

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION

Official Records



**1780th
PLENARY MEETING**

Monday, 6 October 1969,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

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*Address by Mr. Ahmadou Ahidjo,
President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon*

1. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome His Excellency El Hadj Ahmadou Ahidjo, President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon, and I invite him to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. AHMADOU AHIDJO (President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon) (*translated from French*): Madam President, Mr. Secretary-General, Gentlemen, I have already in the past had occasion, on behalf of the Federal Republic of Cameroon, to address this Assembly, which embodies mankind's noblest aspirations and its greatest hopes for a world in which the cardinal values would be universal peace and co-operation.

3. I am present here today in quite a different capacity: I have been chosen by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity¹ to present to the General Assembly of the United Nations a Manifesto on Southern Africa² and it is on behalf of all the peoples of Africa, concerned with the fate of their continent, as with that of all mankind, that I have the privilege and honour of addressing you today.

4. It is a sign of the times to which one can hardly remain oblivious that this important mission should be taking place at the very moment when an African woman is elected to the high position of President of the General Assembly of the United Nations. I see in this event an invitation to mankind to look more intently at the grievous problems of Africa. I also see in it a living proof of the will of the African peoples to strive for the betterment of mankind and of all men without discrimination.

¹ Sixth session of the Assembly held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 9 September 1969.

² Circulated later under the symbol A/7754.

5. I hope you will permit me, therefore, to express to the President our warmest congratulations on her election as President of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, and the pride felt by all African peoples. Knowing as I do her eminent qualities and her long experience of the Organization and of international affairs, I am convinced that, with the co-operation of all delegations of goodwill and with the assistance of the Secretary-General, whose courage, lucidity and dedication I take pleasure in once again acknowledging, she will be able to guide your work towards the success for which we are all hoping.

6. The present session of the General Assembly of the United Nations is being held at a peculiarly significant period in the history of mankind, one that may even be a decisive turning-point in its destiny. The age-old ambition of man to be the master of himself and of the universe is being fulfilled before our very eyes. Every year—one might almost say every month—brings new conquests, the opening up of new frontiers, whether in outer space or in the field of life itself, where the biological sciences are opening ever-increasing possibilities.

7. But, if this extraordinary and admirable progress quite rightly stirs our enthusiasm, it is also disturbing us in some measure, for mankind may be said to be bewildered today by its own power. This feeling of bewilderment is not solely that which we must feel when confronted with the destructive power of the atom. At a more profound, more structural, level it is the anguish we feel at a certain inability to put scientific progress at the service of all mankind.

8. The space age has begun, yet we cannot avert our eyes from the harsh realities of this world, for we are torn between what we are capable of doing and what we are failing to do. Our planet, whose civilization is helping to write the history of the cosmos, is still heavy with contradictions capable of destroying civilization itself. For, to be fully valid and to ensure its own continuity, our civilization—even more than those which preceded it—needs more than just the means, science and technology; it also needs, and just as basically, an inspiration which can give a meaning to its tremendous resources and place them truly at man's service; it needs constantly to be assured of its purpose—of its human destiny.

9. In that connexion, the recent manifestations of social unrest almost everywhere in the world are a warning, admittedly a brutal and disorderly one and one often encouraged and exploited by international subversion but, none the less, a significant warning. These manifestations reflect the anguish and bewilderment felt by people today, increasingly assailed by fear that they may be caught up in

a gigantic machinery which threatens their search for happiness, freedom and independence. For it is these that are at stake in the present day. We need to ensure the freedom and independence of all men and, at the same time, to create conditions in which advances in science and technology can be used for the full development of all peoples.

10. It is only fair to acknowledge that mankind has always been aware of the need to safeguard human dignity through its material progress. This awareness became stronger after the Second World War, which made clear the single destiny of mankind throughout the world. It is expressed in the Charter of our Organization and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, through which we affirm, in the most solemn manner, our faith in humanity and our common belief that men, independently of the accidents of individual or collective existence, are born free and equal under the law and that, over and above the reality of the individual, there is an ideal of the species in a sense transcending history, whereby all that is truly human should be directed towards love, justice, truth and beauty.

11. We have, admittedly, gone a long way towards realizing this supreme ideal; initially, within national communities, most States recognizing that political democracy and social justice are indispensable to their equilibrium and efficiency; and then, at the level of the international community, which, during the last decade, has been considerably enlarged and enriched by the accession of many new States to sovereignty. In this connexion, the United Nations has played an important role to which Cameroon, as a former Trust Territory which is about to celebrate the tenth anniversary of its national independence, wishes to pay tribute.

12. If the Organization of African Unity has nevertheless deemed it useful to draw up the Manifesto which you have before you and with which it asks you to associate yourselves, it is because it firmly believes that a faith which is not total is a faith which is false unto itself. How otherwise can we interpret the persistence of colonialism and racial discrimination in Africa, and especially in Southern Africa?

13. It is nine years now since the adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*]. We are justified in beginning to question whether there is a genuine desire on the part of the international community to work effectively for the success of the struggle of the peoples of Africa, and particularly those of the southern part of our continent, to achieve their lawful rights to freedom and independence.

14. In Namibia and in the Territories under Portuguese rule, in Zimbabwe and in South Africa, we see the same insolent scorn for pertinent resolutions of the United Nations. It is now evident that this defiant attitude to world opinion would not be possible without the support of certain powerful international interests and, indeed, of some Governments, which are thus betraying their obligations towards mankind and the international community.

15. It is also clear that this attitude constitutes a decided threat to international peace and security. Through its

Manifesto on Southern Africa, the Organization of African Unity once again solemnly appeals to international opinion, the pressure of which can, it believes, play a decisive role. This appeal will be further underlined by the celebration in 1971 of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and it would be only fitting if that year were to end with the organization in Africa itself of an international seminar on the evils of racial domination, designed further to arouse world public opinion.

16. For the problem with which we are confronted is one that affects the whole of mankind. It would be senseless to give racist overtones to our campaign when it is precisely racism that we are fighting; racism, that prejudice which aims to divide humanity into superior and inferior races and to justify the domination of one race by another. Consequently, our campaign implies the condemnation of all racism and not the establishment of another, reverse, racism. It is based on our unshakable belief that to deny the human value of a single man is to imperil the dignity of all men.

17. By thus appealing to the universal conscience, we wish not only to demonstrate our attachment to peace and to the ideal of human brotherhood and our willingness to help through dialogue and negotiation in solving the world's great problems, but also to revive our faith in man and our attachment to his dignity, to foster the search, in these troubled times, for the highest human values, and the orientation of history towards the recognition of man by man.

18. We do not, of course, preach violence, but rather an end to all violence, and more particularly an end to the violence done to human dignity by the oppressors of Africa. In Southern Africa, however, we are faced with the most systematic violence ever seen in human history since the days of nazism. It goes without saying that, should our appeals still go unheeded, we shall have no option but to continue to give the African peoples still under domination all the support of which we are capable in their struggle for freedom and independence. The United Nations itself will be unable to continue evading the need to use all means, including force, to safeguard both the human dignity of those peoples and international peace and security.

19. How, indeed, in a world which turns a deaf ear to what is happening, can the violence of oppression not call forth the violence of revolt? And how can our ambition to substitute the force of law for the law of force ever be realized when the worst form of oppression triumphs at our gates, with complicity more or less openly avowed? Mankind is thus presented with the painful contradiction of an ideal of peace and brotherhood which is constantly affirmed but is tarnished in practice by bloody conflicts. That contradiction already exists, in fact, not only in Africa, where resistance to oppression is being organized and is developing day by day, but in every part of the world in which force is used to resolve differences between nations and where it is essential—in the Middle East as in South-East Asia—rapidly to find peaceful and just solutions.

20. We believe it is becoming a matter of urgency to take measures that will enable the United Nations to play a

greater and more effective role in the elimination of colonialism and racial discrimination in Africa and in the maintenance of world peace and security. To achieve this, all Member States must show greater loyalty to the Organization by respecting its decisions and the machinery it has set up, and they must understand that their co-operation and concerted efforts are necessary, nay vital, if United Nations decisions are to be translated into action and the noble objectives of the Charter are to be achieved.

21. The great Powers must be reminded that their special responsibility within the international community and towards all mankind requires them to give more effective support to United Nations efforts to promote respect for human rights, the self-determination of peoples and world peace.

22. Contemporary civilization is not only faced with contradictions between an increasing mastery of nature and relative impotence to guarantee man's freedom and between the ideal of peace and human brotherhood and continuing efforts to secure power and domination. Over and above these there is another, greater, contradiction, in a world of increasing interdependence, between our present possibilities of transforming the human condition and the persistent inequality of the conditions in which men live.

23. This inequality, due to historical causes, of which colonialism and racial discrimination are not the least, is daily becoming more pronounced with the constant deterioration in the terms of trade which, by depriving the developing countries of major resources in their struggle for progress, is helping to widen the gulf separating the prosperous from the under-privileged peoples.

24. While we can congratulate ourselves on the international community's increasing awareness of the importance of this problem for the future of mankind, the fact remains that the efforts so far made to solve it have not yielded the expected results, either at the level of bilateral co-operation or at the multilateral level. National interests and egoism continue to act as powerful brakes on expansion of the flow of aid, although there is general agreement that what is needed is a concerted global strategy inspired by a real determination to achieve realistically predetermined objectives.

25. The Charter of Algiers³ made an invaluable contribution towards the determination of the objectives and methods that should be adopted to solve the problem in all its manifold economic and political aspects. It was rapidly to become clear, however, after the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at New Delhi,⁴ that the developed countries were not yet prepared to accept the vast programme of action formulated in that Charter by the Group of developing countries. The disappointment caused by the results of the Conference has been deepened by what is already considered to be the failure of the first United Nations Development Decade, the results of which fell short of the initial expectations.

³ Charter adopted by the Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 (developing) countries, held from 10 to 25 October 1967.

⁴ The session was held from 1 February to 29 March 1968.

26. It is to be hoped that the Second Decade, being better prepared, will see an improved co-ordination of the possibilities for action by the international community in this crucial sphere, so that more effective support may be given to the efforts being made to secure the advancement of the developing countries. This is indeed to be hoped, for it is clear that postponement of solution of the problem of giving the under-privileged peoples access to the benefits of modern civilization will only complicate and worsen relations between the developing countries and the advanced States, to the detriment of the peace and unity of the human race.

27. In this connexion, we cannot but applaud the idea of a Disarmament Decade in so far as it would serve to consolidate throughout the world the climate of *détente* essential for the protection of human rights and the release of the additional resources needed for the great task of development which—it should be added—also requires mutual understanding, agreement and perseverance.

28. It is, indeed, absurd that huge sums should continue to be swallowed up by the arms race while the bulk of mankind lives in tragic and unjust penury. Tragic, not only because it robs man of his basic dignity, but also because there seems to be no prospect of immediate improvement, even though the world's means of overcoming poverty are steadily increasing. Unjust because, in the world of today, one of the common tasks of mankind is to achieve progress the benefits of which must be shared fairly among all. If it is accepted—and it is desirable, even necessary that it should be accepted—that this material solidarity must be reinforced by a moral solidarity, the absurdity of the arms race becomes still more manifest. It is obvious that the destructive power now available condemns all men either to die together or to live together, and this leaves us, in fact, no option but to build a lasting and equitable peace that will offer all men the possibility of a fully human existence.

29. There is no doubt that mankind finds itself today at a decisive turning-point in its history. This places upon us a very heavy responsibility towards future generations. Our scientific progress may well have little meaning for them if we do not succeed in mastering the human problems with which our societies are confronted, if we fail to bequeath to those generations a world respectful of human dignity, conscious of its unity, and building its destiny in a brotherly dialogue, in peace and in justice, a world which they can possess in peaceful and prosperous security.

30. Plainly, we cannot run the risk of ruining the very foundations of our civilization. Man's destiny is determined not only by his intellectual and material powers; it is also guided by great moral inspirations. We must therefore remain faithful to the humanistic inspiration of our civilization, for, in the last analysis, man is and must remain the supreme end of all civilization.

31. The unity of man's destiny is today more concrete and more evident than ever before. For the first time in history, mankind is consciously becoming a unified whole. For the first time, man has at his disposal the means of shaping his own destiny, allaying poverty and triumphing over violence.

