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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Before I call on the first speaker, I should like to remind members of the decisions taken by the General Assembly at its 2035th meeting, on 22 September, on the procedure concerning the general debate, particularly in connexion with the list of speakers, the exercise of the right of reply and the length of statements.

2. Mr. GIBSON BARBOZA (Brazil): Brazil is attending the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly in the conviction that the intense diplomatic activity which has in recent months attracted the attention of our foreign ministries should be the subject of thorough study, not only because this diplomatic activity will have an impact on the general interests of the international community, but also because we shall thus be able to gauge its compatibility with our Organization's specific competence and objectives.

3. Before I undertake such an analysis, allow me, Mr. President, to congratulate you on your unanimous election and to express my gratification at seeing you preside over our work; for I also bear in mind that you represent a country whose sons migrated to Brazil in substantial numbers and, by their productive efforts and perfect integration into the open and multiracial Brazilian society, contributed in large measure to the progress of their adopted homeland.

4. In addition, I would avail myself of this opportunity to convey to Mr. Adam Malik my appreciation for the serene and correct manner in which he presided over the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

5. It is also my wish to reiterate to Mr. Waldheim, whom I have so often met in other diplomatic forums, the satisfaction that my Government and I myself experienced upon his assumption of the responsibilities of Secretary-General of the United Nations. His sense of mission, already evidenced during the brief period in which he has been exercising the functions so worthily discharged by his

predecessors, and his diplomatic experience which we all acknowledge and which contributed so decisively to his unanimous election to a post so exacting, yet so full of possibilities—all these qualifications are the best assurance of a reactivation of the role that the United Nations, through its Secretary-General, should play in the international political field. I am certain that in my words of greeting Mr. Waldheim will detect not only the affectionate message of a colleague and friend of many years' standing but also and chiefly the conviction held by the Foreign Minister of a country whose international involvement keeps up with its growth that our Secretary-General possesses the indispensable qualities of moderation and dynamism required by the office he occupies. Proof of his capacity for taking the initiative to bring to the attention of the United Nations major problems we are now facing was the solemn appeal he addressed to the General Assembly to find the most appropriate means to combat terrorism and other forms of violence which endanger and take innocent human lives [A/8791 and Add.1].

6. It is, in my view, most deplorable that the Assembly has failed to endorse the wording of item 92 as recommended by the General Committee [see A/8800/Rev.1, para. 18]. After the voting on the amendments presented at the plenary meeting last Saturday night [2037th meeting], the Brazilian delegation stressed two points that we deemed essential to clarify our position: first, we cannot accept terrorism, or any form of violence, as a legitimate political instrument; secondly, the wording of the item as finally adopted contains expressions which have been frequently used in attempts to justify or even tolerate terrorism. We are seriously concerned lest this wording encourage attempts at undue interference in matters falling within the exclusive domestic jurisdiction of States and consequently lead to acrimonious and sterile debates.

7. It is not only in recent days that we have been concerned with the problem of terrorism which has affected so many countries, including my own, as is generally known. In January and February 1971 the General Assembly of the Organization of American States met at Washington in extraordinary session to attempt to establish on the regional level a juridical order capable of facing up to and overcoming this intolerable threat to the peace and well-being of our peoples. However, the limited results then obtained did not constitute, in our opinion, an adequate instrument with which to meet this pressing need, as subsequent tragic events have unfortunately proved. I do not feel it necessary to recall the clear and forceful position that Brazil has always adopted with regard to this grave problem. Nor is it my purpose to recall here recent history which must certainly still be in the minds of all. What I wish is to launch now, in this world forum, a vehement

appeal for us to harken to the outcry which requires our statesmen and government leaders to take practical and immediate measures to defend the most elementary principles which should preside over social relationships.

8. We are not prompted by any political preference or any ideological bias when we declare that it is urgent, that it is indispensable, for us to unite and organize ourselves with firmness and determination against the hideous and indiscriminate violence of terrorism to which each and every country has become exposed; indeed, this brooks no delay. We continue to maintain that this indiscriminate violence gives the outright lie to the thesis that terrorist subversion is the fruit of social injustice or of the poverty of a given society.

9. At this juncture let us be truly the "United Nations", regardless of our respective and different ideological convictions or patterns of political organization, and let us heed this clamour and be firm and united in the struggle for the final extirpation of violence in any of its forms.

10. The Brazilian nation celebrates this year the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its independence. The civic enthusiasm with which we commemorate our entry, a century and a half ago, into the community of sovereign States strengthens our determination to build our national destiny in the certainty that, to progress, Brazil must rely on itself and on the work of its people, and to build it in the conviction that this development can be accelerated by the establishment and maintenance of that peace and security which will ensure to each and every one of the members of the international community the right to progress and to stability as well as a sovereign voice and an active presence in the formulation of the world political order. Brazil's diplomacy, which it is today incumbent upon me to conduct, abides fully by the traditions of understanding and negotiation bestowed upon us by our elders.

11. For the past 26 years Brazil has been given the privilege and responsibility of opening our general debate, a custom which brings me to this rostrum as the first speaker for the third consecutive session of the Assembly. This tradition also presents the challenge of initiating a critical analysis of the international political scene in the light of the diplomatic events of the past 12 months and from the angle of the repercussions that same activity will have on this broad and irreplaceable forum for the harmonization of the external behaviour of States which is the United Nations.

12. Contemporary international political relationships are characterized by the complexity, extensiveness and swiftness of their evolution. No less characteristic of the times in which we live is the unrelenting persistence of situations and ways of action which Brazil considers ethically unjust, politically anachronistic and juridically condemnable. The conflicting interaction between a new concept of peace and security—new because it is as young as the aspirations we inscribed in our Charter—and the old patterns of international behaviour, which we have not yet succeeded in superseding, is basically responsible for the crises and tensions which still exist on the large stage of inter-State relations.

13. It is not that I am unaware of, or appreciate any the less, the encouraging progress that we are achieving, little by little, along the intricate path of reconciling differences and in the search for the easing of tensions. But I cannot fail to deplore the fact that this slow progress towards the realization of our ideals of peace and security is being attained amidst contradictions and paradoxes, for there continue to weigh on the horizons of the world, albeit apparently less heavily, the dense clouds of nuclear confrontation; a kind of suspended sentence of doom hovers over mankind as a whole. Neither the doctrine nor the practice of strategic balance, nor arbitrary compositions among the poles of international power, have succeeded in extinguishing the fires of regional conflicts. The attempt to coexist within a strategic arrangement—or, in other words, the contemporary "balance of prudence" referred to by the Secretary-General [A/8701/Add.1, p. 1]—determines the outstanding bilateral diplomatic activity in which the great Powers are currently engaged and reflects the complex problems of today's international reality.

14. But it so happens that the easing of tensions and coexistence are not synonymous with the peace and security we pursued when founding the United Nations. Rather they are palliatives, perhaps opportune in the circumstances, but inadequate and insufficient, serving only to render the political atmosphere less oppressive, yet still not succeeding in brightening it. In fact, to be lasting and fruitful, the easing of tensions should be more than a mere expedient resorted to by the predominant Powers as a function of their national interests.

15. Our sense of reality obliges us to recognize the pragmatic merit of the various initiatives which have enabled us to leap over the walls of dissension and irreducible ideological conflict and pass from the sterile and sombre cold-war years to this period of dialogue. But it is indispensable and urgent that the spreading awareness of the impossibility and irrationality of a final nuclear confrontation should result in the institutionalization of an equitable system of international peace and security. I submit that this system, to be enduring and universally accepted, has to be built within the framework of the United Nations and legitimized by it; for this is the true, the genuine, normative forum of inter-State relations.

16. A few months ago, after a long period of waiting that became more and more anxious in view of the unbridled increase in the means of mass destruction at the disposal of the super-Powers, the international community was informed of the first and meagre results of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks—results which in the final analysis reflect the interests of the microcosm of strategical parity.

17. It is worth-while asking whether the subsystem of lateral pacts is to supersede the United Nations and even override it, or whether our Organization prevails over these pacts and retains its right to appraise and sanction them. So long as strategic parity *per se* remains the goal, or so long as this parity is construed as the only possible condition and guarantee for peace, this peace will, by definition, be unstable and fleeting.

18. Recent and explicit references to an alleged primacy of the security interests of the great Powers—to which lesser

interests and, viewed from that perspective, supposedly parochial interests should be subordinated—betray the original assumption that some countries can act in consonance with special responsibilities which would politically validate their conduct. The logical consequence of such a doctrine and its ensuing application relegate to a category of secondary objectives the implementation of an effective system of international security in conformity with the conceptual terms of the purposes and principles of the Charter.

19. The considerations of *Realpolitik*, which at San Francisco influenced the composition and functioning of the Security Council, are not enough to justify bypassing the mechanisms for action envisaged in the Charter, as is increasingly occurring, through negotiations in lateral forums of restricted membership, without the active presence of the medium-sized and small Powers. It is beyond question, in our view, that the participation of the medium-sized and small Powers would be highly constructive and creative; it would be tantamount to an infusion of new blood, which might serve to heal the sclerosis of structures that have aged apparently without being aware of it. How can one deny the validity of the claim to a broader role for the international community in the solution of problems that, after all, are of collective world interest?

20. We are asked to be realistic. Well, then, let us be truly realistic and take advantage of the atmosphere of détente, the momentum provided by the initiatives that in Europe have resulted in the accommodation of interests through the German-Soviet and German-Polish treaties and the Berlin agreements, which have opened favourable prospects for a future conference on European security. And let us apply this momentum to the international scene as a whole by making full use of the diplomatic mechanisms available in our Organization. Let us give a voice and role in building true peace and lasting security to all of us gathered here, persuaded as we are that the destiny of each of us is closely intertwined with that of all the others, that the development of the poor segment of mankind is a condition for the stability of the wealthy segment of humanity, and that peace and security—both political and economic—are inseparable.

