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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. CARRILLO FLORES (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): First of all, Mr. President, it is my pleasant duty to convey to you on behalf of the President of my country his most affectionate congratulations. The General Assembly has had the wisdom to entrust the direction of its work to a diplomat of many eminent qualities, the Foreign Minister of a country—the Republic of Guatemala—which pursues with admirable persistence the highest aspiration of Latin America: to combine social and economic progress with the maintenance of democratic institutions and fundamental human rights. Furthermore, for Mexico, our community of origin and of blood and our geographical proximity make your election a special source of satisfaction.

2. I should also like to extend my congratulations to Mr. Manescu, the outgoing President who, with remarkable skill and especial care, led the General Assembly through the long and complicated session that ended a few days ago, and on whose profound knowledge of international affairs representatives were able to rely at all times.

3. This Assembly is beginning a new session at a time when there are contradictory signs on the international scene—a circumstance to be expected in a world in crisis. It is encouraging, therefore, to recognize—and I realize that this has been said many times before—that, whereas the League of Nations, twenty years after its foundation, was unable to prevent the outbreak of the Second World War, our Organization in drawing close to its quarter-century and, with all its flaws, is alive and still growing. It is true that, as a peace-keeping mechanism, it is far from being even moderately satisfactory, let alone ideal; it has not been able to prevent the outbreak of local conflicts in various parts of the world, and there are other conflicts which are outside its jurisdiction because they involve peoples or States that are not Members of the United Nations. On the other hand, there have been others—I cannot stop to discuss

them in the brief statement I intend to make—in which the United Nations has exercised, and continues to exercise, a moderating and constructive influence.

4. Furthermore the United Nations is a forum—or rather a series of forums, since in addition to this Assembly there are specialized and regional bodies—where peoples who, a few quinquennia ago, could play only a passive role in international affairs may now have a hearing.

5. Finally—and this is the decisive argument in its favour—there is no better alternative which might warrant abandoning or weakening this Organization.

6. My Government believes that, of all the highly important objectives set by the San Francisco Charter, the most urgent is the maintenance of peace. If a new world conflagration were to break out, all the other objectives, even the most noble, would become unattainable. In this connexion, despite recent events, Mexico continues to believe that many circumstances combine to render increasingly improbable a nuclear confrontation between the Powers which possess those terrible weapons of mass destruction—weapons already condemned in a memorable resolution of this Assembly in 1961 [*resolution 1653 (XVI)*]—although it would be unduly optimistic to think that the danger has passed.

7. As the spokesman for a nation of no great economic or political power and still less military might, I declare here, in the highest forum of the international community, that we desire peace above all else but are convinced that, if such peace is to be stable, lasting and just, it must be based on respect for the rights of all peoples—especially the right to self-determination, which is the basis of the others. Self-determination requires, in turn, the observance by all States—big, medium and small—of the principle of non-intervention, which was defined so clearly, and so consistently with the problems of our time, in the historic Declaration made by this Assembly in December 1965 [*resolution 2131 (XX)*]. The reaction which, transcending ideologies or political commitments, has been aroused whenever these principles have been flouted shows that those principles are becoming ever more deeply rooted in the soil from which, in the final analysis, the rules governing co-existence between nations draw their substance—the conscience of mankind.

8. At the stage now reached by the United Nations as a result of the liquidation of the old empires and the admission of many new States to membership in the Organization, everything points to the fact that understanding among the great Powers—to which the Charter of San Francisco, with unexceptionable realism, entrusted the

main responsibility for the maintenance of peace, giving them special rights and responsibilities in the Security Council—is necessary but not sufficient to prevent war.

9. For several years now, the tensions between East and West have been accompanied—as the New Delhi Conference,¹ to which I shall refer later, confirmed once again—by tensions between North and South, between the prosperous and the poor peoples: tensions that have little or nothing to do with ideological conflicts, although ideologies often take it upon themselves to make such clashes more serious and more acute. Furthermore the Geneva meeting which has just ended² made it clear that a kind of impatient solidarity is developing among the non-nuclear States which—again regardless of ideological lines—may eventually divide the world into two heterogeneous blocs, one of States having nothing in common but the sad privilege of possessing nuclear weapons and the other of States having nothing in common but the mistrust which stems from the fear of having to accept whatever formulae may be agreed upon between the super-Powers, whether reasonable or not.

10. Mexico is conscious of its obligations to the Organization and acknowledges that the Security Council has a vital task to perform in maintaining international peace and security. However, it also believes that, with the changes made in the composition of the Security Council by the new text of Article 23 of the Charter, the Council can and should make a more effective contribution to understanding among the Member States, in the knowledge that, as Mr. Arenales, the President, said in his inaugural speech [1674th meeting, para. 56], the United Nations is not a super-State; that we do not wish it to be a super-State; and that consequently its weaknesses and limitations will, in the final analysis, always be the responsibility of its Member States.

11. For that reason, having acknowledged that our Organization was created with a clear awareness of the special role to be played by the great Powers, I now draw attention to the necessity that, in matters relating to the settlement of disputes, the permanent members of the Security Council should make more use of abstention as a formula in the service of peace, in accordance with the interpretation given over the past twenty years to Article 27 (3) of the Charter. Abstention from voting on certain resolutions would leave the door open to many possibilities in whose favour the great Powers would not be in a position to vote on account of their commitments, or for reasons of prestige, or for any other reason other than the defence of their own supreme interests. Thus the Security Council would proceed on the lines of constant bold experiment, outside which we can never hope to keep political solutions adjusted to the requirements of such a rapidly changing world.

12. The formula which my Government suggests does not entail any change in the provisions of the Charter; it is simply an appeal to the super-Powers to realize with healthy realism that in this latter part of the twentieth century no State, however powerful, can claim that all disputes should be settled in accordance with its views. I

repeat: we do not claim—for it would be absurd to do so—that a super-Power should allow the Security Council to impose on it solutions detrimental to its supreme interests. That would unleash war, and we have agreed that the basic aspiration of the United Nations is to maintain peace.

13. Again on the subject of the peaceful settlement of disputes, Mexico shares the view of the Secretary-General that States should endeavour to have wider recourse to the services of the International Court of Justice in dealing with problems which fall within its competence [A/7201/Add.1, para. 168].

14. In a year in which the international situation has undeniably worsened gravely, perhaps the most positive and encouraging event has been the conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [General Assembly resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] after patient efforts, in which my country diligently took part, to reconcile often-opposing interests and to resolve situations of antagonism. The number of States which have signed the Treaty is considerable, but it is still far from becoming a working reality. Mexico, which has signed the Treaty and submitted it to its Senate for approval, considers that recent events, although they may have damped our earlier hopes of having entered a phase of lessening international tensions, do not justify abandoning or postponing the steps needed to bring the Treaty into force. The more acute the tensions become, the more urgent and imperative it is to halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

15. Nevertheless, we may affirm, as Mexico has affirmed already at the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and at the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States, that it would be intolerable if the Treaty on Non-Proliferation served only to institutionalize and prolong indefinitely the present situation in which certain States have the monopoly of those evil weapons. Furthermore—as I said when we were honoured by a visit from the Secretary-General, U Thant, to Mexico in August 1966—by a fortunate paradox, such weapons, like poison gas during the Second World War, have become useless, for no State will dare to use them in the future, not only because it would be condemned by humanity but for another reason; after a non-nuclear war the vanquished States can make a spectacular recovery, and some have done so, but in a nuclear conflict no one knows whether there will even be a victor.

16. We must acknowledge that, if urgent negotiations are not begun with a view to reducing, or at least slowing down the nuclear arms race, it will be very difficult for the Treaty on Non-Proliferation to become a reality, despite the goodwill of the many countries, such as my own, which, regardless of the decisions taken by others, have unconditionally renounced the right ever to possess such weapons.

17. For this reason, Mexico, while not exaggerating what Latin America can do, accords priority interest to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America,³ or the Treaty of Tlatelolco—named after the old quarter of my country's capital city where it was opened

¹ United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, second session, held at New Delhi from 1 February to 29 March 1968.

² Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States, held at Geneva from 29 August to 28 September 1968.

³ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Annexes, agenda item 91, document A/C.1/946.

for signature in February 1967—which my delegation had the privilege of submitting to this Assembly last year.

18. It will be recalled that the General Assembly [*resolution 2286 (XXII)*] welcomed that instrument “with special satisfaction” and proclaimed that it “constitutes an event of historic significance in the efforts to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons and to promote international peace and security”. The General Assembly, furthermore, called upon all States to co-operate in order to ensure that the Treaty speedily obtained the widest possible application and the régime laid down in it enjoyed “the universal observance to which its lofty principles and noble aims entitle it”.

