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*President:* Mr. Adam MALIK (Indonesia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: I should like to remind members that, in accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 1937th meeting, on 24 September 1971, the list of speakers will be closed at 5 p.m. tomorrow.

2. Mr. MERCADO JARRIN (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I am very pleased to be able now to pay tribute to the great statesman and man of law, Edvard Hambro, who so successfully and brilliantly presided over the last session, the commemorative session of our Assembly, and to you yourself, who are called upon to preside over us during the first year of what we all hope will be a new stage in the life of the United Nations. You bring to that task, aside from the nobility that your own great country represents, your own personal qualifications and the support of a very old and long-standing link with this Organization.

3. I could not fail to voice my appreciation to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, who in his 10 years of occupancy of his high post has given proof of his indefatigable ability to sacrifice himself and zealously watched over the constant endeavours of the Assembly to achieve its noble principles.

4. I am very happy to say that Peru welcomes with satisfaction the admission to the United Nations of Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar, convinced as we are that they will effectively contribute to the collaboration and solidarity which must exist among Member States.

5. We return to this noble Assembly after the solemn celebrations which last year marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. So, today is a new and propitious occasion to renew our study of the international situation, whose major features we have to confront and whose problems we have to try to solve from this political and legal standpoint which we all share and in which the

words and views of great and small must carry the true weight which our responsibility requires and must enjoy the respect which we all owe to the voices of sovereign States.

6. It is obvious that our point of departure must be the realization that we must make every effort fully to understand the profound meaning of this period of upheaval and transition in which we are called upon to live. We must be fully aware that we live during a new period in the history of man, a period in which yesterday's truths are challenged, a period in which it is imperative that we define new problems and ask new questions of a changing reality which by its very nature forces us to find new approaches.

7. The old social and economic systems are obviously showing signs of crisis and obsolescence. With them the political and social definitions which shaped the fundamental concepts of earlier generations show identical symptoms. Basically speaking, the qualitative continuity of contemporary history has been shattered. That is the price which inevitably must be paid going from one period of history to another. At a moment like this the traditional truths that ruled the thinking world and that guided man's understanding of matters have to be reviewed.

8. In this new historic period whose emergence we are witnessing, only a new awareness, only a new approach, only a new way of thought, only a new political and social way of acting, can possibly promise that we shall be able victoriously to face the challenge of a whole gamut of undefined problems, before which the thinking methods of the past could not, in themselves, point to any appropriate course or to any possible solution.

9. The sense of profound unity of the human societies of today is nothing but a beautiful pipe-dream or, in the best of cases, an as yet unachievable aspiration. In the meantime the world is hastily restructuring itself so as to identify, as clearly as possible, which interests and which common problems can converge beyond the fields of polarization which until a short while ago characterized the political and social reality of today. Perhaps we are experiencing a type of redistribution of interests within that bipolarity which was the feature of the last few decades. Day by day we are seeing a planet, shared at one and the same time by societies, that concentrate an immense military and economic power based on the staggering development of technology and science which knows no frontiers, emerging from the context of different political and social systems which, therefore, are ruled by disparate and sometimes antagonistic or conflicting ideological formulations and, on the other hand, a vast universe of peoples that are today endeavouring to shatter the multiform domination under which they have always lived. These peoples that were dominated until a few years ago, these peoples that now

strive for true independence, these peoples that today, with militant determination, fight against any sign of imperialism, are the under-developed peoples of the third world. Their struggle for political and economic freedom is basically a struggle to regain their capacity and their right to choose their own role and decide their own fate. This means that their political undertakings also include a claim to self-determination to be exercised in many ways and which, therefore, is to strengthen the profound national autonomy, at the same time, to encompass all fields of political, ideological and cultural growth. In other words, the true freedom of the peoples of the third world can only be achieved when they are able to free themselves not only from the economic and political control of others, but also from the cultural and ideological control of the great centres of power which have emerged in a different historical and social framework.

10. At this critical hour in human experience the considerable contribution of the people of the third world lies in a process of full autonomy that leads us to understand that true political autonomy can exist only on the strength of effective conceptual autonomy. This is the basic task of the third world today, the identification of the acceptable direction that we must follow, starting from our own indigenous forms of political understanding. And this is I believe the course chosen. If so, then we shall better serve the cause of ensuring our own identity and independence and, at the same time, the vocation for peace and progress which inspired the laying of the foundation of the United Nations.

11. This vast process, which in itself constitutes one of the great revolutionary conditions of our day, is beginning to take shape, both in the domestic activities of the countries of the third world and at the international level, by creating a common image.

12. Peru, like most of the Latin American continent, is living through a period of intense transformation and, therefore, understands its participation in the third world in these terms and is thereby promoting its own growth towards unity. For this reason, with hope and happiness, we shall play host in our own capital to the forthcoming Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 which, for the second time since its meeting in Algeria, will attempt, through the terms of its own dialogue with the great Powers, to define the different problems of trade and development and will also try to define the dimensions of its own autonomy and at the same time, to try to find the single united voice of a multiform effort to be expressed with joint responsibility and conviction.

13. It is therefore a memorable occasion for Latin America that one of the countries of our region should be host to such an important meeting, and I have the great honour to repeat here our invitation which I had the pleasure of extending to you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Government of Peru. This meeting will be a milestone in the converging road which began many years ago in different parts of the world and which Afro-Asians and Latin Americans have travelled. This search for a national integration of a plurality of human, social and political experiences—I would even describe them as historic—constitutes one of the most extraordinary efforts which the

young and needy peoples have carried out, and it must stand as a fruitful example of how the common nature of our interests and values constitutes a viable point of departure towards unifying our international action by taking a single stand and a single expression.

14. Peru, consistent with lengthy international conduct in the service of unity and conciliation, is ready to play that role again dynamically at the Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77. Deeply convinced as we are that that role is the most constructive, we shall as the host country endeavour to withstand any temptation to fall into hasty confrontations. But by this we do not by any means intend to weaken our firm determination to maintain our points of view and the interests we share with the third world.

15. In so thinking, my country believes that we are being consistent with a general movement which we believe is appearing in the international community. For decades the international community has known neither true peace nor security, and in many cases progress seems to have turned its back on justice. And yet, recent international events appear to presage a progressive dissipation of some of the vestiges of the Second World War as well as some remnants of the cold war, such as the military alliances that weigh so heavily on the world. Among the most outstanding events, I have in mind the new policy which the United States Government seems to have adopted regarding the People's Republic of China and the consequent *détente* which this might well bring about in the Asian region. We note the same promise in the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971, in the advisory opinion handed down by the International Court of Justice on Namibia,<sup>1</sup> and finally, in the first direct contacts between the two Koreas.

16. We all hope that these signs will create an atmosphere conducive, within the framework of the United Nations—which is the only universal framework—to a true and united security which will free our Organization as such for full action and will make the peaceful settlement of disputes, general and complete disarmament, effective respect for and defence of human rights, the elimination of colonialism and racial discrimination and rapid economic and social development through international co-operation a true reality and the goal of our Organization.

17. My Government considers that one way of achieving such ends is for those States that, because of national or bloc antagonisms, have been isolated from one another to maintain normal political and economic ties in compliance with the principles of the Charter and within the framework of the coexistence of different economic and social systems, as recommended by the Declaration of Principles of International Law Governing Friendly Relations and Co-operation Among States, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, which was adopted unanimously at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly [*resolution 2625 (XXV)*].

18. The efforts of States to establish those ties over and above their ideological differences would, nevertheless, be

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

of little value if we were not able to ensure that all states became Members of this Organization, the latter thus achieving the universality that is indispensable if the United Nations is to be an effective instrument for international peace and security and a framework for economic, social, cultural and humanitarian co-operation among all States.

*Mr. Szarka (Hungary), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

19. In fulfilment of what I consider a duty, Peru, which in 1969 extended its political and economic ties to the socialist countries of Europe, has decided, in accordance with what I stated in this same hall last year [1842nd meeting] concerning the need for the active presence of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, to formalize its relations with that country and, accordingly, firmly to advocate its representation in the world Organization.

20. Following the same line of reasoning, my Government views with ever-increasing concern the prolonged isolation of Cuba from the countries of America. We believe that in the present circumstances the States of this region must agree to promote, within the Organization of American States, a change in this situation, or at any rate, that the regional organization grant States which wish to do so, complete freedom to resume relationships with the Republic of Cuba at whatever level they deem appropriate. If that course is not chosen, it becomes obvious that those States which consider the establishment of relations as a road to coexistence which will contribute to eliminating tensions, will separately adopt sovereign decisions that they regard as more in keeping with the interests of the international community.

21. The question of measures for the strengthening of international security, as we see it, should not only be a subject for analysis and debate, but should concentrate mainly on the search for solutions to international conflicts. In this connexion, we consider that we should more precisely state and bring into play some of the functions and powers that the General Assembly possesses, so that that body, aside from strengthening its co-operation with the Security Council, will be able to keep under constant review the question of international security and measures to strengthen it.

22. For this reason, it becomes more imperative every day for the war in Indo-China to end, and we therefore feel that an appeal from the United Nations for an intensification of the negotiations in Paris, which are to lead to an end to military activities in Viet-Nam, would be widely valued.