21. These same purposes of reconciling points of view and of accommodating legitimate sovereign interests enabled us at Santiago to further negotiations on so many important matters falling within the competence of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD]; and in Stockholm to achieve fairly appreciable results towards the solution of the major problem of safeguarding the human environment.

22. The Brazilian Government considers that the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment attained its stated objectives, namely, to arrive at a common outlook on the problems of the environment and to define principles bound “to inspire and guide the peoples of the world in the preservation and enhancement of the human environment”.¹ The normative and operational framework adopted in Stockholm provides the bases for broad inter-

national co-operation in the preservation of the environment and indicates rational criteria to serve as guidelines for the sovereign action of States in the exploitation of their natural resources, in accordance with their national plans and priorities and without undue interference.

23. The unwavering defence that Brazil has undertaken, and will continue to maintain, of the sovereign right of each State to make full economic use of the resources of its territory for the benefit of its own people does not preclude recognition of its responsibility to carry out its development plans without risk of significant damage to the environment of bordering areas. Our attitude in this regard can be illustrated by the positions we have been taking, in all good faith and in the best spirit of good neighbourliness, at the regional forum which specifically deals with this subject and where, we believe, practical solutions that meet all the interests at stake can always be found.

24. Despite the persistence of serious situations of conflict I recognize that, in many aspects, the evolution of international relations appears to be following a more constructive course. But the conspicuous absence of the United Nations from the whole process of the easing of tensions, as though the flow of the major currents of negotiation had been diverted in order to bypass our Organization, has engendered a crisis of confidence and a feeling of frustration which limit the normative capacity of the United Nations. We are obliged to acknowledge that we have not as yet been able to assert the juridical and ethical pre-eminence of our constitutional document, nor have we been able in the political and security field to render the Organization fully operative.

25. I am stressing the political and security field inasmuch as in the economic and social spheres the performance of the United Nations is less discouraging. Economic co-operation and assistance, as we understand them today and as we intend to develop them further, are products of the consciousness which was born and raised in this very hall and which has in fact enlarged the scope of Chapter IX of the Charter and converted into reality many ideas originally expressed as timid aspirations. I emphasize this fact because the General Assembly christened and sponsored many initiatives which were later shaped in other organisms of our system because the Economic and Social Council did not bestir itself in time to deal with the multifarious problems of economic development and did not exercise its responsibilities in the area of policy-making and co-ordination.

26. In any critical analysis of the United Nations there must be a chapter acknowledging the merits of our Organization—or, if one prefers, the merits of its General Assembly—in activating, in giving form and substance to the aspirations to assistance and co-operation nurtured by the large majority of its membership.

27. There remains, of course, much—very much—more to do in this field. Many myths must be destroyed and much conservatism must be eliminated if we are to make more effective and more active the rendering of international assistance by the rich countries to the poor ones; in order, in a word, to reshape at last the international division of labour, so that the mechanisms of co-operation can

¹ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, Stockholm, 5-16 June 1972* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.A.14), p. 3.

function in a manner less hindered by such preconceptions, myths and conservatism. It has been a long and patient effort which is beginning to thrive and which can flourish if we are willing to fertilize other ideas sown in the Charter, ideas that interrelate collective economic security and collective political security.

28. That is the path recently shown us by the Secretary-General, with the authority vested in him, when he said:

“... development issues which in the past might have been local or regional in character today affect the entire world and should therefore be dealt with at the international community level... economic problems, just as political and military disputes, affected world security. Collective economic security was therefore a necessary correlate to the concept of collective political security. The concept of collective economic security would give added life and meaning to the International Development Strategy and its review and appraisal mechanism.

“It was most timely and appropriate that, at a time when the Economic and Social Council was in the process of self-renewal, it should give serious and careful consideration to this idea and to the practical ways it could be realized.”²

29. Here I wish to convey the satisfaction of my Government with the endorsement by the Secretary-General of the Brazilian concept of collective economic security. He has granted this concept the passport with which we hope it will travel through the international economic thinking of the 1970s. It is not Brazil's intention to advocate that we should hasten to arrive at a final formulation of this concept, or that we should hurry to put it into operation, thus risking its faulty, incomplete or insufficient implementation. Quite to the contrary, what we propose is wide-open, frank dialogue; what we expect is that we shall work together to refine this concept and to formulate its operational principles. The Brazilian delegation will return to this subject on the proper occasion, in the proper forum, with the sole intent of contributing to the strengthening and improvement of the foundations on which world peace and security should rest.

30. Let me now sum up the main line of reasoning of this presentation.

31. If the process of international organization is irreversible, inasmuch as it embodies a universally shared aspiration and inasmuch as it is a constant in the historical evolution of inter-State relations, why does our Organization so frequently find itself bypassed? Does this situation derive from an option by some countries not to utilize the Organization as an organ of collective decision? Or is the weakening of the United Nations to be attributed to structural deficiencies stemming from its institutional stagnation, from its inadequacy vis-à-vis contemporary international reality, already so distinct from that prevailing at the end of the Second World War, which the Charter had to mirror?

32. Whatever the reasons for the progressive political, diplomatic and even financial impoverishment of the

United Nations, it is urgent to reinvigorate our Organization, to fortify it as a converging centre for international politics, to make it regain control over the revamping of the system of inter-State relations, for only the United Nations can provide the juridical-political parameters of conciliation between legitimate national interests and what suits the collective interest.

33. The diplomatic marginalization of the United Nations has been and still is derived to a large extent from its institutional aging process, which reduces its procedural capacity to transform words into action, will into deeds, determination into reality. The Charter of the United Nations is to international relations what national constitutions are to the domestic political-judicial order of Member States. No written constitution has historically succeeded in remaining unaltered. As the societies to which they apply change and evolve, national constitutions evolve and change to avoid becoming a dead letter as the result of refusing to acknowledge and to institutionalize new situations and new social facts. We are currently witnessing at the international level a growing gap between constitutional norms and reality. This is the normative gap, I would say, now being added to the other gaps which so afflict two thirds of mankind.

34. Obviously, the degree of effectiveness of the United Nations is less dependent upon the text of the Charter than upon the political will of States to respect and implement its purposes and principles; it is no less true that any anachronistic norms become in themselves a hindrance to evolution and that the over-validity of supplanted institutions discourages the exercise of that same political will.

35. The Brazilian Government holds that the only alternative is adaptation and reform.

36. My Government fully acknowledges all that is permanent and valuable in our Charter. From this very rostrum, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, I launched an appeal for us to apply the Charter in its high normative sense, and for us to make full use of the diplomatic capabilities of our Organization.³ Thus, as I reiterate Brazil's total adherence to the purposes and principles, I also maintain that it is high time to improve the Charter. I find it a fallacious argument that if we were to redraft the Charter, the political conditions of today would prevent us from producing a document as valuable as the one drawn up in 1945. In this argument there is implicit the pessimistic assumption that, in the course of these past 27 years, the world has become worse and statesmen have become less rational.

37. It is not the intention of the Brazilian Government to suggest that we rewrite the Charter; what is in fact incumbent upon us is to revitalize our constitutional document, to correct its inadequacies, to update it, and, if I may say so, to adapt it to a world that is already distant from the international reality of the post-war period.

38. Interpreting the will of our Governments, the drafters of the Charter themselves acknowledged, with the humility of true statesmen, that they had not produced a perfect and

² See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Fifty-third Session*, 1819th meeting, paras. 52 and 53.

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1841st meeting, para. 35.

everlasting document. In Article 109 they themselves foresaw and affirmed the need for reform in setting a time-limit for review, a process considered indispensable for the United Nations to endure and advance. I should like to recall that, as early as in San Francisco, the Brazilian delegation, aware of the changeability of the times, suggested that the Charter should be reviewed automatically every five years irrespective of the veto.⁴ When are we to follow the course of action so wisely set forth in Article 109?

39. The Brazilian Government believes that a review and eventual reform of the Charter would decisively contribute to stimulating the political will of States to utilize the avenues of the international Organization in the most effective and comprehensive manner, to render the Organization itself operative and dynamic, at the service of a world in such an obvious phase of transition.

40. In replying to the questionnaire of the Secretary-General [see A/8746], my Government has already indicated those matters which in its opinion should be assigned first priority in connexion with a review of the Charter. Specific reference was made to the concept of collective economic security and to peace-keeping operations. We also presented suggestions regarding the enhancement of the effectiveness of the Security Council. And, while stressing the interconnexion between these different subjects, we noted that the debate on the item concerning the review of the Charter would offer an opportunity for an in-depth examination of all related issues and positions of principle having a bearing on the work of the Security Council as well as on its organizational structure. This issue calls for a thorough and unbiased re-evaluation, free from considerations based on the outdated power structure of the immediate post-war period.

41. The acceleration of the pace of international relations and the growing development of the communications media afford the emerging countries the opportunity to break out of the historic isolation in which they have been living and to project their national interests on the international plane. Domestic development concurrently broadens international obligations; growth increases international responsibilities and, consequently, commitments and duties. Brazil has long since made its irreversible choice in favour of all that presupposes clarity and harmony, in favour of just and correct relations with other nations, of good faith in discharging obligations, and systematically rejects the theses of separate paths of progress and of the false rights stemming from power.

42. New life should urgently be given to the ideals of collective security which inspired the Charter, in the form of a system of more operative norms that better encompass contemporary reality, these norms being firmly linked to germane principles of sovereign equality and equality of opportunity among States.

43. True political realism consists in trying to construct a permanent international order founded on collective consensus. This Assembly is the forum *par excellence* to

expand the understandings arrived at among a few on matters of interest to so many, and to render these understandings beneficial to all. It is incumbent upon the United Nations, where the organized international community is represented, to assume the final and untransferable responsibility for forging the bases of an equitable system of international co-operation, to build peace and to defend it.

44. Mr. ROGERS (United States of America): During the past few years the world has made remarkable advances toward the Charter goal of practising tolerance and living together in peace with one another as good neighbours.