32. Is it Utopian to ask the United Nations, which, we repeat embodies our hopes for a better world, to deploy all

its resources so as to ensure that our era, which sees a universal civilization taking shape, is the beginning of a reign of genuine brotherhood in the world? How can we forget the words of George Bernard Shaw: "Some people see things as they are, and ask, why? I dream of things that never were and I ask, why not?" Yes, nothing great will ever come to pass without a little dreaming.

33. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank His Excellency the President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon, representing the States members of the Organization of African Unity, for the important address he has just made. I express the hope that the members of the Assembly will act in due course on the Manifesto on Southern Africa, which reflects the unanimous wish of all the African States that the Manifesto will provide a new approach to the solution of the problems of southern Africa.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

34. Mr. SATTAR (Maldives): Madam President, allow me to extend the very warm congratulations of the Maldivian delegation to you on your election as the President of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Your election to that high office is the expression of confidence the Member States of the United Nations have in your indisputably high qualifications to guide us in the work of this session; it is an indication of the respect the Members of this Organization have for your country; it is also an expression of their recognition of the important role that Africa plays in the leadership of the world of today.

35. I now have the sad duty of recalling the memorable services rendered so skilfully to the General Assembly by the late President of the twenty-third session. It is with deep regret that the Maldivian delegation pays its respects to the memory of His Excellency Mr. Emilio Arenales, whose passing away was a great loss to his country as well as to the United Nations; for we have lost a great statesman of rare charm.

36. This is an appropriate occasion to record, once again, our admiration for the distinguished Secretary-General of this Organization and his dedicated services in the cause of world peace. Let me convey to him the warm support of the Maldivian Government and the people of my country for every step that he takes towards that goal.

37. I should also like to extend our congratulations to the Vice-Presidents and to assure them of the fullest co-operation of the Maldivian delegation in the conduct of the difficult task ahead of them.

38. The twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly is being held in a year which has brought glimpses of hope in certain areas. It also led us to the brink of a full-scale war in another part of the world. It has been a year of outstanding success for mankind in outer space, while the rates of growth in income and over-all development on this planet itself have fallen short of their target. Reason and understanding seem to be developing among some important countries, while in some other parts of the world incidents

leading to conflicts between neighbours have resulted in the loss of many lives and disturbed the peace of the respective regions. This, then, is the year we are assessing.

39. In my statement to the twenty-third session I stated that the situation in the Middle East should not "be permitted to worsen any further" [1701st meeting, para. 7]. To the disturbed concern of everyone, it has deteriorated during the past months to the extent that the Secretary-General has had to warn that "a virtual state of war exists", and again that "open warfare has been resumed" twice during the last six months. In the introduction to his annual report, the Secretary-General further states that "war actually is being waged throughout the area, short only of battles between large bodies of troops". [A/7601/Add.1, para. 62.]

40. Aside from the political aspects of the question, we were shocked and deeply grieved by the recent incident in Jerusalem, when the Al Aqsa Mosque was heavily damaged by arson. We joined with the rest of the Moslem world in calling for an impartial investigation into the incident and for measures to prevent recurrence of such actions in the holy places in Jerusalem. We continue to believe that a permanent solution to the entire question of the Middle East could be found on the basis of the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)]. We reaffirm our support for all aspects of that resolution.

41. The Maldivian Government has been observing with keen interest the "Big Four" consultations and the bilateral talks between the United States and the Soviet Union in their efforts to assist Ambassador Jarring in his mission. We appeal to the Governments of all countries of the region to take note of the Secretary-General's observation that "there is more than one procedural route to peace" [A/7601/Add.1, para. 67] and co-operate with every move towards establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Too much suffering has been experienced by millions of innocent people in the area. Too many have sacrificed themselves to the causes they held sacred.

42. In Viet-Nam, signs of peace seem to have appeared on the horizon. Although the peace talks in Paris have not shown progress, there appears to be a certain amount of willingness on the part of all concerned to halt the fighting and work out an acceptable peace formula in that much embattled country. My Government remains convinced that the people of Viet-Nam should finally be permitted to choose their own future under an acceptable method of international supervision and free from any foreign pressure or force. During the twenty-third session of the General Assembly my delegation ventured to suggest that such supervision could be either by a United Nations commission or by a special representative of the Secretary-General.

Mr. Jackman (Barbados), Vice-President, took the Chair.

43. If there seems to be a ray of hope in South-East Asia, the picture in Africa is not so rosy. The illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia has tightened its hold on the indigenous population of that unfortunate country. The abhorrent policy of *apartheid* in South Africa continues, despite the innumerable resolutions of this Assembly. The Maldivian Government deplors the attitude of those authorities. We

are equally concerned over the situation in Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). It is time for the governing authorities of those Territories to realize that their inhuman practices must stop forthwith. It is time that racial discrimination and religious intolerance were uprooted wherever they exist.

44. Once again we find the question of the representation of China in the United Nations on our agenda. The Maldivian Government's stand on that issue was outlined in my statement in the general debate last year [1701st meeting]. Our position remains the same: while we cannot support any move to expel the Republic of China, we believe it is time to work for an acceptable and practical method to grant membership in this Organization to the People's Republic of China, if that is its desire and the wish of the majority of the Member States of this body.

45. This year has witnessed one of the most memorable achievements in the long history of mankind. Men from earth have conquered the space between this planet and the moon and, for the first time, set foot on the surface of the moon. This is an unparalleled achievement, for which the United States of America and its brave astronauts and brilliant scientists are to be congratulated. Supported by the knowledge and experience of their many past colleagues in the field, particularly those of the Soviet Union and the United States, the feat accomplished by the three American astronauts last July deserves the highest praise from one and all, for they are a credit not only to the United States, but to all mankind.

46. While we take pride in our achievements, can we afford to overlook our disappointments? While we applaud our successes, can we forget our failures? Although we hail the advancement of science and technology, can we be expected to support the production and stockpiling of nuclear and bacteriological weapons? Those are some of the questions that run through our minds when we ponder awhile. A glance around us will reveal the many problems facing us and the magnitude of them.

47. The problem of the "population explosion" has yet to be remedied. While it is estimated that the population will increase by some 500 million people in Africa, Asia and Latin America alone in the coming decade, it is distressing to note that extremely poor health conditions and malnutrition still dominate many developing countries. No doubt, there are encouraging signs in the field of agricultural development, but they are quickly overshadowed by the fact that food production is still out of step with the growth of population, which is expected, even by some less pessimistic observers, to double by the year 2000.

48. Despite efforts and considerable expenditure on the part of many developing countries to wipe out illiteracy and at the same time to expand and improve their educational facilities, much of what is aimed at has yet to be accomplished. This is due to many factors, not the least of which is their inability financially to move any further in this field. Here I must reiterate what I said last year: that a people can be made aware of the need for over-all development only through a sound education. The importance given to education today by the United Nations can best be illustrated by its decision to designate the year 1970

as "International Education Year" [resolution 2412 (XXIII)].

49. I now come to the question of development. There is no doubt that some development has taken place in every country in the world, thanks to some donor countries, the United Nations, its specialized agencies and the leadership of the respective countries. However, an important factor in this connexion must not be forgotten. The United Nations World Economic Survey for 1968 states:

"At the outset of the present Development Decade, the economically advanced countries agreed that 1 per cent of their income and output should be devoted to international assistance. Progress towards the fulfilment of this aim on the part of most donor countries has been disappointing."⁵

50. Compared with that statement, it is alarming to us as a so-called "mini-State" to see how much of the revenue of many developed countries is apportioned for their defence budget for the production of nuclear warheads and other destructive weapons. Far be it from my delegation to pass judgement on these issues, but let me say that this does create a doubt in our minds as to whether the noble words we so often hear have true meaning. We wonder whether the arms race must continue when the present stocks would be capable of destroying the world many times over. We ask whether the acceleration of the production of these dreadful weapons is more urgent and important than meeting the needs of the under-developed countries and under-privileged peoples. If so, how could the continually widening gap between the developed and developing, the rich and the poor countries, ever be narrowed?

51. These are only some of the many issues that confront us. The problems faced by mankind today were aptly described by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia when he referred to them as "peace or war, enslavement or independence, backwardness or development" [1763rd meeting, para. 133]. However, as we approach the twenty-fifth anniversary of this Organization let us not be pessimistic, for we hear the echoes of "good relations" from Washington and Moscow. With President Nixon's declaration that after a period of confrontation, we were entering an era of negotiation, it was encouraging to hear the offer of the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union in his address of 10 July to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Since then, we have also heard their recent statements in this Assembly. It would indeed be welcomed by all Member States of this Organization if quick and meaningful steps were taken by the major Powers not only towards easing tension but also towards general and complete disarmament. These measures become all the more important in view of the fact that we are about to enter the Second United Nations Development Decade. If the decade of the 1970s could also be designated as a disarmament decade, as proposed by the Secretary-General [A/7601/Add.1, para. 42], we could, we hope, look forward to the day when the world would be a safer place to live, with its entire population free from hunger, ill-health and ignorance and the road paved for true development.

⁵ World Economic Survey, 1968, Part I—Some Issues of Development Policy in the Coming Decade (E/4687/Rev.1), p. 6.

52. I do not wish to take the time of this Assembly to comment here on all topics that are of interest to the Maldivian delegation; nor is it my intention to discuss all the items on the agenda of this session. However, I would be failing in my duty if I were to overlook two items which are of particular interest to us. I refer to the question of the reservation of the sea-bed for peaceful purposes and the problems of human environment. The Maldivian delegation supported all the resolutions adopted during the last session on the question of the peaceful uses of the sea-bed and was a co-sponsor of General Assembly resolution 2467 A (XXIII). We are observing with keen interest further measures that are being taken in this respect.

53. During the same session, a very important item—the problems of human environment—was introduced to the United Nations. I wish to take this opportunity of congratulating the delegation of Sweden on its timely action in introducing the item. This is a subject of great concern to the entire human race. The work already done by the Secretariat in this regard will be appreciated by all. The Maldivian Government looks forward to many constructive steps in reviewing and confronting successfully the many problems of human environment.

54. In conclusion, let me assure you, Madam President, and the members of this Assembly that we, the Government and people of Maldives, are always firm in our faith in the principles of the Charter of this Organization. We extend our humble support to all those statesmen who work for the betterment of mankind. We join with those who pray for peace and harmony in our disturbed world, and to those of us who are assembled here we say: let us resolve once again to make the world community one which could fittingly be called a community of united nations.

55. Mr. BORG OLIVIER (Malta): On behalf of the Government of Malta I wish to associate myself with previous speakers in extending sincere congratulations to the President on her election to the presidency of this Assembly. It is an honour which she highly deserves. I also venture to express the hope that during her tenure of office a more positive and constructive contribution will be made to the vital work of this Organization.

56. I should also like to express my sincere regret over the death of our former President, Mr. Arenales, who so ably presided over the last session of this Assembly.

57. The problems that this Assembly will be considering during the current session are many and varied. In dealing with them, however, the Assembly has one aim: the pursuit of peace and stability and, as a corollary, the promotion of the economic and social progress of all mankind which is essential for the maintenance of international peace and security.

58. I propose to touch mainly on the subjects more closely related to those objectives. Representatives will find in my statement repetition of what has been said before. Are not the problems facing us today virtually the same as those that beset man in his persistent search for peace and justice? Those problems may have increased in magnitude and complexity and they are certainly brought home to us

more vividly and more painfully than before; but in essence they remain the same. What is even worse is that the remedies are as elusive as ever. There may perhaps be today a more general awareness of the causes behind this unrest in the world at large, and the terrifying weapons man has created have made us more appreciative of the need to steer away from the precipice we could be heading for. We have done little to turn that realization into positive action.

59. The war in Viet-Nam continues; in the Middle East hardly a day passes without the cease-fire being violated; the death rate in Nigeria shows no signs of abating; the integrity of smaller nations is trampled upon with impunity. While the old problems remain unresolved and fester, new tensions arise and develop in the framework of a world divided into highly armed military blocs.

60. In the field of economic and social advancement our record is hardly any better. It is enough to say that we still witness a world in which two thirds of the population is destitute and underfed, in which thousands are dying daily of starvation and malnutrition and where efforts to introduce greater equity between nation and nation have not yet achieved the success essential for the maintenance of peace.

