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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. VALDIVIESO EGUIGUREN (Ecuador) (*translated from Spanish*): Madam President, on behalf of the Government of Ecuador and on my own behalf, allow me to convey to you a very cordial welcome and warm congratulations on your election to preside over the General Assembly of the United Nations. This choice reflects a recognition of the merit of the people of Liberia and is also a tribute to you personally.

2. We are proud that it should be a woman who is guiding our deliberations. Your courtesy, intelligence and feminine intuition are factors that will help us to find new directions in the continuous search for truth and the attainment of satisfactory solutions in which we are engaged in the world Organization.

3. I should also like to take this opportunity to state that the Government of Ecuador recalls the death of Mr. Emilio Arenales, the distinguished President of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly, and mourns it as the loss of one of the most outstanding personalities of Latin American diplomacy.

4. With respect to the subjects that will be of primary concern to the Assembly at the current session, the Government of Ecuador has well-defined views and clear policies, all of which derive from its behaviour as a peace-loving State, always desirous of strengthening its ties with the other countries of the continent and with all the other countries of the world.

5. The Government of Ecuador believes that if this year's discussions are to achieve any result, all representatives must seek to strengthen the world Organization, to recognize the broad powers of the Assembly laid down in the Charter, to attribute to the Security Council as a matter of

right and priority the use of coercive means, to give unreserved support to general and complete disarmament, a process that will start in men's hearts and minds and take practical form in the field of international relations. In this connexion, my Government and I myself believe that all types of testing of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons should cease and that the use of chemical and biological weapons should be banned immediately. We believe that the world is speaking out ever more insistently in condemnation of colonialism and neo-colonialism, rejecting racial segregation, repudiating religious struggles and seeking measures of universal scope to promote human understanding.

6. But all the ideas which I have just expressed and which will serve as a basis for my own statement would remain incomplete if I did not affirm publicly and emphatically that in the economic field the less developed countries have not received a satisfactory or equitable answer to the representations which they have made to the industrialized nations. While it must be recognized that some of these nations have made an effort to comply with some very elementary minimum requirements laid down by conferences on economic matters, such efforts are only isolated exceptions which confirm the tone of gloom and scepticism with which the representatives of the poor countries rightly approach world affairs.

7. In May of this year, the Latin American countries decided to define their position on vital international economic problems which have a strong influence on their development process. The document known as the Consensus of Viña del Mar¹ clearly sets out the thinking of this region on international financial and technical co-operation, foreign trade, the role of foreign investment, and social and technological development.

8. The Latin American position defined in that document should not raise the question of whether or not it contains a complaint or an accusation concerning the unsatisfactory results we have derived from the First United Nations Development Decade. It goes much further and expresses the vigorous and praiseworthy desire to overcome the obstacles to our development. Among such obstacles are those arising from the acute shortcomings that have been observed in international co-operation and in the structure of trade, which tend to aggravate the unjust situations that now exist and prevent the satisfaction of our peoples' legitimate aspirations to enjoy economic freedom, which is undoubtedly one of the principal human rights.

9. We shall begin the Second United Nations Development Decade in a rather gloomy setting, with a clearly negative

¹ Approved by the Special Committee on Latin American Co-ordination, meeting at Viña del Mar, Chile, from 15 to 17 May 1969.

response regarding the effectiveness of the instruments put to the test in the First Development Decade, but with great faith in the capabilities and efforts of our peoples—an essential element of our development. We hope that those efforts will be supplemented in the next Decade by an effective reform of world trade which will offer fair treatment to the developing countries, with international co-operation on a larger scale and on better terms than those which have heretofore prevailed. We believe that this will be achieved through full compliance with the basic principles laid down in the historic document of Viña del Mar.

10. If we want the Second Development Decade to achieve satisfactory results and bring us closer to the objectives of the international community, we must begin this decade of change in attitudes and procedures with a firm policy aimed at reforming structures. We must endorse and apply the principle that the profit motive of enterprises and individuals cannot take precedence over national interests or the right of developing countries to accelerate their progress. The widening of economic and human relations with the developed countries, whatever their economic or political systems, does not and cannot signify acceptance of their political systems or a desire to adopt them. This implies, as a consequence, strict respect for, and non-interference in matters which it is for each State alone to settle, free from foreign intervention or pressure.

11. There are signs on the horizon of healthy intentions to revise policies and attitudes and to find practical and effective solutions. That is why we believe that the world Organization, at this session of the General Assembly and in all its other activities, should adopt effective measures that would lead to improvements in the situation in developing countries, at least in order to mitigate the contrast between the poverty, malnutrition and violence which exist side by side with fantastic space achievements and undreamed of technological advances.

12. With regard to the main problems that have disturbed world peace, Ecuador maintains that nuclear wars should be considered an abomination and that the use of weapons of tremendous destructive potential constitutes a crime not only against the peoples who are the victims of that violence, but against all mankind. I venture to affirm clearly and categorically that the persistence of wars and problems of human misunderstanding, such as those in Viet-Nam and in the western region of Nigeria, have a direct impact on all developing countries, because peace is indivisible and because such bloodshed involves a wasting and squandering of resources which could certainly much better serve the purposes of peace.

13. Along those same lines and in that same spirit, Ecuador will again express, in the discussions of this Assembly, its utter condemnation of those who prevent the self-determination of peoples and attempt to interfere in the domestic affairs of other States. I shall not dwell on this question now because the arguments are well known to the whole world, since the position of Ecuador in this regard has never been subject to a shadow of doubt.

14. This subject brings us directly to the question of human rights. I wish to pay a tribute to previous sessions of

the General Assembly, at which this world Organization co-ordinated and stimulated the formulation and application of progressive legislation in this field.

15. In my country and in the other nations of Latin America, there is fortunately no atmosphere of religious intolerance reflected in public demonstrations. I mention this social fact in order to invite other regions of the world, through understanding and a calm analysis of problems to outlaw fratricidal wars, which would only result in a reversion to the darkest eras of human history.

16. At this session, I shall place particular stress on the draft declaration referred to in General Assembly resolution 2181 (XXI) on principles on international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States. The delegation of Ecuador attaches the greatest importance to this item. As we all know, the draft does not constitute an end in itself, but should rather be viewed as the first step towards the codification of the principles of the Charter. This task must necessarily also embrace the progressive development of the principles of international law, so that co-operation may be provided with a legal basis and a standard governing mutual relations that will eliminate weaknesses of principle and age-old inequities.

17. Present socio-economic processes in any region of the world cannot be viewed except on the basis of common standards of justice in a genuine spirit of understanding. The process of Latin American integration, the latest notable advance in which is represented by the Andean subregional group, serves as a magnificent example, and in this connexion I bring evidence of the spirit of co-operation and an offer on the part of my Government and the people of Ecuador. All integration programmes will in fact collapse, if on passing from one country to another, they encounter, on the frontier lines, the sensitivity and resentment which are the inevitable sequel of past injustices.

18. As unquestionable evidence of a spirit of goodwill and a genuine belief in integration, the President of the Republic of Ecuador, an idealist who has devoted some of his most noteworthy studies to international subjects, invited our neighbour, Peru, to take steps towards an honourable compromise that would end once and for all our age-old dispute, a dispute that has impeded the joint development of important frontier regions. Ecuador, which prides itself on not being a country engaged in the arms race, but rather one that has traditionally upheld peace and law, in offering this new possibility, has done so, of course, on two basic conditions: first, that any compromise should take account of claims rooted in history and should give the discoverer and colonizer credit for the fruits of his discovery and colonization; secondly, that any formula agreed upon should meet the requirement of mutual dignity, so that the results may not be regarded as an imposition by force, but rather as a recognition of pages of history written with human blood and sacrifice and based upon national objectives and recognition of the characteristics of a people that cannot renounce what its forefathers so unselfishly achieved.

19. In doing this, Ecuador is trying to set an example, and I say this in clear and unmistakable terms. It wants to see the economic resources of the developing countries devoted

to dealing basically with the nutritional, health, educational and infrastructural needs of those countries' societies. Ecuador condemns a policy of arming in all countries, but we believe that in the case of the less-developed countries this condemnation should be twice as severe.

20. This invitation to hold a dialogue is and always has been an unchanging line of conduct for my country throughout its history and under all of its Governments. Our most recent demonstration of this can be found in our negotiations, honoured by the very valuable company of Peru and Chile, with the United States on practical procedures and conservation standards for the protection of the marine resources adjacent to our coasts. I take the liberty of inviting the other countries of America and of the world as a whole to follow carefully the deliberations of the four-Power talks² which are being held in stages in Buenos Aires, deliberations in which we hope to prove, for our part, that the search for practical solutions and harmony among nations is possible even though they may hold different and inalterable juridical and political views.

21. My statement would not be complete without a reference to a great step forward taken by mankind in the legal domain, a truly significant achievement in this new year in the life of the world Organization, and one that I certainly should mention: the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, signed at Vienna on 23 May 1969.

22. The Government of Ecuador attached the greatest importance to that Conference. The Convention, which required great efforts over a long period of time, entailed a difficult and complicated process of drafting designed to harmonize the different juridical and political positions of the various countries represented at the two phases of the Conference. The balanced result reflected in the Convention was achieved after much laborious work.

23. The Vienna Convention contains principles that are fundamental, particularly for the weaker and smaller nations. The bulk of part V of the Convention, as was recognized by the International Law Commission, consists of rules for the progressive development of that law, *de lege ferenda*, but its principal importance lies in its having incorporated into the body of the Convention rules of law that constitute *lex lata*. It is important that the countries that went to Vienna recognized, accepted and incorporated into the Convention the principle that "a treaty is void if its conclusion has been procured by the threat or use of force in violation of the principles of international law embodied in the Charter of the United Nations". My Government also considers essential the acceptance of the principle that "a treaty is void if, at the time of its conclusion, it conflicts with a pre-emptory norm of general international law".

24. The important instrument adopted at Vienna contains progressive rules of international law and brings together and codifies pre-existing rules such as the rule that disputes concerning treaties should, like any other international dispute, be settled by peaceful means and in accordance with the principles of justice and international law. There are other rules which emphasize the principles of inter-

national law embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, such as the prohibition of the threat or use of force in international relations, the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the sovereign equality and independence of all States, non-interference in the domestic affairs of other States, universal respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all and the effective exercise of these freedoms. It is with true satisfaction that I mention these principles and rules which have been consistently proclaimed by Ecuador throughout its history and have formed the basis of its international policy.

25. I cannot fail to mention a fact which has aroused concern among many States, including Ecuador, and which constitutes a serious threat to the safety of human life, personal tranquillity and the normal development of airline operations throughout the world. I am referring to the hijacking or unlawful seizure of aircraft, which has been happening day after day. In the incident involving two Ecuadorian aircraft, which took place on the sixth of this month, a mechanic was seriously injured by the hijackers and the co-pilot of one of the planes died when the aircraft were forced, while in Ecuadorian airspace, to change course towards Cuba.

26. My Government considers that the situation resulting from this wave of criminal activity should be studied so that appropriate measures can be adopted in a binding instrument of universal scope, under the auspices of the United Nations. News reports from Montreal, which appeared in my country on last 25 September, bring out the fact that the Legal Committee of the International Civil Aviation Organization is at present engaged in drafting a treaty on the extradition of persons committing the aforementioned crimes. My Government duly appreciates that work but considers that, in any event, part of the efforts of this twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations should be devoted to solving this serious international problem, and to this end I invite all Member States to give their valuable co-operation in the study of this question, which should be included in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly.

27. It is also necessary to give serious consideration to the desirability of going beyond the procedural provisions of the Tokyo Convention,³ which was also signed under the auspices of the International Civil Aviation Organization, because it is now essential to reach a substantive agreement on the definition of the crime of hijacking or the illegal seizure of an aircraft in order to standardize legislation on this subject and thus succeed in putting an end to this series of criminal acts, under a system of severe penalties for those responsible for such acts. Positive action by the United Nations in that direction would be welcomed by all countries in the world because the continuing impunity of the perpetrators of such crimes cannot be allowed to become a guarantee of the unrestricted repetition of their punishable acts.

