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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. BOURGUIBA (Tunisia) (*translated from French*):
Mr. President, my country which, as you know, enjoys the most friendly relations with your own, is delighted that you have been chosen to direct our proceedings. In associating myself with those representatives who have already congratulated you on the trust unanimously placed in you, I am paying tribute to your qualities as a diplomat and through you, to your country and to the whole of Latin America.

2. We also wish to express our gratitude to your predecessor, our distinguished colleague the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Romania, Mr. Corneliu Mănescu, whose name will, we feel sure, be included in the roll of presidents who have embodied the spirit of peace. Both my Government and I myself will never forget the warm welcome which his country and he himself extended to the President of Tunisia. May I assure him of our faithful friendship.

3. At the opening of this session, I should also like to express my wishes for success to Swaziland, the latest African State to make its contribution to the advancement of the cause of freedom and peace at a time which does not seem very auspicious.

4. For notwithstanding the tremendous efforts of the United Nations, and more especially the labours of its General Assembly, our world is still in search of itself, or is even being reduced to self-negation and a reversion to the deplorable attitudes we had thought were a thing of the past.

5. Would you consider me too pessimistic if I told you how concerned I am at the worsening situation in the Middle East, after a moment at which there seemed to be a glimmer of hope, when the international community believed, on 22 November last, that there might finally be a chance of peace with justice and freedom, the hope of which, after more than twenty years of warfare and

suffering, had not been completely banished from the hearts of the children of Palestine or among all men of good will throughout the world who were shocked at the relentless fate which kept the cradle of human brotherhood torn apart and racked by hatred? We feel it is even more urgent to take stock of the new situation since at the present time it is marked by confusion between what is essential and what is incidental, between phenomena and epiphenomena, between cause and effect—a confusion which is increasing daily, to such an extent that it is hard to believe it will ever come to an end.

6. More than a year after a terribly destructive conflict, some incident or other between Jordan and Israel, or between Israel and Egypt is on the Security Council's agenda, month after month or even week after week. On this same date last year, we at least had the satisfaction of discussing a policy, in other words a vision, a common action, in depth, designed to construct and embody a future for the peoples of that region. For some months past, the impression gained from international consultations on the problem before us is that "entertainment" has taken the place of the serious consideration which is nevertheless so necessary.

7. Will the easy way out of indifference and complacency or even evasion become the prevailing attitude towards another matter whose importance as a test of United Nations' credibility has been fully demonstrated? I refer to "decolonization". Admittedly, there have been torrents of words, large numbers of resolutions, many good intentions. But what good do they do to the tens of millions of oppressed Africans and others? There is good reason to fear that they will despair of us and that before the tribunal of history they will accuse us of breaking our own solemn undertaking, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

8. Were it not for the dialogue on Viet-Nam in Paris, the conclusion of the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*see resolution 2373 (XXII)*] and the convening of the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development,¹ it would have been difficult if not impossible for the community of nations to show that it was equal to its responsibilities and worthy of itself. We can justifiably congratulate ourselves on those three events so eagerly awaited by all mankind.

9. Unfortunately, disorder and meaningless actions allowed us but a short respite. Prompted by our anxious search for peace to interpret any sign as concordant with our wishes, we failed to see that the evil from which

¹ The session was held at New Delhi from 1 February to 21 March 1968.

international life is suffering went deeper. Besides, how can we expect peace and brotherhood in a world divided into rich and poor, East and West, into ideological blocs and conflicting ambitions, caring more for ideas than for men?

10. Bearing in mind the recent events in Czechoslovakia and the fact that the Paris talks are merely marking time, we should perhaps do well to moderate our hopes and think more seriously about the regrettable situation from which mankind is finding it so difficult to extract itself.

11. We might remind ourselves that justice and freedom are still being flouted in vast areas of the world, and that man is being subjugated to man and is a prey to disease, hunger and ignorance. Perhaps if we were to think about the suffering of the innocent who are being sacrificed to the implacability of jealous but highly suspect gods; if we were to attempt to understand the appeal of the common man who is suffering and dying anonymously in some terribly backward region in Africa, Asia or Latin America, we might then redouble our efforts to build a world more in keeping with the principles of our Charter.

12. In conformity with its history, its vocation and its ideals, true to itself, Tunisia is trying for its part, guided by the law of the golden mean—in short, by justice—the only law which we wholeheartedly observe, to guard against all extremist trends, all heresies, or to render them harmless; to aim at tolerance of others in the hope of reciprocal action; to find its way towards creativity and progress in peace and harmony; in short, to bring about a future that will be better for mankind, in peace, freedom and dignity.

13. Whether it be a question of the peoples' struggle to break the chains of their bondage or of the state of permanent conflict in the Middle East since the establishment of the State of Israel, of disarmament, or of the role the United Nations should play in promoting and maintaining international peace and security, the principles motivating our action remain the same, because they are rooted in the history of our own struggle for freedom: on the one hand, the right of peoples to self-determination, to decide their own future for themselves, and on the other hand, the need for compromise, for negotiation, in dealings between men as well as between political or State entities or entities which inevitably become such.

14. Who will maintain, unless he be naive or what is worse, completely Machiavellian, that freedom prevails amidst the lamentations of the enslaved peoples in Rhodesia, South Africa, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) or the Cape Verde Islands? Who can find freedom in the land of that great hope for Africa, Nigeria, after the terrible fratricidal carnage or after the rumbling of the tanks of certain socialist countries that have violated the sovereignty of another socialist country and are doing so in the very name of defending socialism?

15. Are the Israeli leaders honouring freedom by the military occupation of Jordanian, Syrian or Egyptian territories, or by perpetuating the tragic fate of more than a million Palestinians who are living as slaves within their own homeland, or by giving a new meaning and content to the Diaspora of their oppressor, a Diaspora which only a short time ago was the source of that people's moral strength but

which, today, unfortunately, goads it to defiance and arrogance—premonitory signs, it should be noted, of its defeat, as other oppressors before it have always learned too late?

16. Finally, what is this balance of terror being created in the shadow of deadly silos but a fearful and permanent threat to the very future of our race, liable at each conflict of interests between the great Powers to break down and to bury everything in the oblivion of the ages, even the nations themselves—not only their interests—and to erase all memory of freedom, thereby keeping mankind in a state of anxiety unprecedented in its history?

17. Tunisia believes there is an alternative to the strategy of all or nothing from which the dismal picture I have painted may some day emerge: that of reason, in other words a return to dialogue, to the serious search for a compromise, in those areas of course where opportunities for an honourable compromise without surrendering our principles really exist. For us Tunisians, dignity and glory are not to be confused with overweening pride or foolish vanity, both of which, when political leaders fall under their sway, can only lead to violent clashes between nations.

18. It is said that nations are worth no more than the principles which guide them. But they must honour those principles in their institutions, respect them in their every-day actions, whether external or domestic. Fully aware of its duty as a member of the international community, Tunisia cannot be content with restricting to domestic use the principles which rule its life and have undoubtedly created in our country peace of mind and peace of heart. Tunisia also intends to act and to call to action all Member States of the United Nations so that freedom and peace can be given a chance in this world.

19. We are deeply convinced that tomorrow's world will not come about so long as even in one portion of the globe nations fear for their sovereignty, or so long as even one man remains enslaved. In this connexion, so long as Jordanian, Egyptian or Syrian territories remain occupied, so long as the Palestinians are deprived of their sacred rights to their homeland and the Middle East is in a state of shock because of recent and all previous violence, or even anxious about the future within a region where three great messages of faith in human brotherhood and the future of mankind have nevertheless resounded—so long as such a situation prevails the universalist ethic from which our Charter derives its strength will continue to be violated.

20. In order to hasten the restoration of law, my delegation holds the view that Israel must conform to the requirements of the Security Council resolution of last November, in other words, it must unequivocally accept both the terms and the spirit of that resolution and co-operate wholeheartedly with Mr. Jarring's mission.² In that way a process will have been started which may lead to the quenching of the fires of the recent past, reduce the military and verbal escalation on both sides which we are witnessing today and to the establishment of a minimum of normal relations between all States in the region. Once a

² Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Middle East.

more serious attempt has been made by them all and also, and more especially, by the four Great Powers, it will then be necessary to promote and develop among the former belligerents the type of coexistence indicated by the Security Council resolution dated 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)]. In fact, we shall have isolated and dealt with one aspect, and a superficial one at that, of the Palestine tragedy; in short, we shall have lifted the veil in which the ambition to achieve hegemony and the political intrigues prevalent in the Middle East since the establishment of the State of Israel have enveloped a basically simple fact: the right of the Palestinians to the liberation of their homeland from the yoke of this new type of colonialism, Zionist colonialism. At that point, this basic fact will emerge spontaneously and will take its normal place in the panorama of our era: I am referring to the great task of decolonization started soon after the end of the Second World War and which, twenty years later, has not yet been completed.