19. So far, five ratifications, in addition to that of Mexico, have been received—from Brazil, El Salvador, the Dominican Republic, Uruguay and Honduras. Some other States have announced their intention to ratify it shortly and I am happy to inform the Assembly that in Mexico and the last four of the countries just mentioned the Treaty is already in force.

20. With regard to the additional protocols to the Treaty, Additional Protocol I—open to extra-continental States which are responsible for certain territories in our region—was signed by the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. Additional Protocol II—wherein nuclear Powers undertake to respect the status of denuclearization of Latin America—was signed by the United Kingdom and the United States. The Soviet Union, at the time of my visit to Moscow in May 1968 at the kind invitation of my colleague, Mr. Gromyko, declared its willingness—which the Government of Mexico greatly appreciates—to respect the status of denuclearization already in force in my country, as part of a general policy which supports the creation of a denuclearized zone covering one or more countries. I said at the time, and I repeat, that my Government, ready to accept whatever assurances are offered to our nation by the nuclear Powers, will continue in its endeavours to convince the two which are at present represented in the United Nations that the signing of the Protocol in question is in no way harmful to their interests and indeed would be a gesture welcomed throughout Latin America. Since such signature is—except for any States which renounce it—a prerequisite for the entry into force of the Treaty, it would make possible the effective denuclearization of a sub-continent in which more than 250 million human beings live.

21. I do not intend to deal with the many items which are on the agenda of the present session; that is not the purpose of the general debate. Accordingly, on economic questions I shall merely say that in the so-called developing countries there are increasingly grave symptoms of disquiet arising from profound causes which could create new threats to peace.

22. The decade of 1960-1969 is drawing to a close in an atmosphere of frustration; it is a period which the United Nations, at a time which we thought was auspicious, called the “Development Decade”. Without underestimating the gravity of a number of conflicts which are causing us concern at the present time, we are all convinced that the key to peace for this generation—and unquestionably for the next one—is the finding of formulas that will meet the

elementary aspirations of communities which have scarcely begun to feel the benefits of today’s astounding technology.

23. These formulas, while taking into account the differences which exist between the poorer countries themselves, should, in our opinion, cover at least the following questions:

(1) The modernization of social structures—the task of each nation, but one in which the international community can co-operate by providing guidance, when so requested;

(2) The implementation of projects necessary to raise productivity and improve standards of living, with the attendant transfer—under conditions which do not imply any anachronistic subordination—of resources and technology from the developed to the developing areas;

(3) The opening up or expansion or guarantee of markets—in conditions of reasonable stability and fair prices—for the products of the developing countries;

(4) If we may take a longer-term and perhaps Utopian view—a system of world-wide social security, which would reproduce at the international level a process which, on a national scale, has enabled urban economies to guarantee to country-dwellers a certain income level in keeping with the minimum earnings generally obtained in the towns.

24. The results of the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development were, as the Secretary-General aptly noted [*A/7201/Add.1, para. 84*], below expectations, since the negotiation stage was not reached; several agreements of particular significance were, however, reached. In particular, the Conference agreed in principle that non-reciprocal preferences should be granted to the poor countries under a system which would start at the beginning of 1970, and that the flow of financial assistance from high-income to low-income countries should be increased up to a minimum net total equivalent to 1 per cent of the gross national product of the former. Although those agreements, important though they may be, are not so vitally significant—for reasons which I need not enter into now—for our country as for others, Mexico nevertheless reiterates its hope that they will be complied with.

25. Even though they have different concepts of the relations between man and the community, the world’s two great economic and political systems have shown—and why should this not be acknowledged?—that they can be effective in promoting the extraordinary technological progress and consequent economic development which has taken place in many countries. What has not yet been achieved—perhaps because the States which are the most representative of the systems concerned have not been able to develop any fruitful co-operation among themselves—is the extension of the benefits of such progress to the countries which are often euphemistically referred to as “developing” and which account for the majority of mankind.

26. However, we prefer to believe—and no one can believe unless he wishes to do so—that there are signs on the

horizon of the co-operation which is to come. As a specific instance, I would refer to the joint United States-Soviet proposal, submitted only a few weeks ago in the Economic and Social Council, that all States, large and small, rich and poor, take part in the study and possible utilization of the resources of the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. We can only hope that the same spirit, and the spirit which made possible the treaty on the peaceful uses of outer space [*resolution 2222 (XXI), annex*], could be extended to other regions.

27. In conclusion, I should like to make, on instructions from the President of Mexico, a brief final statement.

28. Next week, in my country's capital city, the nineteenth Olympic Games will begin. Young men and women of more than 100 countries, without distinction as to race, belief or ideology—a point which acquires a symbolic value in this International Year for Human Rights—will be meeting in clean competition for the honour of returning home, some bearing honours, the rest with the satisfaction of having tried their utmost to set the youth of the entire world an example which may encourage future generations to attain better physical and spiritual standards than those of the present generation. As a parallel celebration, a very successful "Cultural Olympics" has been in progress for a number of months. Thanks to the generous participation of the majority of nations, we have been able to exhibit on the plain of Anáhuac, to the delight and admiration of the inhabitants and foreign visitors, many of mankind's finest achievements in his constant search for beauty in all forms, animate or inanimate, plastic or immaterial, from the earliest times up to the present.

29. In reiterating its thanks, from this rostrum, to the nations which have contributed to the events now taking place, Mexico pledges that it will live up to the commitment which has been assumed. We likewise feel sure that everyone, participants and spectators, when they return home from my country at the close of the games, will be able to bear witness to having lived, even if only for a short time, in a community which, while not isolated from the problems and tensions of these days of transition and crisis, of challenge and hope, has long taken pride in seeking to establish friendly ties with all peoples, races and shades of opinion throughout the world, provided that they love peace and are prepared to help towards bringing equality among men to an every-day reality.

30. Mr. LUNS (Netherlands): Mr. President, to pay respects once again to a distinguished statesman from Latin America, after his election to the Presidency of the General Assembly, is indeed a reason for pleasure and satisfaction. Well do we remember those eminent representatives of the Latin American continent who in the same high office have rendered such signal services to our Organization.

31. My delegation is happy to welcome for the first time to the rostrum a representative from a country in Central America whose civilization can be traced to an era well beyond the first stirrings of culture in many other parts of the world.

32. This heritage of early civilization, coupled with your long experience in the politics of modern times, contains all

the elements to ensure a wise and dedicated leadership of our deliberations. The years that you have spent first with UNESCO and later at Headquarters here in New York, actively participating in many fields of United Nations work, have provided you with that added and very distinctive ability one needs in order to find one's way through the maze of Assembly lore and usage.

33. Confident of your capacity to bring the twenty-third session of the General Assembly to a fruitful conclusion, I extend to you the congratulations and good wishes of my delegation. You will, I feel sure, be a most worthy successor to Mr. Manescu.

34. This year I have come to New York with feelings of anxiety. No speaker can mount this rostrum in order to address the General Assembly without being aware of the fact that but few of his statements can be of a bright or hopeful nature. The situation in many parts of the world is such that gloom has replaced measured hope. In these circumstances the people of my country turn to the United Nations, expecting this Organization to act, to intervene or to remedy the many situations of disharmony and stress. Parliament in the Netherlands turns to me, expecting me to urge this Assembly to act, to be inventive and to show imagination. While transmitting to you the anxieties of the Dutch nation and the urgings of its Parliament, they and I are only too conscious of the restrictions preventing the General Assembly from reaching effective decisions and well aware of the strict limits imposed upon the Secretary-General's possibilities for action.

Mr. Diallo (Guinea), Vice-President, took the Chair.

35. Enormous concentration of naked power in the hands of a few States is a fact. The scope and possibilities of our Organization are restricted by this political reality. It is also a fact that an international community cannot reasonably function if such power is accepted as its sole basis. The United Nations might be roused into action if a group of middle Powers were to take common initiatives. An attempt to circumvent stagnation could be made by a group of such middle Powers willing to originate and stand by initiatives, even if such action could not always muster a majority. My country, for one, is ready to join other like-minded nations in efforts to revitalize and to strengthen the role of the United Nations.

36. These common efforts should not be confined to the search for diplomatic or political solutions, but should also encompass situations where ordinary human beings are being crushed by the bulldozer of destiny. Unfortunately, there are in the present-day world too many examples of large groups of peoples who are victims of conflicting interests which, for one reason or another, have not been dealt with by the United Nations.