61. It is for those reasons that from the very beginning of our participation in the work of this Organization we have, with others, sought to make a particular contribution to the solution of problems relating to disarmament and have striven to help to find means of increasing the sources of development capital for the advancement of the poorer areas of the world. Indeed these two objectives are closely interrelated; for, as is known, the national resources applied to the production of armaments could well be directed towards the relief of poverty and the raising of the living standards of all men.

62. The achievements in the field of disarmament are regrettably conspicuous by their inadequacy. A number of resolutions have largely gone unneeded; the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, now enlarged, has made no significant progress during the eight years of its existence; indeed there may be some doubt about the value of this Committee as a mechanism for the conduct of disarmament negotiations in the future. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*] has, up to now, simply frozen the membership of the nuclear club and left vertical proliferation undisturbed.

63. The non-proliferation Treaty—which was never intended to be, and could not be, an end in itself—cannot in reality have much appeal to non-nuclear States, particularly those that have achieved nuclear-weapon capability, unless it is followed by greater efforts on the part of the nuclear Powers to reach agreement on effective measures for nuclear disarmament as well as for general disarmament. No State can be expected to rely indefinitely on other States for its security; the more so since the nuclear Powers are also the major conventional weapons States. Guarantees cannot therefore be confined to nuclear weapons but must comprise assurances in regard to any kind of military force. The evidence at the moment is that no agreement between the super-Powers and within the nuclear club is yet in sight,

and the position of mainland China tends to complicate matters still further. In these circumstances one cannot but urge a more earnest effort on the part of the major Powers to discuss and to reach agreement on the underlying political questions which are a determinant cause both of the nuclear arms race and of the arms races among non-nuclear-weapon States.

64. A comprehensive test-ban treaty remains for us, as it does for others, a matter of first priority. We note, however, that discussions on nuclear arms control have tended to be overshadowed by the attention which is now being devoted to chemical and biological weapons. Chemical and biological weapons are in a sense potentially more dangerous than nuclear weapons. As the Secretary-General said in his very useful report on the subject:

“they do not require the enormous expenditure of financial and scientific resources that are required for nuclear weapons . . . [because] they can be manufactured quite cheaply, quickly and secretly in small laboratories or factories”.

“ . . . ”

“The danger of the proliferation of this class of weapons applies as much to the developing as it does to developed countries.”⁶

In their report, the consultant experts have added this ominous warning:

“Were these weapons ever to be used on a large scale in war, no one could predict how enduring the effects would be and how they would affect the structure of society and the environment in which we live.”⁷

65. It is with some not unjustifiable pride that I recall that my country was among the first to bring this matter to the attention of the United Nations in 1967. We are happy that our modest effort has borne some fruit and we welcome the draft Convention presented by the United Kingdom to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament⁸ as a preliminary step in dealing with a very difficult and complex problem. We have also noted with interest the far more ambitious draft [see A/7655] presented to this Assembly by the Soviet Union which, in our view, has some unfortunate omissions. At the appropriate time we hope to venture some friendly suggestions on this subject.

66. While disarmament negotiations are proceeding laboriously in Geneva, we are becoming increasingly perturbed by the development of new dimensions in technology which are permitting new dimensions in the arms race—I refer here to the progress being made in the development of radiological weapons.

67. At the same time, of more immediate concern perhaps, in the field of conventional arms the problems are

⁶ *Chemical and Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons and the Effects of Their Possible Use* (United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.69.I.24) p. viii and para. 375.

⁷ *Ibid.*, para. 375.

⁸ *Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1969*, document DC/232, annex C, section 20.

becoming more difficult to solve. Particularly disturbing is the unrestricted traffic in conventional but highly sophisticated arms and their supply to political friends. As a result, regional or limited wars not only flare up with disheartening regularity but take on proportions they could never have reached without outside support.

68. The conflict in the Middle East is but one painful example. The confrontation in that highly sensitive area of the world has assumed an extremely dangerous pattern; and major Powers are not entirely blameless. We are in fact witnessing a state of affairs in which great Powers are becoming more deeply involved and which could escalate into a potentially catastrophic struggle for strategic and political advantage. We cannot but hope that those same Powers will apply their best efforts to ensure that good counsel will prevail.

69. It is our firm belief that the sale of armaments generally should be drastically reduced; and we again urge as a first step an initiative designed to elaborate a comprehensive and fair system effectively to publicize the transfer of arms between States. If the extent of the trade in armaments were brought out into the open it could have the salutary effect of limiting, and indirectly controlling, this always dangerous traffic which becomes an even greater menace when poor countries are used as a dumping ground for the obsolescent but still sophisticated arms of big Powers.

70. The call for disarmament will remain a cry in the wilderness until the conditions are such that large-scale reductions in arms are not only desirable but also feasible in the context of the world-wide balance of power. One must assume that nuclear-weapon States would be willing to rid themselves of the terrible and heavy burden they carry. Mistrust continues and unequal resources and opportunities in various fields tend to compel nations to compete with one another for superiority in armaments. The instinctive belief that dominance is necessary for survival still prevails, as does the century-old way of thinking embodied in the famous *si vis pacem, para bellum* philosophy. The fact that these concepts still exist defeats the very fundamental purpose of this Organization.

71. The restraint exercised so far is clear evidence of the realization that the alternative is disaster. That restraint, however, which we call coexistence, is bred from fear and under these conditions there can be little hope of a substantial reduction in armaments. We are of course thankful for that restraint, and we support *détente* in spite of setbacks and disappointments. Restraint based on mutual fear, however, can never be the basis of lasting peace. A more positive approach is required. From coexistence we must pass to active co-operation between the major centres of world power in reducing world tension and in creating conditions favourable to disarmament.

72. Almost equal in importance to progress towards a general and comprehensive disarmament programme is the advancement of the less fortunate areas. The main causes of world tension and unrest are the grave social and economic inequalities that divide the world into rich and poor and into strong and weak. This is both morally and politically intolerable; and before these causes are eradicated man cannot hope to live in peace.

73. It follows that disarmament would have little meaning and would very likely remain sterile if it were not accompanied by a wider and more equitable distribution of wealth, by a sharing of the benefits of technological advance and, generally, by a greater impetus to the advancement of less developed countries. Somehow the uncomfortably wide gap that separates the richer and more industrialized countries from their poorer neighbours must be narrowed and where possible bridged.

74. I need not recall this Assembly's resolution [1837 (XVII)] taken as far back as 1962 concerning the conversion to peaceful needs of the resources released by disarmament, except to add another reminder that the resolution, not unlike many others, has remained a dead letter. The painful truth is that the arms race, instead of slowing down, is gradually extending to countries still in the process of development and whose limited resources are desperately needed for economic and social improvement.

75. In the meantime, other sources of development capital are not being tapped. My country has drawn attention, for instance, to the fact that the almost inexhaustible resources of the sea-bed beyond national jurisdiction could be exploited for the benefit of mankind.

76. This means first that the largest possible area of the sea-bed and of the ocean floor must be reserved for peaceful purposes; and in that connexion we are happy that agreement on initial steps to that end has been reached between the United States and the Soviet Union. A second requirement is that the area beyond national jurisdiction is defined clearly and in a way that is acceptable to the international community. This is a matter which may take some time but is nevertheless of great urgency. Therefore the Maltese delegation will introduce during the course of this session a proposal which, it is hoped, will set in motion the process of clarification of the definition of the legal continental shelf. Finally, an effective international machinery is necessary to administer the sea-bed beyond national jurisdiction in the interest of all and equitably to distribute the benefit obtained from exploitation.

77. While I am naturally gratified by the interest shown and the steps already taken by the Organization in this field, I cannot conceal my concern that, while we are still discussing general principles, technology is advancing rapidly and actions are being taken by individual States which are encroaching on what legitimately should belong to all mankind.

78. As matters stand, however, few resources are likely to be released by disarmament in the immediate future, nor will any benefit be available to mankind from the exploitation of the resources of the sea-bed until the international community has reached a decision on a régime applicable to this area. In this situation international assistance derived from the foreign aid budgets of donor countries, supplemented by private investment, must continue to be the main source of external assistance to developing countries.

79. As the representative of a recipient country I wish to express the gratitude of my people for the technical and preinvestment assistance we are receiving. This has contributed in no small measure to the progress registered in Malta

since the attainment of independence five years ago. Viewing the matter in its wider perspective, I must in fairness confess that I am not satisfied with the record so far achieved by the United Nations. The goal set for the first United Nations Development Decade, namely, an over-all 5 per cent rate of growth of the national income of developing countries, has not been attained. International aid has remained practically static despite the increased *per capita* income of developed countries and is in most cases still short of the proposed level of 1 per cent of their gross national product. The expectations that had been entertained when the first development programme was inaugurated in 1960 have gradually changed to disenchantment.

80. The flow of international aid depends to a large extent on the response of the donor countries; the application of a substantial part of those resources, however, is a matter for which this Organization is responsible. Mindful of the fact that international aid will for some time remain the main source of external assistance to developing countries and of the unlikelihood that the size of that aid will expand appreciably, this Organization must make greater efforts to ensure that the limited resources available should reach the recipient countries untouched by excessive overhead costs and be utilized by those countries to their fullest possible advantage.

81. Of the many activities of the United Nations family the promotion of economic and social advancement has been the most rewarding. The work in this field is the strongest and most fertile link of the international system with the realities of everyday life. The results can be felt and seen, and much can be done despite the stagnation of international aid. There is, however, plenty of room for improvement, particularly in the measures to be taken to ensure the most efficient and rational utilization of the resources available; and it is earnestly hoped that the plans for the Second United Nations Development Decade are conditioned to that end and to the political realities of the world.

82. The basic objectives of the international system in the economic and social fields have been changing over the years; the structure of the system must obviously change to meet present requirements and to enable the United Nations and its specialized agencies to have a prompt, effective and flexible response to the needs of Member States. Should the total resources of the international system be mobilized, break-throughs in priority areas could be achieved. This strongly suggests the establishment of a unified budget for the system or at least a centrally determined level of expenditure for the system in accordance with medium-term plans.

83. We also again urge a shifting of manpower and financial resources from elaborate headquarters activities to field work. Substantive activities could be made more directly relevant to the needs of developing countries. Thus, for example, the establishment of an international investment promotion institute actively seeking sources of private investment for Member States would have a practical value superior to that of dozens of theoretical studies on ways of making such private investment flow to those States.

84. The fragmentation of competence with regard to several major problems between the United Nations and

many specialized agencies is a serious difficulty. It is particularly evident in such areas as the problems of environment and the activities conducted by the United Nations system in the ocean. There are at least half a dozen specialized agencies dealing at the international level with pollution of the sea. We believe it is time means of integrating these activities were studied.

85. Too much stress cannot be laid on the advantages for recipient countries to rely increasingly on their own resources for development, and available aid should mainly be directed at a properly organized mobilization of indigenous forces. The achievement of better results in this field by the United Nations family, apart from the benefits that would directly accrue to developing countries, would encourage donor States to channel more of the limited aid available through international institutions. This is important for several reasons; not least of these is the release, or at least a relief, of recipient countries from the external political and other undue pressures that only too often accompany bilateral aid programmes.

86. The United Nations system has rightly given considerable attention to the problems of youth. Society however is in constant flow, each age having its own problems. The problems of the elderly and the aged have so far received comparatively little attention at the international level. Even at the national level, the needs of the elderly and the aged and their potential contribution to their communities and to society have often been overlooked. We are hopeful that the United Nations will agree to the study of this question as a basis for international action.

87. The United Nations will shortly be celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of its foundation. This has been a chequered period of history: years of victory and of rehabilitation from the effects of war; years which have witnessed the end of colonialism and the beginning of regional and world-wide attempts to establish a better and a fuller life. On the debit side, we have been plagued by an uninterrupted series of limited wars and we have lived in a continuous state of tension under the shadow of a cold war punctuated by crises which at times have threatened to break out into a world holocaust. An arms race of unprecedented proportions has been the result, and partly the cause; vast resources which could have alleviated the sufferings of many have instead been used to cause further pain and death.