21. The urgent need radically to revise our approach to the Palestine problem is becoming increasingly and grievously evident; for that matter, everything points to it: the failure of the unrealistic pro-Israel policy being pursued, and often imposed, by some Middle East leaders; the start of a clarification process with regard to the relations between States of the Arab world, States, incidentally, that are still sovereign and independent. Everything indicates that need. Indeed, since last summer we have been witnessing the actual reassumption of control over their own destiny by the Palestinian people, thus adding their defiance of colonial oppression to the already lengthy list of sacrifices being made by the formerly colonized peoples of Africa and Asia.

22. From this rostrum Tunisia wishes to pay tribute to that resistance, to express its faith in the action undertaken to change a fate which was seemingly sealed; Tunisia pledges its support, so far, of course, as its resources permit, for whatever action the Palestinian people, and they alone, may decide to take.

23. The same tragedy of human freedom and brotherhood is being played out in other parts of the world, and Tunisia wishes to express and to reaffirm the same support to the oppressed.

24. Of course, a single life saved represents an absolute moral gain for humanity. Only an unbridled ideological fanaticism will deny this. Nevertheless, historical situations such as the one existing in South Africa, finally make one doubt the possibility of peaceful change, lead men to despair and justifiably discredit any appeal to reason.

25. In our Secretary-General's own words, in the introduction to his annual report on the United Nations' work, "the latest developments in . . . southern Africa seem to indicate that the danger of violent conflict in South Africa . . . resulting from the policies and practices of *apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, should not be discounted or minimized". [A/7201/Add.1, para. 144].

26. Uttered by a man whose devotion to the cause of peace is known to us all, this warning has a special significance, and in our opinion it must be taken seriously if

we wish to preserve Africa and the world from terrible upheavals.

27. Far from changing the course of its policy in the direction of equality of rights for all races in its territory and freedom for all its citizens, the Pretoria regime has on the contrary promulgated new legislation aimed at strengthening both racial segregation and the repression of its political opponents. What is worse, it has done all it can to consolidate and extend the influence of its aberrant philosophy in neighbouring territories, particularly in Namibia and Southern Rhodesia. of course all this has been done in defiance of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions.

28. It constitutes a challenge to the rule of law and to mankind; the only similar challenge in history is that of Nazism. It is most regrettable to note that so far we have met that challenge only with resolutions, dozens, hundreds of resolutions, which admittedly become more emphatic all the time, but about which we may legitimately wonder whether they are not serving as alibis designed to conceal a real lack of resolution.

29. Who among us can seriously maintain that he is unaware of the real problem, that he does not visualize the actual means by which the Pretoria leaders can be brought to see reason? We all know that so long as South Africa's main trading partners fail to put an end to their economic, political or military co-operation with that country's Government, thereby encouraging it to persist in its policy, we shall only be amusing ourselves by practising the sterile art of composing resolutions.

30. The South African leaders have become so accustomed to this that they do not appear to have hesitated long before flouting United Nations authority when it decided to put an end to their direct administration of Namibia. Their only response to our resolutions was their trial and conviction of many Namibians and their opposition to the attempts made last April by the United Nations Council for Namibia to enter that territory in order to perform the functions assigned to it by the General Assembly. Finally, to complete the image it has of itself and the idea it has of us, the South African Government, on 6 June 1968, triumphantly promulgated an act³ designed to promote the establishment of Bantustans—quasi-zoological reserves—in South West Africa, and has since undertaken to implement it, by force and repression, of course.

31. We must not be surprised therefore that such contemptuous arrogance is being emulated. That Mr. Ian Smith should take the Pretoria leaders for his mentors is only logical. That the Portuguese Government should ally itself with the South African and Salisbury Governments to terrorize and persecute the African populations in the territories under its domination and to flout the authority of the United Nations was foreseeable and also natural. This veritable "axis" formed by Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon is today a reality against which the verbal escalation of our resolutions has had practically no effect and probably never will. In my Government's view, therefore, the choice, with regard to the populations subjugated by those régimes and

³ *Development of Self-Government for Native Nations in South West Africa Act*, No. 54 of 1968.

also with regard to the broader reality of decolonization, is no longer between degrees of severity in the terms of a further resolution, but between two methods of meeting the challenge, the one not exclusive of the other. Either the economic, political and military partners of those three régimes finally take action to enforce international law, or all Member States, especially the African States, must come to the assistance of national liberation movements, on whom will devolve the main task of changing the course of history.

32. Blood has been flowing in Africa for a long time past. Further efforts and further sacrifices will be needed. That is the price that will have to be paid for freedom, which is never granted as a gift. If it is to be genuine, freedom must mean liberation. This is borne out by history and by our own experience; and we have always made it our duty to say so on all occasions, even when plain speaking was difficult.

33. Nevertheless, we appreciate the efforts made by the Special Committee entrusted with the study of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In many cases, constituting in fact a specific category, the Committee has to confront administering Powers that have formally undertaken to lead the territories under their authority to self-determination. Even under those conditions, the Committee does not always encounter all the goodwill or all the co-operation desirable to enable it to carry out its task.

34. Consequently, we can only express our regret that, eight years after the adoption of the Declaration and notwithstanding the irreversible trend of events since the 1950's, some Powers persist in preserving anachronistic systems which history has already condemned. As a matter of fact, so far as some Member States are concerned, that dogged adherence to outmoded ways of thinking is not confined to their attitude on decolonization. Their concept of security is also based on the realities of former times which are as foreign to a world that has been reshaped and remodelled by the nuclear factor as the Middle Ages were to the nineteenth century industrial revolution. Is it not an anomaly and even an error to conceive of the defence of one's country's and of peace from the standpoint of nuclear superiority when we know—all too well—that should a conflagration occur there will be neither victors nor vanquished, let alone witnesses?

35. The ideal should therefore be the total prohibition of nuclear weapons, their manufacture, stockpiling and use. States should make an effort to resign themselves to this, if not from moral rectitude at least out of sheer realism.

36. Consequently my Government was gratified to note the conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, a Treaty which we signed and hope soon to ratify. In our opinion, it represents a step towards peace, despite some imbalances such as the inadequate guarantees promised by the three nuclear Powers as a counterpart to the nominal abandonment of sovereignty by non-nuclear countries.

37. Another serious defect in that document is that certain countries, such as France, or others such as the

People's Republic of China, which is still absent from this Assembly, did not participate in its elaboration and do not recognize its validity.

38. We referred to anomalies: is not the absence of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations the most flagrant anomaly of all? We spoke of error: is that not the most dangerous of errors?

39. My Government considers that the presence of the People's Republic of China in this Assembly is necessary if we wish to find a solution to the major problems of our world. It rests with the United Nations to work out a formula which will enable that great Power to play its proper part in our Organization; the acceptance of that formula by the People's Republic of China is also required, since, in our opinion, such a formula must in no way prejudice the future presence in the United Nations of the Taiwan Government.

40. In regarding general disarmament as the true objective, we were thinking not only of the disappearance of war in inter-State relations, but also, and above all, of the release of the enormous financial, technological and human resources which could then be devoted to combating hunger, disease, poverty, ignorance—in short, to assisting mankind to emerge from under-development. The magnitude and urgency of the task awaiting us in this connexion are so great that even all our combined efforts will not be too much.

41. In the social field, we must strive to achieve the objectives of the draft declaration on social development [A/7161, annex I], to the preparation of which Tunisia was privileged to contribute. In the economic field, we must satisfy the hopes placed by the peoples of the Third World in the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which was expected to be the outstanding event of 1968.

42. During the debates of the twenty-second session, we all expressed the hope that that Conference would make it possible to enter a new phase of the process begun in 1964, and that its work would lead to the elaboration of concrete proposals for the solution of the problems before it.

43. Today we are forced to admit that the Conference was a great disappointment to all concerned. With his customary sobriety, the Secretary General, U Thant, described the results as meagre. For his part, Mr. Raúl Prebisch, who considers them very limited and not commensurate with the urgency or the magnitude of development problems, writes:

“Be it as it may, developed countries, with a few exceptions, continue to consider the development problem as a residual one that can be tackled here and there with a few and insufficient measures instead of bold and resolute action.”⁴

44. One of the temptations to which we might fall prey is that of attributing the meagre results achieved by the Conference to defective operating methods. Without deny-

⁴ See document TD/96.

ing that this assessment contains a grain of truth, we must nevertheless recognize that what the Conference suffered from more than anything else was the absence of political will, particularly on the part of the developed countries.

