



Frá Sameinuðu þjóðunum 1969

Bjarni Benediktsson – Stjórnámál – Forsætisráðherra – Sameinuðu þjóðirnar – *Washington Post* –
Secriteriat News

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Luxembourg Envoy's Silence Is Praised

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. (AP)—In a forum where talk is abundant, Luxembourg holds the view that a member state should keep quiet unless it has something to say.

This policy has won plaudits from a number of members, weary of marathon orators who say little.

"We see no point in speaking on issues where our position is known, or on questions that don't concern us," says Ambassador Andre Philippe, sole member of the Luxembourg mission.

"By the same token, we have never served on the U.N. Security Council, and we don't intend to.

"We don't believe that a member state should hold such an important job unless it is equipped to carry out the world-wide responsibilities that go with it."

Luxembourg startled colleagues three years ago by breaking a long silence in the General Assembly's policy debate.

"That's because our foreign minister decided to come here for the assembly opening in 1967 and has been attending ever since," says Philippe. "We would never have entered the policy debate unless he was here."

Unlike most monarchies, Luxembourg has never asked

that its ruling family be received officially at the United Nations. Luxembourg refuses to be a part of the U.N. cocktail circuit, that endless round of parties that accompany every assembly.

"I feel that these receptions are a bore for most of those who attend, and they serve little purpose. You have virtually no chance to make personal contact with anyone," Philippe explains.

The 43-year-old bachelor diplomat prefers to give informal dinners for 10 or 12 persons in his apartment near U.N. headquarters. He feels that they are a much more fertile field for quiet diplomacy.

Most delegations shuttle their ambassadors around town in long, chauffeur-driven limousines. Philippe drives a small European car.

Luxembourg's policy of silence does not denote any lack of interest in world affairs. On disarmament and other topics of general concern it has voiced opinions without hesitation.

"We feel that on such subjects, expressions of concern by the smaller nations serve as a reminder to the big countries that the power they wield carries obligations as well as prerogatives," the ambassador says.

Washington Post, 1/11/69

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NEW YORK

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Kæri forsætisráðherra:

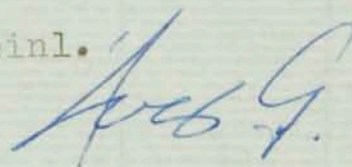
Þegar eg sá ljósmyndirnar, sem teknar voru þegar þið frú Sigríður heimsóttu Sameinuðu þjóðirnar á dögunum, datt mér í hug, að eftilvill hefðir þú gaman af að fá mynd af ykkur U Thant með áritun hans. Aðalforstjórninn tók vel í þetta og þótti vænt um að vera minntur á, að það væri vel við eigandi. Hann sagðist hafa haft mikla ánægju af að rabba við þig og minnst í því sambandi kynna ykkar á Íslandi er hann kom í heimsókn 1966. Þá legg eg hér inní til gamans nokkrar aðrar myndir, sem teknar voru við sama tækifæri, svo og starfsmannablaðið okkar, sem kemur út tvisvar í mánuði. Fleiri myndir voru teknar af atvinnuljósmyndara og mun sendinefndin sjá um að þú færð eintak af þeim, því það var ekki beinlínis á mínum snærum.

Í morgun leit eg í Washington Post, sem eg kann alltaf vel við og grip stundum í til að hvíla mig á New York Times. Þar rakst eg á úrklippuna, sem eg set hér með. Fordæmið er gott hjá Luxembourg því einsog þú veist er það hlægilegt að sjá sumar dvergþjóðir, - nei smáþjóðir er rétta nafnið, sbr. microstate, ("microscope" - smásjá) sperra sig einsog hanar á blaðvarpa. Það var satt og rétt, sem þú sagðir í ræðu þinni við borðhaldið og vonandi að fulltrúarnir hafi tekið eftir þeim.

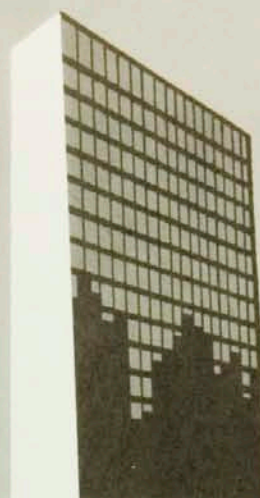
Það var sannarlega ánægjulegt, að þið hjónin gátuð komið því við að heimsækja Sameinuðu þjóðirnar.

Með bestu kveðjum og þökk fyrir komuna.

Þinn einl.



SECRETARIAT



NEWS

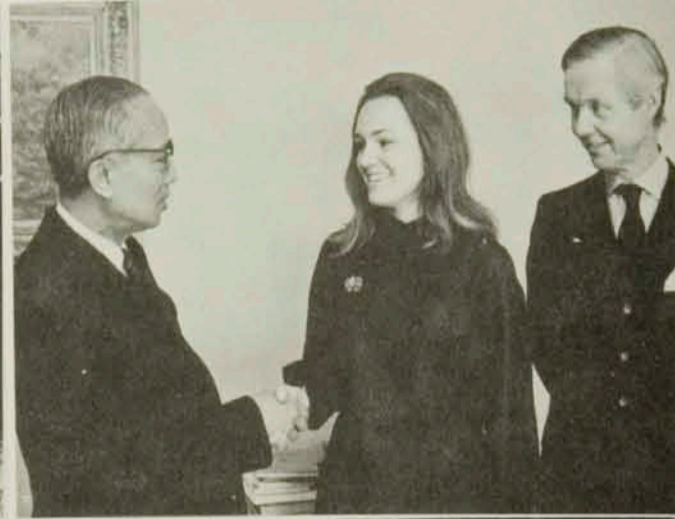
VOLUME XXIV

No. 20

United Nations Headquarters, New York

14 November 1969





IN THE NEWS

SIGNING ON THE DOTTED LINE: On 1 October, H. E. Nander Pitty Velázquez, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Panama, and Miss Julia Henderson, Director of the Office of Technical Co-operation and Associate Commissioner for Technical Co-operation, signed the Plan of Operation for the Mineral Survey (Phase II) project in Panama for two years. Present at the signing were, from the left, Mrs. Carmen F. Korn, Chief, Section for Latin America; Gabriel Velázquez Muñoz, Programme Management Officer, SLA/OTC; Mrs. Silvia Tallody Schirra and Miss Antonia García, Section for Latin America; Mr. Daniel Harkin, Technical Adviser for the project, Resources and Transport Division. photo, top left, Max Machol