23. Elsewhere, the military and political situation in the Middle East has, unfortunately, not progressed toward effective negotiation for the restoration of peace and security in that region. Resolution 242 (1967) of the Security Council which constitutes the framework for such negotiation, has not been implemented. Nor have the indefatigable efforts of Special Representative of the Secretary-General been successful; nor have any steps forward been made beyond the cease-fire in the negotiations undertaken by the United States with the full knowledge of this Organization. We trust that none of the super-Powers wishes a new conflict in the Middle East, and

that the parties themselves have no desire to maintain a permanent state of domestic and international tension that will delay the attainment of peace and general well-being for their peoples. For these reasons, we cherish the hope that urgent formulas can be arrived at that will open the way to a permanent solution under the auspices of the United Nations.

24. If international security is closely bound to development and world disarmament, it is likewise inseparably linked with nuclear disarmament. To achieve nuclear disarmament would be one of the key steps for the present United Nations Disarmament Decade.

25. The idea of abolishing nuclear weapons has two fundamental aspects: one is qualitative, that is to stop advances in nuclear weapons by a total and comprehensive test ban; and the other is quantitative, that is to put an end to their production and destroy the stockpiles and means of delivery of nuclear weapons.

26. Thus far, only partial qualitative measures have been agreed upon, in as much as the partial test-ban Treaty,<sup>2</sup> aside from permitting underground tests, has not been adhered to by all the nuclear Powers; and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] crystallizes the nuclear *status quo*, with the atomic Powers having given no guarantees that they will refrain from the use of these weapons against third States and having given no commitment to move toward nuclear disarmament. The recent Treaty which seeks to avoid an atomic arms race on the sea-bed<sup>3</sup> is not a disarmament measure, nor is it a measure to limit armaments, for what it prohibits is the emplacement of nuclear weapons and installations in an area where they do not exist at present.

27. Although the United Nations has recognized the urgent necessity to end nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapon tests and urged States to suspend them; although the threat that such tests pose to the human environment exists, and finally, although an appeal has been made to world public opinion, there has been no announcement of a final end to the atomic explosions in the atmosphere that are being carried out in the Pacific region by France.

28. As far as Peru is concerned, the very fact that an atoll in the Pacific Ocean was chosen—so distant from the metropolitan territory of France—gives rise to doubts concerning the alleged security surrounding such tests. It has been amply proved that such explosions do cause an increase in radio-activity that not only affects the areas adjacent to Mururoa, but that also contaminates the atmosphere and the waters of the Pacific. What is more, a State need only carry out contaminating explosions at a distance, even if within its own territorial jurisdiction, to wreak destruction on the living and active environment

<sup>2</sup> Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed at Moscow on 5 August 1963 (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480 (1963), No. 6964).

<sup>3</sup> Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof (resolution 2660 (XXV), annex).

which is subject to the juridical protection of international law, namely, the population, either regarded as a whole, or as individuals, whom our commitments oblige us to respect. These facts make it imperative for the General Assembly to reconsider the grave consequences deriving from nuclear-weapon tests and to adopt a decision, with all the urgency required by the case, to put an end to their recurrence and place the responsibilities where they should lie.

29. The State carrying out these explosions acknowledges the increase in radio-activity, but merely tries to reduce its effects, stating euphemistically that the radio-activity does not reach the maximum permissible level. Obviously, if the slightest risk exists the tests should cease and, since no one can prove to us that there is no risk whatsoever, the explosions must be discontinued once and for all.

30. At its fourteenth regular session, the General Assembly appealed to France to refrain from carrying out tests in the Sahara [*resolution 1379 (XIV)*]. Later, from the seventeenth to the twenty-fifth sessions, the General Assembly has repeatedly urged an end to nuclear tests, despite which these tests continue. This Assembly is obviously aware that these explosions constitute a serious violation of the elementary norms of human coexistence and must, therefore, call for the complete cessation of these and other nuclear experiments, as a logical consequence of the scientific information in its possession and of the legal ramifications of this situation. In so acting the United Nations would not only be living up to its own principles, but would also be furthering the efforts being made by it to preserve the environment, tangible proof of which lies in the Conference on the Human Environment, to be held at Stockholm in 1972.

31. Peru is ready to make all necessary efforts to convince world and French public opinion that there is an urgent need, once and for all to put an end to these experiments, which are not only a direct threat to humanity, but also an indirect one by contaminating vegetation and waters. This matter, which Peru feels very closely because of what the sea means to my country as a source of wealth and progress, has led us to co-sponsor, with other States an initiative that the United Nations Committee on the Sea-Bed appeal to France to discontinue these nuclear-weapon tests [*A/8421, annex V, sect. 1*].

32. In these days when the problems of the sea are evolving so rapidly it is even more incongruous that this type of severely criticized test should endanger resources which are a necessary source of progress for many countries. This is so obvious that the very ideas of the law of the sea are evolving remarkably, so that the immense resources from the sea will be used primarily and significantly to assist those countries on whose coasts they be. So much so that, in the course of the year since the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, important statements have been made supporting the view advocated by the countries of Latin America that their maritime sovereignty should extend to the 200-mile limit.

33. Recently, at official meetings between authorities of the Governments of the People's Republic of China, Yugoslavia and Spain, we received support for the Latin American position through communiqués proclaiming the

inalienable rights of the coastal State over the sea adjacent to its coasts and the resources therein contained, as we had advocated. These statements have given universal scope and also offer encouraging support to the less developed countries, which must be borne in mind in the preparations for the forthcoming conference on the law of the sea to be held in 1973.

34. Apart from these manifestations we have also had the satisfaction of noting that in the Committee preparing for the Conference<sup>4</sup> an increasing number of countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa have spoken out in favour of 200 miles as the most reasonable and adequate limit for national jurisdiction and the international zone to be established. Thus, in an irreversible process the views originally advocated by the countries of the South Pacific are gaining ground as a bulwark against the predatory practices of the fleets of certain nations and have gradually become an organic doctrine based on legal, political, economic, biological and geographical factors and on principles that purport to embody the application of social justice to the international law of the sea.

35. At other meetings we have stated that, consistent with that new conception, the use and exploitation of the seas must conform to an order of priorities, highest among which will be service to man as such. Consequently, if there is any conflict between the rules designed to further the military purposes of certain Powers and those intended to guarantee the development rights of other countries, the latter rules must prevail. Thus too, if it is necessary to choose between the first and the rules intended to promote the survival and the welfare of peoples, the latter must again prevail over others. The idea is that the new law of the sea must not serve to ensure the hegemony of a small number of nations, but that it must become an instrument for peace, harmony and, over all, equity, that will allow the developing countries to come closer to the progress achieved by the more advanced nations and to improve the living conditions of those that are farthest away or farthest behind in their claims and rights to a better life.

36. The delegation of Peru has participated in the preparation of two documents submitted for consideration to that Committee. One is a draft list of subjects [*see A/8421, annex I, sect. 14*] to be studied by the conference, to ensure that its terms of reference are wide and not limited to two or three isolated subjects of concern to a few maritime Powers. The other is a working paper on a draft régime for the sea-bed [*ibid., sect. 8*] which would ensure to the international community, through an authority endowed with full powers, direct and active participation in the utilization of the sea-bed beyond their national jurisdiction. Thus Peru looks forward to the conference on the law of the sea with optimism, convinced that it will be hospitable to and aware of the rights of States to defend their elementary interests.

37. Furthermore, this will better serve the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade approved on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization [*resolution*

<sup>4</sup> Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction.



2626 (XXV)) which is the first international instrument that considers economic and social development as a world phenomenon, dependent equally on the domestic efforts of the developing countries, the international situation resulting from it and the co-operation received from the developed countries.

38. Coinciding with this first year of the Second Development Decade, Peru has achieved and surpassed many of the targets and goals set by the International Development Strategy, such as that for the national economic growth rate; and yet we consider that our greatest contribution to this joint undertaking of the international community lies in the social transformation that we achieved in Peru through the domestic effort required as a developing country.

39. In the specific case of Peru we have always been an under-developed society of dependent capitalism. Our basic problems were generated within that system and, therefore, could not be solved by maintaining it. From this basic standpoint, we decided upon a participating society in which the power of decision should be with the men and women who constitute the bases of our institutions. A society no longer governed by the individualism of the capitalist system nor by the hypertrophy of an all-controlling State, one whose acts are a reissue of the powers that alienated our traditional society which was already dehumanized and unjust.

40. "Social democracy of full participation" is what President Velasco Alvarado called the target of the new united and self-generating society towards which the Peruvian revolution is directing its steps. We see our revolution as a process whose development will spread over an entire and historic period in the life of our country. But the achievements we have thus far chalked up already foretell the nature of our new society: an agrarian reform that returns the land to those that till it, a reform of enterprise that gives the workers access to profits, to management and even to ownership of the means of production; a new policy in the utilization of our resources, which restores to Peruvian society its primary right to be the first to benefit from their exploitation; an educational reform that redefines the entire approach to education within a society that seeks new forms of social behaviour; and a new policy of popular participation, whose aim is to make it possible for every man and woman of my people to be prepared to exercise his and her right truly to choose his own destiny in all fields of social life and at all levels of the exercise of power.

41. Peru has just celebrated 150 years of independent existence. Although our independence was a historic triumph against colonial domination, it did not bring with it the total liberation of our people, which still remained subject to the economic power of a ruling class that inherited many of the economic and social privileges of the colony. At the same time, my country was becoming economically dependent on foreign Powers which followed the one-time mother country in Latin America.

42. That is why the present revolution, which carries within it the seeds of a second and total independence, is endeavouring to achieve a new society qualitatively different from that which emerged from the first indepen-

dence, without yielding to any external political and economic doctrine which might make us ideologically dependent and isolate us from the national reality and interest. Recently the President of Peru, confirming the well-proved conceptual autonomy of the Peruvian revolution, stated that his stand can be defined as being in keeping with the socialist, humanist, Christian libertarian tradition.