45. In 1972 alone, the United States and the Soviet Union have undertaken with each other to do their utmost to avoid military confrontations, to respect the sovereign equality of all countries and to promote conditions in which no country would be subject to outside interference in its internal affairs. The Soviet Union and the United States have also placed precise limitations on our defensive and, at least for the next five years, on our offensive strategic missile systems. The United States and the People's Republic of China have undertaken to broaden the understanding between our peoples, to improve relations between us in the conviction that this would be in the interests of all States, and to oppose any efforts to establish hegemony in Asia or toward division of the world into spheres of influence. The United Kingdom, France, the Soviet Union and the United States have agreed on specific provisions to ensure unimpeded movement to and from Berlin by road, rail and waterways. The Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic have opened negotiations on a treaty to normalize their relations. And North and South Korea have intensified their talks on the plight of divided families and have agreed to establish a joint committee to examine problems of unification.

46. There have been many other accomplishments in pursuance of the Charter's objectives in 1972. I mention these merely to illustrate how old patterns of hostility are being eroded. If continued, this process will in time find positive reflection within the United Nations itself.

47. We are encouraged, too, by calls in both Eastern and Western capitals for a more secure and open Europe. A step toward realizing this goal would be the creation of a more stable military balance in central Europe through negotiation of mutual and balanced force reductions. We are currently in consultation with our allies, and we believe exploratory talks on this subject could begin within the next several months. We trust they will be productive.

48. It is equally important to move toward more normal relationships in Europe—relationships which have not existed since the end of the Second World War. Toward this objective, a conference on security and co-operation in Europe, if it is carefully and constructively prepared, could play a crucial role. A conference whose over-all effect was to put a stamp of approval upon the rigid divisions of Europe would only prolong the problems of today into yet another generation. On the other hand, a conference which promoted a more normal relationship among all of Europe's States and peoples would reinforce the trend toward better

⁴ Documents of the United Nations Conference on International Organization, G/7 (e) (3) (vol. 33).

relations on other levels. That is why we believe that the conference must take practical steps to promote the freer movement of people, ideas and goods across the breadth of the continent.

49. We are also now studying alternative approaches for the forthcoming Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. The United States will pursue the following general aims. First, our endeavour will be to negotiate on offensive weapons. In so doing we shall seek to expand the scope of strategic offensive weapons included in the limitations and to establish an equitable balance in the major delivery systems. Second, we shall wish to examine carefully qualitative limitations which could enhance stability. Third, we will aim to reduce levels of strategic arms. As President Nixon said to this General Assembly in 1969, our objective is "... not only to limit the build-up of strategic arms, but to reverse it."⁵

50. Of course we also attach importance to the work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, which has now turned its attention to preventing the accumulation of chemical weapons for use in warfare. Work in that Committee has come a long way towards resolving some of the important and complex issues related to possible significant restraints in this area. The United States is intensifying its study of all proposals and we look forward to responding to them at an early date.

51. It is clear from what I have said that the United States believes that a practical step-by-step approach is the best way to achieve genuine progress in disarmament.

52. Let me take note of other areas in the world in which progress needs to be accelerated.

53. In Africa, this Assembly must continue to champion the efforts of all peoples of all races to secure human dignity, self-determination and social justice. The United States will continue to lend its full support to all practical efforts to those ends.

54. In Latin America, while growth rates in recent years have far exceeded Alliance for Progress targets, economic development is still a primary concern and a primary need. The United States Government remains committed to a substantial programme of economic assistance, particularly through regional organizations. And, in recognition of the importance of trade to development, we are actively supporting the participation of Latin American and other developing countries in the coming negotiations on a new international monetary system.

55. In Viet-Nam the United States has reduced its armed forces from about 550,000 to 35,000. President Nixon has proposed a cease-fire in all of Indo-China under international supervision, an exchange of prisoners of war, and a total withdrawal of United States forces. Under this proposal the political future of Viet-Nam could be negotiated by the Viet-Nameese themselves. President Nixon has also pledged a major effort to assist both Viet-Nameese States in post-war reconstruction. In such circumstances it is hard to understand why the other side persists in believing that the war should be continued.

56. And in the Middle East, the momentum towards a peace settlement must be regained. We should take note of two positive elements. First, the cease-fire is now in its twenty-sixth month. Second, the climate for a settlement seemed to improve very much as 1972 progressed. We must, however, recognize that the Munich killings have set off deplorable patterns of action and reaction—and I emphasize that the United States believes that both action and reaction are deplorable—and that these patterns have seriously clouded the prospects for early progress. Nevertheless, neither side has permanently closed the door to future diplomatic efforts. We believe that the forces favouring a peaceful settlement still have the upper hand. Our task in this Assembly, our task individually as representatives of nations, is to do everything possible to see that the forces that favour a peaceful settlement are supported.

57. The "no war, no peace" situation which prevails now in the Middle East does not and will not serve the interest of anyone in the area. Certainly a stable, just and durable peace agreement based on Security Council resolution 242 (1967) continues to be the objective of the United States. But this, we believe, cannot be achieved without the beginning of a genuine negotiating process between the parties concerned. No settlement imposed from the outside can long endure. Negotiation is not capitulation. Negotiating activity among long-standing antagonists across the world is occurring at present. Why should the Middle East be an exception? When North Korea can talk to South Korea, when East Germans can talk to West Germans, when Indians and Pakistanis can meet in the immediate aftermath of war and prior to the withdrawal of troops, then surely the Middle East should be no exception to the general rule that differences should be reconciled through an active dialogue between the parties concerned.

58. Let me hasten to add that we do not hold that the process need necessarily begin through direct negotiations. We understand that other diplomatic avenues exist. Ambassador Jarring remains available to help the parties negotiate the terms of a peace settlement in accordance with Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

59. Another—and in our view the most promising—first step would be proximity talks leading to an interim Suez Canal agreement. What would such an agreement do? It would separate the combatants, restore to Egypt operation of and authority over the Suez Canal, involve some Israeli withdrawal, preserve the cease-fire, and provide momentum for further efforts towards an over-all settlement.

60. It is encouraging that both sides agree that such an interim agreement would be not an end in itself but rather the first step towards an over-all peace settlement. Such a practical test of peace on the ground would be in the interests of both sides, and the United States remains prepared to assist in achieving it, if that would be helpful to the parties. Moreover, an over-all settlement in accordance with Security Council resolution 242 (1967) must meet the legitimate aspirations and concerns of the Governments on both sides as well as of the Palestinian people.

61. In considering some of the great political developments of the past few years, one cannot help but

⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1755th meeting, para. 67.

observe—as the Brazilian Foreign Minister has just done—that the United Nations has not been directly involved. This fact has often been cited in attacks against it.

62. We are all aware, of course, that the Charter does not intend the United Nations to be the centre of all diplomacy. Still, as the Secretary-General puts it temperately in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization, “. . . in the political sphere the Organization's place is . . . uncertain” [A/8701/Add.1, p. 1]. With that thought most of us would agree.

63. As we look to the future, it is well to keep in mind that it is not so much in institutional reforms—and we are certainly not opposed to such reforms—as in national wills that the solutions to the problems must be sought. The future of this body, the future of the United Nations, depends on national wills, on the ability of nations to work together, accommodating themselves to each other's problems, if you will. Yet to the extent that better work methods and more realistic institutional arrangements will help, we also must bring them about.

64. For example, we believe that for the Security Council to maintain its influence and authority, ways must be found to ensure the representation of States, other than the present permanent members—and I am speaking about States whose resources and influence are of major importance in world affairs. The absence of Japan, for example, is notable in a body designed to engage the responsibilities of the world's principal Powers.

65. We believe in greater recourse to fact-finding commissions, to good offices and to quiet preventive diplomacy.

66. We believe that the increase in bloc voting, often without independent regard for the merits of the issue, is leading increasingly to unrealistic results.

67. The discussion of the United Nations weaknesses in dealing with political problems has reached its peak just at a time when its contribution to economic development and scientific and technological co-operation is making great strides.

68. Long before economic development became a major matter of international concern, the United Nations initiated efforts to reduce the economic gap between developed and developing countries. From the start the United States has supported that effort. It is an encouraging fact that during each of the last three years the *per capita* growth in production has finally achieved a higher rate in the less developed than in the developed world. Still, as the recent World Bank report showed, there are serious problems of income distribution, high rates of infant mortality, low rates of literacy, serious malnutrition and widespread ill health.⁶ The United States intends to continue to devote serious efforts to solving such problems—through the improved United Nations Development Programme, and through other channels of economic assistance.

⁶ See International Bank for Reconstruction and Development—International Development Association, *Annual Report, 1972* (Washington, D.C.), p. 5.

69. United Nations activities related to science and technology are also having an impact.

70. The landmark United Nations Conference on the Human Environment has proposed a world monitoring of levels of pollution in water, air, earth and living beings, measuring levels of specific chemicals, such as hydrocarbons which poison the air of the world's cities. To launch this and other important programmes without delay, we urge this Assembly to establish the secretariat and the proposed \$100 million fund for the environment.

71. The United Nations can also make a substantial contribution in the fight against drug traffic, particularly heroin traffic. A revised Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs will give the International Narcotics Control Board authority to reduce poppy cultivation and opium production in countries shown to be sources of that traffic. The United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control is helping States to improve their drug administrations, to train police and customs officials, to develop other means of livelihood for opium farmers, and to prevent and treat drug addiction. As President Nixon said last week, “Every Government which wants to move against narcotics should know that it can count on our country for our wholehearted support and assistance in doing so”.

72. Just last week the Secretary-General announced that 1974 will be the World Population Year and the time of a major United Nations population conference. It is our hope that the conference will lead to the setting of concrete goals of reduced population growth.

73. The General Assembly at this session will review the progress of its sea-bed Committee⁷ in preparing for a conference on the law of the sea [item 36]. It is important for us to use this opportunity to help make the oceans an example of international co-operation rather than an area of future conflict.