28. Finally, I must refer to the recent conflict between two sister countries of Latin America, Honduras and El Salvador. Fortunately, a satisfactory solution to this prob-

² Four-Power talks on fisheries held in the city of Buenos Aires from 1 to 9 August 1969 between the United States, Chile, Ecuador and Peru.

³ Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft, signed at Tokyo on 14 September 1963.

lem was found within the Organization of American States. I mention this question in order to stress the importance of the system of peaceful settlement of disputes, both at the regional level and within the United Nations. My country, Ecuador, has been constantly urging the need to strengthen and improve the machinery for the settlement of disputes and to avoid them by eliminating the sources of injustice that gave rise to them. "And since the law is not a purely normative science"—I am quoting the words of Dr. Velasco Ibarra, my country's President—"We must begin with concrete and objective social factors, and the law must seek a balance between these concrete and objective factors."

29. Madam President, I do not wish to conclude this statement without once again reaffirming my country's faith in the United Nations, its confidence in our distinguished Secretary-General and the certainty that your personal ability, together with the resolute collaboration of representatives, will ensure the utmost success in our endeavours for the good of mankind at the present session of the General Assembly.

30. Mr. BASHEV (Bulgaria) (*translated from French*): I should like to convey to you, Madam President, the congratulations of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on your election to the most important office in this Assembly and to wish you every success in the accomplishment of your task.

31. I should also like to convey to the delegation of Guatemala our most sincere condolences on the death of Mr. Emilio Arenales, President of the last session of the General Assembly.

32. The past year has not seen the realization of the peoples' hopes for security and peace. It is true that no fresh sources of tension and no new open conflicts have developed, but not one of the conflicts which for years have been poisoning the international climate, not one of the major problems threatening world peace, has been settled. Some problems indeed have been seriously aggravated.

33. The problem of international security, of the elimination of the threats to world peace and to the life and well-being of peoples has therefore become acute. Collective measures are necessary to safeguard and build a just and lasting peace, to establish peaceful and fruitful relations between peoples in a climate of security, confidence and mutual respect. The need for such measures is pressing. Mankind cannot allow any further deterioration in the international situation or any delay or postponement of a solution to the most urgent international problems. Any delay might well lead the peoples to a situation where they no longer have it in their power to prevent a general confrontation.

34. On the basis of this conviction, and taking into account the vital interests of peoples, the Soviet Government has submitted for consideration at this session an item entitled "The strengthening of international security" [A/7654]. The Bulgarian Government welcomes this new, important and positive initiative of the Soviet Union. It wholeheartedly supports the draft "appeal to all States of

the world" on the strengthening of international security. This appeal is fully in keeping with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and with the convictions and aspirations of our people.

35. The Bulgarian Government is convinced that approval of this appeal by the General Assembly and the adoption by Governments of appropriate measures for its implementation will constitute a major step towards strengthening international security and world peace—a great victory for the United Nations.

36. The appeal expresses the deepest sentiments of the world community; it takes account of the demand of the present international situation. One of the most serious problems now threatening peace is the armed intervention of certain States against other States and peoples. The appeal is right in emphasizing this crucial question.

37. The withdrawal of all troops from territories occupied as a result of action by the armed forces of some States against other States defending the independence they have won as a result of the collapse of the colonial system is an essential condition for improving the international situation. The presence of foreign troops in those territories is a constant source of tension and insecurity; it is a flagrant violation of the principles of national independence and freedom, of the right of peoples freely to choose their social systems and to settle their internal affairs themselves without foreign interference.

38. The development of the international situation clearly shows that it is impossible to solve such serious and acute problems as those of Viet-Nam and Korea, and of the Middle East, without the complete withdrawal of all United States troops from South Viet-Nam and South Korea, and of the Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories. Unless these problems are solved, there can be neither lasting peace in the world nor real international security.

39. For 15 years, United States armed intervention in South Viet-Nam has been causing the people of Viet-Nam immense suffering. Fifteen years is long enough for even the United States Government to realize the impossibility of breaking the will of a people prepared to defend its freedom at any cost, to recognize that the war in Viet-Nam constitutes both an aggression against the people of Viet-Nam and a blow to the very foundations of world peace.

40. The United States of America maintains an army of more than half a million men in South Viet-Nam and has concentrated a large part of its immense war potential there. That is the sole obstacle to a peaceful and democratic solution of the Viet-Nam problem in accordance with the genuine aspirations of the people of South Viet-Nam.

41. The world had every reason to expect that the United States of America would at last announce practical measures for a political settlement of the Viet-Nam problem, but that has not taken place. The United States Government has reaffirmed its decision to maintain its armed forces, to continue the war in Viet-Nam. The fact that this policy is accompanied by fine words does not change anything. Has not President Nixon himself declared that "noble rhetoric is

no guarantee of noble results" [1755th meeting, para. 45]?

42. The United States Government has repeatedly stated that it is not what the United States wants for South Viet-Nam that matters, but what the people of Viet-Nam want for South Viet-Nam. For nearly 15 years, day after day, year after year, the people of South Viet-Nam have, by their heroic struggle and their countless sacrifices, clearly demonstrated their inexorable will. What the people of Viet-Nam demand is the final and unconditional withdrawal of United States troops from the soil of Viet-Nam; the right and opportunity to settle their own affairs freely and without foreign interference or coercion, and to build a democratic and independent Republic of South Viet-Nam. If the United States of America really wants the end of the war in Viet-Nam, as it claims, it could prove it by appropriate measures which would facilitate a reasonable and just solution of the Viet-Nam problem at the conference table in Paris.

43. Declarations concerning a limited withdrawal of a few thousand troops cannot change the situation. Such limited measures cannot be interpreted as the expression of a genuine desire to reach an equitable solution of the Viet-Nam problem, but only as an attempt to justify the continuation of an unjust war.

44. The United States can only come out of this war with honour by immediately stopping the bombing of South Viet-Nam and starting the withdrawal of all its troops. That is the way to ensure that the Paris negotiations can break out of the deadlock caused by the United States policy of aggression in South-East Asia and that the necessary conditions can be created for the formation of a national coalition Government. That is the way to achieve, not the "Viet-Namization" of the war in South Viet-Nam, as the United States desires, but the "Viet-Namization" of the peace.

45. But as long as aggression against the people of South Viet-Nam continues, the friends of the people of Viet-Nam will continue to help them in their heroic struggle for freedom and independence.

46. The presence of foreign troops in the territory of South Korea and the armed action and acts of provocation against the People's Democratic Republic of Korea keep up the tension and constitute a serious threat to peace in that part of the world. The United States occupation troops are supporting a puppet government and are brutally interfering in the domestic affairs of the country, which they have transformed into a military base for a United States policy of aggression in Asia.

47. The United Nations flag cannot legalize the presence of United States troops in South Korea, any more than it can justify their acts of aggression. It can only seriously damage the Organization's prestige.

48. The interests of peace in the Far East as well as the interests of the Organization call for a categorical decision: to withdraw all foreign troops from South Korea and to dissolve the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. The question of the country's reunification by peaceful means and on a

democratic basis can be decided only by the Korean people themselves, without foreign interference. The essential condition is the withdrawal from South Korean territory of all foreign troops, whose presence is the main cause of the division of the country and the major obstacle to peaceful reunification of the Korean people.

49. My delegation fully agrees with the conclusion of the Secretary-General, U Thant, that the Middle East situation has continued to deteriorate [see A/7601/Add.1, para. 62]. The danger of a resumption of large-scale military activities is real and may lead to an extension of the conflict beyond the confines of the Middle East. For what reasons has the crisis in that troubled region not only not diminished but even worsened? What are the obstacles that frustrate attempts at a political settlement of the conflict? It is sufficient to examine the positions and the attitudes of the two parties to the conflict—the Arab countries and Israel—to find an answer.

50. The Arab countries, which bear the heavy burden of the occupation of a large part of their territories, have accepted Security Council resolution 242 (1967) as a basis for a political settlement of the crisis. They have shown that they are willing to act in accordance with that resolution despite the new sacrifices it demands of them in the name of peace. Their position regarding the mission of Mr. Jarring, the Secretary-General's Special Representative, and regarding the four-Power talks on the Middle East, is positive. The attitude of the Arab countries, victims of Israeli aggression, has created conditions favourable to the establishment of a just and lasting peace in that area, based on the principles of national independence, territorial integrity and mutual security. The statements made from this platform by the representatives of Arab countries—the United Arab Republic, Jordan, Lebanon and others—confirm once again the reasonable and constructive policy pursued by their Governments.

51. But what of the position of Israel? The Israeli Government persists in its total contempt for the Security Council resolution and has done nothing to implement it. Israel refuses to withdraw its troops from the occupied Arab territories. The occupation is accompanied by military action in the air and on land against the United Arab Republic, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. Israel does not cease to put new obstacles in the way of a just and humane solution of the problem of the Palestinian refugees. It has declared that it will not accept the outcome of the negotiations between the four permanent members of the Security Council and it is undermining the mission of Mr. Jarring. The Israeli Government is not seeking a peaceful settlement of the Middle East crisis but the capitulation of the Arab countries, a radical modification of the map of the Middle East, and the annexation of a large part of the Arab territories.

52. What further aggravates the situation in the Middle East is the strong support given by the United States of America to Israel's intransigent and provocative attitude. This biased and unjust attitude on the part of the United States of America is a negative factor which hinders rather than facilitates the settlement of the crisis.

53. There is, however, a real and equitable possibility of reaching a lasting political solution of the Middle East crisis,

that is, through the immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories and the recognition of the right to an independent and secure existence for all the States of the region, including Israel.

54. The Bulgarian Government considers that no one has the right to ask the Governments and peoples of the Arab States to yield to aggression and to surrender their rights. It supports the just cause of the Arab peoples against aggression and occupation and for the establishment of a fair and lasting peace in the Middle East, as well as their efforts towards peaceful national development and social progress.

55. Another essential element of the USSR proposal for strengthening international security is the appeal to all States strictly to abide by the principles of peaceful coexistence in their international relations and to establish, by joint efforts, regional security systems in accordance with the provision of the Charter of the United Nations.

56. In that connexion I would like to dwell on a few questions concerning Europe. The peace and security of European countries depends first and foremost on relations between East and West. Those relations in turn depend on the strict and consistent observance of the principles of peaceful coexistence by the European States.

57. It is precisely those principles and concepts that inspire the Bulgarian Government. Together with the other socialist States members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, it has worked steadfastly for a relaxation of tension in Europe, for the development of economic, scientific and technical relations with all States and for a peaceful solution to the problems which continue to divide our continent.

58. The creation of a favourable political climate in Europe does not depend solely on the socialist States parties to the Warsaw Treaty. The support of the Western countries members of NATO is also essential. But the policy of some Atlantic Treaty countries continues to be a source of concern and perplexity. These countries still refuse to take account of the new political realities in Europe. They continue to resort to political conceptions and to methods which have been outstripped by the evolution of the European situation in the past few years. They remain rigidly bound to Atlantic political and military doctrines and systems, and show no desire to move towards solutions prompted by current European realities. What is the policy of those Western countries? It is still the policy of dividing Europe into opposing military blocs, tending to alter the relationship of forces in their favour, the policy of the arms race, of strengthening the spirit of revenge, of militarism and of neo-nazism in Western Germany.

59. It is obvious that the Warsaw Treaty countries cannot remain passive in the face of such a policy. They are taking the necessary measures to strengthen their political unity and their national defence. But at the same time these countries do not cease to pursue their tireless and energetic efforts for a reasonable and mutually acceptable solution of European problems, for the lessening of tension and for the creation of favourable conditions for the consolidation of stability and security in Europe. They consider that the

situation calls for a new approach and new methods for solving the problem of European security. It is not by perpetuating the division of the continent into hostile groupings but by creating an all-European system of collective security in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations that the problems of most vital importance to Europe will be solved.