MANY HAPPY RETURNS! On UN Day, the Secretary-General met Mrs. Wendela Wismuller, daughter of the Deputy Permanent Representative of the Netherlands to the UN, Mr. J. L. Quarles van Ufford. It was Mrs. Wismuller's twenty-fourth birthday - she was born on the same day as the UN, 24 October 1945. photo, top right, T. Chen

COSMONAUTS VISIT UN: The two Soviet Cosmonauts touring the US, Major-General T. Beregovoi and Kon-

stantin P. Feoktistov, visited the UN on 2 November. In the photo, from the left: Leonid Kutakov, Under-Secretary-General, PSCA; US astronaut Colonel Frank Borman, Major-General Beregovoi, U Thant, K. P. Feoktistov; Mr. Malik, Permanent Representative of the USSR to the UN, and Colonel William Anders. photo: Y. Nagata

THE BELL GOES ON "HOME LEAVE": The UN has lent the Peace Bell, given to us by Japan in 1954, to

the Japanese...
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MEMBERSHIP - ASSOCIATION FOR UNIS

Members of the Association for UNIS are invited to renew their membership for the year 1969 - 70. Other UNIS parents and UN staff members interested in furthering the purposes of the School are invited to join. Please send a cheque for \$10.00 (full voting membership) or \$5.00 for Associate (non-voting membership) to Miss A. Toncich, Room 820, extension 3918. Full membership in the Association carries the privilege of voting for six members of the 18 - member Board of Trustees.

MAYER GABAY

Mr. Mayer Gabay, Chief of the Investment Unit in ESA's Division of Public Finance and Financial Institutions, left on 26 October on extended leave to take up the post of Commissioner of Patents, Trademarks and Copyright in Israel. He wishes to thank all members of the Secretariat for their co-operation and friendship over the seven years of his association with the UN and is sorry that he wasn't able to say good-bye in person to his many friends.



UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



PROVISIONAL

A/C.1/PV.1683
10 November 1969

ENGLISH

Twenty-fourth Session

FIRST COMMITTEE

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SIXTEEN HUNDRED AND
EIGHTY-THIRD MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 10 November 1969, at 3 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan)

- Question of the reservation exclusively for peaceful purposes of the sea-bed and ocean floor, and the subsoil thereof, underlying the high seas beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction, and the use of their resources in the interests of mankind: report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction [32] (continued)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be distributed as soon as possible.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent in quadruplicate within three working days, to the Chief of the Official Records Editing Section, Office of Conference Services, Room LX-2332, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

AS THIS RECORD WAS DISTRIBUTED ON 11 NOVEMBER 1969, THE TIME-LIMIT FOR CORRECTIONS WILL BE 14 NOVEMBER 1969.

The co-operation of delegations in strictly observing this time-limit would be greatly appreciated.

69-71165/A

AGENDA ITEM 32

QUESTION OF THE RESERVATION EXCLUSIVELY FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES OF THE SEA-BED AND THE OCEAN FLOOR, AND THE SUBSOIL THEREOF, UNDERLYING THE HIGH SEAS BEYOND THE LIMITS OF PRESENT NATIONAL JURISDICTION, AND THE USE OF THEIR RESOURCES IN THE INTERESTS OF MANKIND: REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE PEACEFUL USES OF THE SEA-BED AND THE OCEAN FLOOR BEYOND THE LIMITS OF NATIONAL JURISDICTION (A/7622 and Corr.1 (English and Russian only); A/C.1/L.473/Rev.1, L.474 and Add.1-2, L.475, L.476, L.477 and Add.1, L.478 and L.479)(continued)

Mr. MORTENSEN (Denmark): There is no doubt that the reservation exclusively for peaceful purposes of the sea-bed and the ocean floor is a matter which, in the longer run, could become of the greatest significance to the welfare of mankind. It is essential, therefore, that we should endeavour from the outset to establish arrangements that would provide for a reasonable balance between technological, economic and ideal considerations and the legitimate interests of all nations. The report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-bed and the Ocean Floor (A/7622) contains many valuable views and suggestions which could form the basis of an international régime to govern the activities of States in this area.

The Government of Denmark attaches great weight to the endeavours that are being made to promote social balance between the various parts of the world. Consequently, we support the idea that international co-operation in the exploration and exploitation of the resources of the sea-bed should avoid reflecting the existing differences between industrialized countries and developing countries. Denmark shares the view that the sea-bed and the ocean floor should be regarded as the common heritage of mankind in the sense that the United Nations should assume exclusive responsibility for ensuring that exploration and exploitation of the sea-bed and the ocean floor are undertaken in the interests of all mankind and in accordance with predetermined criteria. From this it follows, in our view, that no State can appropriate or lay claim to the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond national jurisdiction.

Mr. PHILLIPS (United States of America): In the ten days since the Committee began the debate on the sea-bed item we have heard a large number of exceedingly thoughtful statements on a very wide spectrum of issues. In the same period we have accumulated an imposing collection of draft resolutions and amendments. In speaking to the Committee on 31 October I set forth the general views of the United States delegation as to the way the General Assembly should proceed on the report of the sea-bed Committee, and I should now like to up-date and supplement those remarks in the light of these subsequent developments.

In our initial statement my delegation proceeded from the general position that the sea-bed Committee's report reflected significant movement towards a variety of shared objectives, but we found no issues on which the work of the Committee had sufficiently matured to call for substantive action by the General Assembly. Therefore, it was our hope that the Assembly would, after further discussion of these issues through debate in the First Committee, refer them back to the sea-bed Committee and encourage that Committee to proceed with its useful and important work. To my mind, the intervening days have served to confirm the foregoing premises. In further illuminating the issues which the sea-bed Committee grappled with during its 1969 sessions, the debate in the First Committee has made even clearer the scope and difficulty of those issues.