74. Such activities as pollution, narcotics, the sea-bed and population control—most of them connected with new applications of science and technology—will increase in importance in the future. We believe that they must acquire a greater focus and priority in the United Nations.

75. I have spoken today about some of the United Nations weaknesses as well as some of its strengths because I believe we must look at this Organization realistically so that we may contribute to its future prospects. In that spirit, the United States will continue to support the United Nations. We remain committed to making it stronger and more effective.

76. During this session the United Nations will have an opportunity and an obligation to take action of vital importance to the international community. The United Nations must deal effectively with criminal acts of international terrorism which have so tragically touched the lives of people everywhere, without warning, without discrimination, without regard for the sanctity of human life.

⁷ Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction.

77. Twenty-four years ago the United Nations, in its Universal Declaration of Human Rights, affirmed that every human being has the right to "life, liberty, and the security of person". Yet what is happening in the world today to that security?

78. In Sweden, 90 people boarding an international flight are held hostage and held for ransom by Croatian terrorists.

79. In London an Israeli diplomat is killed by a bomb sent through the mail. In New York colleagues in the United Nations narrowly avert a similar fate.

80. In Cyprus 95 persons of many nationalities narrowly escape death on a Venezuelan plane when a bomb is discovered just in time.

81. In New York shots are fired into the apartment of a member of the Soviet mission where children are playing.

82. In Munich 11 Olympic athletes are kidnapped and murdered in a day of horror witnessed throughout the world.

83. In Czechoslovakia a Czechoslovak pilot is killed and his plane hijacked and diverted to West Germany.

84. In Israel 26 tourists, 16 of them American citizens, are slaughtered in an insane attack at an international airport.

85. In this year alone 25 airliners from 13 countries have been successfully hijacked, and 26 other attempts have been frustrated. In this year alone 140 airplane passengers and crew have been killed—140 have been killed—and 97 wounded in acts of terrorism. In five years 27 diplomats from 11 countries have been kidnapped and three assassinated. In New York, Arab and other missions have been threatened with violence.

86. Is there anyone here in this Assembly who has not had the occasion, as he has journeyed by plane from around the globe, to be concerned about his own personal safety? Is there any one of you here who has not wondered what terrorist might strike next, or where he might strike?

87. The issue is not an issue of war—not war between States, not civil war or revolutionary war. The issue is not the strivings of people to achieve self-determination and independence. Rather, it is whether millions of air travellers can continue to fly in safety each year. It is whether a person who opens his mail can open it without fear of being blown up. It is whether diplomats can safely carry out their duties. It is whether international meetings, like the Olympics, like this General Assembly, can proceed without the ever-present threat of violence. In short, the issue is whether the vulnerable lines of international communications—the airways and the mails, diplomatic discourse and international meetings—can continue, without disruption, to bring nations and peoples together. All who have a stake in this have a stake in decisive action to suppress these demented acts of terrorism.

88. We are all aware that, aside from the psychotic and the purely felonious, many criminal acts of terrorism derive from political origins. We all recognize that issues such as

self-determination must continue to be addressed seriously by the international community. But political passion, however deeply held, cannot be a justification for criminal violence against innocent persons. Certainly the terrorist acts I have cited are totally unacceptable attacks against the very fabric of international order. They must be universally condemned, whether we consider the cause the terrorists invoke noble or ignoble, legitimate or illegitimate.

89. We must take effective steps to prevent the hijacking of international civil aircraft.

90. We must take effective steps to prevent murderous attacks and the kidnapping of diplomats.

91. We must take effective steps to prevent terrorists from sending bombs through the mails, or murdering innocent civilians. Just a few hours ago, I am pleased to note, the International Criminal Police Organization [*INTERPOL*], by a vote of 58 to none, condemned such acts and decided to gear up its machinery to help cope with this very difficult problem.

92. The United States welcomes the initiative the Secretary-General has taken to place this matter on the agenda [*A/8791 and Add.1*]. Two years ago, before the problem had reached its present dimensions, the General Assembly took the first step, the step that must guide us now. In the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV), annex*], which so strongly—keep this in mind—reaffirmed the right of self-determination, the General Assembly also unanimously declared that each nation has a duty to refrain from assisting or in any way participating in

“...terrorist acts in another State or acquiescing in organized activities within its territory directed towards the commission of such acts . . .”

93. The time has come to make that obligation, which this General Assembly solemnly undertook, more specific and more meaningful. In the past two years the international community has taken certain steps in the field of hijacking. Conventions have been concluded prescribing severe penalties for the hijacking and sabotage of aircraft and requiring States to extradite or prosecute hijackers and saboteurs. We urge all States which have not ratified these conventions to do so.

94. We are now faced with an urgent need to deter and punish international crimes of violence not only in the air but throughout our societies. The United States urges this Assembly to act, and act at once, to meet this challenge.

95. First, the draft treaty to prosecute or extradite those who attack or kidnap diplomats or officials of foreign governments or international organizations should be completed and opened for signature at this session of the Assembly. The draft articles on the prevention and punishment of crimes against diplomatic agents and other internationally protected persons are already before the Assembly in the report of the International Law Commission [*A/8710/Rev.1, chap. II, sect. C*].

96. Second, a treaty providing for suspension of all air service to countries which fail to punish or extradite hijackers or saboteurs of civil aircraft should be promptly completed and opened for signature. We repeat that such a treaty should provide for the suspension of all air service to countries which fail to prosecute or extradite hijackers or saboteurs of civil aircraft. It is our view that a nation which provides a safe haven for hijackers should be outlawed by the international community. A draft of a treaty to do this has already been considered by a sub-committee of the International Civil Aviation Organization. To achieve early action, the process of deliberation should be accelerated and a diplomatic conference to complete the treaty should be called without delay.

97. Third, a new treaty on the export of international terrorism should be concluded and opened for signature as soon as possible. It should include universal condemnation of, and require the prosecution or extradition of, persons who kill, seriously injure or kidnap innocent civilians in a foreign State for the purpose of harming or forcing concessions from a State or from an international organization. To complete such a treaty, we believe a diplomatic conference should be convened as soon as possible. The United States Government is today circulating the first draft of such a treaty.⁸ We urge all governments to give it their earnest consideration. We refer to this as a first draft, because we are sure that many suggestions for changes will be made. We are perfectly flexible on the form of the treaty, but we think this is a subject that deserves our earnest attention.

98. We have also embodied these various proposals in a draft resolution which we submitted to the Secretariat this morning for distribution.⁹

99. These actions would mark a major advance in the struggle against international terrorism. Surely, it is in the collective interest of every nation represented in this hall to arrest the growing assault on international order with which we are all faced. Let this General Assembly be the driving force for the specific and vigorous steps that are required. Let it prove that the United Nations can meet this test. Let it show people everywhere that this Organization, here, now, is capable of the concrete action necessary to bring us closer to a world free of violence—the kind of world which is the great goal of the United Nations Charter.

100. Mr. RAMPHAL (Guyana): Mr. President, it is a distinct pleasure on this opening day of the general debate to welcome you to your high office and to congratulate you on the distinction which your devoted national service and your country's contribution to the affairs of the international community have earned for you personally and for Poland, and to pledge to you the support of my delegation as, throughout this session, you guide the deliberations of the Assembly with wisdom and fairness.

101. As I do so, Mr. President, may I join in the tributes already paid to your distinguished predecessor, the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Mr. Adam Malik, for the standards of excellence which characterized the discharge of his respon-

sibilities during the last session. It is a source of particular satisfaction to the Government and people of Guyana that we should have been able to welcome him to our country before the twenty-seventh session began. This Organization and the international community stand greatly indebted to Mr. Malik for the service he has given in so many ways over several years of personal contribution, but most especially, of course, in respect of his work as President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

102. May I also be permitted, in these early hours of the twenty-seventh session, to convey to our distinguished Secretary-General the congratulations of the Government and people of Guyana, and my personal congratulations, on his elevation to the high and exacting office to which he was elected in the closing moments of the twenty-sixth session. I wish to assure him that he may look with certainty to Guyana for all such assistance and support as is within our power to give, in all his efforts to uphold the principles of the Charter and to secure for an impatient world the attainment of the aims and objectives of the Organization.

103. The commencement of each new session of this Assembly is, in effect, a renewal of the pledge made by the peoples of the world on the establishment of the United Nations. That pledge, as embodied in the Charter, and the promise of a better world which it implied, are as relevant and as valid today as they were in 1945. Each session of this Assembly is, therefore, both an occasion of commitment and an occasion of opportunity. The fact that so many of the leaders of the world will participate in this general debate should be sufficient testimony to our commitment and to our determination to use the opportunities of the session to advance the objectives of the Organization.

104. But it would be idle to pretend that this is how we are seen by the vast majority of those of the world's people who take an interest in our proceedings. The level of their scepticism is the measure of our annual failures. How to reduce that level, how to redress those failures, how to match our performance to our pre-estations is the real challenge of each Assembly. Unless we accept that challenge squarely, we shall in this Assembly still further diminish the chances of success which attend not only our own efforts here but those of all other organs of the United Nations, of the Secretary-General and his officers, of the specialized agencies, of the Security Council itself.

105. It is, therefore, to these wider perspectives of commitment and of opportunity that I invite attention, rather than to the particular issues with which the Assembly and its Committees will be concerned in the months ahead. To the resolution of these issues my delegation will, in due course, offer the modest contribution of a small State, informed by the considerations of principle which I shall attempt to outline.

106. It is perhaps in the nature of man that resolution diminishes as urgency recedes. Had it been otherwise, the determination to ensure a régime of peace, of justice and of progress in the world which was the genesis of this Organization would have been sustained long after the scourge of war and the untold sorrow it had brought to

⁸ Subsequently circulated as document A/C.6/L.850.

⁹ Subsequently circulated as document A/C.6/L.851.

mankind had passed. If, indeed, it be so—and the record of this Organization's work, despite its many notable achievements, all too readily bears witness that it is—there is a manifest need for each Assembly to be alerted to the several scourges that still darken the prospect of a peaceful, just and habitable world.