60. The Bulgarian Government considers that the establishment of an effective system of European security is undoubtedly a difficult task but one that can be achieved. Despite its complexity, the problem can be solved, given goodwill and realism, through the combined efforts of the Governments and peoples of all the European States, on the basis of recognition of the actual situation in Europe created as a result of the Second World War, on the basis of a general agreement to resolve controversial problems by peaceful means and negotiations, and, lastly, on the basis of respect for the interests of all European States.

61. An outstanding expression of the peaceful policy of the socialist countries was the Budapest appeal¹ for the convening of a conference on European security.⁴ The majority of European States received the Budapest appeal with interest and evaluated that important initiative by the Warsaw Treaty countries at its true worth. We rejoice to see that several European States have already indicated their desire and their willingness to facilitate the conference by taking measures to reduce tension and strengthen mutual confidence. In that context, the initiative taken by the Government of Finland with a view to the preparation of the conference on European security is to be warmly commended. This initiative is proof of the positive role that the neutral countries can successfully play in this field.

62. The establishment of a system of collective security in Europe would have far-reaching significance extending beyond the borders of our continent. The very fact of its establishment would go a long way towards reducing the danger of a world war and safeguarding world security and peace. The achievement of this task would be one of the greatest victories of the peoples in their arduous struggle for a lasting peace.

63. As a Balkan country situated at the heart of the peninsula, the People's Republic of Bulgaria attaches the greatest importance to its relations with the Balkan countries and to security and peace in the Balkans, a region where States with different social systems exist side by side. Undoubtedly this new Balkan situation will give rise to new problems, but it also creates new and greater possibilities for the fruitful development of relations between these States, based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. Bulgaria has already taken numerous initiatives which have contributed to the improvement of the political climate of the Balkans, to the strengthening of mutual confidence and understanding between Balkan countries and to the development of their economic, scientific and cultural relations. The Bulgarian Government has concluded many agreements with its neighbours that have made it possible to solve numerous problems which have long hampered relations

⁴ Appeal calling for a general European conference to discuss problems of European security and peaceful co-operation, adopted at Budapest on 17 March 1969 by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

between the Balkan countries. Bulgaria is determined to continue its efforts for the further development of bilateral relations with the other Balkan countries so as to transform south-east Europe into a region of good neighbours, an essential element of collective security and co-operation in Europe.

64. Problems of international security are closely linked with problems of disarmament. The achievement of further progress in the sphere of disarmament is an essential condition for relaxation of international relations and the restoration of confidence among States.

65. The conclusion of agreements for genuine disarmament would be the best proof that States did not intend to settle their difficulties by the use or threat of force. Past experience confirms that even the implementation of partial disarmament measures has a favourable influence on the international climate. The past few years have shown that given goodwill, such agreements are possible. Although they are only a start towards the limitation of the arms race, they are a good and encouraging start. At present the question is to prevent backsliding and to ensure that agreements already concluded do not lose their practical value. I have in mind in particular, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)]. We support the Secretary-General's appeal to all States to ratify the Treaty so that it may come into force as soon as possible [see A/7601/Add.1, para. 35].

66. In connexion with disarmament, our country is at present devoting special attention to the question of the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons, and the destruction of such weapons. The particular importance of this problem is brought out convincingly in the report by the Secretary-General of the United Nations.⁵ My delegation hopes that the General Assembly will adopt a decision on the urgent need to conclude a convention on these particularly dangerous and barbarous weapons; this would constitute an outstanding achievement at the present session. As is emphasized in the letter from the nine socialist countries [A/7655], such a decision would be an important contribution to world peace.

67. The list of major international problems which are no closer to a solution is unfortunately very long. High on this list stand questions concerning the complete and final elimination of the colonial system and of under-development in the newly liberated countries.

68. It has frequently been pointed out at the present session that decolonization has come to a halt in recent years. There has been a steady aggravation of colonial oppression and inhuman exploitation of the African peoples, of racism and *apartheid*, and of the cruel methods used against groups and individuals fighting for the rights and freedoms of oppressed peoples in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies. The Governments of these countries not only refuse to implement United Nations resolutions, but treat the most fundamental humanitarian principles with contempt.

⁵ *Chemical and Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons and the Effects of Their Possible Use* (United Nations publication, Sales No : E.69.I.24).

69. One may therefore well ask what it is that prevents the realization of the aims proclaimed ten years ago in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. Do the régimes in South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia really have the power to oppose the historical process of decolonization, the collective will of the international community and the struggle of the oppressed peoples? Of course not. It is not primarily from their national resources that these countries derive the political, financial and military means to preserve colonial régimes in Africa. These means are mainly provided through the assistance and support of a number of imperialist States and leading financial monopolies.

70. In this connexion may I quote statements made by Mr. George Ball, the former United States Under-Secretary of State, according to whom the disintegration of the colonial system would lead to "chaos" and "political weakness" in the world. He speaks of "the perilous passage of more than one billion people from colonial status . . . to juridical independence within the period of two decades". He adds that for the United States, ". . . the demise of colonialism has meant not the interruption but the beginning of world involvement . . .", a process in which it has been propelled onto the power vacuums created by the "withdrawal of Europe".⁶ Therefore, for some countries, the collapse of the colonial system, the struggle for freedom and national independence, the formation of independent States in Africa and in other continents spell a "political vacuum", a "peril" to their interests, and disorder. They do not wish decolonization to proceed to its completion.

71. It is obvious that in order to bring the process of decolonization out of its present state of stagnation, it is necessary for the major Western powers, especially the United States and the United Kingdom, to end their direct or indirect support to reactionary régimes in South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia. It would then not be difficult to make those countries conform to the will of the international community, which demands the final elimination of the infamous colonial system.

72. The United Nations is faced with another important problem: the elimination of the economic backwardness of many countries as a result of prolonged colonial domination. The Secretary-General has said in the introduction to his annual report that "in order to bridge the widening development gap, there must be a sincere willingness on the part of the international community to do so" [A/7601/Add.1, para. 85]. In other words, the existence of a "political will" in all States and Governments is necessary in order to make an effective contribution to the rapid economic and social development of the young States. Has this condition been fulfilled on the eve of the Second United Nations Development Decade?

73. To answer that question it is necessary to consider the present state of international economic co-operation as organized and co-ordinated by the United Nations. This co-ordination can be effective only if its main objective is to remove the obstacles which lie in the developing countries' path towards economic and social progress. Can

⁶ *The Discipline of Power, Essentials of a Modern World Structure*, by George W. Ball. Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1968.

one expect substantial results in this field if many Western countries—the major economic partners of the countries of the third world—continue to consider and treat those countries mainly as sources of cheap raw materials and as objects of exploitation? Policies which impede the progress of final decolonization are also a major obstacle to the ambition of the recently-liberated countries to ensure sufficiently rapid development for their peoples.

74. Within the framework of international activities for development, specific and effective measures must be taken to safeguard the economic interests of the young States. That is the main direction in which the United Nations should channel its action to resolve the problems of under-development. Mere disapproval of neo-colonialist methods and practices in international economic relations is not sufficient. The greatest help which the United Nations could give the countries of the third world would be to assist them in the effective mobilization of their own domestic resources to build an independent national economy.

75. A quarter of a century ago, the United Nations laid down in its Charter the democratic, progressive and humane principles on which the relations between States and peoples should be based. These principles reflected the deepest aspirations of millions of human beings throughout the world who had survived the horrors of a war of extermination, as well as the most ardent desire of the peoples to lay the foundations of a world of security, peace and fruitful co-operation. The most important principles of the Charter of the United Nations require that the solution of international problems should at the same time ensure respect for the interests of all peoples, great and small, regardless of their social and political régime. These principles are the very essence of peaceful coexistence, as defined at the time of the establishment of the first socialist State by Lenin, whose centenary will be celebrated by the peoples of the whole world in 1970. These principles correspond to the present trend in the development of the international community and to the realities of today's world.

76. The Bulgarian people, who recently celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of their socialist Republic, are deeply convinced that a universal and lasting peace is no longer Utopian but is a realizable goal. Our peoples are prepared, as always, to join all other peoples in an effort to reach this goal during this generation, in accordance with the noble principles of the Charter.

77. Mr. AYOUNE (Gabon) (*translated from French*): Madam President, I should like, in my turn, to associate myself with the moving tributes paid by previous speakers to the memory of our former President, Mr. Arenales, whose premature death cast us all into deep sorrow, and to renew to the Guatemalan Government and to the family of Mr. Arenales the deep condolences and sympathy of the Government and people of Gabon.

78. I should next like to express my great satisfaction at seeing so eminent a diplomat as yourself at the head of this Assembly and to convey to you, on my delegation's behalf, our warmest and most sincere congratulations on your

well-deserved election. No doubt your natural modesty would incline you to think that the choice is the result of the strict application of the principle of geographical distribution. In our view, however, it results from loftier considerations and has a double significance: first, a unanimous desire to demonstrate to your country the esteem of all the Governments represented here for its unswerving loyalty to the ideals of the Organization and its tireless efforts to protect them; and also the desire to entrust the guidance of this new and important session to a person whose demonstrated ability and high qualities of intelligence, of courtesy coupled with firmness, are a sure guarantee of the effectiveness and full success of the session. That is why your election, which is an honour to the entire African continent, was received by Gabon with deep satisfaction and pride, for you, Madam President, are the brilliant proof of what African womanhood can accomplish. This desire to succeed must continue to be our primary concern, and you may rest assured that my delegation will co-operate to the full in assisting you to carry out successfully the heavy and delicate mission entrusted to you.

79. If in some circumstances, and sometimes with reason, observers have criticized the academic nature of our work and expressed some scepticism about the value and scope of our activities, the time has come, I consider, to dispel their doubts and to convince them, by the realistic nature of our decisions, of the major and decisive role that the United Nations can and should play in the settlement of world affairs. From the success of our undertakings, hope and confidence, the reserves of which have admittedly been somewhat depleted during the past few years, may be reborn; but the failure of those undertakings would be regarded as an abandonment of the just and the innocent and as a tacit sanctioning of the triumph of dark and evil forces.

80. The time has therefore come for all of us to accept the truth, even if its image is not always welcome to behold, and to abandon the easy course of evasion and sterile hesitation. This awareness becomes an urgent necessity, for since 26 June 1945, when our Charter was signed, the first enthusiasm has gradually been lost and, if the sacred flame which burned so brightly at San Francisco has not yet been extinguished, too many ashes have dimmed its glow.

81. It is true that in joining the Organization, the Member States have undertaken to respect the code of honour that it has laid down and to promote a policy of brotherhood and justice on earth. But the mere acceptance of a rule of morality is not sufficient to defend it. Like cities, ideas need soldiers to protect them. It is our duty to act as these soldiers. If that were not our vocation, we should be witnessing the worsening of an already disturbing situation and a generalization of the despotic and degrading practices which formerly governed relations among men, and some of which have again become current.

82. One of the most important decisions taken by young States of the third world on their accession to independence was to request admission to this body. This haste was not, as some may have thought, the expression of a hollow desire for prestige, but was explained by the vital need to find among friendly and experienced countries the neces-

sary understanding and the solidarity required for the growth of the young States. Such haste was also a mark of the confidence that these newly-born States placed in the great world Powers which, having endured for five years the most terrible ordeal of history, could not, in their view, fail to aspire to peace and to the rediscovery of their past wisdom.

83. Unfortunately, experience has shown that the promises of the early days have not always been kept and that those who were themselves the promoters of our life of international conduct are often those who show the greatest reluctance to follow it. We new countries, which are late-comers to this community of nations and which had placed so much hope in the faithful and generous application of the principles of the Charter, are thus greatly disappointed. But our disappointment does not mean discouragement. Even if temporarily forgotten, the principles adopted at San Francisco remain, and so long as they are not officially denounced, there are still grounds for hope and a chance of salvation. It sometimes suffices for only one hand to hold high the torch for the darkness to be illuminated and for the lost to see the light again.