43. Any ideological, political, social and economic effort, inherent in a revolutionary process such as Peru is carrying out to transform its structures, is also in many cases common—although to a different extent and perhaps with different approaches—to many countries of Latin America and the third world in general, for they, as well as we, are seeking to create the conditions necessary to achieve the status of a modern and developed State. However, these endeavours are frequently threatened from the outside, especially by the present world economic situation and because as yet the co-operation required for development is far from taking the favourable form that the immense efforts made by the developing countries calls for.

44. The trade and financial deficit of the developing countries, according to a recent study by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development would, if the situation does not improve, amount in 1975 to a figure of between \$17,000 million and \$26,000 million, half or more of which corresponds to profits on foreign investments and services flowing out of these countries and the other part to the trade deficit. If we add to this the fact that the flow of capital as assistance to developing countries still does not even enjoy a rate of growth of 1 per cent of the gross national product of the developed countries, which in the last few years amounted to \$13,000 million, we can well understand that the countries of the third world are gradually becoming areas which export capital towards the industrialized centres.

45. Foreign conditions for development are not only unfavourable due to these structural causes, in turn due to an archaic international division of labour which was created at the time of colonialism or of economic penetration, but because there are trends today to apply coercive measures to the developing countries. In the fulfilment of the purposes of the Strategy and the exercise of their sovereign rights these developing countries have legally expropriated foreign property in order to transform their structures and mobilize their domestic resources. Peru, in the exercise of its own sovereignty, has decided to expropriate the large land parcels existing in Peru, and to do so in obedience to certain legal criteria, and our right to do so cannot be challenged by any State. We consider that any measure, pressure or sanction of such a nature would be a manifest intervention and at the same time economic aggression which would pose a threat to international peace and security.

46. To these factors which so gravely threaten the countries of the third world, has now been added the factor derived from the international monetary crisis created by the decision of the United States to suspend the gold convertibility of the dollar and to impose a 10 per cent surcharge on imports.

47. These measures have led some industrialized nations to float their own currencies and will have a bearing on international trade, particularly on the competitiveness of exports from the developing countries to the American market. On the other hand, the payment of the foreign debt of the developing countries will also be affected by the revaluation of other currencies.

48. If this crisis were to lead again to a new monetary readjustment privately discussed and decided upon by the exclusive circle of the great economic and monetary Powers to the exclusion of all others, an international decision of a most unjust nature will have been taken, since it will have been adopted without the participation of two thirds of mankind and thus a qualitative interpretation will presumably have been given to the communities of the northern hemisphere without reasonably and sufficiently considering the quantitative factor of the third world. Surely the latter possesses singular conditions due to its very human existence and therefore it not only deserves respect but also has the right to seek and claim active participation in decisions that will have a significant effect on its own future.

49. This, while being both political and economic is also a moral fact, and it led the delegation of Peru which I recently headed in Geneva, to speak at the Preparatory Committee for the Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 in Lima of the need for the third world to seek immediate guarantees that it will be heard on an equal footing during the drafting of decisions which in the near future are to solve the question of a new monetary policy. This has led us to redefine our views, namely, that, with the technical advice of a committee of experts, the third world should formulate at the Lima Meeting a draft resolution which, with the unanimous support of all States members of this movement, will be presented to this General Assembly and will propose the holding of a world monetary conference. We are of the opinion that this is the only reasonable and equitable procedure whereby jointly to elaborate a new monetary policy that will be valid for all and that will also guarantee not only standard and constant prosperity for some, but will guarantee for all of us fundamental conditions of progress which we cannot waive.

50. Unilateral measures imposed by the United States to rectify its own imbalance in the balance of payments will be designed first of all to solve that chronic problem of its own balance of payments but, when all is said and done, they are designed to stabilize the economic relations of the developed world. It is obvious that neither these unilateral measures nor the present crisis purportedly to be solved by them were created by the developing countries and yet it will be the developing countries that will suffer most in the lengthy process that has just been set under way.

51. Therefore, the developing countries cannot continue to be the victims of policies in whose formulation they have not participated; nor can they accept the role of mute spectators of agreements among an oligarchy of economic powers. Our countries, that attach such importance to the foreign sector, cannot be absent from the creation of a new international monetary system. Whatever measures may be adopted in the future by the industrialized nations must be only provisional and, even as such, we insist that before

they are adopted, the representative voice of the third world must be heard. But we are all aware that this crisis is neither provisional nor limited in the sense that its outer limits touch only a group of countries. The crisis will be permanent and its effect will be world-wide and therefore solutions to it must also be found on a world-wide basis and with the participation of all States on an equal footing.

52. Twenty-five years after the Charter of San Francisco was signed we might perhaps note that the dynamic process of international relations seems now to be entering a phase which is characterized by efforts to achieve a more stable and realistic basis for international coexistence through greater discipline in the exercise of power and the rapprochement of the great Powers.

53. There are tangible signs that encourage us to hope that a careful process of readjustment of international relations might well be leading us into a stage when peace will ultimately be the true sign of co-operation among nations. But it is by the same token evident that these important readjustments that emerge from agreements, mainly among powerful countries, must be supplemented, both in scope and in intensity, by the comprehensive consideration of the problems of development because it is almost trite to say that it is in the vast frustrated and disquiet region of the third world that the great Powers will ultimately define the new dimensions of peace among nations.

54. Peru is firmly convinced that the third world is doing everything in its power to solve, from the inside, the problems of its own development and to show itself unified and not incoherently broken up at the mercy of any pressure. By co-ordinating the will of all its component States, by unifying interests and by drafting common lines of action, the third world is endeavouring, once and for all, to be an effective and valid spokesman, able to meet with the great Powers and having at its disposal a reasonable capacity for conciliation, as well as the necessary power so that its presence in the field of world decisions and the defence of its own interests will be one possessing a potential for negotiation, that is, with the necessary strength and power to hear and to be heard.

55. So this confrontation between an emerging world seeking progress and a world which is endeavouring to solve the great contradictions that have been created by history, ideology and wars must ultimately, in the next few years, produce constructive dialogue, free from exploitation, free from deceit, which will effectively lead to the creation and establishment of permanent terms on which the true peace of the future can rest, a peace whose protagonists will, on the one hand, be the great industrial Powers, and on the other, the third world, the present world of poverty, but the present world of hope.

56. Mr. MARKO (Czechoslovakia) (*translation from Russian*): Allow me first of all to congratulate Mr. Malik on his election to the high and responsible post of President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

57. It is quite natural that differences should exist between the various plenary meetings of our Organization. There have been sessions which have been dominated by

questions relating to the struggle against colonialism, sessions which have taken place in an atmosphere of acute international conflict, and other sessions which have been held at times when there has been a definite relaxation in international relations.

58. The present session could be the start of a new phase in the life of this Organization, a new page in its annals. Not only the documents of last year's twenty-fifth anniversary session, but above all the existing conditions of contemporary development make it possible for our Organization to concentrate more this year than ever before on the solution of the questions for which it was established, namely the questions of peace and security.

59. The paramount and fundamental mission of our Organization is to prevent the outbreak of war. Czechoslovakia has always helped to guide the United Nations in that direction and wishes to continue to do so in the future. We value the United Nations and are confident that it will be able to play the role entrusted to it by the Charter. At the same time we must recognize that, unless acute international political problems are solved and unless decisive steps are taken to eliminate hotbeds of tension and strengthen international security, it will be impossible to solve the problems of mutual co-operation successfully.

60. The active defence of peace is one of the main objectives of Czechoslovak foreign policy. We have stated this in the past and it was clearly reiterated from the rostrum of the Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Peace is necessary to us, as it is to the other socialist States and to all peace-loving peoples. This is not an expression of weakness but an understandable desire to ensure tranquility in the lives and creative work of men. This, Mr. President, is why we attach such great importance to our Organization's activities in the maintenance of international peace and the suppression of aggression. It is this which was the primary concern of the peoples of the world when they established the United Nations. And it is this which concerns them today, as has been shown by the spontaneous response to the peaceful initiative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which was proclaimed at the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

61. Allow me now to explain here the views of the Czechoslovak Government with regard to several of the main problems of the contemporary international situation and ways of resolving them.

62. The Government and people of Czechoslovakia are particularly interested in securing lasting peace and security in Europe because of our bitter experiences in the past and our desire to create favourable conditions for the socialist development of our society. We hold that an improvement in the situation in Europe, especially the signing of an agreement on the establishment of a common European system of collective security, would be an important contribution to the cause of maintaining and strengthening peace throughout the world. This would give the peoples of Europe a feeling of relief and confidence. It would also open the way to a significant broadening and intensification of trade, economic, scientific, technical and cultural links. Czechoslovakia is deeply interested in the mutually advan-

tageous development of such co-operation and also wishes to participate in the solution of such common European problems as the development of transport, the preservation of the natural environment, the exploitation of energy resources, and the broadening of co-operation in such fields as public health.

63. It is a question of taking advantage of practical possibilities. Improvements in relations between European States have already helped to create the conditions for the construction of a high-capacity gas pipeline from the Soviet Union which cuts across my country and will be useful to many States. European rivers, particularly the Danube and the Oder, are far from being fully utilized as sources of electric power and above all as transport water-ways connecting the Atlantic Ocean with the Black Sea and the north with the south.