45. In our opinion, what the New Delhi meeting needed much more than efficient procedures and refined technical contributions, was the active sympathy of the "have" countries that were engaged in discussions with the Third World, the only attitude on their part which could have paved the way for progress. They ought to have accepted for the time being the need for granting real favours, for compromise, in short, for priorities benefiting the poorer countries; they ought to have realized that generosity of that kind would provide the only real stimulus to Third World development and hence to international economic co-operation.

46. In other words, we could have hoped for at least the same effort at sacrifice on the part of the "have" countries in favour of the "have not" countries that the latter are making on their own behalf. On both sides, that would have meant firm long-term financial commitments.

47. Nevertheless, we consider that the wave of pessimism and the feeling of frustration which immediately followed the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development should today give way to reflection and an objective analysis so as to ascertain to what extent we can improve the image of the Conference and its aims, thus enabling those aims to be brought closer to the needs of our world and the hopes of the poorer nations. That task has already been begun by the UNCTAD secretariat, and the secretariats of the United Nations specialized agencies. We feel sure that the elaboration and implementation of a global development strategy will provide this new instrument for progress with the place it deserves in that vast project which must in our opinion be the basic objective of the second United Nations Development Decade.

48. We are aware of the complexity of the work to be undertaken; we are also aware of the need for that work and of its urgency. That is why we should like to pay special tribute to all those who have agreed to share in that task.

49. The encouraging results achieved by the United Nations Development Programme should reassure the "have" countries about the efforts made by the developing countries and convince them of the sacrifices the latter are making; those results should convince them of the really stimulating and progressive effect produced by the external aid received from the developed countries. Nevertheless, the Programme's operations, although fruitful and encouraging, are still inadequate owing to the very modest resources at its disposal. For that reason we endorse the appeal made by the United Nations Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report to the General Assembly that the minimum target for 1970 should be set at \$350 million [*see A/7201/Add.1, para. 110*].

50. I cannot let this opportunity pass without paying a special tribute to the administration of UNDP and particularly to Mr. Paul Hoffman, whose zeal and dynamism have helped to make the Programme what it is today. Other problems in this field are also a matter of concern to the

Tunisian delegation. We hope and believe that the discussions concerning them during the current session will produce positive results.

51. Such is our view of the international situation; such are the principles guiding Tunisia's action; such are the thoughts my country has felt bound to bring to the attention of the international community in the hope that they will contribute to a solution of the crises and problems which darken our horizon.

52. If we did not basically believe in man, in his reason and his genius we should be tempted to fall prey to pessimism, to ideologies and idolatries which, when we are beset with anxieties and difficulties, distract us from our vital need for well-being, progress and peace, luring us with the fascination of absolutes and the ease of Manichean dreams. The spectacle of youth that is everywhere being deliberately driven to despair and extremism—an extremism to which it inclines by virtue of its basically generous nature and its uncompromising aspiration for the absolute—does not that spectacle reveal to us the gravity of the crisis through which our era is passing, and does it not give us an idea of the danger to which man's freedom and happiness are being exposed?

53. Nevertheless, I think that mankind discovers the virtues of rational effort and when it is less divided by the unequal distribution of well-being and riches, it will be less fascinated by that veritable nihilism. Tomorrow, perhaps, the various societies will discover that in this age of modern economies their interests are interconnected and their destiny is a common one. Then, perhaps, a collective existence founded upon reason will come about, and mankind will be able reasonably to hope for the advent of a true peace.

54. Mr. VALDES (Chile) (*translated from Spanish*): Mr. President, your election constitutes a just recognition of your qualities as a statesman of strong personality, firm principles and great diplomatic ability, qualities we have had the good fortune to appreciate during your international career in the service of Latin American unity and of our common principles. We Chileans feel honoured to have you presiding over this Assembly and we wish you every success in your delicate duties.

55. When a Foreign Minister of a country like Chile makes a long journey to attend a General Assembly of the United Nations in the international situation prevailing today, there are many people in our countries who will ask themselves: Whose interests are served by these speeches and debates? If principles continue to be violated, if what was laid down at San Francisco is not applied, if a policy of force again prevails, trampling underfoot many oft-proclaimed rights, if there is no check to the arms race, if the United Nations Development Decade shows how wealth is increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few, why continue meeting and talking? It is difficult to find an answer that will satisfy people and enable them to retain their faith, if the major decisions which are meant to determine the conditions under which future generations on and beyond the earth will live are adopted for reasons of prestige or in defence of national interests and not in the light of the effect they will have on mankind. It is difficult

to answer those questions if respect for reason becomes the inheritance of the weak.

56. Chile has pledged unlimited support to the United Nations in the task of building up international law and making it mandatory, because we consider it desirable that there should be an impartial authority able to enforce it. Chile believes that this is the forum of free men who, like us, are not backed up by power or by the will to dominate, but earnestly desire to live in a peaceful and co-operative world. Chile wishes to believe in this tribune in order to have the opportunity to put forward the claim to equal rights for all States, an objective which has not yet been achieved. But we are deeply concerned to note that instead of moving towards these goals, we are moving away from them; that the United Nations, which we could now call "our last hope", is becoming weaker.

57. If the Assembly has any value, it is because it allows the free expression of universal public opinion and enables the voice of a watchful world conscience to be heard, to which the big Powers and those who unlawfully use force must defer.

58. Today more than ever we need a strong and active United Nations. But recent experience shows that the proliferation of its activities, to which we have thoughtlessly contributed, has to a large extent served as a means for concealing non-compliance with the resolutions adopted and, above all, of concealing the vacuum left by the failure of those who have the power to change events to take political decisions. We thus get carried away by endless analyses and discussions on economic questions or problems such as outer space or the sea-bed, about which we can still talk and dream. But we are in fact left out of all vital political discussions.

59. It is because of this same paradox, which borders on irony, that this worldwide democratic Assembly, whose essential purpose should be the prevention of war, all wars, will discuss neither the situation in Viet-Nam, nor the events in Czechoslovakia, nor the Middle East, nor the horrible tragedy of Biafra.

60. These threats to world peace emerge as inevitable cycles, and the spiral of fear tends to paralyse the leaders of small nations. In this context, they seem to have been assigned the sad role of victims.

61. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, whose absence from this supposedly universal Organization we once again deplore, rightly stated a few days ago: "He who has power, particularly atomic power, does not necessarily have either morality or wisdom on his side".

62. Here we, the smaller countries of the world, are face to face with the great actors and authors of history, or rather I should say, we are under them. Our fate is gambled with and perhaps lost, without our consent and in a dangerously unjust fashion. The example is pernicious and contagious, both internationally and nationally.

63. We know that both agreements and disagreements between the great Powers and fluctuations in the tempera-

ture of the war are facts which we, the small countries, are forced to recognize as inevitable. Since they involve us all, we must tackle them vigorously, because from both a moral and a political standpoint they are matters of common concern and fall within the legitimate sphere of action of every country, without exception. This critical situation calls for a reorientation of the motives which led to the establishment of this world forum.

64. Two years ago in this very same Assembly we said:

"The history of mankind has been, to a considerable extent, the history of the irresponsible exercise of power, and high-sounding words were used in an attempt to justify the immoral and barbarous instinct for domination" [1424th meeting, para. 30].

The history of these high-sounding words is approaching its definitive crisis. At the present time no social, economic or ideological concept is capable of bringing about peace. Formulas such as "capitalism", "socialism", "free world", are either too ambiguous or are open to the interpretation imposed by certain leaders in particular circumstances in order to justify their own power situation.

65. An increasingly frustrated world realizes that this world Organization does not meet the fundamental needs of mankind. We believe in the legitimacy of the United Nations as a political organization. Chile feels absolute respect for all the legal, political and moral obligations that have been built into this system. We have proved this by our deeds.

66. We know very well that the Charter established for certain nations privileged positions which carry greater responsibilities. But the present realities of international life, and those which may be predicted from current events and from the attitudes of the privileged nations towards these, go far beyond the express understanding set forth in the Charter, in the resolutions and in the exercise by the United Nations organs of their powers. The events that are being precipitated with the participation or in the presence of the countries with the greatest privileges and the greatest responsibilities contradict these responsibilities and exceed these privileges. If the situation of the community of nations has changed so much over this period of time as to prevent them from properly fulfilling the obligations they have all undertaken in their several degrees, it is time to revise the Charter and the international legal and political system. Until this is done, the countries affected by present and threatened by future events can and must, in our opinion, set aside ideology and search practically and actively for essential points of agreement.