37. I restate the willingness of my country to undertake initiatives, together with other countries, irrespective of their ideologies and regardless of the group to which they belong within this Organization, in order to improve the possibilities of effective action of our Organization in such situations.

38. One of the few areas where prospects of improved action by the United Nations family are somewhat brighter

is the field of assistance by industrialized countries to those countries where economic growth has lagged behind. The Netherlands Minister in charge of Development Aid will shortly address members of this Assembly and set forth the present Netherlands policies on this issue. Therefore, I confine myself at this moment to the announcement that the Government of the Netherlands will increase its contribution to the United Nations Development Programme, including UNIDO projects, from \$7.4 million to \$8.6 million. This is an increase of nearly 17 per cent. This increase has been decided on by the Netherlands Government in the expectation that other countries too will increase their contributions. In this respect let me voice the confident hope that the largest contributing country in terms of money, the United States, will increase, or at least not lower, its contribution. I trust that rumours to the contrary are without foundation.

39. This twenty-third session of the General Assembly will celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This Declaration was proclaimed to be "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations". During its regular session two years ago the General Assembly laid the legal foundation for this common standard of achievement by adopting the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

40. Since the General Assembly designated the present year as International Year for Human Rights, it seems appropriate to reaffirm that the United Nations has achieved some important results in the establishment of these common standards. I must add, however, that the necessary complement to this achievement is still missing. Little has been done to ensure the implementation of these fundamental rights and standards. For this reason the Netherlands Government favours the appointment of a High Commissioner for Human Rights. It is to be hoped that such an important authority will make significant contributions to a better implementation of human rights.

41. Our expectations with relation to the outcome of the International Conference on Human Rights, held at Teheran from 22 April to 13 May 1968, have not materialized. Not without some concern have I noted that this Conference did not succeed in promoting a better international implementation of human rights. The Proclamation of Teheran and the resolutions adopted there make but slight reference to this urgent question. Undeniably, the Proclamation of Teheran is an important document, since it underlines the relevance of human rights in relation to a number of burning political, economic and social problems of our world. But it also clearly shows how far the ideal proclaimed in 1948 still is from the reality of 1968. Our agenda contains a number of situations which hitherto have not been dealt with effectively. I am thinking in particular of situations in some parts of Africa.

42. The discrepancy between ideal and reality was forcibly underlined by Secretary-General U Thant when he said at Teheran:

"The pattern of history before the establishment of the United Nations and, unfortunately, also since the establishment of our Organization has shown the extent to which preoccupation for the life and the well-being of the individual give way to the requirements of military

imperatives. Violence breeds violence. Fear breeds fear. Restraints of those who possess force disappear in situations where the use of force is openly encouraged."⁴

43. The Secretary-General was proved to be tragically right by the events in Czechoslovakia a few months later. The situation in that country once again focuses our attention on military intervention by the Soviet Union, assisted this time by four of its allies, in an Eastern European country.

44. In the course of the past years we were hopeful that peaceful coexistence in Europe would gradually become a reality and thus form a valid basis for a just settlement in Europe and elsewhere. That hope for a relaxation of tension seemed well founded, since the Soviet Union and other communist countries did not cease to proclaim the necessity for consistent implementation, in relations between States, of the principles of non-interference in internal affairs and of recognition of independence and sovereignty. The military invasion of Czechoslovakia, perpetrated in complete defiance of elementary rules of international law, makes a cruel irony of the Soviet initiative pressing for reaffirmation of the principles of sovereignty and non-intervention in a resolution which was finally unanimously adopted by the General Assembly. In his speech from this very rostrum on 24 September 1965, only three years ago, the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union proposed that item as an urgent and important matter. On 21 December of the same year, the twentieth session of the General Assembly, as an outcome of Soviet insistence, adopted a resolution [2131 (XX)] containing the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty.

45. The events in Czechoslovakia came as a great shock to the people of the Netherlands. Our growing confidence that the Soviet Union had abandoned the methods of the cold war proved to be false, and our hopes have been shattered. Once again the Soviet leaders have not shied away from clamping an armed fist on Eastern Europe by means of their military might.

46. The motivation advanced by the Soviet authorities in order to justify their act of aggression against Czechoslovakia is belied by the actual situation. Allegations of an evolution towards a counter-revolution are completely unfounded. The only development in Czechoslovakia was a carefully measured beginning of personal freedom, while the solidarity with the Eastern European politico-military and economic alliances was being maintained.

47. I do not wish to linger on the pretexts used by the Soviet invaders that the military intervention had been requested by the Czechoslovakia party and Government leaders.

48. At this moment it is not yet possible to evaluate fully the general implications of the Soviet actions. Much will depend on the Soviet Government's reactions to difficult situations which its own actions have brought about. The

⁴ See *Final Act of the International Conference on Human Rights* (United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.68.XIV.2), p. 36.

existing tensions remain as long as the Soviet army occupies Czechoslovakia. Withdrawal of those forces is a first essential step.

49. Whatever future action it decides to take, the action of the Soviet Government and its Warsaw Pact allies has dealt a severe blow to the policy of *détente*. In spite of the great shock to our confidence brought about by the occupation of Czechoslovakia, the *détente* remains a fundamental goal of the Netherlands Government's foreign policy. The present setback will not deter my Government from pursuing this course, which it considers a precondition for the definite solution of the great issues which keep Europe and the world divided.

50. Let me now state that the recent events in Europe have not detracted from the great importance which the Netherlands Government attaches to the non-proliferation treaty. The Netherlands lost no time in signing this treaty after its adoption by the General Assembly. We earnestly hope that those countries which so far have not affixed their signatures to the treaty will do so at an early date. We naturally expect the nuclear as well as the non-nuclear signatories to take the necessary measures to allow this treaty to enter into force as soon as possible.

51. The Geneva Conference of Non-Nuclear States has only recently terminated its extensive deliberations on problems directly linked with the implementation of the non-proliferation treaty. One of the problems which deservedly received great attention there is that of the future application of nuclear energy to peaceful purposes. It seems logical that the International Atomic Energy Agency, which already is actively engaged in many fields of atomic energy and capable of rendering important services, should play a central role in all future activities in this field. It was gratifying that many delegations in Geneva voiced that same opinion.

52. The penetrating deliberations among non-nuclear countries on the problems of their security were, in the light of their apprehensions, understandable and justified. The delegation of the Netherlands took an active part in those discussions.

53. In our debates during last year's session of the General Assembly it became clear that the problems related to this vital question are manifold and complicated. Simple solutions do not exist. Although the frank exchange of opinions during the Conference has undoubtedly furthered common understanding of many problems, it has become clear that the effectiveness of discussions on matters relating to non-proliferation is lessened when nuclear countries do not participate on an equal footing. It would seem, therefore, that useful and fruitful future discussions should be held with the full participation of both nuclear and non-nuclear States. For such discussions the General Assembly is eminently suited.

54. In Europe the artificial division of Germany remains, in the opinion of the Netherlands Government, the major obstacle to real peace. It is, therefore, highly regrettable that the Soviet Union has chosen to misrepresent completely the sincere search undertaken by the Federal Government of Germany for a rapprochement vis-à-vis Eastern Europe.

55. The crisis in the Middle East continues dangerously to influence the situation in the region and world peace. Like other Governments, the Netherlands Government is seriously concerned about the unfavourable developments following the adoption by the Security Council on 22 November last year of a resolution [242 (1967)] which lays the basis for a durable settlement. The gradual hardening of positions, the increase in violations of the cease-fire and the ensuing retaliations—all these symptoms point to a spiral movement towards a new explosion.

56. The efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Jarring, are being followed in the Netherlands with keen interest and with admiration for the patient and assiduous manner in which he is endeavouring to bring about the implementation of the relevant resolution. We very much hope that his efforts will soon produce concrete results and ultimate success.

57. In the course of this year, at the invitation of the respective Governments of those countries, I paid a visit to the United Arab Republic and to Israel. Both in Cairo and in Jerusalem I gained the impression that a compromise acceptable to all parties seemed to lie within the realm of possibility. Different elements of such a compromise solution were discernible. However, the deeply rooted mistrust between the principal parties has so far made it impossible for Mr. Jarring to achieve real progress. Nevertheless, the mission entrusted to him remains, in our opinion, by far the best way of achieving a settlement.

58. If I do not touch on all subjects which interest the Netherlands, this is certainly not for lack of interest, but solely because in the general debate we all have to make a careful choice.

59. In the past my delegation has always devoted much time and interest to the question of peace-keeping operations. The elaborate preparations which the Netherlands Government has made and continues to make for maintaining a stand-by force have been duly communicated to the Committee of Thirty-Three,⁵ of which we are a member. We hope that in the future work of that Committee some further barriers which so far have prevented significant progress may be removed.