84. In the face of tyrannies of all kinds, is it not the duty of small countries like ourselves to gather together in a common struggle and to oppose, by our cohesion, the recrudescence of violence and oppression which threatens our existence? Undoubtedly the road will be hard, but faith can move mountains and the moral force of nations is not measured by the size of their armies or the strength of their economies.

85. Gabon celebrated its ninth anniversary only a few weeks ago. Thus it still moves with faltering steps and needs the assistance and friendship of adult countries in order to come of age. But although my country has not had time to attain a stable equilibrium and although the many resources concealed in its soil have not yet all been fully exploited, there are two resources which our people value above all: freedom and peace. The motto of our national party is "Dialogue, tolerance and peace".

86. You will therefore understand the strength of the links which bind us to the United Nations and our desire to preserve its foundations. In carrying out this difficult task, Madam President, we know that we can count on your experience, your courage and your outstanding qualities of heart and mind which will enable you to direct the session that has just opened with skill, wisdom and dignity.

87. We also know and appreciate, in this search for success, the important part played by the Secretary-General and all his colleagues, whose devotion and competence are in all respects worthy of the noble cause they serve. May they find in my words an expression of our gratitude and of our sincere admiration.

88. Among the representatives seated in this hall, some will perhaps find the criticisms I have just made too severe and will reproach me for the harshness of my remarks. But let them be reassured. Unconditional acceptance of the truth does not, for my Government, mean dismay and retreat. I belong to a people who repudiate the deceitful virtue of euphemism; hence my frankness and my desire to

make a statement of fact rather than an indictment. It is in knowing the true worth of an adversary that it becomes most possible to overcome him.

89. We thus have to consider the situation as it is, calmly but vigilantly, and to choose the best remedy for improving it.

90. We must place on the credit side of the Organization's account the great movement of solidarity which, since the Organization's establishment, has made it possible to relieve so much suffering and eliminate so much injustice. All of us have clearly in mind the impressive list of activities of all kinds that the organizations or specialized agencies, over which the United Nations exercises leadership, have carried out in the past and continue patiently to carry out today.

91. Whether it be the spectacular achievements of FAO in modernizing agricultural techniques and driving famine from the earth, the magnificent work of UNESCO in eliminating illiteracy and enabling the illiterate before long to attain the joys offered by culture, the charitable mission of UNICEF in bringing to abandoned children the affection and moral and material assistance of which they are deprived, all this excellent work calls for admiration and testifies to the greatness of man. And if it was necessary, despite these laudable achievements, to persuade the detractors or rally the hesitant, it would suffice to remind them of the names of the great servants who have fallen in battle to ensure the survival of the generous ideal they were engaged in defending.

92. But every harvest has its burden of weeds. Thus our planet, too, seems to us to be full of obstacles which the enthusiasm of men of goodwill encounters and against which it is sometimes broken. In some places, entire populations live under oppression; in others, war prevails with its heart-breaking sequel of insecurity, fear, famine and death. Unconcerned about the terrible and fatal levelling which an outbreak of atomic conflict might bring tomorrow, the great Powers are engaged, with a terrifying detachment, in the game sorcerer's apprentice, devoting the greater part of their resources to the building of a fantastic arsenal capable of reducing thousands of years of civilization to dust in a few minutes. In the face of this deadly force, other nations resign themselves if they are too weak, or, if they have some means at their disposal, succumb to the contagion of this disastrous example and, to protect themselves, forge in turn their own devastating weapons.

93. Nevertheless, this tumult has not succeeded in stifling the ever-increasing number of voices raised everywhere in the attempt to bring this insane activity to a stop. These voices, whether they are raised in Rome, Geneva, Paris, Addis Ababa or elsewhere, speak of justice, brotherhood, human rights and respect for man. But their messages will remain unanswered unless they are taken up by those who wield power and dominate the world.

94. My words are therefore addressed to you, the representatives of the great Powers. Since the beginning of this century you have twice, in less than 25 years, known the horror of a pitiless struggle. Tens of millions of your brothers and friends disappeared in that turmoil. Some of you have seen your territories devastated, your families

obliterated or dispersed and your wealth dissipated. On the morrow of this apocalypse, and to avoid its repetition, you decided to create an international organization founded on the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States and open to all nations, great or small. To bring it into being, you solemnly accorded it a Charter which guaranteed its existence and defined its purposes. May I remind you of them: the maintenance of peace and security, the prevention of threats to the peace, the suppression of acts of aggression, the peaceful settlement of disputes, the development of friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, international co-operation, and promotion of and respect for human rights.

95. Your initiative raised great hopes, and people shaken by five years of folly regained their courage and their zest for life, and found in their national genius the strength needed for their rebirth. This good fruit, however, had a worm of destruction within it. While offering this kingly gift to mankind, you agreed on a partition of the world and laid down the boundary stones of your zones of influence. Thus, the allies of yesterday became adversaries and the earth was split into two opposing camps.

96. As architects of this partition, it is your responsibility today to end it. Why can your present leaders not regain the spirit which was evident in their predecessors at the Moscow Conference in October 1943, or which, the following year, inspired your jurists meeting at Dumbarton Oaks? Do you think that you can bring nearer the day of universal well-being by maintaining permanent and dangerous tensions in the four corners of the earth through your influence or interference?

97. It is true that, by a last-minute stroke of wisdom, your Governments have so far been able to avoid the worst. At their instigation, commitments have been assumed and treaties prepared for signature. But the effort made is still insufficient. To bring about a relaxation of tension, it is not enough for a State to propose that its neighbours should sign an instrument prohibiting the proliferation of nuclear weapons, while it itself jealously hoards a stock of bombs less than half of which would be enough to lay waste the earth.

98. There are no two ways to bring about peace and confidence: that can be accomplished only through total disarmament and the controlled destruction of existing stockpiles. It is for you to take the first step. The prestige of your countries would be enhanced by such a decision and, at last freed from the fear of annihilation, our world would experience a new upsurge. You could then have no misgivings in using freed resources and your powers of persuasion to promote, not terror, but mutual assistance and the greater well-being of the developing nations.

99. The physical and moral misery which shackles three quarters of mankind provides an ideal battleground for your need to conquer. And if the earth is not large enough to satisfy your desire for domination, the cosmos now opens up undreamt of possibilities.

100. In this connexion, we wish to renew our warmest congratulations and sincere admiration to the people of the

United States for their country's fantastic exploit in landing three cosmonauts on the moon for the first time in the history of mankind. That epic achievement, which covers all concerned with glory, opens up new horizons in the conquest of science and technology as well as in that of the universe. In the light of this prodigious cosmic achievement, it is only to be hoped that, at the same time as he pursues the conquest of space, man will harness his energies to the vast effort still to be made in improving living conditions on earth, in particular for the developing countries, and will begin by restoring peace throughout the world wherever men are destroying each other. We believe that the United States potential is quite equal to such an effort.

101. Whatever the differences which separate the ideologies that you defend or the systems that you advocate, there should be some possibility of finding common ground. Not long ago, in order to settle their disputes, leaders responsible for world policy met together to seek compromise solutions. Is your national pride so demanding that you cannot revert to that tradition? Sullenness and threats have never been good methods of persuasion. Conciliation or arbitration, on the other hand, are still well-tried recipes.

102. Some will consider this appeal a mere stylistic exercise. Others will be more generous and see in it a certain ingenuousness. They should realize, however, that for us young, small countries, there is no solution other than agreement among the large nations and the disinterested assistance they can give us.

103. Ever since it attained to independence, Gabon, like other States of the third world, has been working with determination to build a nation. To do so, it must solve the vital problem of its economic and social development. But it knows that the endeavour will be doomed to failure if tomorrow it were condemned to live in isolation. That is why it is glad to belong to the great family of the United Nations and to draw from each session of this Assembly a renewed sense of encouragement. Even if at times relations among Members are not totally cordial, it appreciates the opportunities for contact and dialogue, which constitute so many bulwarks against misunderstanding and violence.

104. As in previous years, my delegation is therefore prepared to play its part in an honest and responsible way and to participate actively in the search for the means of curing or lessening the evils from which our world is suffering, and of righting the dangerous situations which threaten its stability.

105. This declaration of intent leads me quite naturally to the last part of my statement and to a declaration of my Government's views on the grave problems of the times. In doing so, I shall refer to the principle enunciated in Article 1 of the Charter, which will provide the main theme of our debate, namely, the maintenance of peace and security, respect for human dignity and for the right of peoples to self-determination, and international solidarity.

106. Although, during the past year, the two super-Powers have found a *modus vivendi* in peaceful coexistence, despite their desperate struggle at the ideological level and in the economic sphere, no armistice has yet put an end to existing conflicts.

107. There is conflict in some African countries still under the colonial yoke: Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau), where armed liberation movements are fighting the Portuguese occupier.

108. That is also the case in the Middle East, where far from abating, the conflict which broke out two years ago is becoming more serious from day to day and is threatening the security of neighbouring countries, which despite themselves are drawn into this whirlwind of death and destruction.

109. The same is happening in the Far East, where fighting is still raging and negotiations between the opposing sides have not led to any definite settlement.

110. Finally, this is the sad reality in Biafra, where one of the most appalling fratricidal wars has turned a prosperous, well-populated and dynamic country into a land of desolation.

111. The United Nations has not remained inactive in the face of this wave of violence and hatred. Whenever possible, it has come to the aid of the victims and has never ceased to offer its good offices and to renew its appeals for conciliation and arbitration. But goodwill is an ineffectual weapon when the belligerents themselves refuse to use it. Nevertheless, our Organization's mission is to restore harmony on this earth. That is a long-term task which calls for great coolness and perseverance. It is our duty never to lose heart, to display infinite patience and unceasingly to seek formulae that might prove acceptable to the adversaries of the moment. Moreover, here and there, certain signs are somewhat timidly emerging that may perhaps be the harbingers of better days.

112. In Viet-Nam, for instance, the decision to suspend the deadly bombing of the towns in the north and the progressive repatriation of United States soldiers are measures likely to favour the restoration of peace. It is, however, important that the opposing camp should not consider this de-escalation as a sign of weakness and that it should in its turn agree to meet its opponents half-way.

113. Millions of old people, women and children have been waiting too long for their nightmare to be over. It is time to put an end to the futile subtleties and to the jousting which are paralysing the work of the delegations meeting in the Majestic Hotel in Paris. The people now have the floor, those who are primarily concerned and who alone have the right to determine their destiny. It is therefore urgent that the blind destruction should cease and that those responsible for this fearful slaughter should agree to organize elections, the authenticity of which would be guaranteed by the presence of neutral observers and through which the inhabitants could at last make their choice known.

114. This recourse to self-determination should also make it possible to put an end to abnormal situations born of the last world war or of subsequent conflicts. I am thinking in particular of Germany and Korea, whose absence from this Assembly is an affront to the international conscience and whose artificial division, far from corresponding to a political need of our times, is a permanent source of tension

and misunderstanding. The facts seem to suggest that this situation must be considered as irrevocable and definitive. Even were that so, it would be morally unacceptable in so far as it continues to be imposed by force and is not based on a democratic decision resulting from consultation of the entire German people and of the entire Korean people.

115. The problem is different in the case of Israel and the Arab countries, but there too the solution depends on the honest application of a fundamental principle of the Charter of the United Nations, namely, that of the peaceful settlement of disputes.

116. Ever since the establishment of the State of Israel, the United Nations has spared no effort to restore peace in a part of the world which is in a state of constant fever. It dispatched a supervision mission as early as the first confrontation; it set up an international emergency force in 1956; it is still mobilizing the common goodwill and pursuing tireless efforts in all parts of this building to seek some way out of the impasse and to achieve that easing of tension upon which future negotiations depend. Be that as it may, nothing solid can be built so long as the parties involved remain intransigent. It is for them to silence their weapons and accept the reciprocal concessions which might lead to a compromise. One camp must abandon the narrow-minded position in which it has locked itself and recognize the other's right to existence and dignity. This presupposes that the Arab Governments will abandon all xenophobia and undertake, after direct negotiations, to recognize secure and lasting frontiers for the Hebrew State and the rights accorded to it by international law. In return, the other party, Israel, should learn how to master its victory to avoid offending national or religious sensibilities; and it must withdraw from the occupied territories.