67. We believe that some countries belonging to geographical regions and political zones have been drawn apart by recent historical events but nevertheless have points of contact of which we are not yet fully aware. These are to some extent negative, since they consist in the simultaneous "NO!" which those countries utter or feel in response to the acts of those who in fact make decisions for the community of nations. But they also have an overriding positive meaning, in the growing capacity of those countries on the political outskirts to play, in their relations with the great Powers and each other, leading historic parts in which they can correct grandiose expressions and create facts along constructive lines.

68. We note with interest that, along with the present lawful groupings of States in all the organs of the United Nations, forces of political action are being generated by combination to defend vital principles of international coexistence and to press specific points of common interest. The use of flexible machinery and the absence of ideological intolerance would increase the effect of contacts between countries anxious to promote an international climate of peace and freedom from threat, so as to speed the development of their economies and societies.

69. If we became aware of those contacts and created simple and practical instruments, we could set up effective defences against the newer forms of imperialism and, what is more, create a political force capable of interpreting, representing and leading the great majority of mankind that no longer accepts the law of force but demands respect for justice and believes in the equality and dignity of man. Two or three fundamental principles could emerge in strength and unite separate continents, start a practical dialogue with decision-making centres, and lay the foundations of a new era that could redeem the present deplorable situation.

70. The United Nations was born as a political instrument, to prevent a repetition of the intolerable events of the decade from 1935 to 1945, which inflicted all the suffering of which mankind is capable.

71. The absolute destructiveness of the nuclear deterrent compelled the great Powers by its mere existence to replace political and military confrontation throughout the world with seemingly more peaceful and positive means in which the political motive was "development". Economic acts then became the only means of preserving peace, which seemed to be threatened only by underdevelopment. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) was the great common forum that gave this situation legal sanction. In its context we could state that international problems multiplied precisely on that human frontier-gap between prosperity and poverty, between development and lack of science and technology. But the delusion that we should gain security through development has been rudely dispelled. Here we are, back at the Assembly, again involved in political problems and facing the stark fact that the most virulent political schemes, under the guise of possible war—the more cruel and unjust for being partial and limited to the stage chosen by the users of men—and under the guise of less probable peace, dominate the interests of the great and the needs of the poor.

72. We therefore seek the unity of those who love peace and do not wish to practice the politics of war or force. This quest demands the commitment not only of the governments but also of the world's moral and intellectual forces and of the young, who express their discontent with the present but do not realize that the international scene is where their future is really at stake.

73. The background for our deliberations on economic matters is the failure of the United Nations Development Decade, the decade in which only the developed countries have prospered.

74. My Government feels that this General Assembly should conduct a serious and responsible analysis of the

causes of the present crisis in international co-operation, in order to determine realistically just what we can expect from the second and much-needed United Nations Development Decade. There are several reasons why the first failed. Basically, there was strong intellectual resistance to the proposed measures, a lack of understanding by the prosperous countries, a lack of unity among the developing nations and a progressively inefficient international machinery.

75. Thus in the first place the concepts of planning, assimilation of technology, preference and others met when they were first proposed with heated opposition. Now they have been accepted; but a good part of the Decade was consumed by the process of making them acceptable. Only recently, in response to the demands of those of us who are determined to grow, has a complex institutional device been set up to deal with the whole problem of development. This led to the creation of UNCTAD, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development, the UNCTAD/GATT International Trade Centre, and other agencies.

76. Secondly, the industrialized countries showed a deep incomprehension of the underlying causes determining development. The "affluent society" has never been able to grasp, or even witness, the drama of underdevelopment; and its leaders have faithfully reflected the lead. There have been gestures, concessions acceptance of principles; but basic attitudes have not changed. The wealthy peoples remain deeply selfish, and New Delhi has given the latest and most painful proof of this fact.

77. The international institutions of economic, financial and cultural development must no longer be dominated by persons who apply standards quite incommensurable with the social conditions of the developing world. This is a subtler but no less harmful form of colonialism than the old one.

78. Thirdly, we must acknowledge that the developing countries have been singularly incapable of exerting any form of constant, intelligent or imaginative pressure on the developed countries. The reason is that the countries of the "third world" are shy of each other. The three continents treat each other with suspicion and mistrust. The circumstantial unity achieved on certain occasions has quickly vanished, and so the vocal pressure exerted on the developed countries has not been convincing. It is therefore doubly necessary to seek and find the points of political contact among the developing countries, about which I have spoken earlier.

79. Fourthly, we feel that the international machinery has lost its speed and flexibility and hence much of its efficiency in dealing with development questions.

80. The technical complexity of the issues and political indecision have caused a bewildering increase in the number of meetings, and these meetings have confronted governments with a tremendous volume of documentation. For example, between 1960 and 1967 the number of meetings held by the United Nations increased by nearly 100 per cent, from 2,769 to 5,388, equal in 1967 to about 20 meetings every working day.

81. In this tremendous proliferation no account at all is taken of the lack by the developing countries of enough qualified personnel and money to send representatives all over the world to attend each of these meetings. We feel that this cannot go on. It is therefore the General Assembly's duty to define the goals, content and measures of the action to be taken in the Second United Nations Development Decade, and above all to correct the errors that led to the failure of the First Decade in the four areas I have mentioned.

82. My Government feels that the final objective of the Second Decade should be to establish a new international economic structure, based on the principle of a fair specialization that will give every nation—large and small—an equal share of the fruits of progress in world economic development.

83. We feel that in technology it is necessary to destroy the myth that the developing countries are doomed by nature to promote only labour-intensive activities with a low rate of investment. A "technological leap" is possible, but we do not want a pure and simple transfer of technology; we want conditions under which we can assimilate technology which for us is an entirely different thing.

84. As a first step it would be necessary to channel towards the poorer countries part of the investment in research that the developed countries make in their own territory. This implies the creation in the developing world of a scientific infrastructure that could eventually help to create a technology in keeping with our own needs.

85. By the same token, the nature and function of international private capital must be redefined. As the development process advances, the contradiction between economic independence and foreign investment becomes more and more evident and acute. Machinery must be set up for internationalizing private capital so as to erase its political bias, name, nationality and influence, while at the same time preserving for the investor its essential quality—profitability. In this regard, the recent decisions of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development are encouraging.

86. But we must insist that there is, above all, a problem of attitude. The repeated failure of the schemes and models that people of the industrialized nations try to impose on the developing world, either in the economic or in the human life of our countries, proves that their attitudes must not continue to dominate the international agencies.

87. In monetary matters, the Bretton Woods Agreements of 1947 must be amended to meet the needs of the developing countries. They were devised chiefly for the reconstruction of Europe; their draftsmen did not foresee the phenomenon of development. This is the same problem, but in its most critical aspect.

88. In the realm of thought, another idea is important to the Government of Chile. That is, to make the principle of tariff privileges general. The principle has already been accepted; but we must go even further: we must ensure that the international juridical order shall always prescribe two

standards: one for developed and another, more favourable, for developing countries. We all know that, when two nations differ considerably in economic power, equality before the law is simply legalized injustice. The principle of protecting the weak has long been a part of the internal juridical structure of most, if not all, countries. We must now transfer it to the law of international relations.

89. None of these measures, however, will have any meaning unless the international structure of political power is so changed that the developing peoples can really participate in decision-making and in the agencies. If the problem now facing all our countries is full community participation in decisions and in the fruits of progress, if our youth is rebelling because it demands participation in its own institutions, then international life, to be effective, must be based on majority participation. This calls for a political decision, a political foresight that the great Powers must urgently consider.

90. Chile's international policy gives Latin America a fundamental priority. The Latin-American countries have for a long time been constructing, together with and in regard to the great Power of the continent, a body of principles, rules and practices aimed at reconciling the hitherto divergent interests of the hemisphere's two great blocs. To that end they have for some time been organizing a specific system of measures for defending and defining purely Latin American interests; and some of these measures have already become law.

91. In this regard the Latin-American countries have some fundamental postulates which they cannot forget or evade in any circumstances and which they must in fact reaffirm constantly, both to other regions and to their own. I am speaking of principles that are universal but have originated in Latin America, where they are particularly valid and timely. So also, to give only two examples, are the principles of non-intervention and the right of asylum. But Latin America must now broaden its aims. I refer to our need, drawing on our common cultural experience in which human and social values coincide with our common demands for freedom and social justice, to build up those elements of political action that will enable us not only to defend our people's interests but also to manifest them effectively to the rest of the world.