88. At the moment the magic word is "*détente*"; but we must do a lot better than that. We must actively co-operate in all fields of human endeavour and change restraint into positive co-operation. In the words of our Charter we must strive to "live together in peace with one another as good neighbours". For that we need a change of heart, a change of attitude and a change in our behaviour towards our neighbours.

89. Mr. RAMPHAL (Guyana): It is a special honour for me today to express to the President of this Assembly on behalf of the Government and people of Guyana our very deep pleasure and satisfaction at her election to the office of President. Representing as we do a people whose origins lie predominantly in Africa and in Asia, my delegation takes particular pride in welcoming her to her high office.

We can never forget the interest and concern which she showed for us in the days when, so ably representing her country on the committees and councils of this Organization, she advanced the cause of Guyana's independence with a courage and determination which contributed materially to our achievement of nationhood. We believe, indeed we know from our own experience, that she brings to the Presidency those qualities of wisdom, judgement and compassion which will serve to enhance the office to which her election is so richly deserved.

90. Her distinguished predecessor in the Chair of this Assembly, the late Mr. Emilio Arenales, served this Organization for the most difficult months of the twenty-third session and served it with great distinction and at much personal cost. The tragedy of his death at an age when he still had so much to offer to his country, to the Latin American region and to the wider stage of international politics, has saddened us all. My delegation wishes to join in the tributes that have been paid to him—for he spent his life in the service of the international community and gave it while serving the cause of international understanding. The most tangible tribute we can pay him is to answer the call he made in his inaugural address to this Assembly a year ago [*1674th meeting*] when he reminded us that what is needed is not a new organization but simply a return to the spirit of the Charter—a return to those principles of human coexistence, international as well as national, that must serve as the basis of political and human philosophy. Unless international society makes an effective response to that call, the cause of international understanding which so many men and women serve with steadfastness and dedication will remain merely a cause, and international peace, which should be the reward of their efforts, an elusive aspiration.

91. It is regrettable that the goal of international peace has been only partially attained, and that the cause of international understanding continues to be jeopardized by a lack of commitment to the spirit of the Charter by those who behave as if the rule of law in international affairs is a soothing palliative—prescribed only for men too naive to recognize the realities of power. In the face of the continually widening gap between the language of statesmen and the policies of their Governments, the people of the world have grown immune to the rhetoric of peace and have become cynical of much that is done in the name of peace, including much of our work here in the United Nations. There is an urgent need to reclaim the interest and the belief of men and women everywhere in this Organization, in the pursuits enjoined upon it by its Charter and in the principles which Member States stand pledged to uphold and to advance. On the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of this Organization it is time that this work of reclamation began, and Guyana raises its voice with those who already from this podium have called for it to commence.

92. The responsibility for this effort must rest on all countries—the large and the small, the developed and the undeveloped, the rich and the poor. Since the malaise has its origins in the abuse of power, the main responsibility for the cure must rest with those who wield power. If we are going to achieve the ordered international society that was the vision at San Francisco 24 years ago, that achievement

must rest upon an acceptance by the major Powers of the rule of law in international affairs as a higher good than the passing rewards of power at any moment in history—an acceptance that was acknowledged as the fundamental compact when this Organization was created. Certainly the world has changed, and history with it; but the nuclear Powers of today, the wealthy nations, the advanced societies for whom science and technology have created new reservoirs of wealth and power, are none the less those same nations and societies whose statesmen helped frame the Charter. The gravest responsibility of all rests upon those who, by virtue of their permanent membership in the Security Council, possess the principal responsibility for maintaining the peace of the world—and for doing so not through bilateral arrangements for spheres of influence but under the broad provisions of the Charter.

93. The genuine acceptance and the resolute discharge of these responsibilities by the major Powers will do much to guarantee faithful adherence by all countries to the precepts of the Charter, but a refusal by the major Powers to discharge their responsibilities, or their willingness to do so only selectively, does not absolve the rest of the world from its obligations to international peace; nor does it of necessity imply the abandonment of all hope for international security. To the contrary, such a situation—and it is such a situation that confronts us today—calls for a special effort by the rest of the international community, by the countries that are neither major Powers nor irrevocably committed to their policies, to ensure that the peace of the world is not held in pawn to power. Guyana considers that there is a pressing need for the middle-sized and smaller States to assert a positive role, especially in the area of international security. While resisting the pressures towards bi-polarization, they must bring their influence to bear on the problems of international security and this influence can be produced from their solidarity in support of the Charter. As one of the non-aligned countries of the world, we stand ready to play our part, however small and modest it may be, in all such collective efforts designed to ensure peace in the world and, more especially, the security of those who least have the capacity to breach that peace—the small developing nations.

94. In no other area of international endeavour is there a greater need for this Organization and its Members—all of its Members—to do more to fulfil the purposes of the Charter than in the area of peace-keeping. A year ago, as I spoke from this podium [1680th meeting], I said that the world's aggressors had learnt all too effectively how to exploit the gap in the system of international security which results from the absence of established arrangements for peace-keeping operations of a preventive character. I said that Guyana lent its voice to the plea for this gap to be closed, especially in relation to the developing countries, and I pledged that we would support every reasonable proposal to this end. My Government is glad to acknowledge that the year between then and now has, indeed, seen an intensification of efforts for the acceptance by this Organization of its fundamental responsibility in this field, and that as a result of these efforts we now see the first indication of a movement towards the assumption of this responsibility.

95. For the past seven months, a working group of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations has met

continuously, to analyse, and if possible to formulate, proposals for the authorization, establishment, direction and control of United Nations military observer missions and to reach agreement on legal, financial, administrative and other organizational issues. It is a matter for regret that despite this major effort there is as yet no final consensus. There are indications, however, that the will to reach agreement does exist, and my delegation urges that the Special Committee should continue its work with a sense of urgency renewed by this Assembly's reaffirmation of the necessity of an effective peace-keeping system to international order and security.

96. The proposals submitted to this Assembly by the USSR which are now included in the agenda as an item entitled "The strengthening of international security" may provide an opportunity for such a reaffirmation. My delegation was particularly glad to hear from the Foreign Minister of the USSR, in his statement revealing these proposals, that it was the view of his Government that it was not sufficient alone to stamp out fires but that it was "more important to take effective measures to safeguard the world in general from fires, and to remove in good time the centres of potential conflicts and complications" [1756th meeting, para. 135]. Peace-keeping operations of such a preventive character—operations that come early enough to forestall conflict—are precisely those which are of the greatest significance to the smaller countries, and my delegation will follow with close interest the work of the Special Committee in the months ahead as it continues its attempts to devise workable arrangements by which this Organization may discharge these responsibilities. We will watch, indeed, for a new resolve to promote a régime of international security, bearing in mind that the frustrations of past attempts have arisen in the main from disagreements between the major Powers.

97. Let me say, however, that it is imperative—if we are to be faithful to the Charter and to the interests of the many small, and not so small, States which are now so much a part of this Organization—that all such arrangements proceed from a clear acknowledgment of the distinction between peace-keeping operations of a preventive character and operations for peace enforcement contemplated under chapter 7 of the Charter. It is imperative that the distinction should be acknowledged, for the distinction is fundamental and not merely terminological. Indeed, the distinction has become more obvious and the need to acknowledge it has become more pressing for two quite separate reasons: first, because of the changed character of international society consequent on the process of de-colonization and, secondly, because of the experience of the United Nations in the exercise of peace-keeping and peace enforcement functions over the last 24 years.

98. Change in the character of international society actually began, if only formally, with the coming into force of the Charter; for in formulating and in signing the Charter the major powers, at the very least, signified their will to move beyond the doctrine of *raison d'état* in the conduct of their affairs. The admission to membership of the new States, most of them small, many of them weak, at once dramatized and bore witness to this change; for the world community—as represented by this Organization—is founded upon acceptance of the sovereign equality of all

Member States, not upon their capacity to prove by force of arms that they are so equal. It is both reasonable and logical, therefore, that there should be an explicit expectation on the part of the new States, and indeed, of all small States, that from this evolving concept of nationhood it should follow that admission to this Organization carries with it the assurance of a security concomitant with the right to self-determination.

99. Let us remember that resolution 1514 (XV)—itself the charter of decolonization⁹—expressly affirmed that the right to self-determination and nationhood was not dependent on the trappings of wealth and power associated with the nation state of long ago. Having thus affirmed the right of men to govern themselves, the right of new nations to exist, this Organization must provide just and effective means of protecting those rights and to secure those States, for it would be to argue a curious logic—having given life to the small States under conditions in no way related to the material power they might later exercise in affairs of the world, but which had everything to do with the rights of their peoples as men—that Member States of this Organization should remain unmoved as these new nations fall prey to the expansionist ambitions of older or far more powerful neighbours and the aspirations of their peoples are crushed.

100. It is of more than passing interest to recall resolution 1954 (XVIII) on the question of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland which was adopted by the General Assembly on 11 December 1963. Paragraph 4 of that resolution reads as follows:

“Solemnly warns the Government of the Republic of South Africa that any attempt to annex or encroach upon the territorial integrity of these three Territories shall be considered an act of aggression”.

Such a warning might be salutary for others besides South Africa, and might find new expression in a vigorous concept of peace-keeping operations which would be explicitly related to the changed character of United Nations membership and to the vital need of so many States for international guarantees of their territorial security.

101. The second reason which makes it imperative to acknowledge the distinction between peace-keeping and peace enforcement functions is the actual experience of this Organization. That experience over the years has clearly shown an inverse relationship between the degree of success attending peace-keeping efforts and the extent of their involvement in the struggle for supremacy between the super-Powers. If the new initiative for the structuring of a peace-keeping régime is to be successful, the arrangements devised must avoid procedures which permit the objectives of power to stultify the objective of international peace. Given the susceptibility of the Security Council to the paralysing stresses of the power conflict, the veto of the permanent members of the Security Council must not be allowed to frustrate the discharge by this Organization of its most fundamental duty—the preservation of international peace.

⁹ Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

102. Experience points to still another reason, quite apart from the veto, why it would be unwise to acknowledge an exclusive authority in the Security Council in relation to preventive peace-keeping measures: I refer, of course, to the tendency—so graphically described in the opening statement of this debate delivered by the Foreign Minister of Brazil—“to deal with certain questions in narrow and ever-dwindling circles” by a process of transference from the General Assembly to the Security Council to the permanent members to the “super-Powers”—the trend, as he described it, to “a new world directorate” [1755th meeting, para. 15].

103. Certainly in the area of peace-keeping, all our experience should lead this Assembly to assert that jurisdiction which it possesses under the Charter *stricto sensu* and under its equally valid interpretation through application. We are advocating an approach to the question of peace-keeping operations which will permit States under threat of aggression to ask for international machinery in advance of conflict since we believe that such a system in itself would be a deterrent to aggression and so a major factor in securing international peace. It would also of necessity help to avoid the current diversion of energies and resources within small States from the urgent tasks of development to the essential requirements of defence—a diversion which small States have no option but to make when faced with hostility from across their borders and the absence of effective international machinery that will deter or restrain the intruder.

104. I should like to repeat what I said to the Assembly a year ago [1680th meeting] in this context: if the world Organization is serious in its commitment to the economic growth of developing countries, it must acknowledge that international guarantees of territorial security must be the prerequisite for an international effort for development. The dilemma of development or defence which faces many a small State is a dilemma which can be resolved in favour of development only at the international level. The threatened State has no option. My own country's experience has led us to advocate this; but it could and would be the experience of many another State, and not only the small ones, if there continues to be no effective machinery for international security and if the practice were once established that treaties, however solemnly concluded and however consistently acknowledged and respected, could be repudiated unilaterally at the whim of the more powerful signatory.

105. It is, therefore, with considerable satisfaction that my Government recognizes the positive contribution to international peace and security made at the United Nations Conference on the Law of Treaties convened under the auspices of this Organization at Vienna. With the conclusion of the Treaty the world community has taken one step further towards the ordered society that is our common goal. We must now trust that the solemn commitment to the rule of law in international relations which this Treaty endorses will make less likely that resort to naked force which has hitherto characterized relations between the weak and the strong in the international community.