107. But merely to chronicle these deficiencies and imperfections, these dangers and uncertainties, is not enough; for does not their very existence signify the complacency and indeed the indifference of a world in which those who exercise the power of decision-making or control the means of implementation are willing to make an accommodation with them? Can there be hope of sustained resolution, therefore, can there be expectation that professed commitment will be translated into durable reality, so long as the acknowledged crisis in international affairs does not threaten imminent national disaster, or at least imminent national disaster for the major Powers? If there is, indeed, a possibility that the answer can be yes—that resolution may be sustained, that commitment may be fulfilled—that possibility would seem to lie in the emergence of some consciousness of global need, of which mankind otherwise becomes possessed.

108. In the area of human consciousness, developments unfold slowly. Indeed, it is sometimes difficult to be sure when ideas nurtured slowly emerge fully into the consciousness of men. It is just possible, however, that within our own time we may be seeing the emergence of an idea which has hitherto appeared only as a hint or a glimmer of truth but which possesses the potential of moving mankind with a new resolution and a revived urgency.

109. In its beginnings, the current perception that the preservation of the environment must be the concern of all mankind derived from the perception of the developed States that the pollution which accompanies their major industries can endanger and irretrievably damage life-support systems of air, land and water on our planet Earth. Out of this perception there has emerged, principally but not exclusively in the developed world, a growing concern over disturbances to the ecological balance of the biosphere and a new awareness of the finiteness of the world's resources of ocean, atmosphere and land, a concern and an awareness which are beginning to exert an influence on matters that affect the peace of the world and the quality of life on earth. We are, in fact, witnessing the birth of a new sense of community between man and the other life forms, a sense of belonging to and living together on a small planetary body whose limited resources are the heritage of all life.

110. Few will doubt that this insight marks a further advance in man's development. It would greatly diminish that advance, however—indeed, it might altogether frustrate it—if this perception of the interdependence of life is held at the level of concern from which it derived and its deeper implications for man's relationship with man are not acknowledged and pursued. The belief that the acknowledgement and pursuit of these implications are unavoidable, the recognition that it would be futile to develop a planetary strategy based on the unity of man with other life forms while ignoring those factors of inequality that frustrate and destroy the unity of mankind, and those

realities of tension and conflict that impair the quality and threaten the existence of human life itself—each is reason enough to hope that we may be at a point of special significance in the evolution of international community effort.

111. The Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment sustains this hope by its implicit acceptance that the physical interdependence of all people requires new dimensions of economic, social and political interdependence; by its express proclamation of man's "fundamental right to freedom, equality and adequate conditions of life in an environment of a quality that permits a life of dignity and well-being";¹⁰ by its demand that "policies promoting or perpetuating *apartheid*, racial segregation, discrimination, colonial and other forms of oppression and foreign domination stand condemned and must be eliminated";¹⁰ by its acknowledgment that environmental problems are products not merely of industrial development but of under-development, that, for the developing countries, their development must be a priority bearing in mind the need to safeguard and improve the environment and that, for the same purpose, the industrialized countries should make efforts to reduce the gap between themselves and the developing world.

112. These particular asseverations and exhortations are, of course, not new. They stand inscribed in many an international convention for which this Organization itself has been responsible. What is new is that they now stand inscribed as concomitant features of a programme for human survival, a programme inspired by the desperate understanding that "to defend and improve the human environment for present and future generations has become an imperative goal for mankind"¹¹—a programme that derives from mutual need and demands the reciprocal efforts of all States and peoples.

113. It needs to be appreciated that in the developing world this concept of mutuality is of paramount importance in any assessment of these developments. Programmes for the preservation of the human environment deriving mainly from abuses of the environment by the developed countries will stand little chance of universal respect, and therefore of success, unless conceived in terms which acknowledge the new dimensions of economic, social and political interdependence.

114. In moving, therefore, to a new level of planetary consultation it is essential that there be kept on the agenda all items that bear upon the quality of human life, so that the full resources of the planetary community are brought to their resolution. It may have been arguable that some of these matters were outside the purview of the Stockholm Conference. They cannot be outside the purview of this Assembly; nor can they be other than directly relevant to that wider concept of environment to which I have referred and which is already a part of our contemporary thought.

115. Let us acknowledge, for example, that not only have the agents of *apartheid* and racial discrimination in south-

¹⁰ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, Stockholm, 5-16 June 1972* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.A.14), p. 4.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

ern Africa resorted to deliberate destruction of the natural environment but the system itself is built on the denial to some men of what is in fact the natural heritage of all mankind: the right to a life of dignity in freedom and equality. Is it conceivable that one can develop a planetary strategy on the basis of respect for other life when human life itself is subjected to such systematized maltreatment? Racism, whatever form it takes, whether openly defiant or in masquerade, whoever its proponents and whoever its victims, pollutes and contaminates the human environment and deserves universal condemnation as it requires universal redress.

116. And while we ponder man's inhumanities in southern Africa, let us not ignore, or by silence appear to condone, those other abuses of the human personality that have in recent times brought concern and distress to all who labour in the vineyard of international brotherhood. A year ago, from this podium, I suggested, in relation to other cruel and indifferent onslaughts on human dignity:

“... that gross violations of human rights wherever they occur in the world are the legitimate concern of the international community; and that matters cease to be essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a State when they give rise to humanitarian issues of such magnitude that the international community must of necessity grapple with them” [1943rd meeting, para. 139.]

117. These considerations are as apposite now as then, and my Government has already assured the Secretary-General of support for his efforts to secure a humanitarian approach to the problems of human despair and dislocation in the troubled land of Uganda—problems, let it be acknowledged, which had their beginnings in colonialism. Mindful of the character of our State as a land of many peoples, my Government has likewise indicated its willingness to render such assistance as the circumstances of a small and developing State will permit to those who may be threatened with the terrifying prospect of statelessness.

118. In Indo-China, for more than a generation, its people and their environment have been subjected to the prolonged devastation of war—a war which is protracted in response to the power rivalries of external forces. The human environment is not divisible. We cannot secure its preservation in Stockholm if we allow its devastation in Viet-Nam. The ending of conflict in Indo-China is the concern of all men, and the international community, and this Organization in particular, have both a right and a duty to exert an influence in securing it.

119. And how do we interpret the concept of “an environment of a quality that permits a life of dignity and well-being” to the people of Palestine who have been dispossessed of environment itself? As we rightly condemn an international terrorism that strikes indiscriminately at innocent youth and makes the postal authorities of the world unconscious messengers of death, let us not forget—for it is to the account of all mankind—the bitterness and despair arising from deprivation of homeland that lie behind such desperate and abhorrent acts.

120. As we respond to the Secretary-General's proposal to search at this twenty-seventh session for solutions to these

problems, let us not believe that we can achieve durable results while ignoring those root-causes that produce them or delude ourselves with formulations that bury those causes still deeper in calculated ambiguity.

121. We cannot afford such delusion; for, suddenly, the world has grown smaller, so that there is no here and beyond, no island of tranquillity in a sea of turbulence, no peace anywhere while despair stalks the planet. Are these realities of our time not also an aspect of that perception of interdependence which the concept of environment has sharpened; and should we not begin as a planetary community to accept and to deal with them on these terms? When we do, it may perhaps become easier to recognize that each time the Security Council, through threat or use of the reciprocal veto, fails to discharge its primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security we increase still further the frustrations that impel both indiscriminate political violence and no less indiscriminate retaliation; for each such failure still further reduces credibility in the effectiveness of the United Nations and therefore of collective international opinion. The effectiveness of both is essential to global survival.

122. Similar considerations must inform the effort to redress the difference in levels of economic development. It is a sad commentary on our contemporary internationalism that the Stockholm Conference and the third session of UNCTAD could have been events on the international calendar of the same year. The emphasis placed during the debate at Stockholm on

“... the fact that for two thirds of the world's population the human environment was dominated by poverty, malnutrition, illiteracy and misery, and that the urgent task facing mankind was to solve those immediate and formidable problems...”¹²

was reflected in the Declaration itself, which acknowledged that

“Environmental deficiencies generated by the conditions of under-development... can best be remedied by accelerated development through the transfer of substantial quantities of financial and technological assistance as a supplement to the domestic effort of the developing countries...”¹³

The Declaration acknowledged also that:

“For the developing countries, stability of prices and adequate earnings for primary commodities and raw material are essential to environmental management since economic factors as well as ecological processes must be taken into account.”¹³

But these very truths, so candidly acknowledged at Stockholm, had a few weeks earlier failed to produce commitments at Santiago.

123. What is needed is prompt translation of such acknowledgements into tangible commitments and early fulfilment of these commitments and of obligations that already exist under the International Development Strategy. And this

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

movement from acknowledgement to fulfilment must cover the whole field of international economic co-operation.

124. It must be evidenced, for example, in the forthcoming trade negotiations in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [*GATT*] so that at both procedural and substantive levels there is a substantial and continuing improvement in the position of the developing countries in international trade.

125. It must find expression in reform of the international monetary system which admits the developing countries to full participation in the decision-making processes rather than leaves them the mere hapless victims of recurring international monetary crises for which they bear no responsibility.

126. All these will be necessary if we are to apply the new insight of environment not merely defensively, in order to hold off the environmental perils that confront industrialized societies, but positively and purposefully, in order to create conditions on earth that will preserve and enhance for every citizen of the world an environment which truly gives him that “physical sustenance” and affords him that “opportunity for intellectual, moral, social and spiritual growth” of which the Declaration speaks,¹⁴ and which gives and affords them to him on an active and equal basis with all other men.