Consequently, the United States delegation welcomes the draft resolution submitted by Belgium early last week (A/C.1/L.474) and now co-sponsored by a substantial number of other delegations. We believe that such a draft resolution discharges the main responsibility towards the sea-bed item of the twenty-fourth session of the Assembly, and indeed we should have thought it preferable to make such a single draft resolution the vehicle of all proposed actions under the sea-bed item by the Assembly at this session. We are in any event happy to support the draft resolution in its present form.

One feature of this draft resolution which we find particularly appropriate is its treatment of the work of the sea-bed Committee on the question of legal principles, which is contained in paragraphs 3 and 4. It would be a mistake, as a number of delegations have indicated, to exaggerate either the extent or the nature of the progress which the sea-bed Committee made

(Mr. Phillips, United States)

on this question. Nevertheless, as I indicated in my first statement, it is correct, in our view, to characterize the work of the Committee as "progress", particularly in establishing a framework within which further negotiations can proceed during the coming year and in setting down within that framework some limited areas of agreement.

A number of the more important issues falling under the rubric of the question of legal principles have been dealt with by various statements to the Committee -- although my own delegation, in view of the complexity of these issues and the brevity of the time available, has shrunk even from the attempt.

The delegation of Iceland, for example, dwelt at some length on the legal and practical relationship between activities on the sea-bed and activities in the superjacent waters -- particularly fishing -- raising the question whether coastal States should not be granted greater rights in this respect. May I take this opportunity to say that the United States shares many of the concerns of Iceland in this connexion.

As the representative of Iceland was good enough to recall, I stated to the Committee on 31 October that the goal of preventing sea-bed exploitation from leading to damaging imbalance or depletion of either marine life or resources was one which must be emphasized in the International Decade of Ocean Exploration. Certainly this is a goal which should be effectively provided for in an international régime for the sea-bed and taken into account in the development of the machinery which will be a part of such a régime.

More particularly, the United States is among many nations which, like Iceland, are concerned about the depletion of important fish stocks throughout the world because of a continuing rapid increase of fishing activities which are not always accompanied by appropriate conservation measures. This is a serious problem. On the one hand, it is important to maintain the upward trend of world fisheries production to assist in meeting protein needs throughout the world and, on the other hand, it is important to conserve each stock of fish in order that it may produce the maximum yield today and for future generations. When any stock is depleted for whatever reason -- whether

through lack of proper conservation measures or over-exploitation -- the whole world suffers. This is particularly unfortunate with respect to a nation such as Iceland which, as the representative of that country has pointed out, is uniquely dependent on fisheries and consequently suffers relatively more than most other nations. But it is bad with respect to any nation.

I might note, in urging the sea-bed Committee to take full and careful account of problems of living resources of the sea as they impinge on its own work, that the United States is encouraged that activities are continuing and intensifying through both formal and informal mechanisms to deal directly with the fisheries problem and to accommodate the interests of the world at large. Examples are found in the North Atlantic which have been generated by the very concerns of which Iceland spoke. Both the Northeast Atlantic Fisheries Commission and the International Commission for the Northwest Fisheries, for example, have initiated intensive efforts to improve the conservation régime and to limit the burgeoning fishing effort. Only a few days ago a protocol to the International Convention for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries was signed which will immeasurably assist the Commission in reaching resolution of these pressing needs. And so we hope that this intensification of action in the North Atlantic will serve as a precedent for the entire world.

I had originally intended to comment in some detail on the various draft resolutions which have been submitted, but I should prefer, if I may ask your indulgence, Mr. Chairman, to reserve my right to intervene at such time as the Committee takes up consideration of the draft resolutions and amendments.



UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



PROVISIONAL
A/PV.1762
23 September 1969
ENGLISH

Twenty-fourth Session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND
SIXTY-SECOND MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 23 September 1969, at 6 p.m.

President: Miss BROOKS (Liberia)

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements were made by:

Mr. Jonsson (Iceland)

Mr. Mudenda (Zambia)

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The co-operation of delegations in strictly observing this time-limit would be greatly appreciated.

69-70045/A

AGENDA ITEM 9

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

Mr. JONSSON (Iceland): Madam President, my delegation congratulates you wholeheartedly on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. We see in this a recognition both of your high personal qualifications and of the contribution and positive role of your country in the United Nations. It is also a tribute to Africa, to all the new countries of your great continent, and to the important role which women are playing and will play in our common effort to build a better world for our children.

The United Nations is today faced with great problems. The United Nations is always faced with great problems, and yet there are in most cases very limited possibilities, and sometimes none at all, to find solutions to these problems. There are military conflicts in many places and there is danger of the outbreak of armed clashes in still others. The purpose of the United Nations is, according to the Charter, first of all to bring about adjustments or settlements of international disputes, and in particular to suppress acts of aggression and remove threats to the peace.

But what possibilities are open to the United Nations to work for that purpose and to attain it? The Charter says this should be done by peaceful means in the first instance and without the use of armed force. But what has experience shown the result to be? Resolutions are introduced here and recommendations are approved, even with an overwhelming majority of all the Members, but a party or the parties to the dispute completely disregard the recommendations, whereupon the efforts of the United Nations are finished, the matter remains at issue and we are back where we started. There are numerous and flagrant examples of this process.

(Mr. Jonsson, Iceland)

Admittedly, it is not possible to expect the United Nations to settle disputes to which the great Powers are parties, directly or indirectly, but there are many other situations which have arisen and which should lend themselves to a solution in normal circumstances. The usual method is to apply sanctions against the party which disregards United Nations recommendations, but in most cases -- I would say almost always -- the result is that these measures become ineffective.

