violent coercion, and drown in blood their desire for just rebellion, the hunger for freedom that has written the most heroic pages of history.

150. Ecuador can do no less than urge that the agreements arrived at in the General Assembly and the Security Council be implemented. With regard to the legal situation of the territories under Portuguese administration, we continue to argue that this situation is covered by Article 73 of the Chapter of the United Nations.

151. Since international economic co-operation is an obligation instituted in the Charter, we must with determination encourage any steps that will tend to create favourable machinery and conditions so that the industrially advanced countries will supply the developing nations with the necessary effective assistance so that the process of economic and social transformation will become reality. The resolutions must be implemented for that progress to be achieved and for the dangerous gap that divides some countries from others to be bridged. This calls for an intensifying of economic, technical, scientific and cultural co-operation and also requires that the programmes of financing be fed with 1 per cent of the gross national product. There must also be a liberalization of trade and the removal of all obstacles that have so far stood in the way of the rational opening up of international markets to raw materials, the main source of income for countries of the third world.

152. The Second United Nations Development Decade, for all these reasons, should be supported fully and given all the necessary assistance. Furthermore, it should be strengthened, as the needs have grown in so many poverty-stricken regions of the world. At this time I should like to stress the fact that the Latin American countries, upon studying, at the fifteenth session of the Economic Commission for Latin America, the results of the first two years of this Decade, adopted the so-called Quito Assessment.¹² The observations in that document are positive and realistic and in keeping with the needs of the region and thus were endorsed by the Economic and Social Council in its resolution 1817 (LV). Let us now avoid any weak or ambiguous measures. The present moments are difficult

enough: there is still lack of food; there is still disease and poverty; the international monetary crisis still produces negative results, particularly in the developing nations; and all this on the very eve of the multilateral trade negotiations to be held within the framework of GATT and whose bases and conditions are not precisely those that are most in keeping with the desires of a great majority of the countries that are facing difficulties in their trade development and therefore have serious problems with their balance of payments—countries that, despite all their efforts, cannot implement their domestic development programmes.

153. In the light of these sombre prospects for the developing nations, we shall continue to press for a new study and analysis of the measures to solve the grave problem of maritime transport. Therefore we wholeheartedly support the spirit of the developing countries when proposing a code of conduct for maritime conferences in order to standardize freights and guarantee a just increase in the national merchant marines. We hope that the plenipotentiary conference¹³ that is to study that draft in November at Geneva will be as successful as the countries that have been working to this end desire.

154. We hope to achieve the development and welfare of our people, using the wealth of our national resources, whose exploitation must have, in the international field, sufficient guarantees and safeguards. Therefore we consider as a threat to the full exercise of the sovereignty of peoples any measure or action by any other State or transnational corporation that limits or hinders the free exercise of that basic right.

155. In the field of economic security, the action of the United Nations is—and should be—preponderant. The gap between the wealthy and the poor countries is widening instead of narrowing. Can we, then, speak of a future of peace in these circumstances for the peoples of the world? To consider it so would be Utopian and would be almost tragic naïveté. There can be no doubt that this state of affairs is a reflection of injustices committed by the wealthy countries in their international trade policies. And voices have been raised in one of the organs of the United Nations to the effect that the concepts of political and economic security are parallel and complement one another. My delegation believes that in the field to which I am referring the action of the United Nations has thus far not been very productive. This being the case, the possibility of the third world's emerging from underdevelopment is bleak indeed.

156. The world is confronting a profound technical and scientific revolution. Man's penetration of outer space and the depths of the ocean, the impressive progress of human knowledge and the rapid evolution of productive forces have wide repercussions on all spheres of the spiritual and material existence of man. All this offers countries fantastic ways of increasing their national wealth, of utilizing the natural resources they possess in order to support their economic and social progress and achieve development. But at the same time, this same revolution creates new and extremely complex problems having a bearing on the future of mankind. This creates new fields of co-operation, but at the same time it stresses the need to tackle the problems in ways and fashions that will be in keeping with the new needs of the modern world.

157. To achieve these goals, technology must be placed at the service of mankind; and for this it is imperative that appropriate machinery be set up to allow the developing

¹² See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Fifty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 8*, part three.