64. Specialists from the European countries could even sit down together tomorrow and begin work if the necessary political conditions for this were created and if artificial obstacles were not constantly placed in the way of mutual understanding.

65. In its desire to strengthen peace in Europe, my Government is participating actively in efforts to convene a conference on questions relating to European security and co-operation. The conclusion of an agreement on West Berlin<sup>5</sup> has removed one obstacle which has been used by NATO States virtually to block any possibility of progress in negotiations regarding the preparations for such a conference. We hope that the way will now be open for the convening of the conference and that it will be held in the near future.

66. Since the conclusion of the agreement on West Berlin and the agreements concluded with the Federal Republic of Germany by the Soviet Union<sup>6</sup> and the Polish People's Republic,<sup>7</sup> which have had such a favourable influence on the atmosphere in Europe, the pressing need for full recognition of the German Democratic Republic by all States and the need to eliminate discrimination against it in the United Nations and other international organizations have become even more apparent, particularly since the German Democratic Republic is co-operating actively with the forces struggling for the implementation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

67. We should like to express the hope that present developments in Europe will also have a favourable influence on our negotiations with the Federal Republic of Germany concerning the normalization of relations. We are sincerely interested in seeing these negotiations with our western neighbour come to a successful conclusion. This will, however, make it necessary for the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany to take the same stand with regard to the shameful Munich *Diktat* and to recognize it as invalid from the very outset.

<sup>5</sup> Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

<sup>6</sup> Treaty on Renunciation of Force, signed at Moscow on 12 August 1970.

<sup>7</sup> Treaty on the Bases for Normalization of Relations, signed at Warsaw on 7 December 1970.

68. In future, too, we feel that the disarmament negotiations, which offer distinct possibilities of achieving further positive results, will be an important area of United Nations activities. We set particular store by the broad new programme of the Soviet Government on disarmament questions. We see that programme as a basis for further realistic negotiations both in the Committee on Disarmament and in this General Assembly.

69. We have before us a specific draft resolution on the convening of a world disarmament conference. The convening of such a conference, in which all States of the world would participate, would be appropriate and timely. In our opinion, the conference would assess the present status of the disarmament talks, single out the key problems standing in the way of real progress towards the achievement of general and complete disarmament, and do as much as possible to facilitate the settlement of those problems.

70. If we assess the development of the disarmament talks in recent years, we cannot say that the negotiations which have taken place so far in various forums have failed to produce any tangible results. On the contrary, we can observe a number of positive steps. The Committee in Geneva has already prepared several draft Treaties on partial disarmament measures which have subsequently been adopted by the General Assembly and which have already been signed and ratified by a considerable number of States.

71. This year we expect that the General Assembly will be able to consider and approve another significant document—the draft Convention on the complete prohibition and destruction of bacteriological weapons. We believe that the conclusion of such a Convention would be a positive step which would carry us forward in the disarmament negotiations. At the same time, however, we shall have to continue to work persistently on the prohibition of chemical weapons, too.

72. We are prepared to participate actively in the implementation of other partial disarmament measures as well, but at the same time we should like to stress that several Treaties concluded in previous years have not yet been fully implemented. I am referring mainly to the fact that the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons on the Sea-Bed have so far not been signed and ratified in such a way as to have truly universal force and effect, as their meaning and purpose require.

73. It is clear, therefore, that some positive steps are being taken in the field of disarmament but by no means enough to satisfy us. We have so far made no progress mainly on the key questions relating to effective disarmament, above all in the field of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union was therefore quite right in giving top priority to the need for efforts by the five nuclear Powers to achieve positive results towards banning and eliminating nuclear weapons. The responsibility of the nuclear Powers is beyond question and that is why their active participation in the solution of these problems is also necessary.

74. In view of these considerations and in view of the present-day reality, we support the convening of a world

disarmament conference. We should like it to become a forum in which all States, particularly all the nuclear Powers, could make a contribution to the realization of effective disarmament commensurate with their responsibilities.

75. One of the most dangerous hotbeds of international tension is still the United States aggression in the Indo-Chinese peninsula. Despite the fact that they have suffered a whole series of military, political and diplomatic defeats in that area, the aggressive forces of the United States are attempting by means of their so-called policy of Vietnamization to breathe life into the Saigon régime, which they support for the purpose of suppressing the national liberation struggle in Indo-China.

76. The proposals submitted by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam provide a reasonable basis for the solution of the Indo-China question in the interests of the right of States and peoples to decide their own fate; we support those proposals.

77. The past year has also failed to bring a solution in the long-suffering region of the Middle East. The Arab countries, victims of brutal armed aggression, have shown amazing patience and responsibility. The goodwill to achieve progress in the peaceful settlement of problems in that region has repeatedly been shown in the constructive approach and many of the statements of the representatives of the Arab Republic of Egypt. Israel, as we all know, has always reacted negatively. Even the initiative Egypt has taken in attempting to open the Suez Canal to international navigation has failed to elicit the appropriate response.

78. Israel, whose responsibility for the present situation is beyond the slightest doubt, has so far done nothing to give even a hint of willingness to meet the efforts of the Arab countries half way. In addition, the world is entitled to expect Israel's supporters to recognize their exclusive responsibility and use their authority and influence to convince the Israeli representatives that their position is untenable and inadmissible. Instead, they are even further strengthening Israel's aggressive potential, thereby encouraging it to remain obdurate. Thus, events are again leading to a situation which threatens to end in a new military conflagration.

79. Our delegation believes that at this very session the time has come for the General Assembly fully to recognize our Organization's responsibility for the implementation of the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)]. We must ensure that the necessary conditions are created in the Middle East for a lasting peace which would respect the legitimate rights of all the peoples living in that area.

80. The time has also come to take decisive steps to normalize the situation in the Korean peninsula. There can be no peace in that area as long as the southern part of Korea is occupied by troops under the United Nations flag. The withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea and the dissolution of the United Nations Commission is an urgent task which our Organization must carry out in the interests



of settling the Korean problem. In this connexion, the latest proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea concerning the peaceful reunification of the country deserve our attention and full support.

81. Czechoslovakia has always actively supported the inalienable rights of peoples to self-determination and independence. We shall therefore continue consistently to be on the side of the national liberation struggle in colonial and dependent Territories.

82. The economic instability in the capitalist world at the present time is marked by a slowing down of the rate of industrial growth and an increase in the number of crises and in inflation; this not only aggravates social conflicts but also heightens the unevenness in the development of individual countries. We are witnessing attempts to cure the disorders of the Western monetary system at the cost of restricting international trade, including trade with developing countries.

83. There is no doubt that the restrictive measures introduced by the main Western countries in connexion with the present crises in the world monetary system are causing a substantial deterioration in the conditions for effective participation by developing States in international trade and the international division of labour. Such actions sharply contradict the document on the Second United Nations development Decade and are thereby seriously threatening its implementation.

84. In these circumstances, the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development will soon begin at Santiago. This Conference is to review the development of world trade and adopt recommendations for the further development of international economic relations. We believe that the main purpose of the Conference should be to promote the creation of normal conditions for international trade. We hope that the Conference will also assess at its true value the significance of trade between countries with different social systems and that it will condemn the antiquated practice of the Western Powers of using trade as an instrument of their global policy, a practice which creates artificial obstacles to the development of world trade in general.

85. Czechoslovakia welcomes the fact that the United Nations has also recently begun to consider the problems of the human environment. As the initiator of the conference of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe on the problems of the environment, Czechoslovakia is prepared to participate fully in its work.

86. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted at last year's session of the General Assembly [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], and the very course taken by that session have caused Member States to give some thought to ways of improving the work of the Organization and enhancing its prestige, which has been weakened by activities inconsistent with the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter. Time is the best test of human endeavours and of the viability of ideas and time has also tested the viability and purposes of our Organization. This test has shown that the principles upon which the United Nations is based are still valid today. The main

purpose—to save mankind from the scourge of war and promote mutual international co-operation in all fields of human endeavour—remains unchanged.

87. In this sense the Czechoslovak Government welcomes all ideas and all initiatives designed to improve the work of the United Nations and is prepared to co-operate in the noble effort of creating peaceful conditions for human happiness on this planet.

88. Mr. HERRERA-IBARGUEN (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I offer you my most sincere congratulations on your election to preside over the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. I trust that your talent and ability, with the invaluable co-operation of the Secretary-General, will make possible the most successful completion of your high mission, to the benefit of international relations among Member States and of peace and universal co-operation.

89. Guatemala participates in the deliberations of this General Assembly, which increasingly represents the legal international community, fully aware of its responsibilities and duties and rights as a Member State and satisfied that we have carried out the indispensable duty to fulfil our historic mission both on the national level and internationally by Central American sub-regional, American regional and world-wide co-operation.

90. My Government assumed power in 1970 as a result of an election held with the free participation of the four political parties that exist in my country. The popular election was won by the current President, General Arana Osorio, supported by the then opposition parties. His Government replaced the previous Government, which had also been the result of a free and democratic consultation with the people. The people of Guatemala have exercised their right to self-determination, selecting their Government through suffrage and thus strengthening our democratic and institutional vocation.

91. My Government accepted the responsibility of encouraging serious and planned action at the highest national level to ensure the economic, social, cultural and all other types of development of the country without party discrimination. Our achievements are open for all to see, and all the problems confronted by the country have been tackled systematically by the organs of the State to ensure their solution within the process of over-all and comprehensive development. That action, which is so necessary for progress, has faced certain setbacks which have hampered greater success.