117. Instead of this, the conflict has reached a stage where the positions of the belligerents are farther apart than ever and where deadlock seems to have become total. On the one hand, Israel agrees to implement Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, but only on condition that direct negotiations with its opponents guarantee it secure and lasting frontiers. On the other hand, the Arabs are divided into two camps: those who do not even wish to hear of a State of Israel and who think only in terms of its pure and simple disappearance; and those who advocate an enlarged Palestinian State in which the State of Israel would be merged and in which the Israelis would simply form a community of citizens enjoying the same rights as all the Arabs. It is easy to understand that, faced with these alternatives, Israel should react with the force of despair and that, with the bitter memory of similar experiences in the past, it should not be willing to go through them again. How can there be any escape from this inextricable situation except through faithful implementation of the resolution of 22 November 1967? That at least is our view.

118. Since each year we have to revert to the problem of the two Chinas in the context of international security, we should like to reiterate Gabon's position in that respect. We do not deny that the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations is considered by many to be an essential element in the easing of tension and the furtherance of peace in the world. But the Government of Gabon

considers that this is an important question, the implications of which are too serious to be dealt with lightly. As we already stated here last year [1677th meeting], Gabon views this admission with apprehension because of the positions taken by the Peking leaders, their belligerent attitude and their intolerance in ideological matters. They leave us sceptical about their ability to work for peace and the solidarity of peoples regardless of their form of government. Therefore, and since no new element has come to light to cause us to change our position, the Government of Gabon will continue to support the Republic of China, which is moreover a founding Member of the United Nations and whose actions in the service of peace and the solidarity of peoples are exemplary.

119. The constant search for peace that actuates all the members of this Assembly and the Governments they represent is not entirely disinterested. The energy with which we try to extinguish the conflagrations that periodically break out in other people's territories is partly explained by our fear that they will spread to our own territory. But over and above this primitive instinct, a higher motive determines our action: the certainty that, of all the riches in the world, man is the most precious and the most sacred of all. It is therefore our imperative duty to preserve that legacy and to prevent any infringement of man's inalienable right to exist. A year ago, from this same rostrum, I had the honour of elaborating on this thought. In the interests of conciliation, I expressly refrained from mentioning Biafra by name, because at that time there was still hope that agreement might be reached in the coming months. But that has not yet come to pass.

120. Because of its proximity, Gabon is in a position to appreciate the frightful reality of the miseries accumulating from that pitiless struggle. Apart from the 2 million dead in Biafra itself, victims of guns and cannons, of hunger and of the diseases resulting from hunger, during the period of more than two years that this war has been in progress, starving children are continuing to arrive in their thousands in the camps we have set up for their shelter and assistance. Many unfortunately never recover from their physical collapse. In Biafra at this hour, about 2 million people are crowded on a strip of land a few kilometres square, living on three scanty meals a week. This tragedy has aroused a great charitable movement throughout the world. Welfare organizations and men of goodwill are thronging from all parts to lavish help and save thousands of innocent people from destruction. Airmen take off nightly at the risk of their lives to transport tons of food-stuffs and medicines. All of them—UNICEF representatives, Red Cross personnel, members of Caritas Internationalis, pilots, doctors, nurses—deserve the highest praise.

121. This humanitarian activity is, however, only a palliative. If the root of the evil is to be extirpated, there must be a political solution. The African Heads of State, particularly those who were appointed members of the Consultative Committee on Nigeria of the Organization of African Unity, presided over by His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, have exerted untold efforts to find a solution. The resolution adopted on 9 September by the last summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity at Addis Ababa marked an advance on the earlier resolutions, the first adopted at Kinshasa in September

1967 and the second at Algiers in September 1968, because it invited the two parties to the conflict to cease hostilities and to engage immediately in negotiations to find a solution which would bring peace to Nigeria as soon as possible. The resolution made the mistake, however, of again setting as a prior condition the acceptance of Nigerian unity by Biafra.

122. It is inconceivable that a people which has been fighting courageously for more than two years to guarantee its security within a social framework of its own choice and which has sacrificed 2 million lives in that cause could accept a pre-condition tantamount to unconditional surrender. Furthermore, such a pre-condition does not seem to us indispensable, inasmuch as the Biafran authorities have clearly indicated that, although they cannot accept such a provision in the text of the resolution, they are nevertheless ready to discuss the political future of Nigeria during negotiations. We believe that the unity of Nigeria, which remains a point of fundamental disagreement between the two parties when posed as a pre-condition, could embrace a variety of unitary systems among which the two camps might, after negotiations and with a little goodwill, find one upon which they can agree.

123. All that remains to be done therefore is to encourage the two parties to cease hostilities immediately and to start negotiations. We believe that the moment has come for the United Nations to take up the matter and to exert pressure on the belligerents. The Organization cannot evade this obligation by claiming that this is strictly an African problem, requiring an African solution, since it has been proved that the continuation of this war is largely due to the intervention in the conflict of Powers foreign to Africa which are delivering arms to both camps.

124. We have already said elsewhere that if the Nigerians want at all costs to preserve the unity of their country through war, they could no doubt ultimately succeed in doing so. But then they must resign themselves to the inevitable consequence, which is as paradoxical as it is unthinkable: the total extermination of the Ibos, who have resolved to die to the last man rather than continue to live within the present Federation. Then territorial unity will have been maintained only through the complete elimination of one of the human elements from which it derives its interest and its value, that is to say at the price of an act of genocide which may not be deliberate, but is accepted as a condition of final victory.

125. We do not think that the Nigerians see things in this way. Let them then decide to cease hostilities and negotiate with the Biafrans, without any prior conditions. That is the only reasonable position.

126. In the same context of the right of man to freedom and dignity and the right of peoples to self-determination, I explained a year ago from this rostrum Gabon's attitude to the situation in some parts of Africa which are still under colonial domination, and to the policy pursued by white communities in some other areas where they rule by force black communities with which they are compelled by the vicissitudes of history to live together for ever.

127. At that time, I did not fail to express my pessimism regarding the effectiveness of the methods used to bring

about a change in those regions, a change favourable to the aspirations of the African peoples who want to see their human dignity and the primacy of their rights as the natural inhabitants of this continent respected. A year later, I am bound to conclude that my pessimism at that time was fully justified. The facts show that there has been no evolution favourable to our desires. During the last year, the situation has remained stationary where it has not deteriorated, as it has ever since we have been resorting to the same methods of action, such as loud condemnations made from this rostrum or elsewhere, inflammatory speeches or threatening resolutions against those who, in our opinion, can only be brought closer to our point of view through a fundamental change in their outlook.

128. In these circumstances, we think that a new strategy should be contemplated in order to attain our objectives and that it is high time to give up methods which have proved manifestly ineffective in order to bring about this change of outlook which will make it easier for the other side to reach an understanding with us, especially since there are groups among them with opinions similar to ours, with whom we might consider new forms of action.

129. Therefore, until we join together to work out and implement this new strategy, Gabon no longer intends to associate itself with the vote on any resolution which is submitted to the Assembly on the subject and which is bound to remain a dead letter.

130. Ideological, racial or religious considerations are sometimes—as we have just seen—at the root of present conflicts. But the main cause of insecurity in the world is above all the economic and social inequality separating the well-provided countries from the developing countries. This flagrant injustice leads to bitterness and jealousy among the “have nots” and carries with it the risk of an explosion, with unforeseeable consequences.

131. The United Nations immediately understood the danger of such a situation and, to correct it, has adopted a policy of international understanding and solidarity. It has established many specialized agencies and bodies to assist the third world and, as early as 1962, instituted the United Nations Development Decade [*General Assembly resolution 1710 (XVI)*]. Later, the consolidation of the former Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance [*General Assembly resolution 2029 (XX)*] has made possible, through a more unified management, the institution of a vast multilateral pre-investment assistance programme. At the same time, the establishment in 1966 of the United Nations Capital Development Fund and the stress laid at that time on the need for industrialization as a basis for economic and social progress have given rise to great hopes among under-developed countries.

132. Gabon has already received appreciable support which, together with that granted it by the European Development Fund, and above all the French *Fonds d'aide et de coopération* (Fund for assistance and co-operation), has enabled it to make a start on the process which should result in full economic independence and completion of the infrastructural projects provided for in its first plan. However, despite this promising beginning, it is still conscious of the precarious state of its economy which, like

that of other young States, is dependent on exports and consequently subject to the hard law of a market characterized for several years by a constant deterioration of the terms of trade.

133. All attempts so far made to check this disastrous trend have met with only moderate success. The first session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development⁷ ended in near failure, since the great Powers refused to grant the under-developed countries the advantages which would have enabled them to meet international competition. The second session of that Conference⁸ merely confirmed the same selfish attitude, the representatives of the rich nations having shown only slight interest in the programme worked out by the representatives of the third world a few months before at the meeting of the “Group of 77”.⁹ More recently, UNCTAD’s work has ended in an admission of failure, since the parties involved have been unable to reach agreement on measures to improve their co-operation.

134. It is to be feared that this situation will further deteriorate during the coming months. One of its main causes lies in the difficulties now facing the industrialized countries because of the spread of inflation and the resulting disorganization of the international monetary system. At first, inflation works to the advantage of the developing countries because it results in increased demand for the raw materials and tropical products they supply. But its illusory nature becomes quickly evident. It forces Governments to adopt restrictive measures, to limit the convertibility of their currency, to make budgetary economies, often to the detriment of financial assistance, and to retreat into a narrow protectionism which slows down demand and is highly prejudicial to producing States. This policy of “each for himself” is gaining more and more adherents as each country seeks to export more and import less.

135. The gap between the living conditions of the well-provided and ill-provided countries is thus broadening alarmingly. Every day uncertainty about the future, and the ensuing anxiety, are more deeply felt. That anxiety was proclaimed with courage and lucidity in a statement made by His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia on the fiftieth anniversary of the International Labour Organization, when he said:

“Such strife, disparities in wealth, inequalities among members of the same human family and stark injustice can only breed bitterness and ill-feeling which, if left unchecked, may explode with incalculable consequences.

“The reason for a plea for a concerted supreme effort and sacrifice towards the realization of a saner and less self-seeking socio-economic global structure in the interests of mankind at large, when seen within its proper perspective must, therefore, be self-evident.

“... Then, and then alone, will we have courageously arisen in concert to the supreme challenge and abundant opportunity of our times.

⁷ Held at Geneva from 23 March to 16 June 1964.

⁸ Held at New Delhi from 1 February to 29 March 1968.

⁹ Ministerial Meeting of the Group of Seventy-seven Developing Countries, held at Algiers from 10 to 25 October 1967.

“It is then alone that we will be entitled to claim that our actions and our endeavours will be justified before history and posterity as having served the paramount cause of world peace and the well-being of mankind.”¹⁰

136. To recapitulate, the sum of the objectives set out in the programme of our Organization, aimed at building an era of justice, peace and happiness in the world by promoting the establishment of institutions and activities designed to ensure the protection and respect of the human individual in his dignity and rights, solidarity among men and co-operation among peoples, is far from having been attained.

137. Despite the accumulated difficulties, despite the failures, there is, however, an element of consolation and reassurance: there is still a resolute will to work for these objectives on the part of organizations, both international and inter-African, and on that of Member States particularly enamoured of peace and animated by philanthropic sentiments and a co-operative spirit. It is this will which inspires action to restore peace in the Middle East, Viet-Nam and Nigeria, to fight colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism in order to liberate all the territories still under colonial domination, to eliminate racism and racial discrimination from human society. It is the same will which underlies the action to develop and encourage the spirit of solidarity among men and of co-operation among peoples. It is this will which is being exerted to ensure the success of the Second United Nations Development Decade in order to eliminate economic inequalities between nations. So long as this will remains active, mankind can still hope for a better future.