92. These interests are essentially identical. Only thus shall we be able, using the power given us by our population, our resources and our positive will, to participate in the decisions now made behind our backs. The impact of our participation can be decisive since, although we belong to the West because of our common experience of fundamental values, our inadequate development gives us a definite feeling of brotherhood with the East and with Africa.

93. We feel that a dynamic and creative system of coexistence has two essential needs. The first is to recognize the diversity of internal political solutions, subject always to true respect for human rights. The second is to eliminate the mutual distrust that has largely sterilized our action. It is necessary to overcome these suspicions in a united movement not only against traditional handicaps but also against increasingly serious common problems. The great

Powers must, for their part, respect our independent search for our own forms of economic and political organization, and not impose schemes and solutions irrelevant to our true situation. Only thus would international political, economic and financial institutions work with an understanding of our realities and interests.

94. I must now turn to certain specific problems. Mankind has recently been shaken by events in Czechoslovakia. Zealously defending the principle of self-determination, of every country's right to seek its own form of political and economic organization—the golden rule of international life—Chile deeply deplores the tragic situation of another poor nation which has had its sovereignty infringed by force. By a supreme paradox, in virtue of this very principle of non-intervention, this problem will not be debated here; but this situation cannot deprive us of the right to point out that a rule governing the matter is stated not only in the United Nations Charter.

95. In December 1965, only three years ago, some countries, including the Soviet Union,⁵ submitted to the Assembly for its consideration a formal and categorical definition and condemnation of any threat to free determination. Chile co-sponsored this draft resolution and helped to improve its wording. The General Assembly adopted it as resolution 2131 (XX). It is well to remember that at that time we all agreed that -

“... armed intervention is synonymous with aggression and, as such, is contrary to the basic principles on which peaceful international co-operation between States should be built,”

that -

“The strict observance of these obligations is an essential condition to ensure that nations live together in peace with one another, since the practice of any form of intervention not only violates the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations but also leads to the creation of situations which threaten international peace and security”;

and that -

“Every State has an inalienable right to choose its political, economic, social and cultural systems, without interference in any form by another State.”

96. That was only a short time ago, and already the definitions written by our hands are being erased by our elbows. This is a sad lesson for the small countries who come here to build law and who trust that it will be respected, since that is our only guarantee. The explanations always given have not been convincing. We can only hope that the former situation will be restored and that those who wish to determine their own way of living—the most essential right of man—will be able to do so soon. If this does not happen, then everything said here will be meaningless and futile.

97. Not only are we entitled to speak of this matter, but we do so with the moral strength given us by our

⁵ See *General Assembly Official Records, Twentieth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 107, Document A/6220, para. 16.

categorical condemnation some years ago of another violation of the same principle in America. Ignoring what some might call diplomatic discretion, we adjudge that act to be a violation because any breach of an essential principle, no matter where it may occur, affects us as free men.

98. We also vigorously opposed, both in our regional organization and here, the concept and the practical consequences of the so-called “ideological frontiers”. We now have the same attitude towards the resurrection of this concept. It is a serious step backward that we cannot pass over without a formal complaint, because application of this concept would bring about unlimited abuses.

99. We note with regret that the official peace talks being held in Paris between the United States and North Viet-Nam have not yet been fruitful. Their continuance indicates an interest in finding a solution to this cruel martyrdom, but at the same time proves that all the death and suffering is pointless, even strategically, because neither side's position is changed. We hope that this will be the last year that we shall have to come to this Assembly without having seen this conflict resolved according to the free will and choice of the people of Viet-Nam. The persistence of this war has produced a moral fatigue throughout the world that will do more than any other factor to bring it shortly to an end.

100. Perhaps we are on the threshold of a new period of aggravation of international tensions. In recent times not only have existing conflicts continued and worsened, but new and discouraging situations have arisen. We see the great Powers, spurred by the latest developments in their powerful technology and the persistence of their old apprehensions, about to plunge into a race with new and more costly arms: multiple-headed nuclear rockets and anti-ballistic missile systems. At the same time, however, there are some encouraging developments, the best of which is perhaps the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which encourages international co-operation in the development of peaceful applications of atomic energy. This should take place under conditions that would enable each country to have an independent nuclear technology.

101. Every moment in history presents both grave threats and commensurate opportunities. If we all realize our responsibilities, if those who have the power to destroy themselves and strip the world bare desire to banish terror, poverty and ignorance, then never will mankind have stepped more quickly from the greatest danger of its history to its most formidable creative force. It will take this step only if we are faithful to truth and loyal to our agreements.

Mr. Vakil (Iran), Vice-President, took the Chair.

102. Mr. ANIN (Ghana): Mr. President, the delegation of Ghana is gratified to see you, a distinguished son of Guatemala, preside over the General Assembly at its twenty-third session and congratulates you on your elevation to this high office. We are confident that your long and remarkable record of devoted service to your country will enable you to undertake your new assignment with competence, impartiality and distinction.

103. My delegation wishes also to pay a special tribute to your predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Corneliu Manescu, who exhibited such a high degree of statesmanship and tact in steering the twenty-second regular and resumed sessions through the deliberation of some of the most difficult and controversial issues. The momentous achievement of the resumed session could, in a large measure, be attributed to his patience, shrewdness and equanimity.

104. The delegation of Ghana assures you of its unqualified support and co-operation in the discharge of the heavy responsibilities which now devolve on you as President of the General Assembly at its twenty-third session.

105. Our distinguished Secretary General, whose devotion to this Organization is a source of inspiration to all of us, deserves our praise and appreciation for his annual report [A/7201 and Add.1]. This comprehensive report merits serious study not only for its penetrating analysis of international problems but also for its candour and lucidity. We cannot help but share his feeling of disappointment and frustration over the course of world events.

106. In the present gloomy international atmosphere of strife and tension, there is a universal feeling of anxiety, despair and insecurity. The grim struggle in Viet-Nam, the unsettled conditions in the Middle East, the tragic conflicts in Africa and the recent invasion of Czechoslovakia are constant reminders of the grave threats to international peace and security that ominously hang over us. The most disturbing aspect of this situation is that there does not appear to be any immediate prospect of a peaceful settlement of these apparently intractable problems. It is a matter of regret that the United Nations is often denied the support and the moral authority to exert its salutary influence in these troubled areas of the world.

107. This is the time that we should remind ourselves of the principles and objectives of the United Nations. The cardinal principle of the sovereign equality of all Member States invests in each State the right to manage its internal affairs and conduct its international relations in accordance with the sovereign will of its people. This principle of the inviolability of the sovereignty of States constitutes a guarantee to all nations that they will be free from aggression and interference in their internal affairs. If Member States of the United Nations adhere strictly to these principles, then there cannot be any justification whatsoever for one State to intervene in the internal affairs of another or violate its sovereignty. Any move by a big Power to impose its will on another State by either the threat or the use of force is a retrogressive step and a gross violation of the United Nations Charter.

108. If the effectiveness of the world Organization is nullified and the very basis of its existence threatened by the naked display of force in settling international disputes, then there is an urgent need to reassess its role as a machinery for ensuring world peace and international morality. It is in the interest of all small nations to support the efforts of the United Nations and other international organizations by their forthright and collective condemnation of all acts of injustice, denial of human rights or the violation of the sovereignty of any State. It is the view of the Ghana delegation that the time has now come for all

nations, large and small, to react positively and courageously against any resurgence of the tendency to settle disputes by use of force. Nor should any State arrogate to itself the right of dictating how another State should conduct its own affairs.

109. Ghana believes that it is possible for States with different economic, social and political systems to live together in a friendly and peaceful atmosphere. Indeed, we believe that diversity is a source of strength to the international community, because each of these systems is geared to secure for its adherents the best that it can offer.

110. Inspired by this concept of peaceful coexistence, we in Ghana have endeavoured to promote good neighbourliness, because we believe that peace, like charity, must begin at home. It is for these reasons that the National Liberation Council has been at pains to strengthen relations with Ghana's immediate neighbours. We are also co-operating fully, through the Organization of African Unity, to create on our continent conditions that will promote genuine co-operation, progress and peace. We would have been happier to see established in Africa large multiracial communities of people of different races, living and working together in pursuit of common objectives and aspirations. We would have liked to see the total eradication of all traces of colonial domination and white supremacy from our continent. Unfortunately, the strong wind of change blowing across the continent has not yet penetrated the last strongholds of colonialism and racism. Millions of Africans in Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea and South Africa still languish in the grip of racist white minority settlers and colonialists. These racists have persistently flouted world opinion and openly refused to implement resolutions of the United Nations on decolonization and human rights. It is the considered opinion of my delegation that those white minority Governments and colonialists will continue to defy and treat the United Nations with contempt so long as they enjoy the support of some of their North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies and trading partners.