106. In this context, too, my Government has a modest satisfaction in the progress so far made in the work of the

Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States and in the work of the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression. Given the satisfactory conclusion of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties and assuming satisfactory results from the current work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, and of the above-mentioned committees on the definition of aggression and on friendly relations among States, it is possible that as we celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of this Organization next year we can record, at last, some real progress in fulfilling the purposes of the Charter in the area of international peace and understanding.

107. Meanwhile, as we struggle to achieve a satisfactory framework of international legality, the problems of the Middle East are all too vivid reminders of the inadequacies of the present. My Government believes, however, that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) does provide a practical basis for securing a settlement that will endure, and we join our voices with all those who call upon the parties to put into operation, as it is their duty to do under the Charter, the balanced arrangements for which the resolution provides. We are convinced that the acquisition of territory by force, contrary to the relevant provisions of the Charter, should never be sanctioned by the international community.

108. Last year, I spoke [*1680th meeting*] at length and in great detail on the issue of Venezuelan hostility and aggression against Guyana. Excluded as we are from participation in the hemisphere's regional organization and in its collective security arrangements, it is inevitable that Guyana should raise these matters before the world body. Even so, it is no part of the purpose of my Government to escalate tensions that already exist by protracted verbal exchanges. It remains the case, however, that that hostility directed to the acquisition of over two thirds of the territory of Guyana has continued.

109. I explained last October to the Assembly that this programme of hostility was one which suffered no lack of financial resources and which functioned through agents working under direction from the Venezuelan side of our border. To some, who are unfamiliar with our problems, these statements may have seemed unduly alarmist. Within three months of that date, however, and in the first days of this year, the then Venezuelan Government gave positive confirmation of them when they launched into unsuccessful rebellion, in the south-west region of my country, a body of men who had been trained, armed and supplied in Venezuela, and whose leaders were drawn mainly from a group of ranchers, many of them not even citizens of Guyana, and all of whom, from the date of Guyana's independence, have resented the authority of our Government.

110. These events took place at a time of change in the Government of Venezuela and I do not enlarge upon them here; for it has been my Government's hope that the statesmen who now lead the Venezuelan people will bring to bear on the problems which confront them a vision of the future in which respect for international legality, and for the rights and aspirations of the new State on its

borders—a State which has so recently won its freedom from a colonial overlordship—would be the dominant feature. The leaders of that Government have made public asseverations of their peaceful intentions. We place these before the international community, who are the best judges of the honour of all States.

111. I would be less than candid if I did not convey the concern of my Government over other aspects of our relations with Venezuela. Within the last month for example, in the early days of this session of the Assembly, the Venezuelan Government issued a statement adopting and reiterating intimidatory warnings that were first issued by the previous administration, to the effect that Venezuela would not recognize mining concessions granted by the Government of Guyana in respect of the area of my country which they claim. The present Venezuelan Government has now gone even further and has said that it will not recognize the right of private firms to carry out mineral exploitation in that region. I explained last year that it was part of the pressure being brought to bear upon us that Venezuela sought to intimidate all who were willing to invest in the development of the region. When it is remembered that this region represents two thirds of Guyana and includes some of the richest areas of our country in terms of mineral and forest resources, it will be appreciated that what is being attempted is direct pressure to stifle development. It is no accident that this pressure has been re-exerted at a moment when the possibility of producing uranium in sizable quantities and of harnessing of hydro-electric power promise an economic breakthrough for Guyana of the kind that oil has already provided for Venezuela.

112. This is aggression of another sort. It is aggression of the type that the Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States has in fact been discussing. Indeed, it is aggression of the type that the Latin American region, of which we are a part, itself recently proscribed when, in the Consensus of Viña del Mar,¹⁰ it stipulated respect for the principle that "no State may apply or encourage economic and political coercion to compel another State to grant it advantages of any kind; on the contrary, every effort must be made to avoid policies, actions and measures which may endanger the economic and social development of another State". It could never be the case that this principle, so central to relations between Latin American countries and the United States, would lose validity when applied to relations between countries of Latin America itself. On the contrary, its validity lies precisely in the inhibition it places upon destructive forces anywhere within the hemisphere which, if left unchecked, would make a mockery of that effort for development which the drafters of the Consensus were concerned to promote. Economic pressures levelled against us by Venezuela may succeed, not in depriving us of our land—for we have not so recently won our freedom only to yield it to another imperialism—but in preventing development, in retarding the economic progress of Guyana, in making it more difficult for us to make the changes necessary in our society if all our people are to share in a better life. We cannot remain silent in the

¹⁰ Adopted by the Special Commission on Latin American Co-operation which met in Viña del Mar from 15 to 17 May 1969.

face of statements made within four days of the beginning of this twenty-fourth session of the Assembly and which were calculated to stifle our economic growth and frustrate all our efforts for development. It is necessary for these things to be known, for silence about them here helps only those who exert the pressures by word and deed outside these walls. It is necessary for these things to be said; and they must be said here, for there is no other place for us to say them.

113. I do not know what future course our relations with Venezuela will take. What I do know is that the major decisions of war and peace are seldom taken in deliberate ways or on the basis of programmed escalation. The resort to force will invariably have behind it a history which can, in retrospect, be seen to be leading inexorably step by step to calamity—each step conditioned by the one that went before and unmindful of the next which it is making inevitable. In relations between States and peoples it is not a new phenomenon that what starts as a political diversion soon becomes transformed: first into a semantic exercise, then into dogma, then into an issue of national honour, and so to enmity and hate. Almost at any stage, save perhaps the last, the process might be stopped by men of wisdom and courage.

114. If the cause of international understanding and international peace is to be saved, it is not enough for Governments to assert their peaceful intentions. Those intentions alone can never be a guarantee of peace if attitudes of hostility are being engendered and policies of enmity are being pursued. It is not only the resort to force that threatens the peace of the world; it is the whole range of devices which States have created to pursue their goals of power or of national ambition. Propaganda, pressure, intimidation, clandestine activity, subversion, exclusionary arrangements, economic strangulation—all these form part of the weaponry of aggression. States that employ them in their service can never justly assert peaceful intentions; and until they are outlawed by international society and brought under the sanction of a code of international behaviour, we can never be sure that we have brought peace to the world because men have ceased to wage war.

115. I now turn to the subject of the world's continuing racial confrontation. It is the view of my Government that, despite the untiring efforts of so many agencies of this Organization and, let it not be forgotten, of the non-governmental organizations, the world's racial crisis shows no sign of abating. What is more, that crisis is being made more intractable as the white and non-white peoples of the world divide across the development barrier. The facts are not pleasant, but they are real. The vast majority of the non-white people of the world to whom the dismantling of the colonial apparatus since 1945 has brought freedom today represent the world's economically under-privileged, whose natural resources have been systematically exploited for the enrichment of others. Their States are sometimes euphemistically described as the developing countries. Many are not developing at all; some which have a chance of developing find it necessary, as I have just illustrated, to divert their scarce human and financial resources away from development, merely to ensure their survival as States against avarice and expansionism across their borders; others find their development forever illusory as the deeds

of the developed countries fail to match their words and as the gap between them widens during every year of the United Nations Development Decade.

116. It is my Government's view that the world racial crisis will not recede while the distinctions of wealth and poverty, of advance and stagnation, of smugness and despair, that now mark the boundaries between the developed and the developing nations, mark also in large measure the boundaries between the white and non-white worlds. The whole international effort in the area of race relations may yet fail, unless international guarantees of social justice for all people are matched by effective action towards economic justice for all States. The responsibilities of the international community, and of the developed countries in particular, in ensuring the success of the Second United Nations Development Decade have a significance which goes well beyond matters of trade and development.

117. Meanwhile, areas of the world in which racial bigotry, repression and discrimination have become the creed of minority régimes continue to defile a planet which must still sustain us all. From Mozambique to Angola, Southern Rhodesia to South Africa, outrages against human dignity continue to furnish both cause and effect in respect of the black man's anguish. In South Africa, *apartheid* has long since been converted into an article of faith and, encouraged by the refusal of the representatives of the major Powers to go beyond protestations of moral outrage at this inhuman system, the South African régime has now exported its product to Southern Rhodesia. Here, the illegal régime—permitted to become entrenched, and now establishing itself through a process of gradual, if tacit, recognition—has installed a constitutional system that regards as axiomatic the inability of the peoples of Zimbabwe to rule themselves and provides a flexible framework for the intensification of repressive measures against them.

118. In Namibia, the South African régime persists in destroying the national unity of the indigenous people and instituting a reign of terror against them in brazen defiance of the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. In the absence of any positive indication on the part of the permanent members of the Security Council fully to discharge their responsibilities under the Charter in respect of that Territory—responsibilities which would appear to follow logically from the Security Council's explicit recognition of the General Assembly's decision terminating the mandate of South Africa [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*]—an even greater burden now devolves on the United Nations Council for Namibia and on the remaining membership of this Organization. To assist the Council in its unenviable task, it is necessary for the General Assembly to take a second look at the Council's present structure with a view to adopting measures calculated to enhance its effectiveness. In particular, it may be useful to consider a reconstitution of the Council to provide for representation from those countries which are not at present represented on it but whose commitments to the cause of African freedom has never been in doubt.

119. We welcome, also, the consideration now being given to the question of appointing a permanent President to assist in defining the direction in which the Council must

proceed in view of South Africa's intransigence and Security Council inaction; for there can be little doubt that our failure to define an effective approach to the problems posed by *apartheid* in South Africa, by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia and by South Africa's continuing unlawful presence in a territory that is now a ward of the international community, proceeds mainly from the refusal of the permanent members of the Security Council to accept the responsibilities which their power and authority confer. My Government will continue to work in all ways open to it—indeed it is already working on the United Nations Council for Namibia—to put an end to the injustices, indignities and oppressions now meted out to the indigenous people of southern Africa.

120. I spoke a moment ago about the Second United Nations Development Decade. The failure of the first Development Decade to fulfil the aspirations of the developing countries cannot but cause us to be sceptical of the projections for the second. The growth rates anticipated have not been achieved. The aid hoped for, and indeed promised, has not been provided. Contrary to decision 29 (II) of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development¹¹ and to General Assembly resolution 2415 (XXIII) endorsing that decision, the terms and conditions of aid have not improved and the problems of external indebtedness have not been alleviated despite these several exhortations to the developed countries. The lowering of trade barriers has in the main benefited the already favoured few. In addition, skilled people vital to development and trained by the developing countries at great expense continue to be attracted from them without any serious effort by the developed countries to neutralize the effect of this drain upon already slender resources. There has been development in the first decade; but it has been almost entirely to the advantage of the already developed. Can we realistically expect any improvement in the second?

121. In addition, we have been concerned in recent months with certain trends in regard to United Nations activities in the developmental area. My Government has noted with regret what appears to be a hardening of attitudes by the developed world in regard to normal expectations of expansion in the development activities carried on the budget of the United Nations and its associated agencies. My delegation will give its support to every effort in this Organization to secure a tangible reaffirmation of faith by the developed world in the promotion of the development process through the United Nations.

122. Within the last few days the Commission on International Development under the Chairmanship of the Right Honourable Lester Pearson of Canada and including in its membership Sir Arthur Lewis, the eminent West Indian economist who has been so closely identified with my own country's programme of development, has published its report. In our view, this report deserves the most careful consideration by this Organization and by all its agencies concerned with promoting the cause of development throughout the world. In particular, may I commend to the developed countries the timely urgings of the Commission

that they take up the great challenge of international development in the awareness that their response to it:

“will show whether we understand the implications of interdependence or whether we prefer to delude ourselves that the poverty and deprivation of the great majority of mankind can be ignored without tragic consequences for all”.¹²

123. The total experience of the past decade has served to confirm a basic truth that the developing countries have acknowledged from the first, namely, that their economic and social advancement must depend chiefly on their own efforts. National goals must inevitably take account of regional and international activity and just as the achievement of those goals may be materially helped by external assistance, so must the chance of success continue to be influenced by forces far beyond the national control. The basic effort, however, must be a national one; and my Government fully endorses the observation of the Pearson Commission that development must come from within and that no foreign help will suffice where there is no national will to make the fundamental changes which are needed. Guyana has accepted this from the beginning and we have attempted to make that effort in a variety of ways—not least among them the promotion of the co-operative. The Economic and Social Council in its resolution 1413 (XLVI) of 6 June 1969, has already taken note of the important role that the co-operative movement can play in economic and social development and the Council has, by this resolution, requested that the preparatory plans for the Second United Nations Development Decade should contain a recognition of the utility of the co-operative effort. We have found in Guyana that co-operative activity founded, as it has been, on the principle of self-help has tapped the natural vigour of our people and involved them in a significant way in wide-ranging community action. Indeed, so convinced are we of the possibilities for co-operative action that when in February 1970, Guyana, in fulfilment of the processes of independence, becomes a Republic, it will be a Republic committed to the concept of the co-operative as a fundamental instrument of social and economic change. My Government urges that both the spirit and terms of Economic and Social Council resolution 1413 (XLVI) be reflected in the final plans for the Second United Nations Development Decade.