60. One other question on our agenda upon which I should comment briefly is the important item which was discussed for the first time during the twenty-second session of the Assembly at the initiative of the delegation of Malta—the item concerning the peaceful uses of the ocean floor. It is understandable that, because of the time devoted to the debate during the last Assembly, that debate did not immediately lead to more definite action; the complexity and diversity of the problems involved needed first of all to be sorted out and itemized. Much useful work has been done by the *Ad Hoc* Committee to Study the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, and I should like to pay a tribute to those delegations which during the course of the year made such valuable contributions to the study of this problem. My delegation will take an active part in the coming debates in the First Committee and at this moment I will confine

⁵ Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

myself to restating the basic principles which guide the Netherlands Government with regard to future uses of the ocean floor. We continue to consider the United Nations as the appropriate Organization for the study and further elaboration of all principles involved in the peaceful use of these vast subaquatic regions. The study and elaboration of an international régime which would take due account of the economic interests of the developing countries would seem desirable. In the course of the debates on the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, consideration might be given to the advisability of constituting a more permanent committee which would receive a new and more comprehensive mandate.

61. The continued codification of international law is another subject of special interest to my Government. This activity contributes greatly to the furthering of an orderly society in an orderly world. I welcome the initiative of the International Court of Justice in publishing for the first time an annual report [A/7217] and I hope this will receive the attention it deserves.

62. Many other subjects of interest are mentioned by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report. One of those is the activity of the United Nations "to advise, assist and participate in arrangements which are the responsibility of Indonesia for the act of free choice" [A/7201/Add.1, para. 4] for the people of West Irian. The Netherlands Government continues to be interested greatly in the implementation of the agreements of 1962 concluded with the Government of Indonesia and looks forward to the report announced by the Secretary-General at the conclusion of his representative's mission to West Irian.

63. Although the subject is not an item on our agenda, the war in Viet-Nam is ever present in our minds. So far the negotiations in Paris have hardly progressed. More than ever a speedy and honourable end to this cruel conflict is imperative. We greatly fear that the continuation of hostilities will fatally imperil the very existence of the peoples of North and South Viet-Nam. We regret, therefore, that it has not proved possible for the United Nations to play a constructive role in furthering a solution to this frightful conflict.

64. I cannot leave this rostrum without conveying to the Assembly the feelings of deep and anxious concern awakened in all sectors of the Dutch people by the unhappy events in Nigeria. The fratricidal strife raging in the eastern region of one of Africa's largest countries has brought sorrow, death, despair and untold suffering to its civilian population. The tragedy of this conflict is all the more deeply felt by my Government, since we entertain warm feelings towards the inhabitants of that unfortunate country.

65. Within a few days after a televised appeal for assistance, approximately \$4 million was contributed by private individuals in the Netherlands. It was a tangible expression of the compassion felt in the Netherlands for the suffering civilian population. Our relief actions have been co-ordinated with actions of other countries and with the International Red Cross, to which an aeroplane was made available by the Netherlands Red Cross.

66. Since the sufferings of the civilian population in Nigeria continue and since circumstances do not allow thousands of civilians to receive much-needed relief, numerous voices are heard in my country appealing for speedy and effective assistance to the suffering victims. As a result of these appeals the Netherlands Government has explored all means of achieving this goal. My Government hopes that the Organization of African Unity, acting as the appropriate organization, will bring about an end to the armed conflict. With regard to the resolution adopted at the Conference of Heads of State held recently in Algiers, we were particularly impressed by the appeal to all interested parties to co-operate with a view to ensuring the rapid dispatch of humanitarian aid to all those who are in need of it. The Netherlands Government strongly endorses this appeal. In this context I should like to express here the feelings of appreciation of my Government for the unrelenting efforts of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie and the other five members of the Consultative Council towards reaching a basis of understanding for future peaceful developments.

67. My Government has likewise noted the participation of the Secretary-General in co-ordinating the humanitarian assistance through his personal representative in Nigeria. We feel that a report of Mr. Gussing on his activities in Nigeria might constitute a valuable basis for dispersing the apprehension of people all over the world. Should it be possible to bring about a discussion in and subsequent common action by this Assembly directed towards co-ordinated efforts in the humanitarian field, the Netherlands Government would wholeheartedly promote such a development.

68. I know I am speaking on behalf of the people of the Netherlands when I make a further appeal to the parties in the conflict to cease their armed confrontation and to establish the necessary guarantees for the preservation and well-being of the thousands of civilians in the war-stricken part of the country.

69. Mr. President, in times of trouble and tribulations we must use our powers to the utmost. But even this will not be sufficient if we cannot count on the blessings of the Lord Almighty. For that blessing I pray in order to strengthen your efforts and those of all members of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

70. Mr. HUSAIN (Pakistan): May I, first of all, offer my congratulations to the President on his unanimous election to preside over this session of the General Assembly. This election demonstrates the Assembly's confidence in his personal qualities of wisdom and impartiality, as well as its regard for his country. The contribution of Latin America to the evolution of the United Nations and its jurisprudence has been significant. I have no doubt that his term of office will add lustre to this tradition.

71. I would also take this occasion to pay our tribute to His Excellency Mr. Corneliu Manescu, the Foreign Minister of Romania, for the ability and consummate skill with which he presided over the deliberations of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly.

72. This year has been significant in the history of disarmament negotiations and a landmark in the effort to

prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons. The conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the General Assembly's commendation of it and the subscription to it by more than eighty States have been events of historic importance.

73. Pakistan voted in favour of the General Assembly resolution commending the Treaty [2373 (XXII)] and has fully endorsed its objectives. In doing so, we made it clear that the value of the Treaty would depend upon the extent of the adherence that it would command. I hardly need to labour the point that the Treaty will possess little appeal, and exert less weight, if the near-nuclear States do not subscribe to it. Moreover, it has been obvious—and the point has been acknowledged by the prime authors of the instrument—that the Treaty is but the first step towards the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. By itself, its strength and durability will be reduced if it is not supplemented by other measures which are equally integral to the process of achieving a non-proliferation régime.

74. It was to explore the avenues along which these measures can be undertaken that, pursuant to the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, a Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States was held in Geneva, from 29 August to 28 September. Ninety-six States, including four of the nuclear Powers, were present. The report of the Conference [A/7277] will be duly presented to the Assembly and I have no doubt that the implementation of its recommendations will be included as an item on our agenda. Since, however, I had the privilege of presiding over the Conference, I may take this opportunity of surveying briefly the results it achieved.

75. The Conference adopted fourteen resolutions and a declaration [ibid., pp. 3-19].

76. On the subject of co-operation in the field of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, the Conference recommended the preparation of a full report on contributions of nuclear technology to the economic and scientific advancement of the developing countries. It has been proposed to examine the creation of a special nuclear fund to provide loans and grants for nuclear projects in developing countries. Moreover, the General Assembly has been requested to consider the establishment of a nuclear technology development programme for the benefit of developing countries within the United Nations Development Programme. The Conference has also recommended a study by IAEA to facilitate the exchange of scientific and technical information and on ways of increasing funds available for technical assistance. It has also been suggested that the nuclear-weapon States advise IAEA at regular intervals on the possibility of declassifying scientific and technical information. Nuclear-weapon States have been urged to ensure the supply of fissionable materials for peaceful nuclear programmes of the non-nuclear-weapon States. A recommendation has been made that IAEA broaden the representation of its Board of Governors so as to reflect the principle of equitable geographical distribution and the views of a broad spectrum of developing countries.

77. On the question of effective measures for the prevention of further proliferation of nuclear weapons, the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date, and

nuclear disarmament, the Conference recommended bilateral discussions at an early date between the United States and the Soviet Union on the limitation and reduction of offensive strategic nuclear-weapon delivery systems and systems of defence against ballistic missiles. It also urged the adoption of collateral measures in the field of nuclear disarmament, including the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty as a matter of high priority. In order to prevent the further proliferation of nuclear weapons, the Conference has urged the acceptance of the IAEA system of safeguards as may be evolved from time to time by all the non-nuclear-weapon States which would provide against diversion of source or special fissionable materials from peaceful to military purposes. Lastly, it has recommended that the IAEA safeguards system should be simplified and made economical and effective.

78. On the question how best to assure the security of non-nuclear-weapon States, the Conference recommended that the non-nuclear States study the possibility of establishing by treaty the military denuclearization of their zones, provided that political and security conditions permit.