111. In this International Year for Human Rights we must rededicate ourselves to the total elimination and liquidation of racism and colonialism throughout Africa and other parts of the world. We must uphold the right of all people to a decent and purposeful existence, irrespective of their race, creed or colour. We must strive to reach the stage when it will be possible for people of different races to live together in brotherhood and dignity, free from exploitation and discrimination. We must, however, be realistic enough to admit that the road to such an ideal situation is long and difficult and may remain unattainable for many decades. The observance of the International Year of Human Rights should, however, keep alive our determination to strive towards this ultimate objective.

112. This Assembly will once again take up the question of Namibia. By the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, the international community committed itself to the task of removing the people of Namibia from the stranglehold of the racists of South Africa. In spite of the efforts of the United Nations to find a just and realistic solution to this problem, the racist régime in South Africa, in open defiance of the Organization, is implementing its

apartheid policies in Namibia by the creation of the so-called separate states. Regrettably, some Member States have refused either to face the fact of South Africa's gross betrayal of its solemn obligation to the people of Namibia or the threat which this defiant attitude poses to the peace and stability of Africa.

113. This session must therefore take all necessary and effective measures to secure the immediate and unconditional return of Namibia to the United Nations administration, as a first step towards the ultimate exercise by the people of Namibia of their right of self-determination. To this end, serious consideration must be given to the appointment of a full-time Commissioner, as recommended in resolution 2248 (S-V), to assist the United Nations in leading the people of Namibia to independence and nationhood.

114. It is now three years since Southern Rhodesia declared unilateral independence, and the illegal régime of Ian Smith is still firmly in control. Its illegal authority is now bolstered up by the presence of security forces from South Africa who scour the Rhodesian jungles in search of African freedom-fighters. This has not come as a surprise to those of us who have always been sceptical about the effectiveness of sanctions as a means of toppling the illegal minority régime. It has been our view that so long as South Africa and Portugal provide a convenient loophole for the Rhodesian rebels, sanctions will never work. Ghana has nevertheless implemented the resolutions of the Security Council, and on the basis of resolution 253 (1968), the Government of Ghana has recently issued an amending decree to tighten the economic sanctions against the rebel régime. We submit that these measures should be faithfully applied by all States Members of the United Nations to hasten the end of illegality in Southern Rhodesia.

115. Although Ghana has supported the application of sanctions against the Smith régime, my Government has always maintained that the use of force as a last resort should not be ruled out. A peaceful solution to the Rhodesian problem, given a reasonable chance of success, should be a desirable objective, but Ghana strongly feels that a peaceful solution should not be arranged at the expense of the African majority of Southern Rhodesia. The principle of no independence before majority rule should not be readily sacrificed for a vague formula of unimpeded progress towards majority rule. My delegation has noted with satisfaction the assurances given by the United Kingdom Government, the administering Power, that there will not be any sell-out or a capitulation to Ian Smith.

116. From this rostrum, the Ghana delegation wishes to sound a note of caution to Prime Minister Wilson of Britain on the eve of his proposed talks with rebel Ian Smith, that *nibmar*—the principle of no independence before majority rule—remains for us the bedrock of any settlement of the Rhodesian question, and any departure from this principle will be neither tolerated nor accepted by the people of Africa.

117. Meanwhile, we demand firmer action from the United Nations and, at the appropriate time, the Security Council should impose total and comprehensive mandatory sanctions backed by the use of force under the relevant

provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter. We reiterate our conviction that any programme of sanctions, if it is to achieve its desired effect, must include action against all defaulters and that those Member States who defy the Organization by supporting the rebel régime should be brought to book.

118. We have time and again warned that the situation in southern Africa is dangerously drifting towards a racial conflagration. It is incumbent upon all of us to avert that catastrophe. The indigenous people of southern Africa will never continue indefinitely to tolerate these conditions of slavery and indignity imposed on them. Our Organization cannot remain indifferent to a situation which is fraught with such grave consequences for the peace of southern Africa.

119. The delegation of Ghana is happy that, in the midst of this gloomy picture of the African scene, a bright spot has emerged with the admission of Swaziland as the 125th Member of the United Nations. We rejoice with our brothers in Swaziland on their attainment of nationhood and look forward to the next few days when Equatorial Guinea will also join the comity of nations as a sovereign State.

120. The announcement last April of the decision by the United States and North Viet-Nam to hold talks preparatory to a peace conference was received with great relief and expectation. The step taken by the United States Government to effect a partial halt in the bombing of North Viet-Nam was then widely acclaimed as a positive step in the right direction. Contrary to our expectations, these exploratory talks in Paris have not made any progress towards ending the fighting in Viet-Nam. The talks have been regrettably protracted and appear to be in a stalemate.

121. In support of the stand taken by our Secretary-General, the Ghana delegation appeals to the United States to make yet another bold gesture by announcing a total halt to the bombing of North Viet-Nam. In the view of my delegation, such a step would go a long way towards creating a favourable climate for peace negotiations as a step towards a permanent settlement. We also call upon the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to reciprocate positively if such a gesture is made by the United States. We all fervently look forward to the day when the people of Viet-Nam, with the return of peace to their war-torn country, will have the opportunity of deciding their own destiny, free from foreign interference and control.

122. The uneasy truce and the explosive situation in the Middle East are a matter of concern to my Government. There is no doubt that all Members of our Organization would like to see a new era of peace and stability in the Middle East, with all States in the area guaranteed a peaceful existence to encourage the promotion of economic development and prosperity for their people. We cannot conceal our disappointment and regret that the mediatory efforts of Ambassador Jarring have so far failed to produce any positive results. We admire and respect his calm determination and dedication to the cause of peace in the face of great odds. We hope that he will be able to achieve a break-through with the co-operation of all parties concerned before he returns to the service of his country. The

Ghana delegation holds the view that any meaningful settlement in the Middle East should be based on an impartial and strict implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967. Distorted or partisan interpretations of that resolution will not help to bring about peace or alleviate the misery and suffering of the people in the area. That resolution, it is worth recalling, was the result of a long process of difficult negotiation, rounds of consultation, compromise and accommodation. We urge the big Powers to play a constructive role in the search for a just and peaceful settlement by helping to reduce the arms build-up in the area and lending a helping hand to the United Nations.

123. This Assembly has before it the perennial item on the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Ghana believes that the People's Republic of China is entitled to occupy the seat of China in the United Nations, primarily because it is now in effective control of mainland China. It is not my intention to repeat those arguments which have been so ably adduced from this rostrum by several Members, including Ghana, in support of our contention. I wish, however, to clarify the position of my Government on one aspect of this problem. While the Government of Ghana welcomes the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, it is unable to support any move to expel an existing Member of the Organization to achieve that objective. Such a move would defeat our aim of the universality of the United Nations.

124. One of the historic achievements of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly was the adoption by an overwhelming majority of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XX)]. In spite of our strong reservations on certain aspects of the Treaty, the Ghana delegation supported it in the firm conviction that such a Treaty could open the way towards the achievement of general and complete disarmament. It is regrettable that two nuclear Powers, France and the People's Republic of China, have not found it possible to associate themselves with this Treaty. Nevertheless, we hope that the nuclear Powers signatories to the Treaty will proceed with a sense of urgency to reach agreement on further disarmament measures in accordance with the undertaking they have given. I must emphasize, however, that our apprehensions and reservations about the security guarantees, nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes and access to fissionable material have not been removed by the adoption of this Treaty. It is a matter of considerable disappointment to my delegation that the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States was unable to reach any positive conclusions that would solve some of these crucial problems and allay our fears. If the non-proliferation Treaty is to achieve its aim and lead to an eventual disarmament and the attainment of world peace, then it is essential that these loop-holes and other defects be quickly and effectively remedied.

125. In the view of the Ghana delegation, the time is ripe for the 1963 partial test-ban Treaty to be expanded into a comprehensive ban on nuclear testing in all environments as well as underground. It is time for us to give serious consideration to the prohibition of biological and chemical warfare and to the limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons in the arsenals of the nuclear Powers.