124. The Decade must establish an equilibrium between man's giant strides in science and technology and his relatively ineffectual efforts in the social and economic fields. It must establish a balance between the wealth and strength and prosperity of the developed countries and the poverty, weakness and misery of the undeveloped countries. It must bring a better and more equitable distribution of the riches of our planet among all the people destined to dwell on it; and it must witness a more vigorous, more experimental, and more courageous role played by this Organization in the achievement of those results. In a few weeks this Assembly will be discussing the report of the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations [A/7690]. The decisions of the

¹² *Partners in Development—Report of the Commission on International Development* (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1969), p. 11.

Assembly on this report can be of far-reaching importance to the future of this Organization, for it must be our purpose to ensure that these decisions encompass matters of substance relating to the effective working of the Organization and its agencies. Our activities next year must go beyond ceremonial and self-appreciation. We can best do honour to those who conceived and developed this Organization by re-equipping it to fulfil in the seventies and beyond the lofty purposes it was designed to serve in the post-war world.

125. We can best honour the end of the first 25 years of the United Nations by ensuring that there is cause for celebration at the end of the next 25. My delegation exhorts this Assembly to approach the consideration of the report of the Committee in this spirit of commitment—commitment not merely to the principles of the Charter, but to their effective application through the machinery of this Organization. If in the decisions we make this year we demonstrate such a commitment, and display both courage and inventiveness in pursuit of the practical fulfilment of the principles of the Charter, we will have begun the work of reclaiming the faith of the peoples of the world in this Organization—a faith without which there is little cause for celebration of years past, and little hope for the years ahead. To that work of reclamation, my delegation pledges itself.

126. Mr. HUOT SAMBATH (Cambodia) (*translated from French*): The delegation of the Kingdom of Cambodia, which is taking part in the work of this twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, would very much have liked to be able to express some optimism this year regarding the development of the world situation. Unfortunately, we are compelled to note that none of the grave issues has yet been satisfactorily resolved and that we are confronted today with increasingly numerous and distressing problems.

127. Peaceful and neutral Cambodia, with its 2,000 years of tumultuous history and its Buddhist civilization, wishes to draw the attention of the Assembly once again to some of the dangers that are threatening mankind. We shall do so without rancour, in all humility and fully aware of the very small voice that we have in the concert of the great Powers and their allies. We shall do so also because our independence of thought cannot be challenged, because we serve no other cause than that of the search for truth, justice and peace.

128. First of all, I should like to stress that Cambodia has, after all, an enviable position in the third world, especially in South-East Asia. It has succeeded in remaining at peace, both internally and externally, although not without suffering repercussions from the war in Viet-Nam. Like all the developing countries, and other countries as well, it is experiencing economic and financial difficulties, but it has escaped those caused by poverty, famine, undernourishment, epidemics, illiteracy and the like. In short, I would say that we ourselves have enough to live on, if not in a superabundance of material goods, at least in a state of well-being still sought in vain by others more favoured than us. We depend for our national existence entirely on ourselves and that is why we can express ourselves freely here, regardless of whether others are pleased or displeased by what we say.

129. Our increasing apprehension is caused by the conflicts which are continuing, are breaking out or are threatening to break out at many points of the globe, as well as the neglect of the essential principles of the Charter, which should form the basis of the actions of all Members of the United Nations as well as of other countries.

130. For many years, eminent statesmen, famous scientists and religious leaders have stated or written that the world is heading for a catastrophe, since, at any moment, some armed confrontation may lead to a third world war. People believe, however, or feign to believe, that such a possibility is excluded by the balance of nuclear power. Quite apart from the fact that this confidence is undoubtedly unjustified, we believe it immoral to accept the continuation in different parts of the world of “local” wars which afflict millions of human beings. The most tragic example of these “local” wars is the war in Viet-Nam.

131. Cambodia has recognized the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam as the true representatives of the Viet-Nameese people. In fact, it is obvious that the claims to a representative character and legitimacy of the Saigon authorities, which are kept in place by a foreign military occupation force, are absurd, as the course of events will prove.

132. We give full and constant support to the position of the true Viet-Nam in favour of a return to peace and we do so, not for ideological reasons as some allege, but because that position is a just one and consistent with United Nations principles, to which we shall remain attached in all circumstances. The only reasonable and honourable outcome of the war in Viet-Nam, which has lasted far too long, is the total and unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops and bases from South Viet-Nam and effective respect for the right of the Viet-Nameese people to settle their own affairs, including reunification, without foreign intervention or interference. Therefore, the proposals of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the global solution submitted by the National Liberation Front of the South undoubtedly constitute the only just and acceptable basis for an agreement between the parties concerned.

133. We greeted hopefully the declared aim of President Nixon to put an end to the war in Viet-Nam, the first measures of de-escalation and the more understanding attitude adopted by the United States towards Cambodia, which then decided to agree to the re-establishment of Khmer-American diplomatic relations. We also took as an encouraging sign the consideration given to reconstruction and economic development projects for the post-war period. From this very rostrum, on 18 September [*1755th meeting*], President Nixon reaffirmed his determination to arrive at a peaceful solution which would enable the South Viet-Nameese people to exercise its right to self-determination.

134. All the peoples of the world, and not least the people of Viet-Nam, entirely agree with President Nixon in insisting on respect for their right to self-determination. Is it conceivable, however, that that right could be truly exercised under foreign occupation? We certainly do not believe that it could. Free elections in South Viet-Nam

cannot be organized by authorities whose power is based solely on the presence of a foreign army of occupation. They cannot be held in normal conditions until the foreign armed forces are withdrawn from South Viet-Nam.

135. We trust that President Nixon will no longer hesitate to take the wise decisions which the world is awaiting, namely, total withdrawal of American troops from South Viet-Nam and respect for the right of the Viet-Nameese people to full independence. No one will regard such decisions as a defeat for the United States, but rather as a victory for reason and common sense.

136. Once again, this year, the General Assembly will have to consider the question of the representation of China in the United Nations. I should like to draw attention to the fact that this question has been on our agenda for the last 20 years and that the legitimate Government of a country of 800 million inhabitants is still being excluded arbitrarily from the Organization.

137. The refusal to permit China to occupy its seat in the United Nations and in the Security Council is a flagrant denial of justice and a violation of the principles we claim to uphold. But that China's seat should still be occupied by the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek goes beyond the limits of absurdity, the more so since no one attaches the slightest significance to their participation in our work.

138. Nine years ago, from this very rostrum [877th meeting], our Chief of State, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, pointed out that the United Nations needed the presence of China far more than China needed its seat in the United Nations. Events have confirmed that observation, since China has become a nuclear Power and is making great strides in every field. It is obvious to every thinking person that none of the major world problems, and *a fortiori* the major Asian problems, can be solved without China or against its will.

139. Some countries would like to see recognized the existence of two Chinas, each with a seat in the United Nations. There is no justification for that, since the island of Taiwan, in which Chiang Kai-shek has taken refuge, is a Chinese province under the sovereignty of the Chinese Government, as all Members of the United Nations both know and acknowledge. The fact that this Chinese island is administered by a so-called nationalist Government, thanks to the military protection of a major foreign Power, certainly does not give it the status of an independent and sovereign State. In any event, the problem of Taiwan is an internal Chinese problem which would have long since been solved if the United States had not, with its armed force, opposed such a solution.

140. China's return to the United Nations will be opposed again this year by those who accuse that great nation of being a warmonger. Yet the truth of the matter is that there is no Chinese armed force or military base outside China, whereas so-called peace-loving Members of the United Nations are making shameless use of their military power against countries wishing to recover or maintain their independence or simply to defend their territorial integrity. We therefore believe it is necessary to assume that the judgement criteria applied are based on facts and not on hatreds.

141. Another matter which should claim our attention is the situation in Korea. After the Second World War, that country was divided into two States, for no other reason than that it suited the pleasure, or the interests, of the great Powers, and that division has now lasted for some 25 years. In accordance with the principles and ideals which are the *raison d'être* of the United Nations, we request that the 40 million Koreans should at long last be allowed freely to achieve the reunification of their country, without any outside intervention or interference, including that of the United Nations. Such reunification presupposes the evacuation of foreign armed forces from South Korea, the Korean people being left complete freedom to settle its domestic affairs as it wishes and as is its right. Once again, the Cambodian delegation wishes to make it clear that it is not siding with any ideology, but simply supports those national rights which are the same in every country of the world.

142. There is another problem to which the attention of the Assembly will be turned and that is the explosive situation in the Middle East. The Israeli-Arab conflict is a tragic example of the powerlessness of this Organization to ensure respect for the territorial integrity of its Members. The State of Israel undoubtedly has a right to exist, but the territories occupied after the so-called Six-Day War must clearly be returned to their legitimate Arab owners, and measures in keeping with the resolution of the Security Council should be put into effect without delay with respect to the Palestinians and their rights. Otherwise, it is to be feared that a new war will break out, the consequences of which would be catastrophic for our sorely-trying world.

143. The delegation of Cambodia now wishes to touch upon a question which it considers to be the gravest issue of our time. As Samdech Norodom Sihanouk recently wrote: "humanity is living through a tragedy: the widening of the gap between the so-called developed countries and the countries which are not developed". Our eminent Secretary-General has just recently voiced his distress at the rapid development of this situation.

Mr. Ogbu (Nigeria), Vice-President, took the Chair.

144. We speak today of "developing countries" and no longer of "under-developed" countries. Likewise, the expression "and aid and assistance from the highly-developed countries to the poorer countries" has been replaced by the word "co-operation". But, whatever the terminology used, the facts remain the same. The truth of the matter is that, for the majority of the nations of the third world, there is no prospect of development adequate to close, even partially, the gap separating them from the wealthy nations. The figures are there, and each year they are more overwhelming.

145. Over the last 15 years, Cambodia has made substantial progress by dint of constant effort and considerable sacrifices. It must be recognized, however, that it is now even further removed from the over-developed countries than it was 15 years ago. Yet, our country has something of a privileged position in the Afro-Asian and Latin American world. If we are making progress despite our difficulties, that does not mean that we can blind ourselves to the fact

that other countries are stagnating or even losing ground. It is alleged in certain circles that "we want everything—now" whereas the Western Powers took a century to achieve their present prosperity. It would be wrong, however, to think that we are unaware of the hardships of development or refuse to follow the rough road leading to it. Moreover, a country such as Cambodia is in no way jealous of the overwhelming wealth of certain countries and seeks nothing more than a worthy and peaceful life.

146. The growing imbalance between the rich and the poor countries nevertheless leads us to pose a fundamental question: can we assure coexistence between satiated peoples and starving peoples, between countries overflowing with luxuries and those living in poverty? The history of the world has already provided the answer and it is inconceivable that, in the not too distant future, over three quarters of mankind will passively accept a growing inequality in the distribution of wealth.

147. The solution lies, of course, in international solidarity. To date, alas, such solidarity has been more than disappointing. The great Powers are more concerned with conquering outer space or with their nuclear arms programmes than with the problems of the hunger and poverty of the third world. As for their participation in the development of the poorer countries, it is far from adequate in the circumstances.

148. The assistance of the highly developed countries of both camps—or, if you will, their "co-operation" with us—is all too often unsuited to our needs and more favourable to their own interests than to ours. Like any another country of the third world, Cambodia has learned that fact through bitter experience. True, we must recognize that the assistance of some friendly countries—particularly that of France—has been most useful and even beneficial to us. But we encounter some types of "co-operation" with the wealthy countries which are of no value to us and which sometimes even hinder development. Co-operation, as understood by such countries, is something in the nature of the co-operation between a coachman and his horse and the "mutual advantages" to which reference is constantly made are distributed in a curious fashion.