92. In fact, Guatemala, like so many democratic countries of the world, suffered from an intensive divisive campaign, inspired and supported from outside the country, which afflicted the country with waves of violence and subversion by extremists and clandestine factions. In its international coexistence, as far as the sovereignty and independence of other States is concerned Guatemala has respected and complied with its commitments; and, therefore, in return we insist that the same respect be shown to our own sovereignty and we reject any intervention in our domestic affairs. In order to carry out joint measures to control the danger represented by violence and subversion, which are

spreading in the democratic countries, we have supported the American regional draft conventions to prevent and take sanctions against acts of terrorism, kidnapping and violence, although thus far the measures adopted have not been as efficacious as we have hoped. It is obvious that this situation threatens international peace and security and that this United Nations, whose primordial function is specifically to maintain international peace and security, should adopt measures leading to the elimination of an international conspiracy of this nature.

93. Guatemala wishes to reassert its faith in the United Nations for its search for solutions to world problems through planned and channelled operations of international co-operation to ensure economic, social and cultural development, as well as to encourage the feeding of peoples, ensuring their health, social justice and equity in international relations. But we feel that much of this is lost if large areas of Member States are afflicted by the threat of international violence which endangers security and peace. We believe sincerely that it is possible to achieve an understanding that will safeguard the fundamental right of all to enjoy respect for their sovereignty.

94. The Central American Republics celebrated this month the 150th anniversary of their political independence, which took place on 15 September 1821. It is known that these Republics set up the United Provinces of Central America in the form of a federation. Some years later each State decided to go it alone and seek its own destiny. From that time on, however, the feeling has been gaining ground that the five Central American Republics should come under one single nationality, because of their geographical propinquity, historical tradition, identity of human background and interests, common spiritual awareness and conscience.

95. Perhaps a very important step towards political, social, economic and cultural integration was taken when the Organization of Central American States was established in 1951. First considered a subregional organization, permanently given to the search for adequate solutions to all problems common to the five countries, it would also encourage the union of our States through progress and peaceful co-operation.

96. At the same time, during its fourth session, the Economic Commission for Latin America [ECLA]—a United Nations body—at the request of the Central American Governments created machinery which has fostered the irreversible process of the integration of Central America. No one can deny that the years of trial and the circumstances that have prevailed have shown positive results which have encouraged the economic, agricultural, industrial and commercial development of all Central America. Surely the eloquent statistics on production, export and diversification, which rose from \$30 million in 1961 to \$300 million in 1971, speak for themselves. Thus they show that trade transactions have increased their rhythm even at times of conflict.

97. The century in which we live presents us with a series of problems which call for a movement towards integration which has spread all over the world as an imperative for survival, and Central America considers that this integration

is fundamental because of the stage of development in which we find ourselves, for it represents the best way of achieving economic independence. We believe that integration has to be re-established, and my Government has spared no effort in laying the groundwork which will confirm our faith and hopes in a common market for, and integration of, Latin America.

98. On the strength of experience gathered in the application of the new community law, the Government of Guatemala this year proposed a draft convention for a Central American Community for consideration by the other four Governments.

99. In this process of economic and political integration inspired by the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the independence of the Central American Republics, a meeting was held in the city of Guatemala from 13 to 15 September this year of the legislative organs of those Republics, which then became the Central American Parliament, with a manifest interest shown in adopting decisions or resolutions which, objectively and basically, tend towards the achievement of the ideal of re-establishing the Central American Republic.

100. The Central American Parliament adopted a number of resolutions at its first session and, among them, approved the draft convention of the Central American Community based on the principle that the States composing it shall retain their sovereignty and independence in directing their own affairs—excepting those that fall within the purview of the Community, pursuant to the provisions of the convention itself.

101. The Community will actively promote common interests. It should prevent any differences or conflicts among its members, but if such differences or conflicts arise, it would assure their peaceful settlement within the framework of institutions established in the convention. The organs of the Community are the Executive Council, the Central American Congress and the Central American Court of Justice. The States members will forever renounce the use of force in the settlement of their differences and it will be their joint task to defend the community against any outside aggression and to co-operate in the maintenance of subregional and international peace and security. The Community will function under the postulate of Central American coexistence and respect for the dignity, worth, freedom and integrity of the human person, without any kind of discrimination. The convention will be open for adherence by the sister Republic of Panama.

102. When approving this convention, the Central American Parliament gave great moral weight to it and has advised the respective Governments that they can count on the approval of the national legislative bodies when they decide to subscribe to the treaty, in accordance with the constitutional requirements. My Government strongly hopes that the other Governments will express their desire to formalize the convention of the Central American Community, which will revive our faith in, and the beneficial action of, integration into a unified nation of 18 million Latin Americans living in the very heart of the American continent.

103. In another unanimous resolution, the Central American Parliament declared that, historically and geographically, the territory of Belice is an integral part of Guatemala and, therefore, of Central America, and that by the same token the future of that territory is of concern to the entire Central American community; and, in the exercise of the sovereignty with which that Parliament has been vested, it reiterated the support of all the peoples of Central America for the Guatemalan position with regard to Belice. Finally, the Parliament urged Governments to refuse to recognize any change in the juridical and political status of Belice until the claim has been settled.

104. Guatemala has a very old dispute concerning the territory with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and, for its part, has made every effort to come to an agreement peacefully settling the controversy and taking account of the undeniable grounds for its complaint and, at the same time, the basic interests of the population of Belice, a people of Central America.

105. My Government wishes to state that we shall continue to seek an adequate and just solution that will satisfy all parties to this dispute; but we wish also to state that, although we are determined to assist the people of Belice in its struggle to get free itself of colonial domination, we shall oppose any change in the juridical or political status of the territory unless the problem of Guatemala's rights thereto is first completely resolved.

106. Apart from the process of Central American integration, we also envisage one of Latin American integration, at least in the economic sphere.

107. Important contacts have taken place among Latin American Governments on trade exchange and other economic, social and cultural aspects of life, contacts which might be termed the broadest basis for economic development, the groundwork for Latin American integration.

108. In these undeniable steps towards development we see the resolve to go forward in our economies toward the achievement of greater national income, greater *per capita* income, and a better standard of living for our peoples.

109. On the domestic level we have also achieved progress, broadening our infrastructure for the purpose of improving public services and adopting development plans aimed at improving the general economy of the country and, hence, the standard of living of the various sectors of the population.

110. The Government of Guatemala is carefully following the progress of the Second United Nations Development Decade. Together with all those present from Latin America, we consider indispensable a reform in the international monetary system leading to machinery that will adequately reflect the concerns, the needs and the aspirations of the third world. With regard to such reform, some sort of link must be created between special rights of transfer of capital and additional financial assistance for development.

111. In our view, for the entire process to be as affective as is hoped, and in the shortest possible time, the

developing countries must carry out economic and social reforms aimed at raising the standard of living of their peoples; and for that reason I am glad to point out that my Government has adopted and is now implementing the Five-Year Integral Development Plan; that it is continuing and intensifying agrarian reform; and that it has introduced institutional and fiscal changes intended to raise the standard of living of the Guatemalan people. However, the customs barriers of the developed countries and the low prices they pay for our raw-material products, because of their arbitrary character, have decidedly negative effects on our development. It is our hope that the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which is to be held in 1972 in Santiago de Chile, will take important decisions to eradicate these harmful practices and to alleviate the misery rampant throughout the world, as well as to reduce the enormous economic and social differences separating the peoples of the highly industrialized countries from the peoples of the developing nations.

112. Internationally speaking, we are seeking fair terms of trade and the abolition of certain tariffs that, in some developed countries, weigh heavily on the importation of our raw-material products.

113. In our view, the world must direct its efforts to the achievement of better living conditions for all peoples, and specifically for the economically weak areas. There are situations in different parts of the world where this need is very obvious. There are also just claims on the part of the needy sectors which we must take into account in fixing our goals for economic improvement.

114. In the field of international policy, with which the General Assembly will be dealing during this present session, with regard to the case of China, we wish once again to repeat our attachment to the principle of universality that was formally stated when the United Nations was created in 1945. We believe that honest and sincere participation by all States, great and small, will more effectively strengthen international peace and security to the benefit of all mankind.

115. But we also believe that, while the admission of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations flows logically from a full application of the principle of universality, it must in no way be accomplished through the sacrifice of Nationalist China, the genuine and historical existence of which as an active Member for over 26 years cannot justifiably be disregarded. On these matters, my delegation will vote in logical accordance with these two facts.

116. Because it is a complex problem, the question of the Middle East should be so handled that peace is maintained and the countries in conflict, through the peaceful means laid down in the Charter of the Organization, are enabled to find a just and lasting solution to the complex problem confronting them.

117. In conclusion, the Government of Guatemala expresses its confidence in the United Nations Organization as the most effective instrument available to the international juridical community for making it possible for all mankind, in the *sine qua non* of peace and security, to enjoy a better

future, and for each Member State to fulfil its own mission. As for Guatemala, our own aim is to develop within the democratic system, in which we firmly believe, to preserve political freedom, and to achieve in full the economic independence for which we are striving.

118. Mr. GARCIA VELASCO (Ecuador) (*Interpretation from Spanish*): The Government of Ecuador wishes to extend congratulations to the man who has been chosen to preside over this important session of the General Assembly. His great gifts, his personality and all the human qualities he possesses are a true guarantee that the General Assembly will be under efficient leadership.