126. In the economic field, we are disappointed that two years before the end of the current United Nations Development Decade, the progress made so far does not offer any assurance that the modest objective of a minimum growth rate of 5 per cent by the end of the Decade will be attained. The gulf between the rich and the poor nations which the Development Decade sought to bridge is wider in the eighth year of the Decade than ever before. Therefore it is clear that, unless we are prepared to give a massive impetus to economic and social development, the objective of the Decade will not be achieved by 1970.

127. Indeed, as Mr. George Woods has predicted from present trends, by 1970 the curious and depressing situation will have been achieved in which the net flows of development finance will be negative for developing countries and positive for the developed countries. My delegation, therefore, appeals to all Member States, particularly the developed countries, to exert every effort towards the realization of the modest targets of the current Development Decade.

128. While addressing ourselves to action aimed at attaining the goals of the current Development Decade, we must also look ahead and consider what action the international community individually and collectively must take to give support to the developing countries in their economic and social development in the next decade. It is for this reason that my delegation supported resolution 2305 (XXII), adopted at the last session of the General Assembly, which calls for an intensification of the preparatory work for the next decade with a view to drawing up before the end of the current decade a clear and comprehensive picture of the specific goals and targets to be attained by the international community in a common endeavour to accelerate the economic and social development of the developing countries. It is the hope of my delegation that, from our debates, will emerge a clear international development strategy for the next decade in which targets are more specific and in which the means for achieving these targets at both the national and international level are clearly defined.

129. It seems to my delegation that the question of poverty and economic disparities in the world has now reached a stage where a sincere effort is not only possible but imperative. That is why my delegation views with dismay the lack of political will on the part of Governments of developed countries to carry their full share of the development burden of the world. My delegation accordingly calls upon the developed countries to accept realistically their obligations to the international community as a whole, and to make available to the Secretary-General the necessary funds which would enable him to initiate, activate and co-ordinate specific crash programmes in selected fields of immediate concern to the developing countries. One such area of immediate concern is the problem of feeding the millions of peoples in the developing world and, particularly, in ensuring a basic supply of protein and nutritive content in their food. The over-all disabling effect of the lack of progress in the food production of developing countries has, in recent years, assumed alarming proportions not only in Africa but in other parts of the world.

130. The second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was a disappointment. We had

hoped—and this was not an unjustifiable hope in view of the detailed discussions and preparatory work that had been undertaken since the first Conference—that the second Conference would advance the work of the first one. But the results of the Conference have fallen considerably short of our expectations. While we, the developing countries, pressed for concrete measures aimed at solving the key problems of international trade and development, the developed countries insisted on making a pious appraisal of the little that had been achieved since the first Conference and were unprepared to commit themselves to any concrete measures that could significantly contribute to the achievement of acceptable solutions. My delegation will make a full statement on the results of the second UNCTAD at a later stage in the appropriate Committee.

131. Perhaps the most striking example of the lack of progress in the work of UNCTAD is the failure so far to conclude an international agreement on cocoa. It was hoped that, before the second session of UNCTAD, an agreement on cocoa would have been concluded, to serve as one positive achievement of UNCTAD. This hope, unfortunately, did not materialize. However, following multi-lateral consultations held at the instance of the second session of UNCTAD, a compromise solution regarding a number of outstanding problems has been worked out.

132. It is generally believed that, if this compromise were accepted unreservedly by all parties to the negotiations, the way would be open for the convening of the final conference which would lead to the conclusion of the projected international agreement. We appeal from this rostrum to all the parties concerned to accept the compromise solution so that a full conference may be convened this month to conclude the long-overdue agreement.

133. We live in a trying but challenging period of history. It is a period in which we whom destiny has chosen to have a share in securing the welfare of our people and of mankind should be proud to serve, for the nuclear age and the age of mass communication open up unlimited possibilities for the general uplifting of the human race. Yet these possibilities for good are balanced by those for evil. Will we all have the good sense and courage to denounce and eliminate completely racial, cultural and religious bigotry? Can we realize that our world will never know permanent peace as long as one group of people exploit and oppress or dominate another? Will the rich nations finally come to accept their obligation to redress the imbalance of wealth between them and the poorer ones, lest we continue to be threatened by perpetual strife? We remain convinced that the United Nations, fashioned out of the experience of a most destructive and brutal war and born in an age of enlightenment, has the capacity to channel our efforts toward the realization of these truths and the securing of these objectives so that we can truly look forward to a future of peace, brotherhood and prosperity. It is in this spirit of faith in the capacity and vision of our Organization that the Ghana delegation will dedicate itself to finding solutions to the numerous problems that confront the twenty-third session of the General Assembly.

134. Mr. HARTLING (Denmark): I wish to congratulate the President on his election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its twenty-third session. Many distin-

guished representatives of Latin America have held this high office before him and have rendered outstanding service to the United Nations in the conduct of the General Assembly's work. I am convinced that he, too, will discharge with wisdom and dignity the great responsibilities of the Presidency.

135. This year's General Assembly opens in an atmosphere that is neither bright nor promising. Serious international events cast their shadow over the work which has now begun. Since I come from a European country, it is only natural that I should be thinking especially of the military intervention in Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union and other members of the Warsaw Pact. The occupation was without any justification. It was an act of force contrary to the wishes of the Government and the people of Czechoslovakia. Everybody in Denmark, regardless of political opinion, views this deeply tragic suppression of a people's right to shape its own destiny as a brutal return to conditions which we had believed to be a thing of the past. Immediately following the invasion of Czechoslovakia, we had occasion in the Security Council to express our condemnation of this abuse of power and to call upon the occupying Powers to withdraw their forces. I want here to repeat our appeal for a speedy withdrawal so that the people of Czechoslovakia may be allowed to shape their own future in freedom.

136. Denmark has been consistently active in the efforts to bring about a relaxation of East-West tensions. The setback to *détente* suffered as a result of the intervention in Czechoslovakia has caused us disappointment and concern. None of us wants a reversal to the sinister time of the cold war. A *détente*, however, is no unilateral enterprise. Both sides must do their part to create that atmosphere of mutual confidence which is an indispensable condition for a true *détente*. It remains our aim to see this condition fulfilled with a view to paving the way for a just solution of Europe's security problems, including the problem of German reunification.

137. In this connexion, I should like to state that the Government of Denmark has welcomed the declared and unambiguous policy of *détente* pursued by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany. The provisions of Articles 53 and 107 of the United Nations Charter have been the subject of recent debate and it has been claimed that they give a right to intervene by force in the Federal Republic of Germany. In our view, neither of these articles can substantiate that claim.

138. The tragic conflict in Nigeria has given rise to deep concern in my country. Within the framework of international organizations, Denmark has made every possible effort to assist in the aid programmes for the distressed civilians in the areas affected, directly or indirectly, by the conflict. I want to make it clear that we are and have always been directing our attention and our efforts exclusively towards the solution of the humanitarian problems. We have no wish to intervene in the political aspects of the conflict, but we have followed with the greatest interest and sympathy the various efforts in an African framework to obtain a political solution leading to a cessation of the conflict. In our view, an arms embargo might have assisted those efforts, and we find it most

regrettable that outside countries have not refrained from delivery of weapons.

139. It should be understood that human sufferings of the nature that we are now witnessing as a result of the events in Nigeria go to the heart of peoples all over the world. They are indeed felt very deeply by the Danish people. I wish, therefore, to take this opportunity to appeal once again to all interested parties to co-operate actively with the international organizations in order to ensure that effective relief can be provided and can reach all those who are in need of it.

140. This is not the place to review in detail the initiatives which Denmark has taken in recent months, alone, or together with other Nordic countries. I shall confine myself to saying that the relief action staged in Denmark is, I believe, of an unprecedented scale in Danish history, and that the substantial funds raised derive largely from voluntary contributions. The Danish Government remains ready to support any practicable suggestion designed to step up the humanitarian relief work and to make it more effective. We urge other countries likewise to be ready to increase their support to the international organizations concerned with the relief effort. Faced as we are with a tragedy of this magnitude, first priority must be given to the humanitarian task.

141. Turning to disarmament questions, we welcomed the adoption by the resumed twenty-second General Assembly of resolution 2373 (XXII) supporting the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons with the result that it could be opened for signature on 1 July, 1968. A large number of countries, including Denmark, have already signed the Treaty and the Danish Government has taken action to have it ratified.