79. The Declaration of the Conference [ibid., p. 17] sets forth succinctly the general purport and tenor of the main resolutions adopted and also the view of the Conference on the question of security.

80. In regard to the implementation of the Conference decisions, the General Assembly has been invited to consider, at its present session, "the best ways and means for the implementation of the decisions taken by the Conference" and to consider, at a subsequent session, the question of convening a second conference of non-nuclear-weapon States.

81. On the question of security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the nuclear threat, the discussions of the Conference were inconclusive. However, the Declaration of the Conference, which was unanimously adopted, stresses the necessity of further steps for an early solution of the question of security assurances in the nuclear era.

82. In my closing statement to the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States, I suggested that we need not feel discouraged on account of the fact that in respect of measures to assure their security, the discussions of the Conference were inconclusive. The question of security, as the history of disarmament negotiations shows, is very complex. The Conference was not meant to traverse the whole range of this problem. Nor did it embark upon the attempt to evolve a single formula for the total security of all countries. But the Conference did focus attention on the problem of security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the nuclear threat and the need to provide such assurance of this security as would operate independently of all other arrangements, national or regional.

83. It will now be the task of the General Assembly and the other appropriate United Nations forums to pursue the search for effective and binding guarantees to non-nuclear-weapon States which renounce the manufacture or acquisition otherwise of nuclear weapons.

84. I shall now turn to the international situation.

85. A cruel war continues to ravage Viet-Nam and rebuke the world's conscience. The hope that the people of Viet-Nam, who have not known peace for more than a generation, would be allowed to determine their future without outside interference, on the basis of the Geneva Accords of 1954, has not so far been realized.

86. The crux is what initial steps should be taken to reach agreement to open the way for the implementation of the Geneva Accords? It is to this crucial question that the Paris talks must find a speedy answer.

87. The situation in the Middle East continues to pose a grave threat to world peace. Every day that passes adds further proof—if proof were needed—of the fact that the source of the problem is the denial of justice and fundamental rights to the Arabs of Palestine.

88. It has been Pakistan's stand since 1948 that the indigenous population of Palestine is entitled to the same right of self-determination that other populations formerly under mandate or trusteeship have exercised. Any appraisal of the present situation in the Middle East which would ignore this paramount consideration would not only be against the law of the United Nations; it would also be lacking in both balance and realism.

89. This element of balance needs to be restored to the approach of the United Nations to the Arab-Israeli issue. The want of this element has been accentuated by the fact that, after Israel's massive attack against its Arab neighbours in 1967, the Security Council failed to follow the precedent consistently maintained in similar situations before. The precedent was to call for a cease-fire coupled with the withdrawal of the respective forces. The Council's failure in this respect was only partly redeemed by resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967. I say "partly" because conflicting interpretations were put on that resolution which served only to underline its ambiguities and weaken its impact.

90. However, in the present situation it is obvious that what is required is a full implementation of that resolution in letter and in spirit. The Assembly must take note of the fact that the Governments of Jordan and the United Arab Republic have clearly signified, more than once, their willingness to implement this resolution. It must also take note of the fact that no such indication has been forthcoming from Israel.

91. Indeed, time and again, Israel makes moves calculated to consolidate its occupation of Arab territories in violation of the principle enunciated in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 252 (1968) which emphasize and reaffirm the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by military conquest and therefore rule out territorial expansion. Unless the permanent members of the Security Council show a united resolve to make Israel withdraw from the occupied territories, there can be no progress towards a peaceful settlement. We are told that continued peace is essential for allowing the parties time to work out the settlement. We agree, but the question is: What happens if the time element is used, not for working out a settlement, but for creating and consolidating conditions that would obstruct it permanently? What happens if

1 million uprooted Palestinians see no hope except in a desperate resistance?

92. The annexation of the Holy City of Jerusalem is one of the most important manifestations of this conflict. The unique and special importance of Jerusalem for three world religions has been repeatedly affirmed by the United Nations. The General Assembly has twice unanimously called upon Israel to refrain from annexing the Holy City. This call was reinforced by Security Council resolution 252 (1968) adopted on 21 May 1968, which reaffirmed that acquisition of territory by military conquest is inadmissible and deplored Israel's failure to comply with the General Assembly's resolutions. Yet Israel's response to those categorical demands of the Organization has been one of defiance. This is not only an affront to the conscience of the world, but is also a grave threat to the peace.

93. The Moslem world embracing over 500 million people will never accept that control of their holy places should pass to non-Moslem hands. Let no one make a mistake about the depth of their feelings on that score.

94. I take this opportunity of stating that Pakistan whole-heartedly endorses the demand of the Conference of the Organization of African Unity held last month in Algiers for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied territories. We appeal to this twenty-third General Assembly to add the great weight of its own voice to this call. If the prospects of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East are not to suffer irreparable damage, if this Organization is not to acquiesce in the acquisition of territory by war, if the world is to be spared another conflagration in that area, Israel must be made to vacate the territories occupied by it during last year's hostilities.

95. In regard to the situation in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, my Government made its position clear in the Security Council in August. We note that further negotiations between the parties to this end are proceeding and that the five Socialist States are pledged to withdraw their forces from Czechoslovakia.

96. Mindful of the purposes and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, Pakistan firmly believes that the people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic are entitled, no less than any other people, and regardless of their social system, to exercise their sovereign rights and to enjoy freedom from the fear of threat or use of force. It therefore follows that the armed forces of the Socialist States need to be withdrawn from Czechoslovakia at the earliest possible moment.

97. In our own region also, there are issues which continue to disturb the peace and welfare of populations numbering more than 600 million people. I refer to the relations between India and Pakistan. It should be obvious from the experience of the last twenty-one years that these relations will remain impaired unless there is a just and honourable settlement of the dispute concerning the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

98. Pakistan seeks nothing more of India than that India should fulfil the pledge which it solemnly gave to Pakistan, to the people of Kashmir and to the Security Council that it would let the people of Kashmir decide their own future

by means of a plebiscite to be held under United Nations auspices. We seek nothing more than that India should co-operate in a settlement of the Kashmir dispute which would be in harmony with the principles of the international agreement concluded between India and Pakistan when they jointly accepted the resolutions of 1948 and 1949 of the United Nations Committee for India and Pakistan. We seek nothing more than that India should refrain from a unilateral repudiation of an international agreement.

99. This is not the occasion for me to recapitulate the history of the last twenty-one years. Suffice it to say that the war in September 1965 was stopped only when the Security Council adopted resolution 211 (1965) of 20 September 1965, which contemplated a settlement of the problem—that is, the Kashmir problem—underlying the conflict. In that resolution the Council committed itself to assist in the settlement. The cease-fire was followed by a mutual withdrawal of forces, when, by issuing the Tashkent Declaration,⁶ the two countries solemnly pledged themselves to settle all disputes by peaceful means.

100. In the two and a half years which have since elapsed, Pakistan has repeatedly invited India to enter into meaningful negotiations on the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. India has persistently refused to accept this invitation. Instead, the India leaders have now taken to asserting that the State of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India and that India's sovereignty over Kashmir is not negotiable.

101. As a peace-loving country, Pakistan is anxious to solve this dispute with India in a peaceful manner and is prepared to enter into negotiations with India on how best to allow the people of Jammu and Kashmir to exercise their right of self-determination, in which they could decide either to accede to India or to join Pakistan.

102. Inside the State of Jammu and Kashmir discontent is increasing, and the people of the State, under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah, are agitating for their legitimate right of self-determination. Already violence has taken place, but Sheikh Abdullah has thrown his weight against this. How long will he be able to control the people? How long will the people be able to contain their anger? An explosion could take place at any time which would endanger peace once again. The position now being adopted by the Government of India in respect of Jammu and Kashmir is a colonialist position. It is suppressing the people of Jammu and Kashmir by force and by the exercise of might denying them their right to freedom. Where there is repression there will be revolt. Where there is subjugation there will be a fight for freedom. The era of colonialism is over. It is now clear to all, except to those who have deliberately shut their eyes, that the people of Jammu and Kashmir do not wish to be a part of India. This is borne by all objective evidence from the State. In the by-elections to the so-called Legislative Assembly held in August in Srinagar, 95 per cent of the electorate responded to the call of Sheikh Abdullah and boycotted the polls. The Government of Pakistan is pledged to support the right of self-determination of the

people of Jammu and Kashmir, and this pledge we shall fulfil, come what may.

103. The Security Council has been seized of this dispute since 1948, and in September 1965 it renewed its pledge that it would take up the matter after the cease-fire had been implemented and the withdrawal of forces completed. I would remind the Security Council, particularly the permanent members, of this commitment, especially as India has not responded to Pakistan's offer of bilateral negotiations for the settlement of the dispute.