(Mr. Jonsson, Iceland)

The United Nations has also established peace-observer units for the purpose of ensuring compliance with recommendations of the General Assembly and the Security Council. These observers have certainly achieved some success in their work, but it has been, regretfully, all too small a success. These peace-keeping forces have not been numerous enough and their authority has been too limited. They have also been in financial straits and there is no agreement as to how to defray their costs. I have recently seen remarks attributed to a distinguished personage to the effect that it is tragicomic that a world which can afford to maintain, all together, 20 million men under arms at a yearly cost of \$120,000 million cannot afford to maintain a peace-keeping force of 20,000 men under the United Nations, costing approximately \$120 million -- which represents, proportionally, one per thousand of the current military expenditures. On an earlier occasion I had the opportunity to describe from this rostrum the sad experience of those who are expected to take measures or undertake actions but have no executive power. And the United Nations is no exception; the United Nations has to have the executive power to implement its recommendations -- a strong police and peace-keeping force.

Let us not confuse this train of thought with the war in Viet-Nam. That conflict will, of course, not be settled until the great Powers that are parties to it directly or indirectly come to an agreement among themselves. And generally speaking, I would like to echo the remarks of the Secretary-General, U Thant, when he said recently in a speech that the great Powers do not strongly enough support the all too feeble measures taken by the United Nations to strengthen universal peace. The noble purposes of the United Nations to promote peace will, of course, never be achieved if they do not enjoy the whole-hearted and undivided support of the great Powers, to the exclusion of any extraneous interests.

(Mr. Jonsson, Iceland)

The clashes between Israel and the Arab States seem to become sharper and more serious every day and, consequently, all indications are that again war may break out soon. Without doubt it is considered possible to maintain peace in the Middle East if the great Powers whole-heartedly support the measures of the United Nations to prevent the outbreak of hostilities, which, it seems, could have unpredictable consequences once started. But it is also clear, as the situation is today, that the tiny United Nations forces in the area are altogether powerless.

It is possible to mention other examples where the hostilities are not, however, hostilities between States but rather civil war between divided nationalities or different tribes. In such cases the United Nations is in a difficult position to intervene. The most obvious example of this nature is the war in Nigeria, where the smaller party to the conflict is being starved, to boot. The starvation affects the public in general, both children and adults, and they are dying, reportedly, by hundreds and by thousands from malnutrition and privation. And people who are quite willing to provide aid are being prevented from carrying out their freely offered assistance.

The same applies to the Kurds, although in a different way, and it is a sad thing to affirm that no one can intervene effectively on behalf of the oppressed. According to the Charter, the United Nations is not supposed to intervene in so-called internal affairs; but it should be made possible for the United Nations to give effective assistance to such minorities or to open up avenues to enable nations that want to give assistance on humanitarian grounds to provide such assistance. But the most poignant and painful thing is when a small, or relatively small, minority suppresses a great majority and allows the majority not even the barest minimum of human rights. It is saddening that such is the case in many places. Nothing human should be outside the interest of the United Nations. Nihil humanum a me alienum est was once said, ages ago, although in a different context, but it should certainly be one of the principles underlying the activities of the United Nations.

(Mr. Jonsson, Iceland)

The Government and people of Iceland have viewed with concern the recent disturbances in the northern part of Ireland, a neighbouring country for whose people we have deep feelings of sympathy. Although Icelanders are primarily of Nordic stock, there runs a good portion of Irish blood in our veins. We wish to assure our friends the people of Ireland that we well understand their concern for the plight of a frustrated minority whose grievances have not been fully redressed. We share their concern at the communal tensions that have been created and at the outbreaks of violence that have resulted in loss of life and property.

(Mr. Jonsson, Iceland)

However, my Government remains in doubt whether it would serve the best interests of the people concerned to inscribe this matter on the agenda of the General Assembly. A public debate sometimes results in inflamed tempers and increased tension in the area concerned. Moreover, it has been called into question whether this matter falls within the competence of the United Nations in view of Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter. Without expressing an opinion on that point, I note that the Foreign Minister of Ireland has already had the opportunity to explain the situation and the point of view of his Government before the Security Council. We think that was useful. The same opportunity is open to him here in the general debate of the General Assembly. My Government hopes that the fact that the attention of the United Nations has thus been focused on the situation in Northern Ireland may result in speedy efforts by all parties concerned towards an improvement of the situation and a solution of the problem.

The United Nations has been especially successful in the humanitarian field. To bring this out clearly it is only necessary to mention a few of the specialized agencies of the United Nations. I mention only the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the World Health Organization (WHO), and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), but there are many more that come to mind. In all these fields, under the direction of the United Nations enormous and successful work has been done, and it would certainly be desirable to attain such success in other fields as well. Even if the main purpose of the United Nations is to prevent acts of aggression and to strengthen the peace, one should not underestimate the other activities of the Organization in the humanitarian fields, where it has had the greatest success.

Next year, twenty-five years will have passed since the United Nations was created. Without any doubt that anniversary will be commemorated all around the world. There were so many hopes raised in the beginning, when the United Nations was established, and there are so many States which have joined this Organization during the last quarter of a century. The activities of the United Nations will be reviewed on that occasion -- the successes as well as the failures. The United Nations will never be anything more than the Members

(Mr. Jonsson, Iceland)

want it to be. It is therefore necessary to cultivate among nations the correct attitude of mind in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations to ensure that all nations will support resolutions of the United Nations and that they will be implemented. There are, of course, differing opinions on how to attain that goal. But in the opinion of my people one possible way towards that goal is to strengthen the distribution of information about the United Nations. We, the Icelanders, consider that that could possibly be done by devoting to the United Nations one class-hour of every month of the school year in all schools, from the elementary to the university level, in all countries. There would be lectures, carefully prepared in accordance with the intellectual stage of the student, on the background of the United Nations, on the establishment and activities of the United Nations, on their strength and their shortcomings, on why they have not fulfilled the tasks enunciated in the Charter -- and on the best means to attain the purposes of the Charter. Of course, the stress would be on the primary purpose: the maintenance of peace and the prevention of acts of aggression. However, the other activities of the United Nations should also be stressed in the economic and social fields, in the humanitarian and cultural fields, in questions of human rights and the elimination of discrimination as well as in other international problems. If we can educate children from early years in those matters, we can expect that the attitude towards the United Nations will change in the coming years with an improved opinion of it forming in the world. There is, of course, some doubt whether we shall be able to succeed in this and whether the expected effects will follow, but maybe, along with other efforts, it will have some influence. The Government of Iceland has already discussed this idea of devoting one class-hour per month to the United Nations and possibly it will begin the experiment next year in Icelandic schools in connexion with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

When we talk about the United Nations and the youth of this world, my Government finds considerable merit in the proposal, debated in the Economic and Social Council in August, that the United Nations establish a volunteer corps, similar to the Peace Corps, to help developing countries. Such a venture would certainly provide an opportunity for young people to contribute personally in carrying out the worthy aims and aspirations of the United Nations. In a world of youthful unrest this might prove a sensible undertaking.