¹³ United Nations Conference of Plenipotentiaries on a Code of Conduct for Liner Conferences.

countries to enjoy full access to, and benefit from, technology and research. The developed countries with a high degree of technological know-how, with the experience and information they possess concerning outer space, ought to share those benefits with all developing nations, giving them access to such knowledge and know-how. But the technological capacity that allows them to increase their economic development must not be used, like other resources, to consolidate and increase their domination over other nations.

158. In resolution 2934 A and B (XXVII), the General Assembly appealed to the Powers that possess nuclear weapons to suspend all types of atomic tests, including underground tests, and to adhere without delay to the treaty prohibiting such weapons. But some States have not obeyed this resolution. The appeals of the world Organization have been spurned, and with surprise and sorrow we have seen that nuclear tests have continued, to the detriment of the authority of the United Nations and of efforts to strengthen peace. My delegation must state here that the latest nuclear tests carried out by France certainly have indicated a deterioration in the efforts that the Organization and all peoples have been making to prohibit nuclear weapons and the explosion of such bombs. We must lament the fact that it is France that has done this, but with the sincere and unfettered friendship that my country has always felt for the great French people, we cannot but be surprised at and condemn its contempt for world public opinion and its persistence in carrying out those tests, which further weaken the already fragile basis of security. My delegation will therefore continue to give its full support to the effort to achieve a complete prohibition of all nuclear weapons tests, chemical weapons, and all weapons of any kind that would constitute a cruel means of making war, which is repugnant to the conscience of all peoples.

159. In the field of disarmament an indispensable premise is confidence among States. It alone can create a climate conducive to the solution of a problem that is in itself complex, difficult and full of unknown quantities.

160. To resort to the use of force is to deny the power of reason. To channel nuclear, biological or chemical natural forces to the destruction of men is to allow the dominion of irrational energy over man.

161. On the international level in general, and specifically in the United Nations, there has been a proliferation of agreements and recommendations to do away with the arms race. Yet mankind is still hoping for this, while still seeing the bombs and the cannons lowering over it. True disarmament cannot emerge merely from the co-ordination of wills on a piece of paper but must be the legal expression of genuine disarmament, which can only be found in the very soul of the peoples. True disarmament means to do away with the spirit of aggression, to adopt a desire for peace and understanding and respect for the self-determination of peoples and for the unchallengeable dominion of law and justice.

162. On behalf of the Government and people of Ecuador, my delegation will continue to support fully all efforts tending towards general and complete disarmament under effective and secure international control. In its resolution 2993 (XXVII) the General Assembly of the United Nations reaffirmed that:

“...any measure or pressure directed against any State while exercising its sovereign right freely to dispose of its natural resources constitutes a flagrant violation of the principles of self-determination of peoples and non-

intervention, as set forth in the Charter, which, if pursued, could constitute a threat to international peace and security”.

163. Together with other countries of Latin America, my country has been the victim of retaliatory measures because we defended this inherent right of peoples for our own development.

164. It is high time that we attached to international co-operation its real definition and scope. It cannot, as in the past, be placed at the service of unilateral interests and positions which vitiate the goals.

165. Ecuador must denounce to the General Assembly the persistence of the United States of America in turning international economic co-operation into a punitive element and a means of coercion against countries that, in the exercise of their legitimate rights, have captured and, in accordance with law, punished fishing fleets carrying out illicit activities in their jurisdictional waters. Not only does Ecuador reject the so-called application of sanctions, but at the same time we wish to stress that such conduct is unseemly and in no way helps to create an atmosphere conducive to negotiations and friendly understandings. It also ignores the terms of article 19 of the charter of the Organization of American States, as well as Security Council resolution 330 (1973) of 21 March in which the Council, when reaffirming the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly, particularly resolution 2625 (XXV), proclaims that:

“...no State may use or encourage the use of economic, political or any other type of measures to coerce another State in order to obtain from it the subordination of the exercise of its sovereign rights and to secure from it advantages of any kind,”

and requests States furthermore:

“...with a view to maintaining and strengthening peace and security in Latin America, to refrain from using or encouraging the use of any type of coercive measures against States of the region”.