104. Should such a response be forthcoming from India, a new chapter would be opened in the troubled history of South Asia. The scarce resources of the two countries that at present are being squandered on an arms race would be spent on projects of welfare and peace.

105. The climate of relations between Pakistan and India has also been affected adversely by the treatment meted out to the Muslim minority in India by the majority community.

106. It is with considerable sorrow and reluctance that I turn to this subject, which nevertheless is appropriate both as to time and place. This is the International Year for Human Rights. It is from this forum that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was proclaimed and where the Covenants of Human Rights took shape.

107. There also exists an agreement between Pakistan and India, known as the Liaquat-Nehru Pact of 1950,⁷ which was registered with the United Nations Secretariat under Article 102 of the Charter. It provides for the safeguarding of the life and property of the minorities in the two countries as the joint concern of the two Governments.

108. It is, however, with anguish that we in Pakistan have observed that the anti-Muslim riots have become a regular feature of life in India. Some prominent Indian leaders have publicly acknowledged that incidents of communal violence against Muslims in India have shown an upward trend in recent years. In these riots thousands of Muslim men, women and even children have been killed, their properties looted and their homes destroyed and other brutalities perpetrated which are too horrible to recount. In the first six months of this year the Indian press has reported twenty-eight major riots in various parts of India which resulted in large-scale killing of Muslims and loss of their property. What is more regrettable is that many of these riots are carefully organized by certain elements in Indian political life. It is generally admitted, and even by the Government of India, that local officers have not taken effective measures to prevent riots or to stop them in time before serious damage has been done, nor is punishment meted out to those who are guilty. Some Indian observers have pointed out that not a single prosecution has succeeded in riot cases although thousands have been killed.

109. Pakistan sincerely hopes that India, as a subscriber to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and as a party to the Liaquat-Nehru Pact, would fulfil its obligations and

⁶ *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-first Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1966, document S/7221, annex.*

⁷ Agreement between Pakistan and India, signed at New Delhi on 8 April 1950.

deal resolutely and effectively with the forces of religious intolerance so that 50 million of its own citizens of Muslim faith are assured their fundamental and constitutional right to life, liberty and freedom from fear. My Government expects the Government of India to take energetic and effective measures in discharging its elementary duty towards its own nationals, because if these killings and persecutions of Muslims continue, a serious situation would be created between the two countries and my Government may have to seek recourse to whatever international procedures are appropriate.

110. Another matter of serious concern in India-Pakistan relations is the construction of a barrage, known as the Farraka Barrage, on the international river, the Ganges, at a site eleven miles upstream from the border of the eastern part of Pakistan. This project, which was begun by India in 1960, in spite of Pakistan's protests, is scheduled for completion by 1970.

111. The barrage has been characterized in the 1965-1966 Indian budget as a project of "strategic and international importance" and is designed to divert the waters of the mainstream of the river Ganges through a canal to another channel flowing entirely through India. The project is estimated by impartial experts to be fraught with the danger of grave injury to the economy of East Pakistan and to the régime of the rivers of that province. In the dry season, that is, March to May, the mainstream of the Ganges River, after the intake of the Farraka Barrage, will become so low in its course through East Pakistan that hundreds of thousands of acres of land will lose their water supply and become waste land. Shortage of water will lead to the silting of the river channel, thereby increasing flood hazards, besides other multiple harmful effects.

112. In order to find a just and amicable solution to this problem, Pakistan has, ever since the project was formulated, proposed to India bilateral discussions at the technical as well as political levels with a view to arriving at agreement on the basis of the recognized rules of international law on the equitable sharing of the waters of international rivers and the right of upper and lower riparians. Seventeen years of effort have resulted in nothing more than five meetings at the technical level. Political discussions with a view to a settlement have yet to take place.

113. My Government is strongly of the view that the time has come for substantive negotiations and that the matter brooks no further delay. The Government of Pakistan is ready to enter into such negotiations with the Government of India. If this is not acceptable to the Indian Government, we are ready to have recourse to any of the other methods of pacific settlement of disputes mentioned in Article 33 of the United Nations Charter, namely, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, reference to regional agencies or arrangements or other peaceful means of their own choice by India and Pakistan.

114. In 1960, Pakistan and India were able to reach an agreement on the equitable apportionment of the waters of the Indus River Basin through the good offices of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. We see no reason why an equitable sharing of the waters of

the Ganges River should also not be worked out with the fruitful co-operation of the same international agency.

115. I sincerely hope that this matter will be settled on an amicable basis and that Pakistan will not have to knock at the doors of international forums for a settlement. India's stand that the lower riparian has no say in the disposal of the water resources of an international river is untenable. If it goes unchallenged, it would mean the establishment of a new precedent contrary to international law. Its repercussions would extend beyond the region of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. This matter should, therefore, be of first importance to all States which have international rivers flowing through their territories.

116. We are happy to welcome Swaziland as the 125th Member of the United Nations. Its accession to independence and sovereignty represents yet another step in the process of decolonization, a task which still remains unfinished. Those vestiges that remain are the hard core colonial areas in southern parts of Africa, comprising the Territories of Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and Rhodesia.

117. In regard to the question of Namibia, the issues which are involved are simple and straightforward. They relate to the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence. It is the realization of this right which is being thwarted by South Africa in defiance of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) and subsequent resolutions of the General Assembly on Namibia.

118. This is the essence of the challenge which South Africa has posed to the world Organization. It is this challenge which must be resolutely met by the United Nations. As far as my delegation is concerned, we will be prepared to support recourse to Chapter VII measures by the Security Council when it takes up the question of Namibia for consideration in pursuance of any recommendations that may be made by the General Assembly.

119. The situation in Rhodesia continues to cause anxiety. As a result of the unilateral declaration of independence by Mr. Smith, an essential element of which is the partnership between colonialism and racism, the life, security and welfare of the people of Zimbabwe is in jeopardy. The world community is naturally concerned with this situation.

120. By its resolution 232 (1966), the Security Council rightly determined that the situation in Rhodesia constitutes a threat to international peace and security and, *inter alia*, decided that all Member States should impose selective mandatory sanctions. As is well known, these selective mandatory sanctions have not succeeded. Consequently, the Security Council adopted resolution 253 (1968), which represents the latest determined effort of the international community to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the illegal régime in Rhodesia.

121. We are deeply concerned over the deteriorating situation in Rhodesia. What agitates the world community is more than the total collapse of the rule of law or the utter denial of human rights in Rhodesia. There are no doubt explosive elements in the situation. Its danger lies in

its being a situation where the alliance of racism and colonialism has launched an offensive against the United Nations, against the Charter and against forces working towards a just and stable order in Africa.

122. The root cause of the ferment in southern Africa can be traced to the policies of *apartheid* followed by South Africa. Had it not been for this policy and its ramifications, the process of decolonization and freedom that liberated Asia and many parts of Africa would have also included southern Africa. The cancer of *apartheid* is spreading to Namibia and the land of Zimbabwe. It is our hope that the unanimity with which the policy of *apartheid* is condemned will also characterize the action which the world Organization must take to put an end to that odious system.

123. The denial of the right of self-determination to the people of Angola and Mozambique is another manifestation of the lengthening axis of racism and colonialism in the subcontinent of southern Africa. This partnership is threatening the foundations of peace and justice in that region and may well spark a racial conflagration with untold consequences for the whole world.

124. The Decade of Development, which is about to end, has fallen far below our expectations of achievement. The hope that the rich countries will devote 1 per cent of their national income to assist developing countries remains unfulfilled. Foreign aid is lagging far behind this promised level and is actually declining in relation to the ability of donor nations to provide.

125. The developing countries have been slipping steadily backward in relation to the economically developed countries. The *per capita* income in the latter has been rising by \$60 a year as compared to \$2 per head in the former. At the same time, the annual burden of debt of the developing countries is beginning to assume unmanageable proportions—it rose from \$10 billion to \$45 billion in the last decade. While this crippling burden increases, the capacity of the developing countries to repay their debts is decreasing because of the adverse terms of trade.

126. The first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was convened to draw attention to the need for giving equal, if not greater, importance to the trade of developing countries, particularly in manufactures, than to aid. The second session of UNCTAD held this year provided an opportunity of reviewing the achievements of the present and hopes for the future.

127. Before the second session Conference began, the developing countries had hoped that constructive action would be taken to devise a system of general preferences, to approve a scheme of supplementary financing, to improve the quantum and the terms of aid and to provide access both for agricultural as well as other products of the developing countries. It was also thought possible to lower trade barriers on the pattern of the Kennedy round which had primarily benefited only the developed countries. The second session did not achieve these goals.