138. Mr. KOINANGE (Kenya): Madam President, it is with particular pleasure that I extend to you our warm congratulations and greetings on your election to the high office of the Presidency of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly. My delegation is naturally proud that an African is presiding over this important session of the Assembly. That this African should be an illustrious daughter of Africa marks this event as indeed historic. My delegation is confident that under your able and experienced leadership the twenty-fourth session of the Assembly will make significant progress towards the realization of the ideals of the United Nations Charter.

139. I should also like to express my delegation's deep regret at the passing away of our last President, His Excellency Mr. Emilio Arenales. He served his country, Guatemala, well and as President of the twenty-third session of the Assembly he received the admiration of all delegations for the tireless manner in which he conducted the proceedings of the General Assembly. Guatemala in particular and the international community in general have lost a man of wide experience and ability. His absence in our midst leaves a gap which will be felt for a long time.

140. I should like to thank you, Madam President, for your kind words of sympathy to the Government and people of Kenya regarding the recent tragic death of our late Minister for Economic Planning and Development, Mr. Tom Mboya. We also thank all those delegations that

have expressed similar sentiments, both in this forum and outside.

141. As we start this new session of the Assembly, we have no cause for rejoicing. The perennial problems that beset us last year are still with us today; some of those questions have actually become worse. It is to African questions that I should like to turn first.

142. In Rhodesia, South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Namibia, the totalitarian and fascist régimes are tightening their stranglehold over the defenceless majority of Africans. We are in fact witnesses to a tragedy of rare dimensions being played out before our very eyes.

143. The Government of Kenya has consistently condemned all forms of discrimination and exploitation, whether on grounds of religion, colour, class or creed. We believe that this is an era of interdependence and international co-operation and goodwill. We regard racialism as the antithesis to those ideals, and prejudicial to international peace and security. The régimes that foster and nourish the concept of racial superiority will live to regret their action, because the world is moving towards integration, not segregation, towards non-racialism, not racialism, towards understanding and co-operation, not intolerance and isolation. The régimes in southern Africa are unwittingly doing themselves a great disservice. Rather than defending time-honoured values of civilization, they are snuffing them out and dangerously generating racial wars in southern Africa.

144. By the illegal extension of its régime to the Territory of Namibia in defiance of the General Assembly's resolution of 27 October 1966 [2145 (XXI)], terminating its Mandate over that Territory, South Africa is guilty of a betrayal of trust. Its continued violation of the resolution therefore constitutes an act of illegal occupation. So far, Security Council resolution 269 (1969), of 12 August 1969, calling on South Africa to withdraw its administration by 4 October 1969, has not been implemented. The Security Council must therefore take effective measures to meet that challenge.

145. The illegal annexation of Namibia by the Pretoria fascist régime is an open challenge to this august body. It must therefore be faced and eradicated at all costs. When once fascism under Hitler and Mussolini threatened Europe, the major Powers set aside all their ideological differences and fought against it to victory. Today, fascist régimes in South Africa, Angola, Mozambique and Namibia are preventing any wind of change. My delegation, therefore, appeals to this Organization to rise in unity and set Africa free. It is thus imperative that Security Council resolution 269 (1969) of 12 August 1969 is implemented, not only to eliminate fascism from Namibia, but also to prevent its expansion to neighbouring countries.

146. Meanwhile, the racist régime of Pretoria continues to pursue its policy of *apartheid* against all the 15,170,000 non-Europeans, in defiance of the conscience of mankind. That policy is being implemented with increased ruthlessness and impunity. The United Nations has constantly condemned this atrocious practice as a flagrant disregard of the principles of the United Nations Charter and the

¹⁰ International Labour Conference, 53rd session (Geneva), *Record of Proceedings*, tenth special sitting, held on 11 June 1969.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We should no longer take comfort in resolutions and verbal condemnations. We believe that now is the time for all of us to throw our weight behind the forces of freedom and justice.

147. My Government has been profoundly disturbed by the recent events in Zimbabwe. We have ceaselessly condemned the illegal and terrorist régime of Ian Smith since his unilateral declaration of independence in November 1965. Kenya neither recognizes the referendum nor any other device to which that régime might resort in its vain and desperate bid to legitimize itself. It is our contention that no constitutional trickery by a certain European minority in Rhodesia can erase the stamp of illegality that has been imprinted on it by the entire world.

148. As regards the selective mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia, the whole world has been doubtful about their efficacy. The international community was led to believe that it would be a matter of weeks before the rebels were brought to their knees. Today the weeks have run into months and months into years.

149. The scheme of sanctions was sabotaged by the collusion of South Africa and Portugal, which decided to help the rebel régime on condition that they should have strategic military bases, be guaranteed an outlet for European population and unlimited use of all potential resources in that area. The United Kingdom has issued a guarantee to Ian Smith that Britain will never lift a finger against the Europeans out there. It is evident that the sanctions can be effective only if they are applied to both South Africa and Portugal and are scrupulously observed by all Members of this august body.

150. The situation in Rhodesia has reached a crucial point. Smith is on the threshold of declaring the colony of Rhodesia a republic for the 400,000 Europeans, and will soon start lobbying for a seat for the representation of those Europeans in this very Assembly. My Government insists that the principle of "No independence before majority rule" should be adhered to and implemented. We continue to hold Britain legally, morally and politically responsible for the fate of the 4,410,000 African people in Zimbabwe. We believe that there is still an opportunity for Britain, as the administering colonial Power, to take the necessary action and to translate its *de jure* authority into a living reality. It has done that in other parts of Africa; why not in Rhodesia?

151. Portugal, through its outmoded colonialism, stubbornly persists in calling the territories of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) its overseas provinces. This is a fiction to hoodwink the world by pretentious claims to what is, and will always remain, an integral part of Africa. Portugal on its own has proved unable to maintain peace in those territories, let alone develop them. After all, why is it that the 13 million inhabitants of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) are not here with us today as Members of this Organization? The obvious answer is that the NATO countries are in collusion with Portugal to barter African freedom and the right of self-determination for short-lived economic benefits.

152. We appeal to Portugal and its NATO allies to cease suppressing and frustrating the African struggle for indepen-

dence in human dignity and to set Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) free.

153. In this regard, and as a manifestation of the goodwill of the African States, the Organization of African Unity, at its sixth session,¹¹ recently adopted the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa, to promote liberation and co-operation in southern Africa. It is our ardent hope therefore that that historic manifesto will inspire Portugal, South Africa and their allies to work for freedom and dignity not only in southern Africa but throughout the world.

154. I should like to turn to the Middle East, an area which is currently trapped in a cycle of human conflict and suffering. Our contacts with this area date from ancient times. It is therefore out of a sense of deep sadness that we see the spectacle of great fierce fighting engulfing our friends there.

155. Commendable peace efforts have been initiated since the war of June 1967. The Security Council adopted the resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)], which was intended to be actually a basis of settlement. It is most disappointing that the resolution has not been implemented. The Jarring mission, which was entrusted to bring a dialogue, peace and conciliation to the Middle East, has not achieved any concrete results. The talks between the "big four" Powers in New York, and all the other efforts, though covering important ground, have not been successful. The policy of the Government of Kenya remains unchanged: the achievement of a peaceful settlement on the basis of the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967. Kenya welcomes any constructive effort intended to bring about immediate peace and stability in the Middle East.

156. As regards Viet-Nam, my Government's policy equally remains one of negotiated political settlement under which, without external interference, the people of Viet-Nam as a whole would determine their destiny. Although there are some hopeful developments, like the Paris peace talks and the phased withdrawal of troops from the theatre of war, heavy fighting and human suffering continue. My delegation believes that this withdrawal of troops is a constructive effort towards peace and it hopes that such efforts will be pursued and continued until lasting peace is restored to Viet-Nam.

157. It is indeed disturbing to realize that although this international body is just about to celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary, we have not even begun to disarm. All the measures that have so far been taken appear to be designed to freeze an existing situation—that is, to maintain the *status quo* in the level of armaments. An important aspect of this "freezing" stage of disarmament is the cessation of underground nuclear tests. This would be a major step in slowing the arms race. In this regard my delegation would like to pay special tribute to the determined and sustained efforts of the Government of Sweden in seeking an honourable and acceptable formula that would permit the cessation of underground testing. The indication of co-operation by the Governments of the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom in the exchange of seismic data is a significant step forward. We appeal to the

¹¹ Held from 6 to 9 September 1969.

big Powers to re-examine their attitude so that a comprehensive test-ban treaty may be concluded during the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

158. Needless to say, the United Nations Development Programme has been an important channel of international co-operation. We in Kenya should like to register our appreciation of the assistance we have received and are still receiving under this Programme; and in response to the Secretary-General's appeal, the Kenya Government has decided to increase its annual contribution to the United Nations Development Programme.

159. On the question of relationships between some United Nations bodies concerned with economic development, I should like to say that when the Economic Commission for Africa was established in 1958, the majority of African countries were still colonial and thus could not contribute substantially concerning decisions which affected their economic destiny. Today, the majority of African States are free and would like to feel that the Economic Commission for Africa is given the respect and recognition it deserves. Since the whole United Nations family of organizations is working towards the same goal, the highest premium should be attached to consultation and co-operation within the family.

160. The Economic Commission for Africa has now come of age. It possesses an accumulation of specialized knowledge of the material and human problems of the African region which should, we feel, be fully utilized. The scope of its activity, as presently constituted, is indeed limited. Kenya therefore supports the proposal for the designation of the Commission as a participating and executing agency for certain UNDP activities.

161. Like other Governments, we recognize that the development of our country is primarily the responsibility of our people. We shall be the principal beneficiaries and, in the long run, we must expect to bear the greater part of the burden. Hence our heavy reliance on self-help schemes. In order to close the gap between ourselves and the rich countries, we shall need more than words from the developed countries, whose response has been slow in coming.

162. In spite of the recommendations of the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development,¹² the flow of financial resources from the rich countries has not increased. The minimum target of 1 per cent of gross national product to be transferred to the poor countries remains largely a mirage, in spite of increased gross national product in developed countries. Of equal importance is the question of better terms and conditions for the transfer of finance, for unfavourable terms could very easily cancel out any apparent increase in the volume of finance transferred. Unless we all change our attitude, the outlook for the transfer of financial resources is anything but encouraging.

163. "Trade not aid" has been a popular slogan for quite a while, and we from the developing countries have placed

maximum emphasis on better trading opportunities since the first session of UNCTAD. We have in the main pleaded for easier access of primary commodities to markets of the developed countries and, as assistance to our very young industries, the granting of preferences, for imports of our manufactured goods and processed agricultural products. Actually, my delegation feels strongly that what the developing countries need is both trade and aid.

164. With this in view, the question of synthetic substitutes which have seriously affected the economy of developing countries as producers of primary agricultural commodities must be re-examined. Synthetics have been growing in both number and quality and have become a dangerous threat to producers of primary products, for example synthetic cocoa, rubber, fibres, pyrethrum, etc. For us in Kenya, the most immediate threat concerns sisal and pyrethrum. We know that a wide range of products are subject to extensive research in the sophisticated laboratories of industrial countries. While not wishing to put a brake on the march of science and technology, we feel that it is incumbent upon us to call into question the great extent of synthetic production. They not only hurt us; they are beginning to strangle us and are gradually removing our economic interdependence. My delegation, therefore, appeals for a programme of international co-operation to be instituted in order to accelerate the diversification of the economies of the developing countries.