142. However, the success of the non-proliferation Treaty depends on the essential widespread accession to it. Unfortunately, certain countries have expressed reservations, and the recent events in Czechoslovakia appear to have led to a growing disinclination to sign the Treaty. It is understandable that those events have generated a feeling of insecurity. However, we are convinced that a delay in the entry into force of the Treaty would not, in the long term, serve the true interests of any country; on the contrary, it would tend to protract the setback to *détente* and involve a serious risk that other tendencies, harmful to *détente*, may gain ground. It is the sincere hope of the Danish Government that the Treaty will soon enter into force and enjoy the necessary general support.

143. It is at the moment uncertain what questions will be in the foreground during the coming disarmament discussions in the General Assembly and at the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee in Geneva. The negotiations leading to the adoption of the non-proliferation Treaty and the discussions since then in the Disarmament Committee have reaffirmed the urgent need for a number of disarmament measures essential to the maintenance of international peace and security, among which I should like particularly to mention the need for a halt in the strategic arms race and for a total test-ban treaty. We hope it will soon be possible to take further steps towards solutions of problems relating to such important measures.

144. The Danish Government wants to introduce in the course of this General Assembly a draft resolution concerning a limited step towards disarmament and arms control which, we believe, will serve the cause of peace. We hope that this draft resolution will enjoy the support of all Members.

145. Last year, my predecessor pointed out to the General Assembly that an international agreement on the trade in conventional weapons would be highly beneficial. The draft resolution would request the Secretary-General to ascertain the position of Member Governments on undertaking an obligation to register with the Secretary-General all imports and exports of conventional arms, ammunition and implements of war. The Secretary-General would further ascertain the position of Member Governments on authorizing him to collect and publish at regular intervals information on transfers of conventional arms, ammunition and implements of war, and their position on the practical measures to be taken for this purpose. Finally, the draft resolution would request the Secretary-General to report on the results of his inquiry to the next General Assembly.

146. I should like to refer briefly also to the United Nations peace-keeping operations, to which the Danish Government attaches great importance. It will be recalled that, at its twenty-second session, the General Assembly, by its resolution 2308 (XXII), requested the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations to study matters relating to facilities, services and personnel which Member States might provide, in accordance with the Charter, for United Nations peace-keeping operations. For the purpose of these studies, Denmark and the other Nordic countries decided to share their experience in this field with the Committee and, last March, they submitted to its Chairman memoranda [see A/7131, para. 3] giving details of the background, organization, training and other aspects of their United Nations stand-by forces. We have noted with satisfaction that other countries have since furnished similar data.

147. It is most unfortunate that the basic disagreement on the principles for financing and initiating peace-keeping operations still exists. However, the Danish Government welcomes the limited agreement which was noticeable during the spring session of the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations about studies of a technical nature. Anyway, experience shows that, in spite of the existing basic disagreement, there is a way forward as long as a pragmatic approach is applied to the problems as they arise. Therefore, we need not lose sight of the ultimate goal, a stronger and more effective United Nations with a peace-keeping and, indeed, peace-making potential far beyond its present capabilities. In my country, as in many other countries, non-governmental organizations and institutions are carrying out pioneer efforts in this field, the long-term value of which must not be under-estimated and which may serve to create in member countries the necessary popular support for such endeavours.

148. As a member of the Security Council, Denmark has had ample opportunity in the past year to follow closely developments in the Middle East. Our attitude to the concrete issues will appear from the statements we have made and the positions we have taken in the Council.

149. I think there is general agreement that the first need in the Middle East is for an over-all political solution. To

that end the Security Council unanimously adopted its resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967 requesting the Secretary-General to designate a Special Representative to proceed to the Middle East in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles in the resolution.

150. Since then, Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, in his capacity as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, has been pursuing his task with admirable patience and perseverance. We regret that, in spite of Ambassador Jarring's efforts, concrete results with respect to a political solution have not so far been achieved. It is, therefore, necessary to emphasize that, without the full co-operation of the parties, such results cannot be brought about. We urge the parties to co-operate actively with Ambassador Jarring, so as to enable him to continue his mission. The possibilities of a just and lasting peace inherent in that mission must not be lost.

151. Furthermore, it goes without saying that strict observance of the cease-fire by all parties is essential in order not to disturb the atmosphere in which the Special Representative must pursue his endeavours.

152. It is a tragic fact that the war in Viet-Nam has not been brought to an end, and that the sorely tried people of Viet-Nam still have to live under the horrors of war. Denmark maintains its repeatedly stated opinion that only negotiations can lead to a lasting peace in South-East Asia, and that a complete cessation of the bombing of North Viet-Nam is an essential first step. One encouraging development is that, since the last session of the General Assembly the bombing has been stopped partially, and that this, in turn, has led to direct talks in Paris between the United States and North Viet-Nam. We hope that the parties involved will live up to their responsibilities towards the harried people of Viet-Nam and towards mankind, and that they will seize the opportunity offered by this direct contact to definitely move the conflict from the battlefield to the negotiating table where, of course, all concerned must be willing to make concessions.

153. When hostilities cease, concerted and large-scale efforts must be made to relieve the human distress inflicted on the civilian population and to rebuild the country. As already mentioned by my Swedish colleague the Nordic countries have initiated investigations concerning the likely needs for external aid and the methods by which to organize a relief action. From statements in this general debate we have been gratified to understand that similar plans are under active consideration in other countries.

154. With regard to the question of the representation of China it remains the position of the Danish Government that only the People's Republic of China is entitled to represent China in the United Nations.

155. In the Namibia question, it is the Danish view that unity and solidarity in this Assembly are a prerequisite for bringing real pressure to bear upon South Africa. The near-unanimous resolution 2145 (XXI) by which the twenty-first session of the General Assembly decided that the Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa was

terminated, was based on such unity and solidarity. The resolution has come to be regarded, and rightly so, as a milestone in the United Nations consideration of this issue. We stand firmly on that resolution and on the right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence. It is a matter of regret that unity and solidarity did not prevail when put to the test over the question of how to translate general principles into concrete and practical terms. I want to express the hope that the need for broad agreement in acting on the Namibia issue may be taken into consideration by this session of the General Assembly.

156. Another important and serious problem within the context of southern Africa is that of Rhodesia. It is much to be regretted that the illegal minority régime in Salisbury is still in power, but in this case such broad agreement has prevailed within the United Nations that the Security Council was able, in May of this year, to make a unanimous decision to invoke virtually total economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. If these sanctions have not as yet brought about the intended results—the removal of the illegal régime in Salisbury with a view to the liberation of Southern Rhodesia under majority rule—one important reason is the lack of co-operation in the application of sanctions by Portugal and South Africa. Denmark for its part has carried out to the letter the mandatory decisions of the Security Council. We must insist that all other Member States likewise fulfil their obligations under the Charter and under these decisions of the Security Council.

157. There is no doubt that the key to a lasting solution of the problems of southern Africa lies in the Republic of South Africa, where the repulsive system of *apartheid* still prevails. Denmark condemns this degrading racial policy. Our position will be known from our votes and statements in the General Assembly. Without going into details, I want to state that our policy remains unaltered, and that we believe that we should all keep in mind not only the political dangers involved, but also the fundamental moral issue.

158. The Danish Government attaches great importance to the work of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Considering the thorough preparations of its second session in New Delhi, its results fell short of justified expectations. It is, however, too early to predict the final outcome of the deliberations in New Delhi. Unanimous decisions were reached which within some years should bring a definite improvement in the situation between developing and developed countries.

159. It was major achievement that the need of the developing countries for a generalized system of tariff preferences was explicitly recognized. It may take some time to translate this recognition into an appropriate scheme, but I trust that it is only a matter of time.

160. Another major achievement in New Delhi was that the developed countries with market economies agreed to base the 1 per cent target for their development assistance on the gross national product. The Danish Government is actively considering how to reach this new target.

161. Our confidence in the role of the United Nations in development assistance activities is reflected in the fact that

we channel 50 per cent of our total aid through the United Nations and the specialized agencies. I am pleased to announce the decision of the Danish Government to raise its total pledge to both components of the United Nations Development Programme from \$10.4 million for 1968 to \$15.6 million for the coming year, representing an increase of 50 per cent. My Government shares the hope expressed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands that the largest contributor in absolute terms, the United States, will not curtail its contribution.

162. In the preamble to the United Nations Charter we have reaffirmed our faith in the fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal

rights of men and women and of nations, large and small. We have stressed our desire to live together in peace with one another, as good neighbours. A look at the world today reveals how far we still are from having accomplished those high aims. We witness violations of human rights, of the dignity of man and of the rights of nations. We see war causing grief and distress. May the United Nations be the place where we meet, conscious of our great responsibility, to work under the guidance of the high principles of the Charter, so that mankind may look to the future with confidence.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.