128. At the recent session of the Economic and Social Council, the Secretary-General emphasized the fact that expectations of the developing countries from the second

session of UNCTAD had not been excessive or unrealistic. What was lacking was the political will on the part of the advanced countries to enhance the trade and development prospects of the developing countries.

129. Our disappointment must not be permitted to deter us in planning for the future. The second session of UNCTAD was not entirely unproductive. The acceptance, in principle, of a generalized system of non-discriminatory and non-reciprocal preferences and the agreement that the developed countries would, by a date not yet agreed upon, transfer annually 1 per cent of their Gross National Product to the developing countries, are two of its hopeful results.

130. The implementation of these agreements could show the way for future progress and contribute to the success of the second Development Decade to which the United Nations family of organizations is now attaching primary importance.

131. The Secretary-General has drawn this Assembly's attention in the introduction to this annual report to a hopeful development in the race between food and population. The record food crops during the last year have encouraged the belief that the developing countries may be, in the words of the Secretary-General, "on the verge of an agricultural revolution that may prove decisive for mankind" [A/7201/Add.1, para. 69]. In other words, in order that this belief may be transformed into reality, the developing countries will have to allocate energy and resources on a continuing basis to the improvement of farming practices and the evolution of human attitudes. Plans for agricultural development will have to go hand in hand with family-planning programmes.

132. It remains our hope that the role of the United Nations in bringing about this revolution and in closing the widening gap between the rich and the poor will be strengthened if the developed countries demonstrate the political will to play the part expected of them.

133. Over the years all Members States have been acutely conscious of the need to strengthen the role of the United Nations and its machinery in order to make it a more effective instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security, and for achieving the goals of disarmament, decolonization and economic development. Year after year, we zealously proclaim our dedication to these ends and pledge renewed efforts for their achievement.

134. The causes that have made our progress so painfully slow are undoubtedly many and complex. However, if there is one single cause which stands out in all its sharpness and clarity and which is within our power to remove, it is the continued denial to the People's Republic of China of its rightful place in the United Nations and all other international organizations. No formula for the security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the nuclear threat can be fully credible without recognition of China's place as a nuclear-weapon Power. Not a single step can be taken in the direction of prohibiting the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons without the fullest participation of China in the deliberations of the United Nations aimed at outlawing such weapons.

135. The goal of general and complete disarmament will remain as distant as ever if the opportunity is denied to

China of making its indispensable contribution to bringing it within the bounds of practical possibility. Peace and stability in Asia, and indeed in the world, cannot be assured without due recognition of the role of the People's Republic of China as a great Power.

136. Mr. IRIBARREN BORGES (Venezuela) (*translated from Spanish*): On this occasion, the fifth time I have had the honour of addressing the General Assembly on behalf of Venezuela, I am gratified to be doing so under the Presidency of Mr. Arenales.

137. As a Latin American country, we share the pride in being guided in these deliberations by the representative of the sister Republic of Guatemala, and we have the added satisfaction that that country is represented by its Foreign Minister, Mr. Arenales, who, on account of his personality, his activities and his virtues, has won the admiration and esteem of all of us who have had the privilege of knowing him. We are sure that he will preside with wisdom and ability over the General Assembly in its consideration of the important items on its agenda. In the fulfilment of that mission, the President can count on the determined co-operation of the delegation of Venezuela.

138. My delegation also wishes to record its appreciation of the work of the President at our previous session, Mr. Corneliu Manescu of Romania, who, with calmness and skill, led the debates which took place during a particularly difficult period of the General Assembly.

139. On behalf of the Government of Venezuela, I am pleased once again to congratulate the Secretary General, U Thant, for his perseverance and efficient work and for his efforts in seeking solutions to the conflicts which threaten world peace.

140. The multifarious problems confronting mankind are grave and call for urgent solutions. Unfortunately, we cannot say that peace has definitely been ensured or that all countries are upholding the purposes and principles of this Organization. However, we can hope from experience that reason and the law will prevail and that Governments will base their conduct on the principles of coexistence and co-operation within the international community.

141. There does indeed exist an international order that cannot be ignored by those who threaten world peace. This conviction reigns in the conscience of all the representatives here, and the principles underlying it are fully valid both within and outside the Organization. We feel that most countries share Venezuela's concern at the perpetration of acts which constitute a breach of international legal order and are serious threats to world peace. We are especially concerned over violations of the principle of non-intervention, the formulation and defence of which may be counted among the most notable advances of our times. That principle is the key to the whole system of international law; only if it is strictly observed can we expect a balance between nations and a true expression of the sovereign equality of all States. For this reason, the Venezuelan Government continues to be gravely concerned over the acts committed by troops of Eastern Europe against the Czechoslovak nation. Undoubtedly, they constitute a flagrant violation of the principles of non-aggression and of

the self-determination of peoples, both of which are expressly set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, and of the principle of non-intervention formulated in resolution 2131 (XX) and unanimously adopted by the General Assembly at its twentieth session on the initiative of the Soviet Union. The Venezuelan Government, a firm champion of the principle of non-intervention, peaceful coexistence among nations and the right of self-determination, once again condemns that action.

142. The Assembly will once again have to consider the Middle East question, which, far from approaching a solution, is yearly growing worse, thus constituting a constant threat to world peace. Venezuela, which has friendly relations with all the peoples of that region, reiterates its support of United Nations efforts to make real progress towards a permanent and lasting solution to the conflict.

143. We recall that the year 1968 was proclaimed the "International Year for Human Rights" by the General Assembly [*resolution 1961 (XVIII)*], and that Member States undertook to make further efforts to reaffirm the dignity, worth and freedom of man, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. For this reason, it is particularly painful to the human conscience that the monstrous policy of racial discrimination continues to be applied in South Africa, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia.

144. No reasonable man can accept any arguments, open or implied, which seek to justify the oppression of one group of men by another, or the separation of groups because of the colour of their skin. Venezuelans find such arguments especially absurd, because our nation is a product of three human groups: the indigenous Americans, the Europeans and the Africans. We have progressed beyond the peaceful coexistence of different racial communities; among us there is no concept of racial collectivity. As a motive to unite or separate Venezuelans, the colour of a person's skin is for us of as little importance as the colour of the eyes or the hair.

145. The warnings of racists about the danger of the mixture of races or, as they call it, miscegenation, have been clearly refuted by the Venezuelans, who have practised such a policy since their independence, with such good results that I can state with pride that, regardless of our colour, we Venezuelans have no race.

146. Viet-Nam and the situation prevailing there continue to be a cause of concern to the entire world. The lack of progress in the Paris talks increases that concern. Today, we reiterate our hope that the countries involved in that situation may be able to resolve it in such a way as to bring peace, after so many years of conflict, to the war-torn territory of Viet-Nam.

147. With great satisfaction the Government and people of Venezuela have noted some progress in the process of decolonization which this Organization has inspired and encouraged; I refer to the independence of Swaziland and the imminent independence of Equatorial Guinea. We are pleased to send our greetings and cordial felicitations to the peoples of those territories and to their leaders for their unswerving dedication to the cause of independence. For

them, just as for those who are still struggling to gain their freedom, we would note, with Renan, that "suffering together unites more closely than joy, and that sorrows are worth more than triumphs since they impose duties and require joint efforts".

148. The activities of this Organization and the positive attitude now adopted by the administering Powers have done much to guide these peoples towards the exercise of the right of self-determination, thus enabling them to share with us the grave and increasingly complex responsibilities of the international community.

149. At the same time, however, it is regrettable to note those colonial situations which persist even now in obstinate defiance of the United Nations; such situations are the results of the intransigence of certain colonial Powers and their rejection of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions outlining specific and effective measures for the restoration of the inalienable rights of peoples under colonial domination. Apparently, these Powers persist in upholding colonial structures which are out of date and which are being sustained only by legal fictions and racial discrimination—concepts unacceptable to civilization whose basic tenets are founded on the ideal of peace and justice for all freedom-loving nations and the equality of men in shaping their common destiny.

150. Venezuela trusts whole-heartedly that the efforts to achieve the freedom and independence of all territories still subjected to colonialism will be intensified.

151. On humanitarian grounds, I must now refer to something which has disturbed international public opinion and causes us the deepest concern: the consequences of the struggle taking place in Nigeria. Let us hope that a feeling of human solidarity will prevail over political differences and put an end to the suffering of the innocent victims of the conflict.