165. The time is now long overdue for reviewing the structure, powers and procedures of the United Nations. After 24 years, during which the membership of the United Nations has more than doubled, it is necessary to review the machinery and procedures for implementing the purposes and principles of the Charter. Article 109 of the Charter in fact provided for a general conference to review the Charter after 10 years, but unfortunately this was never held. It would indeed be fitting, as we celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, that such a review should be undertaken to see how the Charter could better meet the hopes and aspirations of humanity in a rapidly changing world. In this connexion, it is necessary that the Statute of the International Court of Justice should also be reviewed, particularly with a view to affording a fair and equitable distribution of seats on the Court, if the Court is to reflect correctly an over-all juridical point of view.

166. I wish to reiterate the faith of the Government and people of Kenya in the United Nations. Though admittedly not perfect, it does represent mankind's only hope and opportunity to evolve an international order based on peace, co-operation and justice. As we prepare to enter the twenty-fifth year, let us all rededicate ourselves to true allegiance to the United Nations Charter and all that it symbolizes for mankind.

167. I should like to conclude by saying that we should collectively appeal to the Governments of South Africa and Portugal, as we celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, to come with us as trusted Members and not as enemies of the very justice that we are fighting for.

168. Mr. CAGLAYANGIL (Turkey) (*translated from French*): Madam President, it gives me great pleasure to extend to you my hearty congratulations upon your

¹² See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Second Session*, vol. I and Corr. I and Add. I, Report and Annexes (United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.68.II.D.14), annex I, decision 27 (II).

election as President of the General Assembly. We have a very full agenda, perhaps too full and the present session of the Assembly is no better off than preceding sessions with regard to the crises and the violence that continue to poison the atmosphere of international relations. In the circumstances, we have the difficult task of engaging in useful and fruitful discussions on questions directly affecting peace and security and of focusing our attention on economic problems of an urgent nature. It is thus with the prospect of much hard work before us that your talent, your experience of the United Nations and of international affairs and your personal charm will be called upon to guide our debates to a successful conclusion. Your election has certainly another significance: it is evidence of the ever-increasing role played by the dynamism of the African continent in the field of international politics. I wish to assure you of my delegation's whole-hearted support in the performance of your important duties.

169. I also wish to associate myself with the tributes paid by several speakers to the memory of the late President, Mr. Emilio Arenales. I need not repeat what has already been said regarding his qualities, which have always been universally admired. In Mr. Arenales, Guatemala has lost a distinguished statesman and the United Nations a faithful servant of the cause of peace and international understanding.

170. The establishment of an international order based on law and justice is still the main subject of our interventions. The United Nations continues to be a meeting place where we air our complaints rather than a forum where the individual efforts of our Governments are harmonized to deal with the various problems threatening our peace, tranquillity and conscience. This discouraging observation at least has the advantage of showing us the way in which we should direct our efforts in order to make this Organization the guardian of peace and international stability.

171. Unfortunately, the bane of our time is not our failure to recognize the danger involved in recourse to force, injustice, discrimination and suspicion everywhere, but rather our inability to provide effective remedies commensurate with the seriousness of our problems. We must bow to facts: the Organization will never be able to perform the functions assigned to it in the Charter as long as relations between countries are not guided by the ideals and principles laid down together with these functions. The succession of disappointments we have suffered is no more than the consequence of discordant and divergent attitudes.

172. However, I do not wish to seem pessimistic. Fortunately, there are certain new developments which are indicative of a more promising outlook. Indeed, some critical problems seem to have become less acute, even if they have not yet been solved. My meaning is that if we are to attain the objective of mankind, that of universal peace and stability, we must all strive to eliminate the sources of tension and prevent the formation of others, while seeking out those areas which lend themselves to fruitful co-operation within the community of nations. This, of course, requires a positive and constructive approach towards problems whose solution depends in the first place on the spontaneous and willing co-operation of all countries. It is

precisely the absence of this essential element which is at the root of many of the disturbing situations and upheavals that endanger peace and stability.

173. It is distressing to find that some of our problems are anachronisms in this age, of which one of the most characteristic features is the emancipation of man and the recognition of the right of peoples freely to determine their own destiny. We are saddened to note that, in practice, respect for the rights of man, the basis of liberty, justice and peace in the world, still leaves much to be desired. There are still to be found on our planet repugnant practices based on discrimination on account of race, colour or religion. In our day these practices constitute an inadmissible denial of fundamental human rights.

174. Turkey, which has just been elected to the Commission on Human Rights, is very glad to be able to take an active part in the constructive work of this Commission, whose aim is to bring about universal and effective respect for the dignity of the individual.

175. I have more than once had an opportunity to speak on the question of the elimination of colonialism since the adoption of the Declaration on decolonization, of which Turkey is proud to have been a sponsor and of which we will be celebrating the tenth anniversary next year. We must persevere in this course and continue to exert unremitting efforts in order to bring colonialism to an end as quickly as possible.

176. Vestiges of colonialism are mainly to be found in the southern part of the African continent. The conscience of mankind rejects the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination practised by the Government of South Africa, which is giving a most objectionable example of the enslavement of peoples by refusing to grant Namibia its independence despite all the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The United Nations Council for Namibia, of which Turkey is a member, has once again drawn the attention of the Security Council to the seriousness of the situation in this part of Africa. It is regrettable that the Government of South Africa does not seem prepared to respond to the appeal made to it by the Security Council to withdraw its administration from Namibia before 4 October 1969 [see resolution 269 (1969)].

177. Another distressing example of colonialism is provided by the illegal racist and minority régime of Southern Rhodesia. Turkey has scrupulously applied the measures prescribed by the Security Council against this inhuman régime, which has just carried out a farcical referendum of which the outcome was known in advance. I need hardly add that the constitution that emerged from this so-called referendum and which aims at the consolidation of the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia is not legally valid.

178. Our Organization must pursue its untiring efforts and adopt the appropriate measures so that the people of Zimbabwe may achieve their independence.

179. I trust I shall not be trying the patience of the Assembly if I dwell rather fully on the situation in the Middle East, where the conflict has definitely taken a turn for the worse, particularly recently. In fact, we are

witnessing an increase in tension along the cease-fire line which has given rise to deep concern among all those who hope to see peace restored in the region as soon as possible. The frequent clashes between the armed forces of the parties concerned have tended to take on the dimensions of full-scale military operations.

180. It would be a mistake to view the violence in the region solely in the light of violations of the Security Council's cease-fire resolutions. I do not believe that appeals for moderation can really suffice to maintain calm as long as efforts to facilitate a solution to the conflict do not hold out hope of an early settlement.

181. The burning of the Al Aqsa mosque has added a very critical element to an already alarming situation. This sacrilegious act has plunged the Moslems of the world into a state of great emotion and deep sorrow and has certainly further emphasized the need to do everything possible to solve this conflict, which renders the Middle East an explosive region. At this stage it would not be proper to make any accusation, but it is difficult to absolve the country occupying the Arab part of Jerusalem of responsibility for an act committed in a place under its military jurisdiction. It is all the more regrettable that this country continues to ignore the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council calling upon it to rescind all measures that would have the effect of altering the status of the city of Jerusalem.

182. In this connexion, it is worth recalling here the statement issued by the Conference of Heads of State held in the capital of Morocco barely a week ago.¹³ This statement not only drew attention to the emotion aroused in the Moslem world by the burning of the Al Aqsa mosque but also once again highlighted the urgency of achieving a just and fair solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

183. A year ago I stated in the General Assembly that continued occupation of Arab territories and the non-application of the General Assembly resolutions concerning Jerusalem constituted a serious threat to both the stability of the region and world peace. Today I will repeat the statement with even greater emphasis. If the main objective is the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which would pave the way to normal relations among the countries of the region, it is obvious that the fait accompli and the acquisition of territory through the use of armed force are not the correct methods for attaining this objective. Let us hope that the recent deterioration of the situation in general and the burning of the Al Aqsa mosque in particular will induce us to redouble our efforts to end the deadlock in the Middle East conflict.

184. Fortunately we have a valuable basis for a political settlement in the shape of the Security Council resolution [242 (1967)]. I wish here to express my Government's support for the steps taken by the Governments of four permanent members of the Security Council. These two-Power and four-Power talks are for us a source of hope and a sign that the possibilities of achieving a solution are not yet foreclosed. We have noted with satisfaction that the United States and the Soviet Union are making renewed

efforts to achieve a settlement of the Middle East conflict. These steps could insure the success of Mr. Jarring's mission, provided the countries directly affected by the conflict also lend their support.

185. I also wish to make a few remarks on a subject of direct concern to Turkey: the question of Cyprus. More than a year has elapsed since the beginning of talks between the two communities of Cyprus. The purpose of these talks is to seek out and explore the basis for a return to normal conditions and to constitutional order on the island. We believe that this dialogue should have a successful outcome, since the future of Cyprus closely depends on complete agreement between the two elements of the island and on their fair and balanced participation in all the activities of an independent State.

186. To this end, the two communities must show understanding and tolerance towards one another in order to prepare the basis for an administration of the State of Cyprus that would be founded on mutual respect for their separate identities as national communities. If one of the parties should develop the illusion that it had a monopoly of wisdom and reason and expect the other party to make all the concessions, it must be recognized that such a state of mind is not conducive to achieving a solution. I believe that in the light of the lessons of the past, Greece and Turkey have a great responsibility to see to it that the two communities of Cyprus are not tempted to adopt such a fruitless attitude.

187. The restoration of confidence and the preservation of security are essential for the progress of the talks now under way. Consequently, we believe that the United Nations Force in Cyprus must be maintained at its most effective level. I should once again like to thank the Secretary-General and other United Nations authorities for their constructive interest in the question of Cyprus, and also to thank the Governments that have contributed to the formation and operations of the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus.

188. The conflict in Viet-Nam continues to be a source of concern to the world. Although the Paris talks have not yet produced tangible results, the marked reduction in the level of military operations is certainly creating an atmosphere more propitious to the search for a solution. The steps taken by the United States Government are likely to facilitate such a process. I believe that all Governments with a particular interest in the re-establishment of peace and stability in this part of the world should support the efforts aimed at ending the conflict.

189. The question of disarmament continues to be a cause for serious concern. The final objective, which is general and complete disarmament under international control, is no longer even taken up directly. Due to the continuing armaments race, particularly in the field of nuclear weapons, all mankind is subject to a danger without precedent in history. It must be recognized that the results of the efforts thus far deployed to halt this race, sincere though they may have been, are somewhat meagre in comparison with the magnitude and urgency of the problem. Even in those areas where we were able to register some progress, much remains to be done to complete the task.

¹³ Conference of Islamic Heads of State, held at Rabat from 22 to 25 September 1969.

190. The partial nuclear test-ban treaty remains to be completed by the extension of the ban to underground testing. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*], which is the most recent, cannot prove its worth unless it receives a greater number of accessions and unless the nuclear countries themselves are able to reach agreement on certain restrictive measures directly affecting their nuclear arsenals. I hasten to add that the contacts now taking place between the United States and the Soviet Union with a view to the opening of negotiations on the limitation of strategic nuclear arms give us ground for hope in this connexion.

191. My Government appreciates and supports the trend that is gaining ground towards the prevention of the spread of armaments into areas that we have not yet been contaminated. An important step in this direction was the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies [*resolution 2222 (XXI)*]. Work is in progress on another equally important matter, instructive efforts are being made to ensure the utilization of the sea-bed and the ocean floor for exclusively peaceful purposes and the exploitation of those areas for the well-being of all mankind. Such action meets the desire to forestall activities that it might prove impossible to prevent later on, and it also opens up prospects for fruitful co-operation in the interests of the community of nations.

192. Nor is there any doubt that we should direct our knowledge in the field of chemistry and biology solely to the well-being of mankind. Consequently, while we favour wider accession to the 1925 Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, we also hope that complementary arrangements will be made to reinforce the ban provided for in that Protocol. We are highly gratified by certain steps taken to this effect.

193. In this connexion, I should like to underline the growing role being played at Geneva by the Committee on Disarmament as the forum for dealing with questions of disarmament. The increase in the number of the Committee's members from 18 to 26 is in accord with the general desire that its composite membership should be adopted to take account of the intensified interest in its work.