149. There is, for example, the case of the major projects receiving foreign assistance, generally of an international nature.

150. First of all, it can happen—and often does happen—that such a project is worked out in the abstract somewhere or other and its practical implementation proves a failure, without any lesson being learnt for the future. Even in the best of circumstances, however, we find that the funds provided by generous donors, or rather the loans which they grant on which interest is payable, melt away in payments for study missions and for the many trips made by their technicians and contractors. Consequently, when we draw up the balance-sheet of the project, we discover that it is we, ourselves, who carried the greatest burden of the financing.

151. We have also the case of foreign investors, whom we encourage with conditions and guarantees at least equal to those they would receive in Western countries. It is,

however, a fact that a poor country is required to allow infinitely greater advantages and profits which are sometimes twice, three times or even four times as large as those granted by a wealthy country. Capitalists are of course not philanthropists and we are prepared to allow them a normal rate of return on their investments. They, however, wish to take the lion's share and leave us simply a few bones to gnaw.

152. In the case of foreign loans, we are given a choice. Some propose loans at rates of interest which are prohibitively high for a country with limited resources; others are ready to grant us medium-term credits at reasonable rates, but on condition that we agree to use the loans for the purchase of obsolete industrial or other equipment, which is no longer of any use to them, at prices equal to those asked for the best and most modern equipment.

153. The super-developed world is full of good and generous intentions towards the world of the poor. But the facts and the figures confirm that development aid is a myth and that it will remain so until the major Powers have the wisdom to renounce their imperialism and to give up their territorial, economic and ideological expansionism at the expense of the third world.

154. The delegation of Cambodia considers that the General Assembly should tackle this question with all the seriousness it deserves. A great debate between the clan of the privileged and the under-developed camp can still be held in relatively satisfactory conditions. In a few years' time, it will undoubtedly be too late. The rise of passions and antagonisms is leading to a division and a break between the white world of abundance and the coloured world of poverty. We, for our part, pray that mankind may be spared such a confrontation.

155. In conclusion, I should like to address our respectful congratulations to our President on her election to preside over the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly. We are gratified at the tribute paid to her generous efforts in favour of peace and justice and we hail with admiration her campaign for the independence of countries still under colonial rule and for the emancipation of African women. We ask her to accept our best wishes for complete success in the noble task entrusted to her.

156. Mr. KYPRIANOU (Cyprus): All the speakers who have preceded me to this rostrum have extended to the President of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly their congratulations on her election to this high office. We fully endorse the tributes which have been paid to her, and I wish to express my Government's and my delegation's sincere wishes for complete success in the performance of her most difficult task. We also associate ourselves with the highly deserved eulogies which have been paid to the memory of her predecessor, the late Emilio Arenales, our dear friend and colleague, whose untimely death has not only deprived Guatemala of a great statesman but also deprives the United Nations and the cause of peace of a dedicated servant. Before I proceed any further, I wish to express once again to the Secretary-General, U Thant, our appreciation and our admiration of the wisdom, patience and ability with which he carries his heavy burden in the pursuit of the objectives of the United Nations in all the fields of its activity.

157. On a previous occasion in this Assembly [*1585th meeting*], I dwelt on the merits and the usefulness of this general debate, which has at times been questioned. I then reached the conclusion that, despite their apparent theoretical character, these debates are useful. I am still firmly of this view. Whether we speak for the record or not, whether we always mean what we say, whether we are all prepared to put into practice what we profess to believe in, the fact remains that we all feel the necessity of appearing before the world as upholders of the Charter and of the declarations of the United Nations as dedicated servants of peace and as advocates of what is right and just. This in itself is of significance because it clearly implies that we cannot appear before the world as supporters of any different concepts or values. This is expected of us, but this is not all that is expected of us. For “words are not a substitute for hard deeds, and noble rhetoric is no guarantee of noble results” [*1755th meeting, para. 45*], as President Nixon said recently in this Assembly.

158. When we are in the process of preparing our statements for this debate, what we usually do first is to try to recollect what we have said and what others have said in previous years. This is an understandable effort on our part to find a way to avoid repeating ourselves as far as possible and whenever non-repetition does not bring us into conflict with the principles, the ideals and the objectives which we are indeed expected to repeat and reaffirm. What we try to do—although we find it impossible to succeed, especially in the absence of any major developments or significant changes in the period that has elapsed since our previous debate—is not to repeat ourselves when dealing with the international situation and the various issues and problems which compose it. We repeat ourselves, for the noble rhetoric of the past has not, in most cases, been transformed into noble results.

159. A main characteristic of this year's debate which is about to be concluded has been the absence of acrimonious polemics, but at the same time the general tone has again been one of pessimism, one of frustration, one of anxiety, and we find it necessary to repeat ourselves in expressing our awareness of the dangers which threaten international peace and security. Yet we do not seem to be prepared to do what is needed. We know where the fault lies; it lies in the fact that our declarations and our words are not translated into deeds. We repeat our support for the United Nations and call for its strengthening because, as we have often said and admit, our Organization provides the only hope for humanity. We repeat year after year the necessity of turning the United Nations into a more effective instrument for peace. We repeat our enumerations of the causes for anxiety and the dangers with which we are faced, and voice the agony of mankind in the light of the increasingly deteriorating situation in the world.

160. In so doing, we do not overlook any achievements and never fail to refer to any of the positive developments in the world, however limited they may be. In fact, sometimes we do so in such an exaggerated manner that, if misconstrued, it might give the impression that we believe we have taken the path leading to peace and prosperity; but we have not taken this path, despite all the progress that has been achieved in the various fields. The fact that we know where this path can be found is not a source of

satisfaction or optimism, since we have not reached it, nor have we taken it. This is indeed a reason for concern. The fact that human imagination and ability have made such amazing progress in science and technology is not a consolation so long as this progress has not helped man to resolve some of the small—comparatively speaking—and meaningless problems which exist on this earth. The comparison is even greater and the failure is even graver today in the light of man's conquest of space. While we hail such great achievements, we must lament our inability to find solutions to the problems which endanger our very existence on our own planet.

161. It is against the background of these thoughts and realities that once again this year we examine the world situation which, during the past twelve months, has continued to worsen, as was stated at the outset by the Secretary-General in his introduction to the annual report [*A/7601/Add.1*], and as indeed is the case. No improvement on any of the most vital issues and problems has taken place.

162. One of the most important questions, an issue of world-wide significance, of concern to the whole of humanity and relating to its very existence and its very survival is that of disarmament. Not only has there been no progress towards disarmament, but even some of the progress which was achieved in past years has lost most of its value since in the meantime the arms race and the production and piling up of nuclear weapons have become faster and more dangerous than ever.

163. We were all—big and small—jubilant when the test-ban Treaty of Moscow¹³ was signed. We thought that that was not only the starting point of the total prohibition of nuclear tests, but also the beginning of a most promising process towards achieving the goal of the United Nations—the goal set by the self-preservation instinct of humanity—that of general and complete disarmament. Later on, when the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*] was concluded, this was again welcomed as a step of some significance in the same right direction.

164. What is the situation now? The piling up of nuclear armaments continues at a fast pace and new types of nuclear and other weapons are invented and produced. What is the purpose and what would be the consequences of this competition in the light of the realities of today, which those who are primarily involved in that race are the first to admit readily on every occasion, and which have so aptly been stressed by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report? I quote his words:

“The notion of ‘superiority’ in such a race is an illusion, as that notion can only lead to an endless competition in which each side steps up its nuclear capabilities in an effort to match, or exceed, the other side until the race ends in unmitigated disaster for all. As the spiral of the nuclear arms race goes up, the spiral of security goes down” [*A/7601/Add.1, para. 28*].

¹³ Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

165. In the atmosphere of disappointment and frustration which prevailed a new ray of hope appeared on the horizon when it became known that the two super-Powers were about to begin talks on the limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons. This welcome development gave rise to a sigh of relief. Although these talks were expected to start some time in the summer, they have not yet started. We join with all others, and with the Secretary-General in particular, in calling for the early commencement of these talks in the hope that some of the progress which is so urgently required can be made.
166. Whether in the United Nations, or in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva, or on a multilateral or a bilateral basis, every endeavour should be made to achieve some headway, not only in the prevention of the arms race with relation to the sea-bed and the ocean floor, not only in the prohibition of the production of chemical and bacteriological weapons or in the extension of the test-ban Treaty to include underground tests, and not only because of the very valid considerations of which we have been reminded by the Secretary-General in relation to the economic and social consequences of disarmament, but in opening at long last the door towards putting an end to the arms race and towards general and complete disarmament, which must remain the ultimate goal. Prompt measures for arms control are now absolutely necessary to prevent a further escalation of the arms race and meet the growing danger from the development of new weapons.
167. The prohibition of chemical and biological warfare, already long delayed, ought not to be further postponed. It is unthinkable that enormous stocks of the most virulent germs are being accumulated and stored for intended use against the health and very existence of the human race. Progress towards general and complete disarmament, on the other hand, to be meaningful and realistically attainable will have to be accompanied, if not preceded, by an international security system organized through the United Nations, on which all countries can rely for their security. Nothing has been done in this direction, although the maintenance of peace by the United Nations is the first and primary duty of this Organization under the Charter. Even the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations are still in the stage of last-minute improvised methods.
168. It is time to make a truly determined effort to achieve agreement on an organized system of United Nations peace-keeping, which might form a basic element of an international security arrangement. We, the small countries whose freedom and security depend on international security through the United Nations, must join our efforts in strengthening the Organization as an instrument of peace and security in the world. The survival of humanity is at stake and will continue to be more dangerously at stake—let us not forget that wars and destruction were not the result of reason and common sense—as long as the arms race goes on, especially in the midst of so many grave sources of conflict that exist in every corner of the globe. The peace-making role of the United Nations in bringing about peaceful solutions to these problems has to be developed and greater use should also be made of the good offices of the Secretary-General who, under the Charter, has full authority and discretion to exercise them, as he himself pertinently pointed out in the introduction to his annual report [*ibid.*, paras. 176 to 179].
169. It is true that the fate of mankind is to a large extent in the hands of the great Powers. We are among those who believe that it should not be so. We are among those who believe that the fate of all, big and small, should be entrusted to the United Nations as envisaged by those who, after the Second World War, brought our Organization into being 25 years ago for this very purpose and in response to the strong wish and demand of a suffering humanity for peace and security, for justice and freedom, for human survival and human dignity. However, we have to admit that that is not yet the case and we have to acknowledge the realities with which we are still bound, namely, that the great issues, at least, of peace and war, of freedom and justice depend on and lie to a greater or lesser degree within the limits of the willingness or the unwillingness of the great Powers to do or not to do their duty and discharge their obligations. This is a most unhealthy situation but at the same time a real one. We are among those who disagree with the concept of “the spheres of influence” or “the spheres of control” and we are always ready to co-operate with anyone in opposing any such concept. We are very small. We cannot pretend that, on our own, we are in a position to influence the course of developments in the world. However, we, the small countries, all together within the United Nations, by concerted action can achieve a great deal. At least we can, constantly and jointly, keep reminding the great Powers what is expected of them and of their responsibilities which are inherent in their greatness and in their strength, namely, to avert a disaster by abandoning dangerous and outdated policies and approaches and by endorsing and pursuing in a meaningful manner the objectives of the United Nations. This in the end would be in their own interests also and would secure their own survival as well.
170. I wish to state, as I did in previous years, that if we refer to some of the problems existing in the world it does not mean that we wish to ignore or reduce the importance of others to which we do not refer. If we avoid dealing with all, apart from time considerations, it is also for the purpose of laying emphasis on those to which we refer.
171. In Europe, where the division of the world into spheres of influence was so much felt and emphasized last year, the situation continues to be, as always, a reflection of the over-all world situation. Despite any setbacks and other negative developments, the effort to achieve a real *détente* in Europe must be revived in a more determined way. Without closing our eyes to the realities of the present situation with regard to the division of Germany and to Berlin—in the political, social and economic fields—it surely cannot be forgotten that despite earlier and recent serious and responsible efforts to reduce the tension and minimize the dangers, in the light, as a matter of fact, of these very realities, this situation has all along been the main source of conflict and the main point of confrontation between the two ideologically, politically and militarily opposing sides in Europe. The division of countries, not only in Europe but everywhere, has failed to provide a satisfactory answer to the problems involved; on the contrary, if anything, it has added new problems which present a continuous potential danger to peace. This is also a reality that cannot be ignored.
172. In Africa, where the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid* is mostly practised—in South Africa, in

Namibia and in Rhodesia—no progress has been made in putting an end to these intolerable situations which constitute not only a moral, legal crime and a human drama but also a constant threat to peace. How long is the United Nations going to be unable to deal effectively with these problems? How long will those who are primarily responsible continue to refuse to do something about them despite the world-wide outcry? Does anyone really believe that the world can live with these problems for ever, as most of us have had occasion to indicate previously, without paying a very high price in the end? On the same continent the process of decolonization has not yet been completed, and there are Territories—of course, elsewhere too, but mainly in Africa—which are still under the colonial yoke. Decolonization has been one of the fields in which very important progress indeed has been made in our era and in the United Nations. However, it will not be an achievement in the long run if this process is not completed. It is very discouraging and frustrating that we find ourselves obliged to repeat ourselves on these issues year after year.