(Mr. Jonsson, Iceland)

One very important task of the United Nations, which concerns all nations, is to prevent pollution of the human environment. This matter was discussed at the last session of the General Assembly and it will be discussed again during this session. I should like to mention only one point. The peaceful use of the sea-bed is now being discussed by the forty-two-member Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-bed and the Ocean Floor Beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, which is submitting its report to the General Assembly. The use of the sea-bed for peaceful purposes means probably first of all the exploitation of oil resources. But there is always the risk that the oil which is being exploited will, because of mishaps or other unforeseen causes, flow into the oceans and thereby constitute grave dangers for fish and other organic resources in the surrounding sea area. It is therefore very important to prevent such accidents and to ensure that all possible safeguard measures are taken. The stock of fish in the North Atlantic seems to be diminishing and one aspect of that problem is the pollution of the sea, even if there are also other causes at work with greater effect.

(Mr. Jonsson, Iceland)

The Government of Iceland has been keenly interested in the issue of the peaceful uses of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction from the very beginning when the issue was introduced in this Assembly. My Government realizes the necessity of adopting internationally recognized rules for this vast area, the last unexplored part of our globe. While the human race has embarked upon adventurous journeys into outer space, it is time to put our house in order and decide upon an effective and just régime for the sub-oceanic areas, whose resources must be harvested for the benefit of all mankind.

Iceland is one of the forty-two Members participating in the Sea-Bed Committee, which was established by the last General Assembly. There Iceland has urged the participating nations to strive for the adoption of certain fundamental general principles, which might then be adopted by the General Assembly in a declaration on the peaceful uses of the sea-bed, a procedure similar to that followed by the Assembly on the outer space question.

The Assembly will soon have before it the report from the third session of the Sea-Bed Committee. The Assembly will notice from that report that, while a consensus emerged on certain general principles, the Committee was not ready to recommend a list of principles for adoption by the Assembly at this early stage in its deliberations. That is understandable, and my Government continues to have faith in the ability of the Committee to bring its important task to a fruitful conclusion. But at this stage my Government would like to enumerate a few of the most important items on which it feels that an international agreement must be reached at an early date. They are the following:

- (1) There is an area of the sea-bed and ocean floor which lies beyond the limits of national jurisdiction.
- (2) No State may claim or exercise sovereign rights over that area.
- (3) That area, as it will be later defined, shall be reserved exclusively for peaceful purposes.

(Mr. Jonsson, Iceland)

(4) An international régime shall be established for the area.

(5) The exploration and exploitation of the area shall be conducted in accordance with international law, including the Charter of the United Nations.

(6) Use of the area shall be for the benefit of all mankind, with special regard for the needs and interests of the developing countries and international community purposes.

(7) Pollution of the marine environment must be prevented, and obligations and liabilities of States established in this respect.

The Government of Iceland feels that these seven general rules make up a firm basis for a future régime of the sea-bed and ocean floor, and I should like to refer them to the First Committee, which is to deal with this item, as a compromise proposal for further discussion.

The twenty-third General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution (2467(XXIII)B) introduced by Iceland and co-sponsored by a number of nations, which called for a study by the Secretary-General aimed at preventing pollution of the oceans which might adversely affect their living resources. It should come as no surprise that my Government is intensely interested in this topic, as fishing has for many years been the chief means of livelihood of the Icelandic people. My Government was gratified to note the wide support for that resolution in the United Nations. One of the most urgent tasks within the whole environment issue is to draw up an effective international instrument for the prevention of pollution of the oceans, from whatever causes such pollution may arise. Such a treaty does not exist today, but it is high time that one was concluded, as recent incidents in ocean exploitation have demonstrated. This topic should, therefore, be given high priority by the Sea-Bed Committee, as well as by the IMCO and the international scientific bodies concerned with the problem of pollution so that a draft treaty on marine pollution can at an early date be elaborated and agreed upon.

I come now to another aspect of the marine environment which is of immediate concern to my Government. This is the question of the regulation and protection of the living resources of the sea, with special regard to the needs and interests of coastal States whose economy is dependant upon fisheries.

(Mr. Jonsson, Iceland)

At the twenty-third General Assembly, the delegation of Iceland, together with other delegations, introduced a draft resolution on the "Exploitation and Conservation of Living Marine Resources", which was unanimously adopted by the Assembly. By that resolution, Governments were urged to increase their co-operation in the development and exploitation of living marine resources, and United Nations agencies were asked to improve international collaboration to that end. Under the terms of the resolution, the Secretary-General will report upon those issues to the twenty-fifth General Assembly, next year.

Those are important steps on the way to more effective protection and management of the immeasurably valuable food resources found in the sea. However, my Government is convinced that further action is called for in order to ensure for the coastal State a just and equitable share of the resources found in its coastal waters.

When the situation in some of the world's most important fisheries is reviewed, one is presented with a gloomy picture. I shall not elaborate upon the gradual extermination of the world's whale stocks, which is indicative of how disastrous the evolution in the world's fisheries can be if rational management is not heeded. Still more important is the situation in the fisheries of the North Atlantic. Recent information has shown that the increased fishing effort there has had an adverse effect on the fish stocks, some of which are now already being over-exploited. The reduction in the number of fisheries in some North Atlantic areas is so severe indeed that definite plans for rationing the resources under a strict quota system are now being proposed.