127. Perhaps no area of current international activity more obviously demands the application of this insight than the current effort to regulate human interaction in the ocean space beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. Any perception of the earth as the heritage of all mankind must lend urgency to the arrangements for the international Conference on the Law of the Sea. But it must also surely serve to ensure, once the Conference on The Law of the Sea is convened, that an international régime is established which meets the legitimate demands of the developing no less than those of the developed countries, of the landlocked no less than the coastal States, and that it accommodates all these with the overriding interest of the international community in an orderly and equitable development whose benefits accrue to the people of the world and can be used to solve those prevailing environmental problems which are the products of under-development.

128. The Stockholm Declaration acknowledges that:

“Millions continue to live far below the minimum levels required for a decent human existence, deprived of adequate food and clothing, shelter and education, health and sanitation.”¹⁴

Let the resources of the sea and the sea-bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, which are the heritage of all mankind, have as a first charge upon them the redress of these social and economic imbalances; let them be devoted, that is, to the fulfilment of the first principle of the Declaration—the realization of man’s “fundamental right to . . . adequate conditions of life, in an environment of equality that permits a life of dignity and well-

being . . .”¹⁵ A régime of the sea and the sea-bed which thus gives practical fulfilment to the new perception of the unity of man’s life with other life would lay sturdy foundations on which we may yet build a more just and therefore a more enduring international system.

129. Let us also, in the cause of preserving and enhancing the human environment, give support and encouragement to efforts for the establishment of zones of peace and co-operation in various regions of the world based on the principles of the Charter and on the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV)*] so that in their aggregation these zones of peace may advance the cause of comprehensive international security.

130. In this context, let this Assembly help to advance the implementation of the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*] adopted at the twenty-sixth session and let it likewise endorse and call upon all States to respect the objective embodied in the Kuala Lumpur Declaration of 27 November 1971, in which five countries of South-east Asia have expressed their determination to secure recognition of and respect for South-east Asia as a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality free from any form of menace or interference by outside Powers.

131. Perhaps above all let this new awareness of mutual need confirm the urgency of the democratization of international relations. The tendency on the part of the major Powers to monopolize decision-making or to exercise inordinate influence on matters which are the proper concern of all countries continues to be a feature of international life—a tendency which the institutional arrangements of this Organization greatly assist by fashioning the Security Council to reflect power differentials between States. Thus, while we welcome the indications of détente among the super-Powers, we must ensure by appropriate reforms that the dialogue of peace which, it permits is one for all mankind and is not confined within the Chancelleries of a small syndicate of powerful States in negation of the purposes of this Organization.

132. But the processes of democratization will take many forms and high among them must be the universality of membership of this Organization. The restoration of the People’s Republic of China to its rightful place in the Organization was an important step in this direction, but further steps must be taken to secure the objective of universality. We must open the doors of this Organization to all those States that seek to enter, and we must encourage those others now without to exercise their influence on international affairs from within the Organization by assuring them of our support for their admission, notwithstanding the problems of division that may have hindered this in the past.

133. But if we are to ensure that the universality of the Organization is effective we will need to go beyond the question of membership and to secure a more broadly-

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

based geographic representation of the people of the world in the principal organs of the United Nations and its specialized agencies as well as in the secretariats of these organizations, and particularly at the policy-making levels. In the long run the major Powers themselves may find that a willingness on their part to take these steps towards making the conduct of international affairs more democratic would better secure the prospect of international peace and co-operation than a stubborn adherence to the power political structure of a passing era.

134. Through all these growing points in our international arrangements it is clearly possible for us to move away from a system in which the use of power or the balance of power is the determinant of change to one in which there is growing acceptance of a complementarity of systems within a single planetary community—a community in which change is promoted by conciliation and adjustment and is responsive to a balanced view of the needs of all its peoples. With the emergence of such a planetary order this Organization will assume even greater responsibilities, and it must therefore be a central feature of all our efforts that we enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations.

135. For this reason alone the financial plight of the Organization ought to be the concern of all Member States; for these financial problems must impose severe strains on the capacity of the Organization to fulfil even its present functions, much less to equip itself for still further responsibilities. We are, indeed, at a stage in the affairs of the United Nations when it should be the duty of all Member States committed to its effectiveness to take those steps that are necessary to a resolution of existing financial difficulties and to avoid any that are likely to diminish that effectiveness or imperil its legitimate and necessary growth.

136. I spoke a moment ago on the growing points of our international arrangements. High among these, I suggest, is the developing strength of the non-aligned movement, whose most recent consultation, at the level of Foreign Ministers,¹⁶ it was my country's privilege to host just six weeks ago. Nearly two decades before that, at the African-Asian Conference, held at Bandung in April 1955, leaders of a number of Afro-Asian nations had met to demonstrate their newly won freedom, to renew the links between their peoples which had been broken in imperial times and to seek to ensure through solidarity that the momentum of the independence struggle was maintained. They elaborated at Bandung a set of principles on which the international movement of non-alignment was to be shaped. These principles have informed the programme hammered out at the great consultations of the movement.

137. At Belgrade in 1961,¹⁷ at a time of heightened international tension, the leaders of the non-aligned nations sought to secure the peace of the world through efforts of mediation. At Cairo in 1964,¹⁸ at a time of lessened tension, they emphasized the need for a programme to

reshape the international economic system and its institutions and called upon developed States for practical co-operation. At Lusaka in 1970,¹⁹ the emphasis was on the need to democratize international relations and, through self-reliance and mutual assistance, to widen the areas of co-operation among developing States.

138. Each of these responses to the challenges and opportunities of the changing international situation was founded on a commitment to those very principles which are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and to the advancement of the effectiveness of the United Nations. Today the non-aligned movement, which numbers among its adherents half of the Members of this Assembly, stands foremost among the champions of this Organization and of its aims and objectives.

139. At the Conference of Foreign Ministers held recently in Georgetown this commitment to the United Nations, already elaborately expressed at Lusaka, was reaffirmed and the Foreign Ministers rededicated themselves to the purposes and principles of the Charter and reaffirmed their deep conviction that the United Nations provides the most effective means to maintain and promote international peace and security, to strengthen freedom and to harmonize relations between States. They reiterated that the United Nations must not merely reflect developments in contemporary world affairs but, by exerting an influence upon them, contribute to the furtherance of world peace and progress.

140. In its commitment to this Organization, in its efforts in the cause of international peace and security, in its resolute support of fundamental human values and the cause of economic and social justice and, above all, in its steadfastness to the concept of a world of free people and free States, the non-aligned movement is continuing its contribution to the achievement of the aims and objectives of the Charter.

141. On the mandate of the Conference, at the commencement of this session I transmitted its Final Acts to the Secretary-General and requested their circulation as official documents of the United Nations. I have no doubt that as the work of this session proceeds the Georgetown Declaration, the Action Programme for Economic Co-operation and the related documents of the Conference will make a material contribution to the resolution of outstanding issues.

142. On the occasion of the Georgetown Conference this great movement that knows no boundaries of race or region, of language or of political system, did honour to the pioneers of non-alignment and, more especially, to the international work for a better world of four great men whose vision reached beyond their national horizons and whose courage inspired and advanced a new and more democratic international system. I should like to read into the records of this Assembly the words in which we commemorated those contributions of Gamal Abdel Nasser, of Kwame Nkrumah, of Jawaharlal Nehru, of Josip Broz

¹⁶ Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Georgetown, Guyana, from 8 to 12 August 1972.

¹⁷ Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade from 1 to 6 September 1961.

¹⁸ Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Cairo from 5 to 10 October 1964.

¹⁹ Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka from 8 to 10 September 1970.

Tito—for all the world is heir to their achievements and the epilogue to their great works may serve also as the prologue to a new chapter of the chronicle of man's endeavours in his restless quest for peace and understanding with himself and with his environment. The words of commemoration read:

“Having led their peoples to freedom
They did not rest
But taking the whole earth for their nation
And all peoples for their brothers
They sought to free the world from war
Gave to the oppressed a sense of dignity and the hope
of justice
Ensured for all peoples the right to freedom and
independence
And to determine and pursue without hindrance
The paths of their political economic social and cultural
development
Secured for all States respect for their sovereignty and
territorial integrity
And the right of equality and active participation in
international affairs
With them through the Movement of Non-Alignment
Our human race took a step forward
Towards a world of peace of justice and of progress
They began a dialogue of all mankind.”

143. If we are to continue that dialogue and to give it the dimensions which our new awareness of man's state on this planet requires, there will be need for an effort of truly global proportions in which all men and all States must share. As communication begins to take the place of threat, as bridges are built where barriers stood, as functional co-operation broadens to encompass the survival of life on earth, the need is urgent and the moment propitious for us to make that effort. As we do so, there is no higher priority than to integrate the emerging values into the developing international system. On our willingness to do this in a total way, responsive to the needs of no one community or group of communities but to the needs of mankind seen in their widest perspectives, will depend our chances of advancing towards the ideal of a peaceful, just and habitable planet.

144. Mr. LUCIO PAREDES (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you very warmly on your well-earned election. Your election is a recognition of your personal ability and of the fact that you are a worthy representative of the Polish people, with whom my country enjoys the most cordial relations. It is an election that constitutes the best guarantee for success in the conduct of this session of the General Assembly.

145. Since this is the first opportunity that the Revolutionary Nationalist Government of Ecuador has had to make known its views to the General Assembly, I should like in general to indicate our main goals.

146. The Government of Ecuador wishes to effect a profound economic and social transformation of the country and to overcome the present state of backwardness and poverty in which the great majority of the people live; and we intend to do this by establishing social justice, which will ensure wide participation by all the national sectors and regions by bringing into the mainstream of the

life of the country all those who have been on the fringes and by encouraging an increased and maximum utilization of the natural resources in order to achieve national objectives.

147. My Government hopes to achieve these objectives through responsible and planned action. This will obviously call for vigorous activity on the part both of the State and of private enterprise, but there will of course be a guarantee of individual rights, defence and encouragement of the rights of workers and respect for capital and investments so long as they carry out their social function. Ecuador shares the desires and aspirations of Latin America and the third world, and offers co-operation in the fulfilment of the objectives of the United Nations.