119. I also wish to pay a respectful tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Edward Hambro.

120. We have been concerned about the irrevocable decision of the Secretary-General to retire from his office at the end of his present term. Until a few days ago we still nurtured the hope that perhaps he might reconsider his position and continue to lend his valuable services to the international community. From this rostrum the Government of Ecuador wishes to state publicly its gratitude to U Thant for the dedication, sincerity, efficiency and ability with which he has worked during the 10 years in which he has occupied the difficult and complex post of Secretary-General of the United Nations. The conduct of U Thant will be a permanent inspiration to all of us and an example to his successor.

121. The Government of Ecuador is very happy to welcome the three States which have entered our Organization this year. The contribution of Bhutan will be as wholesome, pure and invigorating as the air in its territory, and together with the age-old culture of Bahrain and Qatar, they will doubtless enrich the United Nations. We look with satisfaction upon each step we take on the way to universality, but we also hope that, together with the horizontal growth of the United Nations, this Organization will also become more thorough and effective in its role of maintaining international peace and security and of defending justice.

122. The Government of Ecuador, representing its people, comes to this new meeting of the world Organization with renewed optimism with faith in the action of the United Nations and with a firm desire to co-operate in the success of this session of the Assembly. But this optimism of the Ecuadorian delegation, which I have the honour to lead, in no way lessens the sincerity or frankness of our deep conviction—since nothing done by man is perfect—that we must endeavour to strengthen the Organization still more than we have done so far.

123. The United Nations is not and cannot be merely a place where statesmen and politicians debate the great problems relating to peace and the progress of peoples. Besides this precise and necessary clarification of ideas, judgements and attitudes, we must seek to give life to the objectives and work of the Organization, so that the member nations constituting it will find the true and real road to peace, and that each of us according to his true capacities will contribute to the imperative task of achieving for mankind the fulfilment of its destiny and of all its

possibilities. The same struggles which are today unleashed on the earth, opposing groups and individuals politically, ideologically and materially, are, in my view, nothing but the sometimes hopeful, sometimes hopeless search for a better future for mankind and for all national communities.

124. The United Nations is responsible for seeking the way to increasingly great and tangible peace, social justice and progress for all peoples. There is violent upheaval in the world today and our duty is to find the main causes of this violence. If we endeavour with dedication to find true peace and to put an end to the injustices of today, we shall then have found new pillars with which to replace those that are already obsolete.

125. There is no possible peace, and there can be no possible peace, without economic welfare. New problems beset us today and still the old ones persist. By the same token, we still hear of political and economic crises, and to solve them properly we must face them, meet their challenge, study them in the light of the social and economic position of the various human conglomerates, make the rich nations aware of their duty to help the developing ones and endeavour to ensure co-operation in those fields where it can be most effective.

126. To strengthen the legal system of the United Nations, to discharge its function of maintaining international peace and security has always been the decision of the Ecuadorian Government. Once again my country wishes to state its unswerving support for the purposes and principles that gave birth to our Organization.

127. Because of its love for the law and its vocation for justice, Ecuador has always advocated peaceful settlements to all international disputes. Indeed, we cannot speak of the effective and practical existence of international law while problems still pending between certain of our peoples are not solved in a spirit of equity and justice. The programmes of integration to which a number of countries of the American continent have turned their efforts, by making them jointly confront the dangerous threats of underdevelopment, also make it more imperative than ever, that any differences that may separate them should be peacefully settled.

128. Now that the United Nations has reached adulthood and entered its second 25 years, the Government of Ecuador must warn Member States of the danger of living on illusions. Neither individuals nor States, nor international organizations can act or be useful if the bases for their action and their actions themselves are not born of true and real facts. Relative reality and truth make all Members of the Organization equally sovereign before international law, but within the Organization there is no real equality nor real equality of rights among its Members. Therefore, ironically, it has been asserted that "some States are more equal than others".

129. The United Nations Charter incorporated a very old customary rule and gave a predominant role to the great Powers in the maintenance of international peace and security.

130. It is true that it is not humanly possible to make all men equal, in order to establish a single identity and with it



absolute equality. There will always be the bigger, the stronger, the healthier and—thus far—the wealthier. Among States it appears that there will also always be the greater, the more powerful, the more developed, and thus the true inequalities will still exist between men of some States, i.e. the developed and the super-developed States, and those of other States, the under-developed States. But these qualities of predominance, of privilege—the great Powers are organs privileged to exercise international law—then impose upon those same great Powers, if they truly wish to justify their privileges to the world, to themselves and to history, fundamental duties towards other States and the international community as a whole. And it is here that the Government of Ecuador wishes to advise that, just as titles of nobility became obsolete and anachronistic when the nobles no longer justified the privileges they enjoyed by their services to the community, so, too, the great Powers will not be able to justify the privileged position they enjoy in a community organized for peace—and I do not refer only to the veto and to the monopoly of atomic power—unless they give up, in some way at least, their hegemonic ambitions, the desire to ensure that their interests are paramount, the obsession—an expression of intolerance—of imposing their ideologies, and unless they assume the pre-eminent role which—due to their legitimate role which we have allowed them and by virtue of which we are gathered in this Assembly—they have in the maintenance of international peace and security, the encouragement of friendship among nations and in the solution of the economic-social problems on the basis of international co-operation. Therefore, it is not the States that appear to be acting but the great Powers themselves, and let us admit this clearly, that are responsible for wars and the different and varied “short of war” measures which, like the colours of the rainbow, now extend between the state of peace and the state of war: determining states that did not exist when people and their relations were less sophisticated. We must therefore tell the great Powers of their duties and remind them that war only exists because of them, because they do not carry out the measures to save men from the scourge of war entrusted to them in 1945 by the peoples that wished to live in peace as good neighbours in a world with united nations.

131. Within this line of reasoning and to whatever extent the great Powers of all ideological colours may listen to the voice and heed the vote of the small nations, so the Government of Ecuador considers it an imperative duty of international ethics to say that the continuation of the non-recognition of the right of the People's Republic of China to represent China in the United Nations, that is to say, in the Security Council and in all the other principal and subsidiary organs of the Organization, is creating an international situation that may lead to breaches of international peace and security, that must be settled at the present session of the General Assembly, which is the body that must bear in mind the realities of the parties to this question.

132. Another matter that seriously disturbs my delegation is the conflict in the Middle East. This is a delicate and complex matter which calls for the most careful attention of the world Organization. My country considers that a solution should be found taking into account all the facets of the problem, dealing with it with equity, with justice,

without allowing hatred and prejudice to distort reality or upset the law. Therefore anything, like what I have just indicated, that would be conducive to the establishment in the Middle East of a realistic basis for a lasting peace will be supported by us. An effective method would be the holding of talks, on an equal footing, among the parties concerned, for we believe that that would be an effective way of guaranteeing peace.

133. In any case, we believe that Israel has the right to its existence, and that the United Nations Charter itself—according to the principles that inspired it, and its very spirit—must surely contain a solution. This is the desire of the people and Governments of Ecuador, a people and a country which, as I have said before, has always given its unswerving support to the principle of the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

134. The exclusive use for peaceful purposes of the sea-bed and ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction was an initiative first taken by the delegation of Malta during the twenty-second regular session of the General Assembly. The illusion was then widespread that the ocean might yield the greatest mineral resources whose future exploitation might counteract the danger of the reduction, and even the exhaustion, of existing reserves in the earth's subsoil, reserves that are constantly being drained by the geometrical progression in the world's population. But what we must point out is that what was originally intended to meet the dire needs of mankind was first taken advantage of by the great Powers to challenge the sovereign rights of the small nations.

135. Here I wish to ratify and reaffirm the views that my country shares with many countries of America and of the world: the right of all coastal States to establish the limits of their sovereignty or maritime jurisdiction in accordance with reasonable criteria, bearing in mind the geographic, geological and ecological characteristics and the need to ensure a rational utilization of its resources.

136. The Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, now enlarged to 86 members, is at present examining all problems of the ocean area in order to submit them in due course to a world conference on the law of the sea. The fundamental, and therefore priority problem that is to be tackled by that Conference is that of establishing the international régime for the peaceful uses of the marine and oceanic resources and of the subsoil thereof beyond national jurisdiction and, also obviously, the machinery to govern it. From among the principles contained in General Assembly resolution 2749 (XXV), on which the régime to be established must be based, great importance must be attached to the principle that the resources of that international zone shall be the common heritage of mankind. The working paper submitted on this subject to the Committee by a group of Latin American States [*A/8421, annex I, sect. 8*] views the application of that principle from the standpoint of the developing nations, rejecting the traditional concept of licences and royalties—which have produced such evil results in the exploitation of the natural resources of the economically weak countries—and endowing the international authority to be created with full powers to carry out scientific investigations as well as in

relation to the preservation, exploration and exploitation of the zone, either directly or in association with natural or juridical persons, with which joint enterprises can be created or whose services can be engaged. This will also make it possible to ensure a wide dissemination and constant preparation by all countries without exception so as to organize a rational exploitation of the resources which will permit an equitable distribution of the financial benefits as well as all other advantages that may be derived from their exploitation.

137. I must repeat the unshakable position of my Government that the planned conference on the law of the sea can only be convened to tackle all the problems of the ocean area that are "closely interrelated and need to be considered as a whole" [resolution 2750 C (XXV)], Ecuador will never agree to an international meeting to consider partial aspects in which the well-known political and economic interests of the great Powers will play the major role.