194. Where disarmament is concerned, our balance sheet is far from satisfactory and we are aware of the obstacles that must be overcome before we cover the distance that separates us from our final goal. But given the results thus far achieved, we remain convinced of both the necessity and the usefulness of pursuing our efforts unflinchingly. In any event mankind has no alternative but to overcome the challenge posed by these ultimate weapons of its own creation.

195. After these remarks of a political nature, I wish now to make some brief comments on problems in another equally important sphere, namely, international co-operation in the economic field, a subject on which various opinions have already been expressed.

196. The determination of developing countries to achieve economic and social development is well known. This

determination, which is general throughout the developing world, should surely be reflected and implanted in the work of the Organization. In this respect we note that promising and significant developments have taken place in recent years. Indeed, even now, the Preparatory Committee for the Second United Nations Development Decade is at work drawing up the International Development Strategy for the next 10 years. Every one of the States Members of the Organization, whether developed or developing, has a duty to assist in bringing this undertaking to a successful conclusion, for it is not only the prosperity and happiness of the majority of mankind that is at stake, but the very foundations of peace and stability.

197. We are faced with the alternative: we will either muster the requisite political will and adopt the necessary policies, in both developed and developing countries, to ensure a satisfactory rate of progress or we will run the risk of anarchy, the result of unfulfilled hopes and chronic frustration. There is no question that the main responsibility for the economic development of developing countries lies with those countries themselves. However, their efforts in this direction need strong encouragement and support from the developed countries.

198. In this inter-dependent world of ours it is time to redouble our efforts to co-operate in promoting economic and social development. The unprecedented affluence of the industrialized countries makes it possible for them to set aside the necessary resources for this purpose. Science and technology, moreover, continue to provide man with the most effective tools to overcome age-old obstacles. In addition to bilateral procedures, the Organization itself is provided with various institutional mechanisms for the channelling of assistance to developing countries. If we succeed in reaching a substantial degree of agreement on the policy measures to be adopted within the framework of the International Development Strategy, and if we have the imagination and perception to implement those measures, we shall surely reach an historic milestone in international co-operation.

199. The Turkish delegation draws great satisfaction from the knowledge that the problems of the deteriorating human environment are finally receiving due attention from the United Nations. Problems of such vast proportions need to be dealt with on a world-wide scale, and we believe that the United Nations is in a good position to set up the framework and procedure necessary for co-ordinated international action in this field.

200. In Turkey, we are engaged in preparations for the forthcoming United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, scheduled for 1972, and we are in favour of the Conference being held in Sweden, the country which took the praiseworthy initiative of bringing the question before the United Nations.

201. The Organization's activities in such fields as economic development, population, the human environment, human rights, the peaceful uses of outer space, the exploitation of the resources of the sea-bed are not only in line with the objectives of the United Nations but also open up new vistas for international co-operation. I believe that our faith in the United Nations will have been amply

justified and rewarded by our achievements in the pursuit of these economic and social objectives.

202. A new era has dawned. The dream of conquering the universe, which has captivated man's imagination for centuries, has just become reality. The brave American astronauts, symbols of man's ingenuity, have set foot on the moon. Modern science and technology have once again proved that the genius of man knows no bounds in the attainment of his objectives. The recent spectacular success in the field of science would, however, be much more gratifying if man, who has just set off for the conquest of space, could also place the same ingenuity at the service of mankind for the solution of his political, economic, social and humanitarian problems.

203. Ironic though it may be, this remark leads me to nurse the well-founded hope that we shall achieve a better world than the one in which we are now living. I am sure that through goodwill, common sense and perseverance we shall succeed in building the better world to which we all aspire.

204. Mr. ENVELA-MAKONGO (Equatorial Guinea) (*translated from Spanish*): Madam President, it is both an honour and a privilege for me to be able to convey to you, on behalf of my Government, my delegation and on my own personal behalf, our sincere congratulations on your election to preside over this Assembly, in particular because you are a woman and an African.

205. I should not like to continue my statement without pausing to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Emilio Arenales, who with his tact and ability was able to guide the last session of the General Assembly to a successful conclusion. We should like to express our deepest condolences to the delegation of Guatemala, a Latin country to which we consider ourselves linked by common cultural ties inherited from Spain.

206. On behalf of my Government, I must also congratulate and thank the Secretary-General of the Organization in particular, and the United Nations in general, for the prompt and immediate attention and assistance which he gave my country during our brief period of national crisis early this year by sending his personal representative and a deputy. I also wish to pay a tribute to various experts of the Organization who are working so conscientiously in their various fields in my country.

207. I repeat that I wish, on behalf of my Government, to thank the organization for all the assistance that has been and is still being given to us through the dispatch of experts to advise us on the process of our national development.

208. Only 12 days from now we shall be celebrating the first anniversary of our independence, which we were able to obtain peacefully from Spain, as was reported in the world press. Four months after obtaining our national independence, for obvious reasons, my country went through a short period of public disturbances, a situation which, owing to the political talent of my President and his Government and the complete co-operation of the Guinean people, was immediately brought under control. I prefer to make no reference to the exaggerated sensationalism

expressed in certain sectors of the world press concerning the events which, as I have said, occurred in my country earlier this year.

209. I am pleased to report that in May this year, the Government of Spain and the Government of Equatorial Guinea met in the city of Bata to discuss bilaterally and on an equal footing the common interests which result from our long coexistence, a process which culminated in the signing of a number of political, economic, trade and other agreements. A legal expert of this Organization and some members of the Organization of African Unity were present in June when a Guinean-Spanish meeting was held in Santa Isabel, the capital of Equatorial Guinea, to proceed with the first phase of the cultural agreements. I had the privilege of participating in that meeting, which I venture to describe as a complete success. It remains to be mentioned that at the present time our relations with Spain are excellent, as can be confirmed by the Spanish delegation at this Assembly.

210. In respect of finance, my country has decided to remain in the "peseta zone" and it is our wish that, with the establishment of a National Bank, a dream that has already been realized, it will be possible for the Guinean peseta to circulate as from midnight on 12 October 1969. To that end, I was accredited by my Government to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund in Washington to deal with all matters that concern Guinea in those international bodies and that might lead to the realization of our aspirations. I have to report that yesterday I went to Washington for the conclusion of the matters concerning our membership, the circulation of our currency, etc.

211. I should like to report that in this respect Spain has duly fulfilled its promise to facilitate my country's admission to such international financial institutions as the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Membership in those institutions constitutes a very useful element in strengthening the new national currency and monetary system of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea.

212. My country is totally dedicated to the urgent and necessary task of economic, industrial, cultural, and agricultural development, as well as to development in the field of public health, and we invite private capital, from whatever source it may come, to make investments in Guinea; we will, of course, guarantee its investments. We extend the same invitation to all Governments, provided that, in compliance with any bilateral agreements that may be concluded, the sovereignty of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea is respected.

213. Needless to say, we maintain very good relations with our neighbouring countries; in order to strengthen such relations, in July of this year we appointed Ambassadors to Cameroon, Gabon, Nigeria and, of course, to Spain. For financial reasons, we have not gone beyond appointing an ambassador to Madrid in view of our close relations of coexistence with Spain, leaving to a subsequent stage the consideration of the establishment of further embassies in the other countries with which we maintain diplomatic relations.

214. I have great pleasure in stating that my country is a peace-loving one. This has been demonstrated by our entry, almost simultaneous with our attainment of national independence, into this great world Organization, thus joining those who profess the same ideals.

215. My country is working with all the means at its disposal for the liberation and unity of the African continent, as our membership in the Organization of African Unity attests. My country has proclaimed itself to be non-aligned with either East or West, and abhors all forms of violence. It is deeply sorrowed by the sad civil war in Nigeria, a neighbouring and friendly country, because, as is well known, the relief flights to that area take off from Fernando Po, thus creating for Equatorial Guinea a delicate problem involving political and humanitarian considerations.

216. The long sad war in Viet-Nam and the daily intensification of the Middle East conflict are sources of great concern to my Government and we sincerely hope that those who are directly affected by those regrettable circumstances will, with the unstinted assistance of all of us and through their own efforts and understanding, be able to come together in the near future in order to solve the situation, not on the battlefield but at the conference table so as to bring about a peaceful settlement of those disputes.

217. My country is opposed to all colonialist countries that ignore the world-wide appeal of this Organization, as well as that of the Organization of African Unity, for the total and immediate decolonization and the independence of all colonial peoples. The same applies to human rights for all peoples. I refer in this regard to the situation now prevailing in South Africa, Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique, as well as in Namibia and Guinea (Bissau).

218. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Peru, who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

219. Mr. ALVARADO (Peru) (*translated from Spanish*): With all due respect for the right of the Foreign Minister of Ecuador to put forward the views which his Government considers most appropriate, and without in any way desiring to engage in polemics, which would be contrary to the spirit of the Government and people of Peru, and with full respect for treaties and therefore for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, I nevertheless find myself, to my great regret, obliged to exercise my right of reply in order to state for the record that there is no problem of frontiers between Peru and Ecuador, because the problem that existed was finally settled by virtue of a Protocol signed and ratified by the Governments and Parliaments of each of the two countries.

220. That treaty¹⁴ was signed with the assistance and under the guarantee of Argentina, Brazil, Chile and the United States. All those countries respect the law, as does Peru, whose sense of justice is beyond all doubt. The 1942

¹⁴ Protocol of Peace, Friendship and Frontiers between Ecuador and Peru, signed at Rio de Janeiro on 27 January 1942; ratified at Petropolis, Brazil, on 31 March 1942.

Protocol specifically took into account historical claims, instruments of independence, the efforts of the colonizers, and the actual possessions of Peru and Ecuador in this region. In December 1960, Argentina, Brazil, Chile and the United States reaffirmed the validity of that document and the obligation of the parties to comply with it.

221. It is therefore not appropriate to speak of a dispute or controversy nor can there be any question of compromise, because that would be tantamount to disregarding the existence of a treaty and would nullify the very basis for the maintenance of international order.

222. Moreover, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a State can hardly be the subject of compromise. Accordingly, the only problem before us is that of collaborating, with all the means at our disposal, in the economic and social development of our two countries, particularly in the frontier area, by endeavouring to ensure that the efforts at effective integration are genuinely to the benefit of our peoples. In view of the foregoing considerations, I do not think it necessary for me to take up any more of the Assembly's time on this matter.

223. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Ecuador to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

224. Mr. VALDIVIESO EGUIGUREN (Ecuador) (*translated from Spanish*): The unexpected reply made by the Ambassador of Peru compels me to take a few moments of the time of the President and representatives in order to exercise my right of reply.

225. In my statement I explained Ecuador's reasons for maintaining relations of deep friendship and solidarity with all the countries of the continent. The fact that the Ambassador of Peru should have tried to contradict my statement is the best evidence that there is regrettably an unsettled frontier problem between our two countries. An open frontier explains and justifies the concern of the people of Ecuador, which historically has the right to consider itself and to be a country of the Amazon area.

226. My country and my Government, and in particular I myself, have profound respect for the ideas and views of others and still more for this Assembly. Therefore, without any desire to engage in polemics, because we believe that this is not the appropriate time to do so, I confirm the thesis which I set forth in my statement. I confirm the view, which is that of the Government and people of Ecuador, that this frontier problem should be settled and concluded.

227. I reiterate that Ecuador does not aspire to anything other than peaceful and civilized coexistence with all the countries of Latin America, and in particular with its neighbours. I am truly grateful for the reply of the representative of Peru, since it has served to demonstrate the existence of a regrettable problem between our two countries.

228. The PRESIDENT: I should now like to take this opportunity of thanking the Ministers for Foreign Affairs

of Ecuador, Bulgaria, Gabon, Kenya and Turkey and the Permanent Representative of Equatorial Guinea to the United Nations for the compliments that they paid the Chair. I should also like to thank the Ministers of Uganda,

Czechoslovakia, Denmark and Chile for the compliments they paid the Chair during the morning meeting.

The meeting rose at 6.55 p.m.