166. At the present session the General Assembly will have to pronounce itself on matters of outstanding importance to the development of the forthcoming Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, whose decisions will determine the possibility of wide co-operation in keeping with the purposes and principles of the United Nations, if justice reigns and if the sovereign equality of States is respected. But if, tragically, the sea remains as in the past a shameful means of political and economic domination, and if the exercise of force over reason and law succeeds, then the world will be confronted with a new period of disquiet and conflict incompatible with mutual obligations of creative interdependence and association under the San Francisco Charter.

167. We cannot forget the worthless results of previous conferences which tried to solve the great problems of the sea by ignoring the constitutional elements of balance between what the sovereign State requires in defence of its legitimate inalienable rights and what is required of it as an active and passive subject in a natural régime of interdependence. No decision that affects the fundamental interests of the developing countries or leads to the adoption of formulas of disguised colonialism or tutelage can be accepted by peoples who insist on respect for their freedom and their right to utilize all their natural resources. Among these resources of importance to the feeding and development of the coastal States are those that are in adjacent

seas within reasonable limits dictated by geographic, geological, ecological, economic and social factors.

168. Particularly important at present is that the formulas covering the use of the seas as well as the exploitation of the sea-bed beyond the jurisdictional limit must be based on the principle that the regions reserved to the coastal State and coming under its exclusive sovereignty cannot be invaded.

169. But among the new conceptions of international law, some of which must necessarily be included in the reformulation of the law of the sea, sovereignty must be understood also as a factor for positive action in the policies of solidarity that, by bringing nations together in peace and justice, will make their exercise of sovereign rights the most effective means of mutual understanding and co-operation.

170. In keeping with those definitions, Ecuador has contended and continues to contend that it is for the coastal State itself to decide on the width of the sea over which it exercises sovereignty and the resources of which are therefore exclusively within its purview.

171. Together with other countries of our continent, Ecuador has set as the limit of its territorial seas 200 miles, measured from the corresponding base lines, the area over which we exercise sovereignty and, therefore, jurisdiction. We require that our laws be respected, even if that calls for police action when fishing vessels try to ignore the existence of a national law over that area.

172. With the same determination with which we uphold that proclamation, we state our unshakable resolution to participate positively in the development of a wide policy of co-operation by sovereign acts which will daily ensure that the seas are ties of unity and friendship among all peoples and will allow effective achievement of the efforts for conservation and reasonable exploitation of the ichthyological wealth of the seas, preservation of the marine environment and accelerated progress in scientific research, activities which Ecuador considers to be unavoidable duties of the coastal State.

173. International co-operation in such important fields must be considered as an honest way of acting which satisfies the demands of particular interest to the coastal

State and the community, and never as an instrument in the hands of the great fishing Powers for the undue exploitation of the ichthyological wealth to which they have no right. To contend that fishing should be divided up by species according to an apparently scientific criterion, in order to penetrate zones of foreign jurisdiction and take advantage of wealth that certainly is neither *res nullius* nor to be confused with the common heritage of mankind, bespeaks violation of the rights of States and is a shameful manifestation of the fact that there is still a tendency to ignore the legal equality of States and the identical value of the rights of the great and the small, the economically wealthy and the economically weak. The living resources of the coastal sea, whether it is termed territorial or patrimonial sea or economic zone, whether those resources belong to the coastal State because it exercises sovereignty over the marine area or because sovereign rights over such resources have been recognized, are subject to the legal provisions governing administration and exploitation, and therefore are under the control necessary to ensure their adequate utilization and conservation by the coastal State. It is the coastal State that can reserve unto itself or its nationals the full exploitation of all the resources of the marine zone over which it possesses sovereignty and exercises jurisdiction or can allow nationals of other States to comply with regulations and provisions arising from the sovereignty of the coastal State to carry out the exploitation.

174. My delegation, while frankly and energetically rejecting any type of coercion designed to affect in any way the sovereign will of a State, believes that international co-operation will find its true channel and will fulfil its duty by granting to the least economically and technically developed countries sufficient means to achieve full welfare for their peoples.

175. My country trusts the noble mission of the United Nations. We believe this mission can be accomplished only if all States, all peoples, meet their obligations and each, to the extent of its possibilities, sincerely and without ulterior motives contributes to the solution of the problems afflicting mankind.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.