138. My delegation considers that any form of racial discrimination is a violation of the most elementary sense of justice. It is absurd and scandalous that, so late into the twentieth century, when science and technology offer mankind the prodigies of their achievements, when the contemporary world seeks ways and means of raising the standard of living of all men because all individuals have the right to the elementary goods of the earth, we still differentiate between human beings either because of the colour their skin or their religion or the philosophical criteria they obey. Furthermore, peace will always be threatened if we allow discrimination, this source of discord which is repulsive to conscience, to continue.

139. In the light of what I have said, my Government supports the application of the measures on the question of Namibia agreed to by the General Assembly and the Security Council. Similarly, Ecuador considers that the legal situation of the Territories under Portuguese administration falls within the scope of the principles of Article 73 of the Charter.

140. My country enjoys cordial relations with all countries, but when we tackle problems of the kind I have just defined we cannot subordinate to our friendship towards them, the imperative postulates which must guide our international life.

141. A subject very often discussed because the whole future of mankind hinges upon it is that of disarmament.

142. Unfortunately there has been and there is no genuine international justice of the different levels at which relations among nations exist. While this continues the old aspirations of society and mankind to achieve a state of peace and security—to survive or to see ourselves wiped out in the conflagration of an atomic war—will not be fulfilled. The Government of Ecuador feels therefore that firstly States must be made to realize the imperative need to establish international justice which is ensured and made possible by disarmament. Obviously this is so complex a subject that thus far no final definition has been found and it is for this reason that we believe it indispensable that the long and difficult road be followed in stages, beginning with

the limitation and ending with the complete suppression of arms at some, as yet, unforeseen time. Therefore the signing of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America<sup>8</sup> could well be considered an auspicious historic precedent.

143. Disarmament can only be the result of serious and well-pondered acts of security and mutual confidence, which will allow the objectives to be attained. It must be preceded by the establishment of positive procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes and effective and practical provisions for the preservation of peace. A type of common denominator would be the readiness of human minds and thought, to appreciate what is meant by the establishment of international security—that precious peace which will assist us to create a single society living without conflicts.

144. Like a light in the mists that so often cover the horizon of international life, we have heard with great satisfaction of the talks held in Berlin by the four occupying Powers, which arrived at successful conclusions which will not only contribute in all aspects to the life of that city and determine its future, but will, to a certain extent, also facilitate negotiations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic and be of promise to general peace. My Government considers the negotiations carried out on this very complex question a most excellent omen. We believe that it is a clear and obvious example of how satisfactory and honourable conclusions can be arrived at if, in the minds and conscience of those who analyse, discuss and solve these problems, there lies a deep desire for equity, for justice and goodwill. The negotiations in Berlin may well be a magnificent precedent in a world that swings between peace and war and in which twentieth-century man is still beset by political and social contradictions. Peace is one and indivisible; a question that is tackled with the true desire to study and solve it in the best possible way facilitates the consideration of other questions which may give rise to world problems and difficulties. Perhaps they might also catch this spirit and desire, hereby helping us to achieve a solution to all conflicts. Then, perhaps, man will be able to enjoy all the benefits of a stable and truly lasting peace.

145. My Government is gratified at the progress achieved in the problem of Berlin. I pray that this agreement will aid in the negotiation and solution of other problems. Mankind daily calls for justice and peace. No problem is insoluble if it is dealt with properly.

146. If, before, we lamented and were moved by the tragedy of Biafra, without going into the aspects of that issue, today, too, we would want the events that have occurred of late on the India-Pakistan frontier and which might carry the world to a dangerous and grave state of conflagration, to be solved in a way that will evince a desire for justice within the framework of respect for law and equity. But, we regret and must protest against the massacres in East Pakistan which are a violation of the sacred nature of human life for political reasons and show contempt for the condition and the very dignity of the human species.

<sup>8</sup> Signed at Tlatelolco, Mexico, on 14 February 1967 (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634 (1968), No. 9068).

147. My Government has been especially concerned about the measures recently applied throughout the world concerning monetary, financial and commercial questions. They are in open opposition to the concrete agreements reached by a number of international bodies dealing with trade and development. In this regard my country insists upon the ineluctable need to ensure full respect for the *status quo* in business and insists that tariffs barriers that oppose the trade of the developing countries be eliminated or progressively reduced. We must insist that, not later than the present year, the generalized system of preferences be applied by all the developed countries.

148. The Ecuadorian Government views with alarm the recent adoption of economic measures by the United States of America. Apart from having a bearing on important branches of our foreign trade, these measures may unleash a series of restrictions on the part of other developed countries also affected by them, thus creating a situation which would only prejudice the developing countries. Therefore we call on the international community to re-establish previous conditions to avoid unforeseeable maladjustments in international trade and in the economies of our countries.

149. The Government of Ecuador considers the General Assembly to be the forum that is most appropriate for launching an appeal to the international community to participate with technology and capital in the opportunities of investment and work created by the discovery in Ecuador of one of the richest reserves of oil, together with the functioning of the zone of Andean integration, which grants Ecuador comparatively favourable treatment and in which we enjoy a privileged geographical position.

150. In fact, Ecuador, as a country that is relatively the least economically developed of the subregional group of the Andes, benefits from a special régime which will allow it to achieve a speedier rate of development through effective and immediate participation in the benefits derived from the sectoral plans for industrial development, as well as in the programme for the liberalization of trade.

151. Furthermore, investments for the exploitation of the oil resources of our country have already produced a considerable impact on the national economy, whose rate of growth in a few months, when we have started our regular exports of oil and instituted our next five-year development plan, will arrive at annual rates under which the *per capita* income might rise by 10 per cent.

152. We must prepare ourselves for this, by ensuring that we are able to meet the great demand that our economic development will require. It is national policy to see that the exploitation of a non-renewable resource, such as oil, will not, as a sole result, show an increase in the demand for consumer goods due to the new purchasing power of the population, but rather that the wealth be channelled by the creation of favourable conditions for the establishment of new and permanent sources of production and work in the agricultural and industrial sectors as well as the services needed to satisfy the changes in structure and volume of the demand.

153. We are convinced that this transformation, by its very magnitude and the speed with which it must be carried

out, will bring with it a need to complement the available national resources with those that can be given us in the flow of capital and technology from the developed countries, and by mer of other nations, ready to transfer their industrial and agricultural experience to a country that opens its frontiers and the hearts of its inhabitants to those who wish to join us in our efforts to develop.

154. We emphatically state that foreign investment is welcome in our country, as long as it fits into the framework of absolute respect for the laws, the dignity and the national sovereignty of our country, and we shall guarantee such capital investment in the best way possible. We want this investment to be democratized, in other words, broadly based. We believe that our country, because of its economic situation, offers unique opportunities to many small and medium-sized foreign businesses and investors who may wish to become associated with Ecuadorian men and capital in national enterprises. We are sure that this association will not only improve the means of production but will also speed up the modernization of the country and eliminate the inherent problems of traditional foreign investment.

155. On this premise of respect for the expert and the foreign investor, we offer to expend much effort in our search for formulas that will allow for foreign co-participation in our economy within the existing institutional and legal systems and the framework established by the regional and subregional agreements to which Ecuador has committed itself.

156. The task confronting us all at the present session of the General Assembly is both arduous and complex. We confidently trust that the resolutions which the Committees may submit and which will be analysed by the General Assembly will lead to positive achievements.

157. The world seeks confidence and peace; it is tired of the misleading and repetitious siren's song, of speeches which promise but prove to be nothing but voiced theory. As the twentieth century draws to its close, the social and economic problems become more acute and, in strange contrast with the progress of technology, two thirds of the population of the world is still hungry and homeless. What do we, the men of today, do to redress this? Have we done our duty? Are we doing our duty? The generation gap, of which so much is made by sociologists, this uncontrollable rebellion of youth, the crisis in the churches which, until a few years ago, were immutable because of the very immutability of their foundations, the terror of the people of the world for today, and even more so for tomorrow, all this tells us that we have wasted much of our time, that we have squandered to little purpose mountains of paper and rivers of ink in planning and promising, but have done little to make social justice more than an unfulfilled promise or words of pious consolation when we could take the redeeming action that will bridge the gaps that separate class from class and citizen from citizen. Today in this world there is still much pain, much political and social injustice, much discrimination, many subjected peoples, much ignorance and much poverty. This is not a favourable balance. But, gentlemen, if we all—statesmen, Governments and citizens of all nations—understand our duty, there is still time.

158. Let us then, gentlemen, not forget that although we are representatives of our respective Governments, we must also bring to these meetings, the sorrow and suffering of our peoples, which still trust and hope while living in the shadows of a difficult and sombre world. Let us interpret their cries; let us seek the way effectively to serve the cause of peace, without which there can be no progress for society or individuals. Let us work indefatigably to improve human conditions. Surely, these are duties we cannot shirk. Surely, these are the abiding obligations of the universal Organization. Let the energy and constancy of so many illustrious citizens of the world who have battled against prejudice and triumphed over the power of gold and sought to create a more just society, serve us as inspiration. If it be true that here in this general debate the various statements made have shown us the different ways of assessing the world situation and different solutions to the main problems, according to the country that spoke, it seems to me that there is an almost unanimous agreement in the determination of the most urgent and important questions, those that are important to international life, those that call for the common efforts of all nations to be channelled through the United Nations if they are to be solved. This will, to a large extent, facilitate the work of the world Organization, which is responsive to the cries of all peoples, because the suicidal attitude of indifference is the one that truly generates later difficulties and flaming conflicts.

159. May I conclude my statement by expressing my personal belief that despite the formidable economic problems confronting us as a society and as individuals, our most important need today is spiritual. If we neglect this aspect of life, the political and social situations may well explode, making all our efforts to change them or control them vain.