152. While Venezuela's prime concern, in political affairs, is respect for the sovereign equality of all States regardless of their military might or geographical position, it believes that, in economic affairs also, justice must govern international relations. It is just as wrong for the great Powers to abuse their military or political strength in their relations with weaker nations as it is for the industrialized nations to abuse their economic might in dictating conditions of trade with the developing countries.

153. The unwillingness of the developed countries to change the prevailing system and make it fairer, or even to halt the decline of the under-developed world, was revealed dramatically at the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at New Delhi. Despite the joint action taken by the Group of Seventy-seven, most of the developed countries maintained their opposition to all changes of any significance. The only really positive aspect of the New Delhi Conference was the demonstration of the common feeling and solidarity of the Third World. It was further proof that resolutions, recommendations and measures approved in international bodies are in themselves valueless unless they represent the will of those who have the power to carry them out.

154. Nor was the New Delhi Conference able to make any definite contribution towards the formulation of the global

development strategy. Unless UNCTAD fulfils the important role allotted to it, the next United Nations Development Decade can hardly be expected to yield better results than the frankly unsatisfactory ones of the present Decade.

155. The reasons for the lack of success are clear. One of those which disturbs Venezuela most is the steady decline in the prices of our countries' exports and the ever-growing restrictions on their access to world markets. Dr. Raúl Leoni, President of the Republic of Venezuela, referring to the problems of international trade, said:

"The developing nations' persistent campaign, at various meetings and conferences, has so far failed to produce a single significant result and the solemn declarations and formal promises have not been accompanied by the appropriate practical measures, or even by the required will, to translate them into reality. The repeated demands of the Latin American countries for measures to increase their commodity earnings appear today like an awful nightmare".

156. Furthermore, it is difficult for our countries to achieve, solely by means of their own resources, an adequate rate of development. Their low rate of capital formation must be boosted by an adequate flow of finance from abroad. It is therefore particularly disturbing to note that the volume of international assistance is tending to stagnate or even regress.

157. Another problem of increasing gravity is the ever-widening technological gap between the two groups of countries. Technological backwardness is at once both a cause and effect of economic and social backwardness. Modern technology cannot flourish where the people are poor and uneducated. Nevertheless, it is an essential requisite for the industrialization which would overcome ignorance and poverty. It is therefore urgent to create conditions for a transfer of technology to the countries of the Third World.

158. As long as we see no real change in this situation, or at least no real desire on the part of all countries for such a change, we cannot be optimistic about the prospects for the next Development Decade. We therefore feel that a more appropriate name, and one which would emphasize this need for effective collaboration between the developed and the developing countries, would be "Decade of Co-operation for Development".

159. We nations of the Third World must continue in our united efforts to change the attitude of the developed countries. At the same time, we must take steps among ourselves to protect our interests by using all the means in our power to ensure that discussions and negotiations bear fruit. Venezuela, for its part, is playing an active role in initiatives designed to avoid any deterioration in the world market conditions for its main products.

160. By the same token, it is taking part in the efforts being made to achieve the integration of Latin America and hence a sound economic foundation for its industrialization and its participation, on competitive terms, in international trade. Our activities have not been limited to the Latin American Free Trade Association: within LAFTA, we have conducted talks on the possibilities of establishing closer

sub-regional integration of the countries of the Andean Cordillera and, outside LAFTA, more recently, we have also been developing, through talks and agreements, our economic, social and cultural relations with neighbouring States of the Caribbean.

161. Furthermore, Venezuela feels that the development of nations cannot be measured only by indices of productivity. We must know how far national, regional and world development programmes are designed to bring about the actual betterment—material and spiritual—of man or of the masses. It is the task of the United Nations to ensure that present-day national and regional development plans contain programmes for education and training, health and social security. The technology and awareness of past generations was such that they strove first to produce greater wealth and then to distribute it; the peoples of today, however, will brook no postponement of their legitimate sharing in the fruits of development. That is how we view our own national development, and we hope international development will follow the same course.

162. Venezuela believes in the United Nations, in its organs and specialized agencies, and, when it is called upon to fill positions in certain institutions, it does so, not for reasons of international prestige, but rather with a fervent desire to collaborate and give its firm support with a view to strengthening those institutions.

163. During the present year, the representative of my country, Dr. Manuel Pérez Guerrero, presided over the Economic and Social Council. This was a great honour for Venezuela, and we take this opportunity to thank the members of that body for the spirit of understanding which they showed during the meetings and which helped it to achieve positive results.

164. The time for noting and analysing the problems of economic and social development has now passed. We must now tackle and solve those problems; we must adopt practical and direct measures which will help the immense developing world to shake off the inertia which seems to be gripping it. The industrialized countries have a serious historic commitment towards that world in which poverty, sickness and ignorance still prevail.

165. That, Mr. President, was all that my delegation had wished to say at this time; however, the accusations made yesterday [1680th meeting] against my country by the representative of Guyana compel us to add a number of observations.

166. The representative of Guyana has himself recalled the existence of the 1966 Geneva Agreement⁸ between the United Kingdom and Guyana, on the one hand, and Venezuela, on the other, and has referred to the Mixed Commission established under that Agreement to consider all matters relating to the territorial dispute which exists between our countries. We may add that the Commission met last week for the tenth time at Georgetown. The Venezuelan delegation therefore feels that to bring up this matter in the United Nations is out of place, and our

remarks are intended not to start a discussion on this topic, but to reject the unjustified accusations and put right the factual errors contained in the Guyanese statement.

167. In the first place, he has repeated the absurd allegation that Venezuela “occupied” Ankoko Island. To occupy that territory would have been impossible for the simple reason that it has always been in Venezuela’s possession, and that not even the legal farce which the representative of Guyana termed the “Arbitral Award” denied Venezuela’s sovereignty over Ankoko Island.

168. Secondly, he has accused Venezuela of intervention in Guyana’s internal affairs and specifically accused our country of attempting to subvert the indigenous community of the disputed territory. Those accusations are entirely false and groundless. Any sympathy which the islanders may feel for Venezuela is certainly none of our doing. They can hardly avoid comparing the progressive and integrated society of Venezuela with the policy of racial hostility which the British colonialists have deliberately and systematically fostered in Guyana, as in all other places where they have held sway.

169. Thirdly, he has accused Venezuela of excluding Guyana from the Organization of American States and from the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. Suffice it to say, in reply, that the conditions of admission to both organizations were unanimously laid down by the Member States.

170. Fourthly, he has accused Venezuela of economic aggression. Venezuela has merely pointed out that, when the territory which was snatched from Venezuela by the United Kingdom regains its sovereignty, it will not recognize any foreign concessions which may have been granted in regard to it by Guyana. We must make such an affirmation in order to avoid giving powerful international economic consortia interested in the territory any grounds for future claims against Venezuela based on spurious titles obtained from the Government of Guyana.

171. Fifthly, he has chosen to construe as an act of aggression the Decree of 9 July 1968 on matters relating to Venezuelan territorial waters. This Decree merely reserves the rights of Venezuela over that portion of Venezuelan territorial waters held by Guyana. That country cannot accuse Venezuela of interfering with the unjust possession exercised by Guyana over Venezuelan territory.

172. The representative of Guyana has stated that the Venezuelan claim is groundless and a symptom of Venezuela’s “expansionism”. At the same time, he recalls the existence of the 1966 Geneva Agreement—accepted by Guyana—which establishes the parties’ obligation to seek satisfactory solutions for the practical settlement of the dispute. In pursuance of that Agreement, Venezuela, through peaceful means and in good faith, is continuing its attempt to settle this problem which has been inherited from British imperialism.

173. It is ironic and, above all, sad that Guyana, whose people suffered and continue to suffer so much from the consequences of the United Kingdom’s colonial practices,

⁸ Agreement to settle the frontier dispute between Venezuela and British Guyana.

should come here today to defend, before the Assembly, the adoption of those same practices in order to steal from Venezuela.

174. The representative of Guyana says that Venezuela is claiming two-thirds of his country's territory. That is false. It is the Government of Guyana which is clinging illegally to one-seventh of Venezuela territory—stolen from us by the United Kingdom which, at the time, in complicity with the then Government of the United States, sought to make that seizure final by means of a legal farce they called arbitration.

175. Finally, I turn to the accusations of expansionism and aggressive intention levelled at Venezuela by the representative of Guyana. Here, it may be observed that our record is unsullied, a fact to which we shall be proud to call upon our other neighbours to bear witness.

176. Such an indictment of a country which has an unbroken tradition of devotion to peace and respect for international law is so absurd that not even the Government of Guyana itself could believe it.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.