This is an ominous development for all nations like my own, whose existence is based chiefly upon the sea fisheries. When faced with the prospect of the severe rationing of marine resources, nations which practically live from the sea can consider it only equitable that they be granted special rights to the fisheries located outside their present national jurisdictions in order that they may escape economic ruin. The nations I am talking about here are very few in number, and granting them special rights in this respect would in no way threaten world community interest in the freedom of fishing.

(Mr. Jonsson, Iceland)

At present, the 1958 Geneva Convention on Fishing and Conservation of the Living Resources of the High Seas does not grant any State such special rights outside national fisheries jurisdiction. But eleven years ago the situation of the world's fisheries was different. To many of the participants in the Geneva Conference there did not then seem to be any need for special rights for the coastal State in this respect. But, as I have explained, the situation is now radically altered.

Therefore, my Government deems it imperative that such rules be formulated by the international community, under the auspices of the United Nations, as will make certain that those nations whose economies are heavily dependent upon fishing will be enabled to utilize the fisheries of their coastal zone as their situations may require. In our view such a commitment would be only a reiteration of the fact that all nations, large and small, have a right to a decent economic existence, which is indeed one of the corner-stones of the economic policy of the United Nations.

Next year, when the "Resources of the Sea" will be on the agenda of the General Assembly, we hope to come back to this very important issue with definite plans for action by the United Nations.

Mr. MUDENDA (Zambia): Madam President, once again this august Assembly is graced by the election of a lady President. It is a symbolic gesture that this mother of assemblies should be guided by a lady, especially one of such outstanding accomplishments and qualities. I wish on behalf of my delegation to congratulate you most sincerely on your election to this very high office of President of the twenty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Your credentials, Madam President, show clearly that you are eminently qualified to conduct the business of this current session of the General Assembly to the satisfaction of all. You can count on the co-operation of my delegation to make your tenure of office as successful as, I am sure, enjoyable.

Allow me, also, Madam President, to pay particular tribute to your predecessor, the late Dr. Emilio Arenales Catalan of Guatemala for the unforgettable devotion he showed to his duty during his short but eventful tenure of office. It is only after he has gone that the endurance of the man in his very last year of life can be appraised. All of us who have memories of the way he steered the meetings over a very eventful period still cherish a warm and respectful admiration for him. We are indebted to him for his tireless efforts in the cause of peace and justice. May his services to mankind never be forgotten.

On a personal note, Madam President, allow me to recall a friend, Tom Mboya, the late Minister for Economic Development and Planning in Kenya, who for the greater part of his life devoted himself to the noble causes of freedom, the right to self-determination and development of the nations and the peoples of Africa. The Zambian delegation deeply mourns his death. His efforts and contribution cannot be erased from the minds of those who knew him.

The Secretary-General, as always, deserves our gratitude and encouragement. Ever since he came to office in the shadow of that tragic event which saw the loss of his predecessor, Dag Hammarskjöld, he has grappled with a ceaseless spate of international crises, and it is to his credit that we are still sitting together to nurse the wounds of the past years and to review progress towards a better world in which nations can hopefully put an end to intolerance of race and internecine wars. We are all aware that our world is prone to disintegration.

(Mr. Mudenda, Zambia)

The United Nations is charged with the grave responsibility of maintaining international peace and security. The Organization is expected to take effective measures to prevent and remove threats to peace, to suppress acts of aggression and other breaches of the peace and to bring about, by peaceful means in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustments or a settlement of international disputes. It is also expected to prevent situations likely to lead to a breach of the peace. It cannot hope to succeed by devoting time to taking negative measures of a curative nature only. A more important task is for the Organization to foster the development of friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of all peoples. Another important function of the Organization is to promote international trade on a world-wide basis and to encourage co-operative and complementary development in the economic, scientific, social and cultural fields.

If, therefore, Madam President, the Zambian delegation has sought your permission to speak at this stage, it is to remind ourselves of these lofty aims and objectives of the international Organization. All of us whose countries are represented here today have resolved to honour these invaluable objectives and to turn them into reality.

But, alas, it is a fact that many of us have expediently chosen to make a mockery of our obligations under the Charter. The Charter's most cherished, fundamental clauses have been honoured by so many of us more in the breach than in the observance; exploitation of man by man, of State by State, and injustice have become the order of the day, a situation which breeds tension that is bound to lead to international strife and the rupture of peace, security and stability. Certain Members of this Organization have repeatedly committed acts which are contrary to the spirit of the Charter and have defied all appeals from the Organization to accept their obligations under the Charter.

So long as this defiant attitude prevails and people continue to sit in this Assembly year in and year out, speaking of peace and justice and of equal rights for all men without meaning what they say, these monstrous crimes against humanity will continue to plague us. The principle of self-determination of countries and peoples -- a principle reaffirmed by this international body

(Mr. Mudenda, Zambia)

time and again -- will continue to be flouted with impunity. This spectre of decadence appears in various shapes and degrees all over the world with its most objectionable manifestations in Zimbabwe, South Africa, Namibia and the territories controlled by colonialist Portugal.

In talking about international peace and security, and coming from a country which shares common borders with minority régimes, I would be failing in my duty if I did not draw the attention of the world to the miserable plight of millions of Africans who continue to be denied the human rights so much cherished by this body and enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

For nearly four years now, a clique of white settlers in Rhodesia have been living in a state of continuous rebellion and have refused to surrender the political power that they snatched from the metropolitan Power which has been unwilling to topple the rebel régime.

(Mr. Mudenda, Zambia)

My Government believes that the half-hearted measures that have been applied by the United Kingdom Government so far in trying to normalize the situation in Rhodesia have been deplorably ineffective. We in Zambia believe that this is a result of deliberate indifference on the part of Britain. Bilateral talks between the United Kingdom Prime Minister and the chief representative of the rebels, Ian Smith, the self-styled Prime Minister of Rhodesia, have failed; and they were meant to fail. We submit that the policy of economic sanctions adopted by the Security Council has also failed dismally. We submit further that the policy of sanctions, if not backed by effective means of enforcement, cannot bring about the required change. Although the United Kingdom has broken diplomatic contacts with Rhodesia, there are still British financial corporations which, through their agents and subsidiaries based in South Africa, are conducting open trade and investing heavily in Rhodesia, thereby giving comfort to the rebels. The United Kingdom Government, apart from stating that it cannot apply force in Rhodesia, has also stated that because of its vital economic interests in South Africa it cannot embark on an embargo against South Africa and Portugal, which are aiding the rebel colony.