173. Let us hope that the justified warning and the determination of the Organization of African Unity, as conveyed to us a few hours ago so clearly and in such unmistakable terms by the President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon, to seek an end to colonialism and racism will create a new momentum in the United Nations towards achieving our common goals.

174. In Africa, another human tragedy which has gone on for some time, has not yet ended. I am speaking of Nigeria. This problem should also be speedily solved in a spirit of conciliation, for, apart from its grave humanitarian aspect, many and dangerous political consequences may ensue if peace is not secured as a matter of urgency.

175. Unfortunately we cannot do other than repeat ourselves on the war which goes on in Viet-Nam—repeat our views, our hopes, our wishes. In Asia there are other problems too, but all of these have been overshadowed in the past few years by what has been going on in Viet-Nam. The bombing of North Viet-Nam has ceased. This was a welcome and promising development. The United States announced the withdrawal of some troops, which even as a symbolic move should not be dismissed lightheartedly, especially in the light of the declared objective of further withdrawals. The talks in Paris, despite the original procedural difficulties, did start and have been going on for some time. All these are positive elements. Unfortunately, there has been no progress yet on any matters of substance. The war goes on, and so does human suffering; and the loss of life continues. Surely it cannot continue indefinitely; and we express again the same hope we expressed last year and the year before, that the war may end soon and that progress in that direction should be speedily achieved in the Paris talks, so that the people of Viet-Nam, of the South and of the North, may be allowed in peace and freedom to determine their destiny, without outside interference from any side.

176. In Latin America too there are problems. Parts of this continent have been in turmoil for too long. Problems arising either out of conflicts between States or out of other reasons and sources await solutions.

177. If you look at a map of the world, you will reach the conclusion that the trouble spots have increased rather than decreased and that some of those which have been in existence for some time have become more dangerous as time has gone by. This is a lesson that can be learned from those problems which for the time being do not present an imminent danger and which to some people appear to have lost their significance and to have ceased to present a potential threat to peace.

178. As is natural, the Middle East situation is of particular concern to us, since we are geographically so close to the scene of this drama. Although we are not involved in the conflict we feel and clearly sense the possibilities for a wider conflict if it is not controlled now, as a matter of urgency. It is no longer just another perennial issue before the Assembly, as it was so wrongly considered to be by some before 1967. It is now a war in the full sense of the word. It is a war, out of which only a greater war can erupt if a solution securing peace is not speedily reached. The underlying issues of the Middle East situation are well known to this Assembly and so is the whole background. It is a problem that has been with the United Nations from its very creation. Our views on the merits of the various issues involved, on what the problem was before the 1967 war and on what the problem is now as a result of the 1967 war are well known and are on record; it is perhaps not necessary to repeat them. What we do wish to repeat is that in our view the Security Council in its resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967 provided the answer in the circumstances and in the face of the present realities. That resolution contains many elements, the application of all of which is important if an over-all solution is to be reached. The withdrawal of the troops from the occupied territories is of course of paramount importance. No one—and least of all the United Nations—can justify in any circumstances whatsoever the retention of territories occupied as a result of war for bargaining or other purposes. The other elements of that resolution too will have to be implemented if peace is to be secured. Our position has been very clear from the beginning. We have been supporting the implementation of the Security Council resolution and the mission of Ambassador Jarring, the representative of the Secretary-General. We were honoured and happy that Ambassador Jarring chose Cyprus to establish his headquarters. We have in the past, we do now and we shall in the future extend to him any facilities and any assistance that he may require in pursuing his mission. We believe that Ambassador Jarring's mission should continue and everything must be done, especially on the part of the great Powers, to support and strengthen it. The initiative of France in calling upon the three other great Powers to co-operate with it in their capacity as permanent members of the Security Council is a most constructive and praiseworthy initiative in every respect. Whether the effort will now continue between the Soviet Union and the United States or whether it will be on the original four-Power basis, the effort must go on, and the services of Ambassador Jarring should more usefully be utilized by all concerned. The Middle East situation is a continuous threat to international peace. The continuation of the hostilities will not solve any problem. Battles can be won but the war cannot be won. The only alternative is a peaceful solution.

179. Before my concluding remarks I wish to make some reference to the Cyprus question. I have nothing much to

report since last year. The situation on the island has continued to be, on the whole, calm and peaceful. The talks which started in June 1968 in pursuance of the good offices and the initiatives of the Secretary-General and to which I referred in my last year's statement in this Assembly [1696th meeting] have continued but it would be misleading on my part if I were not to say that to our great regret no progress of any substance has been achieved in those talks. Indeed, the differences are very serious despite the fact that my Government has done its utmost in its sincere desire to see this effort succeed. However, despite the lack of progress in the talks, we believe that they must continue. The peaceful atmosphere to which I have referred and which should be maintained is always, of course, an important element in the situation. In that respect I wish to express once again our appreciation to the United Nations peace force for its important contribution and our gratitude to the Secretary-General for his sincere interest and his continuous and most valuable efforts with regard to Cyprus. Our appreciation also goes to all the United Nations officials in Nicosia and in New York for their contribution, as well as to all the countries which are participating in or supporting in any way the United Nations peace operation in Cyprus. I would not, I feel, give a true picture if I were not to remind the Assembly of the importance of the unilateral pacification and normalization measures of my Government to which I also referred in my statement last year and which have remained, unfortunately, without any response.

180. The Cyprus problem is well known to all of you here for it comes under the responsibilities of the United Nations. Indeed, the Charter and the principles of the United Nations and the resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly, as well as the official United Nations reports and findings on the problem, cannot be divorced from any endeavour to find a peaceful solution. We sincerely hope that despite the present difficulties it may become possible to record some progress in the talks in the not too distant future. We have been and are waiting for the right response. It was said in this Assembly by a colleague the other day, in relation to the same problem, that all concessions should not be expected to come from one side. With that I fully agree.

181. In our endeavours to find a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem our guiding consideration has been, as President Nixon said in this Assembly in another context, that "a peace, to be lasting, must leave no seeds of a future war" [1755th meeting, para. 64]. This has been and will continue to be our guiding consideration. Any solution of the Cyprus problem must allow a peaceful evolution and development, without Cyprus again becoming the scene of conflict and more bloodshed. If this is to be achieved, Cyprus must be a truly independent unitary State, without restrictions and without division in one form or another. The concept of division is contrary to conciliation and unity and would bring about new strife and a new conflict. Any such concept is furthermore contrary to the requirements of peace and all United Nations principles and specific pronouncements on the subject.

182. I have dealt with some of the problems which appear to be high on the list of priorities for solution. There are many other problems, in the political as well as in other

fields, some of them extremely important indeed. There is the question of the application of and respect for human rights and in this connexion much has been done, but much more will have to be done. We urge the ratification and implementation of the United Nations human rights covenants [resolution 2200 (XXI)] and we think that additional measures should be taken to ensure the application of human rights everywhere and the removal of racial prejudice and discrimination. That is one of the fields where theory, in the form of declarations, covenants and conventions, is waiting to be put into practice in the interests of justice and peace. There are a number of issues relating to the strengthening of the United Nations. There is in particular the need for its more efficient functioning and co-ordination as well as for its more efficient financing and for the more orderly growth of its regular budgets and those of the specialized agencies. The United Nations should be enabled to acquire reliable sources of revenue independent of the contributions of its Members. In this respect one might mention as an example the exploration and exploitation of the sea-bed, to which the Prime Minister of Malta referred earlier, and which could appropriately be made through the United Nations, so that an additional source of revenue might be provided for the Organization—apart from any other valid reasons for doing this. There are still many problems connected with the economic and social injustices. In this also, as in many other cases, we believe that the United Nations must be utilized more effectively for the purpose of remedying these situations. There is the question of bridging the continually increasing gap between the developed and the developing countries. We believe that it is the responsibility mainly of the rich to do their utmost in that direction for it is also in their own interests in the final analysis. There are the problems of nutrition and education, and the role of the United Nations may become greater in this field as well. There are other important political problems to which I have not referred, some of which are on our agenda.

183. There are problems connected with youth throughout the world, with their duties and their responsibilities today and in the new world which will emerge tomorrow, a subject to which special attention is being rightly paid this year. There is the problem of human environment which has been growing in importance. International action, United Nations action, is now necessary, because the pollution of the environment has become a rapidly growing threat, nationally and internationally; it is necessary too because most forms of pollution cross national boundaries and many countries suffer because of dangerous pollution in other countries. There are many other problems—political and non-political—which call for action political and non-political. All the problems, great and small, political and non-political, whatever their nature and definition, point in one direction and one direction alone, namely that of the need for better understanding in the world, that of accepting the reality of interdependence in its real meaning, in every field, and that of making the United Nations really effective in carrying out its great task. They all point in one direction and one direction alone: we must all strive towards the same goals, with hard deeds and not merely with noble words, towards universal equality, towards universal freedom, towards justice for all, towards non-discrimination, towards self-determination for all, towards mutual respect. All these are synonyms, all these

are the prerequisites for our basic and final objective, the objective of the United Nations, that of lasting peace in the world.

184. If the American astronauts went into space and landed on the moon and left behind them the message that "we came in peace for all mankind", it surely means that mankind can and must find the means and the strength to achieve this goal of peace on this earth. The message which was left behind on the surface of the moon is very significant. We must try to live up to its real meaning. We must grasp the extent of this great achievement of man turning fiction into history and realizing a long cherished dream. If we realize the importance and extent of this achievement, if we think of man's ability and immense progress in technology and science, we can more easily acknowledge that there is no justification for not being able to turn our planet, which is only a small particle in the universe, into a land of happiness for all those who inhabit it.

185. We have to use more positive approaches consistent with the moral values demanded in this space age. We have to be governed by the spirit of today and of tomorrow and not look at the world and at each other through the eyes, the superstitions and the shortsightedness of the past. Paradoxically enough, peace on earth still remains a dream, while what was a dream, the conquest of space, has come true. So we repeat ourselves in expressing our disappoint-

ments and our hopes. The situation gives rise to pessimism because, despite the achievements in space, in science and in technology, we are still unable to solve the problems on our own planet. Despite all those achievements, we have not been able to make any substantial progress towards achieving the objectives of mankind. We are entering the Second United Nations Development Decade. The United Nations, which is about to complete a quarter of a century of life, has not had much success—not through any fault of its own—in realizing the hopes and aspirations of humanity, which have appeared and sounded so close and attainable, while man has leapt into space and conquered the unattainable. This can also be a cause for optimism. If man has reached the moon we can and must attain our objectives on earth. We have to repeat ourselves in expressing the hope and the expectation that both the great and we the small, by complying with our responsibilities and our obligations and by translating our words into deeds, will find and take the path leading to our objectives, leading to peace, so that mankind may at long last land safely on its own planet's sea of tranquillity.

186. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of Miss Brooks I should like to take this opportunity of thanking the Prime Minister of Malta, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Guyana and Cyprus and the representatives of Maldives and Cambodia for their compliments to her.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.