148. Ecuador, which from the very beginning of its independence has been known for its love for peace and justice, is deeply concerned over the fact that, despite the years that have elapsed and the efforts made, there are still in existence dangerous centres of friction that belie the purposes expressed by nations when they created this Organization, which was to do away with acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace and encourage friendly relations on the principle of legal equality among States.

149. It is true that if we glance back at the past and go through the pages of history where law was the law of the strongest and where acts were arbitrary, it appears to be just to recognize that the achievements of the United Nations in the few years of its existence are valuable and the balance positive. But even this is not entirely satisfactory in the light of the hunger for calm and security which the peoples of the world are experiencing, peoples who wish to live free from fear and worry, working their land or carrying out their duties without the spectre of misery hovering over them and protected from the scourge of war. We must eliminate once and for all and proscribe forever the resort to force as a solution of disputes or conflicts, for that is why we have raised the peaceful solution of controversies to an ineluctable principle.

150. But there appear to be interests that threaten these aims and undermine these principles in order to keep conflicts alive, very often artificially, and viciously creating situations which lead to breaches of the peace because, by using such confrontations, they obtain economic or political advantages or they can test new instruments of war, while in their egotistical plans they set no store by human life or the sufferings of displaced populations who are bereft of their homes and cities. But this can no longer continue. General indifference or cold complacency must yield place to active condemnation, to energetic protests, to clearly defined positions which will reveal the existence of a clear and definitive desire to disavow or repudiate such acts, a feeling that must gain ground until it is shared by all the world and so becomes the symbol of our times and replaces the fatal complacency that was the hallmark of earlier ages. To that end we must work and in this crusade we must make every effort so that in the immediate future we will perfect an attitude more in keeping with the principles that must distinguish us as eager to live in peace as good neighbours, concerned only with encouraging progress and raising the standard of living of citizens all over the world.

151. At most we might say that within this balance of terror created by the new and modern means of mass destruction we have been able to avert another world-wide conflagration, but other conflicts are kept alive or break out that are still grave disturbances to world peace even though localized. After many years of suffering and endless misery, in a true war of extermination, Viet-Nam is still fighting, torn by sorrow, sacrifice and death. It is imperative that that situation end. At least, it is encouraging to know that conversations which might well lead to the end of that brutal war are being started.

152. The Middle East, with its already too long-lasting problems, quite justifiably has attracted very special attention from the international community. We must admit that the United Nations has shown deep concern for that complex situation and has devoted much of its time to the discussion and adoption of resolutions in order to solve the problems in a manner that is just and satisfactory to all parties concerned. I cannot fail to refer to the Security Council's resolution 242 (1967), which we believe constitutes a basis for the solution of the problem. It is the resolution that led to the Jarring mission, which is still trying to bring together the wills of the parties to the dispute. Among countries with such a long historical tradition, countries the splendour of whose cultures has been a source of inspiration for the development of all Western culture, it is most sad that the play of the interests of the super-Powers should maintain a climate so un conducive to constructive dialogue. Ecuador condemns the unleashing of acts of violence and of force wherever they may occur because we recognize the supremacy of law and therefore urge a peaceful solution and a just settlement according to the unchanging truth that war creates no rights, but that the solution must eliminate from relations among peoples the threat or the use of force.

153. Ecuador reaffirms the right of Israel to a recognized and secure existence where its great, hard-working and enterprising people can live its life in safety and with faith in its future. We believe also that the Arab nations have the right to recover their own territories.

154. As far as my Government is concerned terrorist practices are to be condemned whatever their origin. For that reason my country has always condemned—and we repeat today most energetically that we are against—any attack on the integrity of States as well as against human persons. My country officially proclaimed a few days ago that “terrorist acts have deserved and will always receive from the Government of Ecuador a most energetic repudiation.” Consistent with that formal declaration, Ecuador is convinced that, as soon as possible, there should be laid down international norms that will prevent and punish acts of this nature.

155. Confronted as we are by these painful facts, we are, however, encouraged to find that there are positive events that promise a reduction of tensions and the beginnings of constructive dialogue. We are gratified that the great Powers have initiated contacts that have made possible the “new balance of prudence”, as the Secretary-General has called it in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/8701/Add.1, p. 1]. This dialogue will

doubtless make it easier to arrive at the desired understandings and the more active co-operation from which mankind expects so much. There is always a common denominator which makes understanding and coexistence possible even in the case of contrasting views.

156. From this standpoint and thanks to the agreements arrived at last year among the four Powers, the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic are coming closer to understandings, on the basis of one nation and two States, and these will exert a favourable influence on Central European peace and will contribute significantly to the holding of the planned conference on European security, which will doubtless in turn be another step towards the consolidation of world peace.

157. It is also most encouraging that South and North Korea have started a constructive dialogue, which has already led to agreement on certain points, as shown by their Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972 [A/8727, annex 1].

158. All this is most auspicious and promises that gradually we may be able to fulfil one of the fundamental bases of the world Organization—that is, universality. If thus far many factors have hindered that universality, it now is true that we can glimpse substantive changes that will make of this Organization the parliament of all the peoples of the world.

159. The existence of colonial systems and régimes is an affront to the principle of universality. This is a matter that has warranted and will continue to receive special attention on the part of the Ecuadorean Government. By historic tradition and democratic conviction, we have always opposed any political system that denies basic principles such as those of self-determination and self-government, to which all peoples of this world have a right. Consistent with that position, in all international organizations and at every stage through which this problem has passed in the United Nations, we have expressed our rejection of colonialism, which hampers the freedom of peoples, is a point of obvious friction among members of the international community and harbours dangers to international peace and security. My Government is convinced that the age of colonialism must once and for all be outlawed. That is why we would support any step that would lead to the political independence of the peoples of the Territories that are still under the colonial yoke and have still not been given an opportunity to express themselves freely. We recognize their right to become free and independent nations pursuant to the terms of the Charter and the pertinent resolutions of the United Nations.

160. Continuing with my list of imperfections which unfortunately still beset humanity despite the passage of centuries and the evolution of ideas and concepts, we must mention two stains that are still on the nations' conscience. They are racism in general and its specific form *apartheid*. My delegation believes that these two phenomena are not only anachronistic but also a violation of elementary legal tenets, because it is absurd that human beings should be differentiated on the basis of the colour of their skins or that they should be discriminated against because of their race, the religion they practise or the language they speak.

Surely more specific and effective action must be taken to put a final end to those practices that contradict and belie the letter and spirit of the Charter.

161. When speaking of the protection of the inalienable rights of man, we might well link these with scientific and technological progress and their economic and social repercussions. The wide gap between the developed and the developing nations, far from narrowing, daily becomes greater, emphasizing the differences between the two groups. And instead of these facts attracting the careful attention of the wealthy nations, it would appear that those nations have adopted an annoying disdain not in keeping with human solidarity or the obligation incumbent on the super-industrialized nations to channel constant and increasing assistance from the rich to the poor. While the former enrich themselves by almost geometric progressions, the latter become proportionately poorer. My country thus believes that the correct application of human rights and the respect and consideration all human beings deserve dictates that scientific and technological progress should be placed at the service of the less favoured peoples so that the benefits of science will assist them too, as it has assisted others, substantially to raise their standard of living. Particularly in agricultural countries, it is necessary to modernize the cultivation systems so that the fields will yield in proportion to the effort made and thus benefit the entire community. The lack of scientific training and technological means has delayed the changes in structure that would enable these countries to keep up with present progress and meet present needs, and therefore the poorer countries face this new obstacle to their progress. But there, too, lies the responsibility of the technologically advanced countries to provide them with assistance in keeping with such requirements. To give an example, the present situation in my own country is highly interesting because we have started exporting oil, which was discovered a short time ago in the subsoil of our Amazonian region. It is our just desire to take full advantage of that wealth for the benefit of the entire Ecuadorean people, but in this as in other fields it is urgent that adequate technology be transferred to allow us to make maximum use of our natural resources and to assist the legitimate owners of this "black gold".

162. To the lack of technology in our developing countries, we add the lack of the financial means for planning and implementing our programmes for development in our fight against poverty, unsanitary conditions, disease and illiteracy. Thus the contrast becomes even more obvious when, in the light of so many needs, we know that the arms race has been neither contained nor stemmed. In the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General has purposefully stated: "In fact, the arms race has spiralled to a level higher than ever before . . . total world expenditure for these purposes has risen to about \$200,000 million annually" [A/8701/Add.1, p. 3]. We know that this is one of the most important questions confronting the Organization. In its solution, many adverse factors must be overcome. But we also recognize that, because of that very fact, it must be tackled with decision and honesty in order to find a solution in keeping with the security which all hope for and which would be compatible with the co-operation that binds us all. It is, I know, not a

matter that can be solved overnight. It is both urgent and necessary that good will be shown and that open minds be brought to bear so that, with sincerity and an understanding of the responsibilities, the way to tackle and solve the problem can be devised.

163. In its resolution 2833 (XXVI), the General Assembly expressed the vital interest of the international community in finding effective means whereby to achieve general disarmament and—for obvious reasons, of course—nuclear disarmament. With full knowledge of its historic responsibility, the United Nations will this year again devote itself to considering this question when dealing with agenda item 26, on a World Disarmament Conference.

164. One of the fundamental postulates of my country is that Ecuador is a peace-loving nation, one that condemns violence. We have therefore been gravely concerned over the arms race that is one of the features of many of the nations of the world and therefore we wish to stress the importance we attach to the consideration of the disarmament item. My Government is fully aware of the complexity of the problem whose solution will be the result of a series of efforts and proposals on which all parties concerned will have to have agreed previously, beginning by the establishment of trust in international relations and belief in the value of international justice. My country also recognizes that these will be long and arduous negotiations with not a few setbacks, but we consider that, by the same token, it will be possible to achieve success if there is the will to reach understandings that will be beneficial to all mankind. We cannot begin at the end and therefore we recognize that we will have to deal prudently with the subject in order to arrive at a negotiated solution to the problem of disarmament. From all I have said it can be gathered that my Government considers it indispensable that the World Disarmament Conference should be held because doubtless it will be an historic milestone on the difficult road to the strengthening of tolerance in order to achieve harmonious coexistence among all peoples of this planet.