160. Life is constituted not only of material values, even though these may to a large extent regulate our lives. Life is a period of constant self-growth, of love for beauty, good and justice, and the good, in countless cases for communities and societies, and in one word, for man, lies simply in being just and fair—just towards ourselves, just towards others, just towards all nations.

161. To breathe into the minds of all peoples the mystique of the spirit is the revolutionary, but glorious, work of the man of today.

162. Mr. MOHAMMED (Trinidad and Tobago): Mr. President, the delegation of Trinidad and Tobago extends to you warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of this twenty-sixth regular session of the General Assembly. We are especially happy that on this occasion that important office is occupied by a distinguished son of Asia who has proved himself internationally and who commands the respect and affection of all our countries. We take the opportunity also to express our deep appreciation to Mr. Edvard Hambro, who so skilfully presided over our deliberations last year.

163. The Government and people of Trinidad and Tobago wish to pay special tribute to the Secretary-General, U Thant, who, for 10 particularly trying and difficult years of office, has discharged his onerous duties as Secretary-General at great personal sacrifice, with devotion and

dedication. In his unique style he has succeeded in enhancing the role of the office of Secretary-General. The most fitting tribute which we, the international community, can pay him is to ensure that the United Nations achieves the goals and objectives for which he has so diligently laboured. He takes with him our very best wishes for a long and happy retirement. We in Trinidad and Tobago recall with pleasure his visit to our country in 1966. Nothing would give us greater pleasure than to be able to welcome him as our official guest once again. This invitation is sincerely extended on behalf of the Prime Minister, the Government and people of Trinidad and Tobago.

164. My Government was very pleased to support the admission of the new States of Bahrain, Bhutan and Qatar to membership in the family of nations; and in welcoming them to our Organization we wish them every success in the attainment of the goals and ideals to which their Governments and peoples aspire.

165. The Trinidad and Tobago delegation wishes to re-emphasize its support for the principle of universality upon which the Charter was founded, and welcomes the progress made towards its full application. Our delegation recognizes the great contribution that the United Nations has made in hastening the process of political decolonization. We insist, however, that this process must be accelerated in those regions of the world still under the colonial yoke in any form whatsoever. Furthermore, we insist that the achievements of the United Nations in terms of political decolonization must be matched by its contributions in the field of economic decolonization. We look to the United Nations for the promotion of economic decolonization through the intensification of its programmes directed at assisting the less developed countries in their goal of economic and social development. We commend the adoption, last year, of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*]. It is our view that this Strategy would be futile unless it effectively ensured the sovereignty of the people over their natural wealth and resources.

166. Within the International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade we wish to emphasize three points:

(a) The primary responsibility for development rests upon the countries themselves;

(b) However great the efforts for development, based on this principle, the desired goals will not be achieved unless they are supported by increased multilateral financial resources and more favourable economic and commercial policies on the part of developed countries;

(c) Economic and social progress is the common responsibility of the entire international community.

Those three points of the new global development strategy constitute the bed-rock of the strategy of development for Trinidad and Tobago.

167. Allow me therefore to indicate the areas in which our own efforts towards development based on self-reliance



may be complemented by appropriate policies on the part of the developed countries.

168. In our experience, development planning aimed merely at increasing *per capita* national income does not necessarily generate self-sustained growth. The United Nations must be prepared to promote global development policies to ensure that countries like Trinidad and Tobago generate growth from within their own economies. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago considers that such growth must also involve economic diversification, an equitable distribution of income, and a reduction in the levels of unemployment, underemployment and unemployability. Of particular relevance to this is the fact that Trinidad and Tobago, like most developing countries, is plagued by the pressing problem of population explosion. To meet this, we have, with the valuable assistance of the United Nations and the World Bank, instituted a family planning programme. Another important feature of our national planning concerns the revision of the education system to ensure that the training and education of our population more adequately satisfy our manpower needs.

169. International development policies must promote greater national control of the economy and of our national wealth and resources. This is necessary to guarantee that such resources are exploited in the interest of all the people of Trinidad and Tobago. We consider it desirable that foreign investment and external assistance be accommodated within the policy of greater national participation and control. One objective of greater national control is to maximize the positive effects of foreign investment and external assistance. Our policies, which have been clearly enunciated, have been designed to achieve this objective.

170. The global Development Strategy must ensure that the transfer and adaptation of technology satisfy the needs of developing countries. The widening technological gap between the poor nations and the rich nations contributes greatly to international instability, and this gap must be narrowed. In implementing the transfer of modern technology, however, developing countries must guard against the dehumanizing and other destructive effects of technological development.

171. The new International Development Strategy must involve the accelerated implementation of the policies of the first two sessions of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. In the first place, we wish to draw attention to the question of tariffs and non-tariff barriers. As a small developing country with a limited national and regional market, the success of our development efforts depends heavily upon access to markets of developed countries as outlets for the expanding range of our manufactures. In this regard we cannot overemphasize the need for the developed countries to lower their tariffs and to eliminate other restrictive barriers.

172. In so far as the generalized scheme of preferences is concerned, we wish to emphasize that:

(a) Without exception, all developing countries should benefit from the scheme from the outset;

(b) Special account should be taken of small developing countries in their initial stages of industrialization;

(c) Sympathetic consideration should be given to those developing countries which now rely upon special preference for their economic survival.

173. Mention must also be made of the problem of freight rates, the spiralling increases of which adversely affect our development efforts.

174. The third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD] is to be held in Santiago, Chile, in 1972. That session must accord to UNCTAD a greater role in promoting the objectives of the new International Development Strategy and must face the problems of access of exports of developing countries to the markets of the developed countries. My delegation feels that the developing countries are now thrust into new situations where their interests, internationally recognized, are in danger once more of being overridden and dismissed.

175. I pause here to place on record the appreciation of Trinidad and Tobago for the assistance so far received from all the specialized agencies and institutions of the United Nations. We are particularly appreciative of the assistance we have received from the United Nations Development Programme through the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations in the promotion and development of a fishing industry in the Caribbean region, as we are island countries that are particularly dependent on the exploitation of our marine resources.

176. We expect further action within the United Nations to cope with the serious social problems affecting youth all over the world. Perhaps foremost among these is the increase in the use of addictive drugs. We require planned programmes of preventive and corrective measures. In addition, we appeal for stricter international control and surveillance to combat the illicit international traffic in narcotics.

177. Trinidad and Tobago is in favour of an international development strategy which would give our people greater control over the ownership and exploitation of its marine resources. This must, of necessity, involve the establishment of an indigenous technological capability in this sector. Trinidad and Tobago has repeatedly called on the United Nations and its specialized agencies to expedite and intensify training programmes for developing countries in marine science and technology. So far our expectations in this regard have not met with the desired response. We hope that within the next year regional oceanographic institutions will be established in some of the developing countries as part of the United Nations development programmes. Trinidad and Tobago is prepared to provide a site for one of these oceanographic institutions in the internationally known Chaguaramas peninsula.

178. In addition, we take this opportunity to reiterate the principle that the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof, beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, are the common heritage of mankind. This is the cardinal principle upon which the proposed international régime for the area must be founded. In precise terms, we envisage the establishment of a system in which all countries in this common heritage would participate directly, through appropriate international machinery, in the management of the sea-bed and the exploitation of its resources.

179. Trinidad and Tobago has always considered that regional economic integration is a first essential step towards greater international economic co-operation. The formation of the Caribbean Free Trade Association [CARIFTA] has been that first step in implementing such a regional approach to development in the Caribbean area. The member Governments of CARIFTA are studying the feasibility of adopting a common external tariff and the harmonization of fiscal incentives to industry and ownership and control of regional resources with a view to ensuring special attention to the needs of the less developed countries within the region. The Caribbean Development Bank is playing a major role in these integration efforts. The member Governments are, however, concerned about integrationist movements in other parts of the world which might adopt policies inimical to the legitimate trading interests of the developing nations.

180. We have given our firm support to the initiatives in the United Nations on the problems relating to the natural environment. We consider that the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, to be held at Stockholm in 1972, would be a useful forum for making a concerted attack on these problems. Trinidad and Tobago has already taken initiatives to institute new measures for the protection of the natural environment and the control of marine and air pollution. We are certain that the United Nations, in this new field of international endeavour, will take due account of the special needs and interests of developing countries.

181. The world today is agonized by dissension and conflict and divided by inequality. Today the world faces

turmoil on every continent. Today the world faces the challenge of a revolution of ideas by our youth, who demand new values and new institutions. Today the world faces a return to economic power politics which could precipitate a new trade war that would benefit none and damage all. Today the world faces a change in international monetary bases that could adversely affect world trade and world stability. Today the world faces a new wave of protectionism that threatens to wipe out overnight all the progress that has been made in international trade negotiations by hard and unstinting labour over many long years. Today the world faces a resurgence of addiction to hallucinative drugs. Today the world faces a continued defiance of world opinion in matters of racial equality and treatment, clearly exemplified by those countries that will not grant to a man his basic right to be treated like a man. Today the world faces hunger and disease while billions of dollars are wasted on the creation of weapons that deal only death and destruction. Today the world faces the pollution of the natural environment, which threatens the very survival of the human race.

182. How can these problems be solved? I venture to suggest, by international co-operation and consultation. Where can such co-operation and consultation take place? In the United Nations, where all the countries can sit and consult together. The bases are there. Let us devote ourselves seriously in the name of the generations to come to building a better world.

*The meeting rose at 6 p.m.*