It is necessary for me at this stage to reiterate briefly the kind of steps we in Zambia believe are necessary to bring about the desired results in Rhodesia. And in this connexion I will do no better than restate what I said to the Security Council on 13 June 1969 when I last addressed it on the question of Rhodesia. I said then:

"If the Security Council wishes to succeed in Rhodesia, then it must be prepared to apply the provisions of Articles 41 and 42 of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. South Africa and Portugal will have to decide whether to co-operate with the noble efforts of the Council or to obstruct this Council's decisions for the sake of merely supporting an illegal racist minority régime in Rhodesia and, therefore, be prepared for the consequences.

"If, however, for reasons of trade and colour, or racialism, as well as global military strategy, certain members of the Council are not prepared for a confrontation with South Africa, the alternative is the use of force in Rhodesia itself. We have been realistic enough to know that the loss

(Mr. Mudenda, Zambia)

of life would have been, and would still be, minimized if the administering Power had used that force, rather than the Security Council or any other organ of the United Nations. Unfortunately, however, hitherto the United Kingdom -- and we must stress that Rhodesia is its responsibility -- while at first talking about its intention to quell the rebellion, to restore constitutionality and ultimately prepare the people for majority rule in Zimbabwe, has ruled out the only weapon it could have used to achieve those objectives. Instead, the United Kingdom resorted to manoeuvres which ultimately aimed not at quelling the rebellion any longer, but rather at ending illegality." (S/PV.1475, p. 22)

The appeal which we made to the Security Council on 13 June 1969 is valid even today. It is the view of my delegation that, despite the oppressive developments that have taken place in Rhodesia since then, the Government of the United Kingdom, with only a little goodwill, could alter the course of events in that country. Rhodesia, we repeat, is Britain's responsibility and we cannot acquit it of this duty until majority rule has been attained by the people of Zimbabwe.

I would now briefly turn to Namibia, a case so familiar to this body. My delegation deeply regrets the fact that in spite of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) terminating the authority of the Government of South Africa over Namibia no effective steps have been taken yet by the United Nations to establish the Organization's authority in the Territory. This body must bring more pressure to bear on the Pretoria Government. The oppressed people of the world who look upon the United Nations as the only hope for the future have begun to ask questions regarding the effectiveness of this body. To the disappointment of self-respecting nations, Namibia now is being segmented into the meaningless political units called Bantustans, and is now the immediate target of the policy of apartheid.

If the United Nations must rid the world of oppression, racial discrimination and intolerance, it is vitally urgent that effective measures be adopted to terminate any pretended claims which the South African Government may have over any part of Namibia. The Council for Namibia, created by the General Assembly,

(Mr. Mudenda, Zambia)

must be given full support and assistance by all Member States of the United Nations so that it can assume the responsibility entrusted to it to prepare the indigenous people for self-determination and independence. The last Security Council resolution, adopted on 30 July 1969, prescribed 4 October 1969 as the definite date of withdrawal by the Government of South Africa from the Territory of Namibia, and my delegation would like to see effect given to this resolution.

The position in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) remains, of course, unchanged. Portugal now maintains about 150,000 troops to support its colonial war effort in Africa. This is possible because of the active support that Portugal enjoys from its allies in NATO. On the other hand, the freedom movement in these territories is gaining strength as it is expected to do. As usual, South Africa is intervening as much in Angola and Mozambique as it has done in Zimbabwe. The new Caetano administration has so far shown no sign of modifying the hard-line oppressive administration of Salazar as far as Portuguese colonies in Africa are concerned.

My delegation must warn Portugal and its comforters that the oppressed people of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) will not give up the struggle until they actually govern and shape the destinies of their own countries. It is the irony of modern imperialism that a country as poor, as illiterate and as comparatively backward as Portugal should be the one to allot the greater percentage of its budget to arms and weapons to suppress a people so far away from the Iberian Peninsula. Allies of Portugal, particularly members of NATO, must urge it to refrain from pursuing such a disastrous policy.

We learn with satisfaction that the African freedom-fighters in Guinea (Bissau) have already, through their own determined efforts, seized a substantial part of their own territory from Portuguese colonial grip. We also learn that in Mozambique military activity has spread to the north and northwestern parts of Tete District. The clashes have reached such proportions that the Tete Regional Hospital is now a military hospital. In consequence of the military clashes, villages close to the Zambian border have been regrouped into special villages.

(Mr. Mudenda, Zambia)

The liberation and nationalist movements now control at least one-fifth of Mozambique and have thousands of patriots prepared to make even greater sacrifices to ensure the total liberation of their motherland. In 1968 not only did activity in the Tete District burst open, but the area also witnessed the holding of the liberation movement meetings for the first time in Mozambique itself. In Angola, the same pattern is manifest. Military activity has grown from northern and eastern Angola as far as the Caprivi Strip.

(Mr. Mudenda, Zambia)

The annual loss of life for Portugal in Angola alone has increased by some 30 per cent, and, while Portugal's total armed forces now stand at 180,000, a majority of these are in colonies distributed roughly as follows: 55,000 in Angola, 30,000 in Guinea (Bissau) and 65,000 in Mozambique. The cost of maintaining these troops for the period 1965 to 1967 constituted some 44 per cent of the total public expenditure and covered some 50 per cent of the annual income. The 1969 figures show that, out of a budget of about 25 billion escudos, about 11 billion are earmarked for defence and security.

We live very close to the scene of racial strife in southern Africa. We understand both the absurdities and the tragedies of individual losses of life, the stagnation of economy and the general impoverishment of the indigenous peoples of southern Africa by the oppressive conduct of a decaying Portuguese empire and the implacable domineering element that the racist minorities in Rhodesia and South Africa constitute. With the best will in the world, the free and independent African countries which border on southern Africa will not escape a bloody involvement unless the world body rises now to the occasion and prevents that happening by taking positive, pre-emptive measures.