165. It is only just to recognize that some progress has been made regarding the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, despite the fact that the tests of these devices still continue, either in the atmosphere or underground. Ecuador has repeatedly spoken out against explosions and nuclear experiments that the super-Powers have carried out without weighing the danger of radioactive fall-out and the destructive effect of such explosions. My own and 15 other countries of the hemisphere are parties to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America because of this concern; that Treaty created an organism to eliminate these weapons of mass destruction from our continent and to implement the resolutions, declarations and purposes that define the position and the policies of Latin American nations on this important question. The concern that Ecuador has shown regarding the continuation of nuclear weapons and our awareness of the dangerous consequences to mankind of these tests have led my country at this time, from this General Assembly, to make a determined appeal to the great Powers to put an end to such nuclear explosions and tests and rather devote those immense resources of both moneys and techniques to research which, placed at the service of man, will cure his

diseases and help him in his economic and social development and assure him of an existence more in keeping with his dignity.

166. The same guiding idea of protecting man in all his aspects and manifestations inspired and dictated the position of Ecuador in the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, which was held in June of this year in Stockholm. My country is deeply concerned over the problems of the environment. The more we know of these problems and the better we understand them, the more we are aware of their gravity and the urgency of finding an adequate solution to them. Convinced of this, Ecuador gave whole-hearted support to the holding of the Stockholm Conference since we were determined to try to blaze new trails in the history of mankind with the hope that we might find adequate formulas that would harmonize accelerated development which characterizes this century and links us with the environmental problems, as well as the highly noble task of shortening the distance which so greatly separates the super-wealthy from the poor countries of the world.

167. Our view was and is that we must endeavour to find the ways and means to true international co-operation, without tutor nations and without subject nations, since that would contradict the spirit and the letter of our Charter—co-operation of a nature such as to assist the so-called third world, through additional resources, to combat and eradicate the environmental problems of under-development, such as slum conditions, ill health, pollution, malnutrition, contamination of the environment and the gradual destruction of ecology, all of which force millions of persons to live in conditions that can only be termed subhuman.

168. The Stockholm Conference opened a door to hope. The General Assembly now has incumbent upon it the responsibility of channeling that thought expressed by the international community and thereby to strengthen the achievements of the Conference and thus make reality of the motto "Only One Earth" that ruled the debates among the participants.

169. In contrast with the obsolete concept of the extension of sovereign rights over the sea solely in order to ensure the defence of a nation, there arises the truly constructive and dynamic concept of co-operation as a function of the economic and social development of peoples. And thus the proclamation of the right of States to establish the limits of their sovereignty over the seas adjacent to their coasts in accordance with their own peculiar geographical, geological and ecological characteristics and the need for the rational utilization of their resources constitutes one of the most significant steps in the formulation of the new law of the sea. At the same time it is a positive achievement on the part of the less-developed countries to obtain for their peoples, eager as they are for progress and improvement, those means which nature placed at their disposal and which, generally speaking, in the past were exploited and utilized to increase the power and wealth of maritime nations that had nothing to do with the seas in which that wealth lay.

170. Ecuador, in accordance with these principles and consistent with the norms of maritime policy which were

agreed to in 1952 with Chile and Peru in the Santiago Declaration²⁰ 'exercises a sovereignty whose outer limit lies at 200 miles from the base-line, and we are happy that the principle that was voiced by the countries of the south-eastern Pacific was the point of departure of a wide-scale movement that today has supporters and co-operation among nations from all continents.

171. Lamentable incidents which have occurred because of the stubborn illegal action and misuse by foreign fishers who follow an old practice of exploiting the wealth of others have once again shown that to guarantee and to protect the interests of the coastal States a mere declaration of preferential or exclusive rights does not suffice. The exercise of the sovereign power of the State is necessary, especially so since the sea—and with the sea I include the water, the soil and subsoil, and their renewable and non-renewable resources—constitutes a single unit that cannot be destroyed and therefore in its integral wholeness belongs to the coastal State that possesses eminent domain.

172. The life of relations among States evolves rapidly towards new concepts and new goals compatible with the progress both of law and science. To cleave to the old concepts and to try to formulate a law of the sea without departing from the obsolete classical lines would be an insurmountable barrier to the establishment of norms which are a vital need for the international community today. Unlimited respect for the norms that safeguard order, peace and the security of States and that preserve the resources necessary for the subsistence and the progress of the peoples are not incompatible with the exercise of the rights of the community as far as transit, navigation, communication and international co-operation are concerned.

173. Thus the rights of States generate the duties of the international community and that relationship, because of the existing interdependence, in turn imposes obligations which the State cannot avoid and which constitute its duty to the community.

174. For all these reasons, Ecuador contends that the new orientations of the law of the sea, with the extension of the sovereignty and jurisdiction of the coastal State to a limit of 200 miles, fits perfectly with the requirements of the international community and allows a just relationship between what the State proclaims for itself, with the need to preserve the maritime resources, and with what interdependence requires for a better development of international life. The Ecuadorean sea is open to international communications and, far from isolating itself from the world, is a valuable element of relationship and co-operation, although we firmly oppose any act or abuse violating the interests of the people and the essential rights of our State. This same concept governs the exercise of sovereignty over the air space above the adjacent sea to a limit of 200 miles.

175. In a spirit of frank understanding and in order to contribute to a better presentation of the new norms of the

²⁰ Declaration on the Maritime Zone, adopted by the Diplomatic Conference on the Exploitation and Conservation of the Marine Resources of the South Pacific, held by Chile, Ecuador and Peru in 1952.

law of the sea, reaffirming the respect for the sovereign rights of States and the value of the duties flowing from interdependence, my country will participate in forthcoming regional and world conferences, since we are convinced that the results to be achieved at such conferences will be beneficial to the strengthening of peace and will ensure closer co-operation among nations and the steady and speedy progress of the less developed nations, which have in the sea the ways and means of achieving better standards of living for themselves and progress for their people.

176. The existing trade systems and the monetary and financial machinery were established after the Second World War with very little participation on the part of developing nations. These were articulations designed primarily to encourage the economic growth and recovery of the developed nations. That objective has now been achieved. After 25 years a certain number of countries have become industrially and technologically super-developed, while the majority of mankind, which had little to do in the programming of the present financial and trade system, is facing the very grave problems of under-development and is living in a way that is incompatible with the present stage of civilization or the norms of coexistence and justice set up in the last few years.

177. Lately, a number of developed countries have confronted grave problems flowing from their excessive accumulation of wealth and have been forced to modify the present monetary and financial system, seeking new balances and altering the fragile rules to which the developing countries were still trying to adjust themselves in their struggle for justice and social welfare. As part of that same struggle, the countries of the third world some time ago stressed the need to transform the present, unjust structures.

178. We therefore came to a moment of grave significance in the history of international economic relations. For different and varied reasons, there still is a wide consensus on the part of both developed and developing countries that reforms should be made in the present trade, financial and monetary systems. My country believes that the best way of trying to harmonize these interests is through sincere international negotiations on an equal footing and with the widest participation of all peoples of the world. We contend, further, that it is up to the different bodies and organs of the United Nations to play a basic role in this process of negotiation. We trust that at the present session of the General Assembly a decisive awareness of this matter will grow and that the world Organization will be led to carry out its full responsibilities.

179. The solutions to be found should be wide-scale. Mere palliatives will not be acceptable, still less slight paternalistic concessions on the part of the developed nations. I say this because I recall a number of proposals or formulas put forward in the case of the law of the sea in UNCTAD and when dealing with the problems of the environment.

180. On behalf of my country, I must recall that there are very important conceptual bases and principles for inter-

national co-operation, just as there are a series of hopes and proposals submitted by the developing countries, all of which must be utilized as soon as possible in the different international organs.

181. One of those principles that warrants emphasis is the need for an equitable distribution of the benefits of trade and of co-operation among all countries, and particularly the developing countries.

182. The approval at the third session of UNCTAD of special measures to benefit the least advanced of the developing nations and of the land-locked developing countries was a very just and appropriate decision, but within that very context it is necessary that the United Nations should give the same importance to problems that beset the less advanced of the developing nations of each region.

183. Here again, I wish to repeat our whole-hearted support of the initiative of the President of Mexico regarding the drafting of a charter of the economic rights and duties of States, to which UNCTAD resolution 45 (III) refers. Scattered in different instruments and resolutions there are a number of principles governing international trade relations and the problems touching economic development. We believe those principles should be codified for international acceptance in a charter, similar to that which was adopted by UNCTAD in its resolution 46 (III).

184. On maritime transport a number of recommendations and decisions were adopted regarding the improvement of port facilities, the development of merchant marines by developing countries, combined international transport of merchandise and economic co-operation in marine transport. Ecuador is giving an effective impetus to the development of its merchant marine and therefore has in the last few months, in accordance with the international principles governing this question, put into force a law reserving certain freight for Ecuadorean vessels which we consider vital to the interests of the country.

185. We must stress the fact that we cannot speak of freedom when surrounded by poverty, or of justice when close to two thirds of mankind lives in subhuman conditions. Therefore, my country reads into the words "freedom" and "equality" necessarily an economic growth and social progress that will assure dignified standards of living for all peoples. It is obvious, therefore, that international action must be directed towards tearing down such obstacles through co-operation for development, with all necessary resources and under soft and preferential conditions, so that the developing countries can set in motion their mass programmes to deal with those problems. Therefore, although Ecuador gives the United Nations organs much support, from this rostrum I am happy to note that my country considers UNCTAD and the United Nations Development Programme to be instruments of such special importance in the fulfilment of the objectives of our Organization that they require more political support and greater resources for the future.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.