Permit me to say that if I have dwelt at length in exposing the fierce threat of a racial war in the southern part of Africa it is to inform this body that Africa is still a victim of colonialism and imperialism and that for as long as these vicious forces exist the peace and security of the world in general and that of Africa in particular will continue to be threatened. In its pursuit of colonial wars in Africa, Portugal has already violated the territorial integrity of the sovereign States of Senegal, Guinea, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Tanzania and Zambia. We condemn these violations most strongly and we urge Portugal to reappraise its policies immediately, for by doing so it will have lessened the number of areas of conflict and tension on the map of the world, as clearly amplified in the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa which was endorsed by the recent sixth Assembly of African Heads of State and Government, held in Addis Ababa.

(Mr. Mudenda, Zambia)

Allow me to touch briefly on another subject which my delegation views with considerable sorrow and sadness: the Biafra-Nigeria conflict. The war between Biafra and Nigeria has proved over the last two years and a quarter to be a complete stalemate. The victims of this war are the innocent children and the helpless women. It is still far from being solved. We believe that the means that have been tried so far in trying to settle the conflict in that area have been defective. Apparently the Governments of the United Kingdom and the USSR believe that the solution lies in the intensification of the supply of weapons of mass destruction. We submit that the greatest contribution the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union can make is to use their high diplomatic offices to impress upon the parties to the conflict the need and urgency for a negotiated and peaceful settlement. Any such attempt, however, must recognize the fact that there are two sides involved in the conflict, and these must be invited together to a round-table conference.

The problem is one of determining the future juridical and political structure of Nigeria and Biafra, and this must be decided upon by the people of that part of Africa, for it is they who know what is best for them. My Government and people will do their utmost to see to it that under the right conditions -- and one of them is an immediate cease-fire -- peace and stability are restored to that region of Africa so badly torn by fratricide.

It now remains for me again to refer briefly to yet another conflict, this time in the Middle East. We stand solidly behind the November 1967 resolution and would call upon both parties to create an atmosphere in which an honourable settlement could be reached. We do not believe that these conditions of peaceful negotiation are possible outside the terms of the November 1967 Security Council resolution. The world has witnessed continuous violations of cease-fire pledges and other forms of violent actions culminating in wanton destruction of sacred edifices. Surely it is time the parties to the Middle East conflict moved positions in order to bring peace to that disturbed area.

(Mr. Mudenda, Zambia)

In his address to this Assembly on 18 September 1969, President Nixon referred to the "self-imposed isolation" of the People's Republic of China. My delegation understood that statement to mean that the delegation of the United States would during the course of this General Assembly session accept the proposal to welcome the People's Republic of China to the fold of the international community and to the resumption of its permanent seat in the Security Council and its role in this Organization. Indeed we make a mockery of peace and nuclear disarmament if we do not enfold so powerful a nation as China and, by invitation, make it part of the orderly conduct of international affairs according to the Charter of the United Nations.

No argument is taken seriously that ignores the realities of twentieth-century Asian politics and the pre-eminence in Asia, and for that matter the rest of the world, of China as a great and powerful nation. The small nations of the world can do nothing but appeal to the consciences of the big Powers to limit the production of nuclear armament and equipment that might lead to the eventual destruction of humanity. In the words of our illustrious Secretary-General, U Thant, the inclusion of the People's Republic of China in disarmament talks would at last break the "mad momentum of the arms race" and give a pointer to a world free of fear. We believe that those who seek to exclude the People's Republic of China from the important deliberations of the world community by imposing prohibitive conditions are indeed unaware of the hard fact that international peace and security will be determined by the type of relationship that exists between Peking on the one hand and Washington and Moscow on the other.

We meet today in the sad memory of the death of one of the great revolutionary leaders of all time, Ho Chi Minh. He was a man of great courage and determination. Through self-sacrifice and personal defiance of forces of oppression, he rose to be one of the world's greatest leaders.

We would have peace in Viet-Nam if it were not for so much external interference. It stands to reason that until Viet-Nam is ruled and controlled by the indigenous people of that country we cannot honestly hope for any peace. My delegation takes note of President Nixon's token withdrawal of United States troops from Viet-Nam and hopes that all foreign troops will be withdrawn as quickly as possible to enable the people of Viet-Nam to decide their own destiny without outside influence.

(Mr. Mudenda, Zambia)

My delegation holds the same view in respect of the situation in Korea. The presence of foreign troops in South Korea militates against a dialogue between the North and the South; those troops must be withdrawn at once, for if there is to be any peace in Korea, it will be a peace worked out by the peoples of that country alone. The United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea has obviously outlived its usefulness and must therefore be dissolved.

That is but an incomplete balance sheet of the international conflicts and tensions that have existed for some time now. Grave and intolerable as they are, they still do not shake our confidence and the trust we place in the United Nations. We in Zambia have always attached great importance to the role of the United Nations, not only in the political but also in the economic, cultural and social fields, and we express our whole-hearted appreciation of the endeavours of the United Nations and its agencies in seeking to improve the lot of man. As we enter the Second Development Decade, it is the hope of my delegation that precise attention will be paid to reducing the economic gaps that exist between the rich and the poor nations of the world, between the developed and developing States of the world. The small and economically weaker nations cannot for ever depend on aid that they receive from developed nations, but must be assisted in the development and exploitation of their own resources. We also hope that as we enter the seventies priority will be given to the improvement of the quality of life, the elimination of exploitation of man by man, and the increased educational programmes which will prepare our youth in national reconstruction and in helping to make this world a happy place to live in.

In conclusion, I should like to re-emphasize our firm conviction in the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, to reiterate our belief in the equality and sovereignty of all States, as well as in the right of self-determination. We believe that unless all nations of the world begin to proceed from and to be guided by these tenets, the peace of the world cannot be assured. We on our part pledge our fullest co-operation in pursuit of these noble objectives.

The PRESIDENT: May I take this opportunity to thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iceland and the Minister of Development and Finance for Zambia for the compliments that they have paid me.

The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.

