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President: Mr. Emilio ARENALES (Guatemala).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate

1. Mr. DE MAGALHÃES PINTO (Brazil):¹ Mr. President, I should like to begin my address today by expressing the gratification of the Brazilian Government at seeing you preside over the work of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly. For my Government, your presence in the Chair represents not only the election of a representative of a sister nation of the Hemisphere but the choice of an experienced statesman, former permanent representative of Guatemala to the United Nations and its present Minister for External Relations, whose legal knowledge and political experience are a pledge of the successful outcome of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly. Allow me also at this time to express our gratitude to Mr. Manescu, Foreign Minister of Rumania, for presiding over the proceedings of the twenty-second session with such tact, impartiality and objectivity.

2. On behalf of the Government of Brazil, I wish to express our deep satisfaction at seeing today in our midst the representatives of Swaziland, which has just been admitted to our Organization. During the relevant proceedings of the Security Council, Brazil had the occasion to strongly support and recommend its admission, which bears a special significance for Brazil in view of its historical and cultural bonds with the nations of the African continent.

3. We convene here for the twenty-third session of the General Assembly at a time of insecurity for international peace and for the cause of law and justice among peoples. The year 1968 is one of tensions that test to the utmost the purposes and principles which gave life, shape and content to the San Francisco Charter. The events in Czechoslovakia, the absence of any progress in the control of vertical nuclear proliferation, the dismal failure of the last session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) are all aspects of a deplorable reversion to

the most primitive of logics: the logic of force. The patient labour of the United Nations on behalf of international peace and security, economic and social development, human rights and the emancipation of peoples is in danger of suffering a serious setback.

4. Not only the small and middle Powers suffer the impact of events which threaten the return of the atmosphere of the cold war which we thought had become a thing of the past. Also threatened are the expectations of a permanent understanding among the great Powers. What a precarious security is that in which the tranquillity of peoples is contingent upon the existence of arsenals that daily increase in their sophistication. The world is lacking in the mutual confidence essential for the development of political co-operation among nations.

5. Which way are we bound? Towards a new cycle of the cold war? Will we consign to oblivion the political and cultural experiment which seemed to place humanity at the threshold of a new destiny?

6. The United Nations was built upon the idea of the maintenance of peace through the preservation of the victorious alliance of 1945. In the name of political realism, we were led to accept situations and operational formulae which, to a large extent, were irreconcilable with our juridical conscience and with the principles which preside over our legal systems. Concessions, however, were made to be used according to the principles of the Charter, and to ensure the achievement of its high purposes. These principles and objectives are what make the United Nations so much more than a simple conference-holding mechanism.

7. As unacceptable as the invasion of Czechoslovakia itself are the arguments that have been advanced to justify and condone it. It has been stated in the Security Council that the events in Czechoslovakia are of an internal nature, of sole and exclusive interest to the members of the Warsaw Pact. There was even an invocation of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the United Nations Charter, a curious invocation indeed which purports to construe the action of the Security Council and the United Nations as a violation of this precept, while reconciling it perfectly with the movement of troops and cannons across national frontiers. Never have the rights of force been enunciated in such peremptory and undisguised fashion. As Brazil has already had the occasion to state, we cannot build international peace and security on the precarious foundation of spheres of influence or on the delimitation of power along certain arbitrary geographical lines.

8. No one denies to any State whatsoever the right to provide for its own security and to join whatever military pacts it deems convenient, adequate or necessary to its

¹ Mr. de Magalhães Pinto spoke in Portuguese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

interests of self-defence. Each State is the sole judge of its own needs and interests. As long as the principles of general and complete disarmament and international collective security do not prevail, the existence of military alliances will continue to characterize world reality. This cannot be said to be perfect or ideal as a state of affairs or, even less, a reassuring one, but it is accepted by the political realism so often invoked in the meetings of our Organization. At any rate, the thesis that joining a military pact implies surrendering one's sovereignty, territorial integrity and equality before the law, is totally inadmissible. We are face to face with new concepts and ideas which, if not challenged and repudiated, will render impossible the coexistence of free and sovereign States, conscious of their mutual rights and obligations.

9. We seem to have had confirmed some of the views set forth by Brazil when we were fighting for the fair and equitable Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, in which we would renounce weapons we never wanted in the first place, but not the benefits of science and technology. Both in the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and in the resumed twenty-second session of the General Assembly, we insisted upon the necessity of a balance of obligations between the nuclear-weapons countries, and the other nations. And, more recently, at the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States in Geneva, we had the opportunity to reiterate our arguments and suggestions. Recent developments have confirmed the precariousness and insufficiency of the guarantees extended to the non-nuclear countries under resolution 255 (1968) of the Security Council.

10. Brazil fully accepts a general policy of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The success of such a policy, however, depends upon the effective security conditions and increased stimulus of the peaceful use of the atom. We hope that the military nuclear Powers will ponder carefully the latest recommendations made in Geneva, seeing in them not just the specific aspirations of the non-nuclear States, but the basic elements of the preservation of the peace and security of all. We have reached a point in the evolution of history where no real progress can be made towards peace unless guarantees against aggression or the threat of aggression by nuclear weapons are made politically more effective and juridically more perfect. For that purpose, we favour the idea of a world-wide convention, which will represent a step beyond the Charter of San Francisco, and we likewise emphasize the urgency of drawing up conventions for nuclear disarmament, under effective international control.

11. To be valid, a policy of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons must necessarily guarantee unrestricted and non-discriminatory access to science and technology and to nuclear materials for peaceful purposes. In like measure, it ought to provide for concrete measures of technical assistance and financing. World peace cannot be the resultant of a mere parallelogram of opposing forces. True peace exacts assured co-operation for constructive purposes, to accelerate the economic and social progress of peoples within the framework of respect for the freedom and safety of all.

12. During 1968, no progress can be recorded in the furthering of solutions to the serious problems of trade and

development. At the second session of UNCTAD in New Delhi, the developed countries employed evasive and dilatory methods and tactics. On 26 March, Brazil made the following statement:

"The balance-sheet of the Second UNCTAD Conference is dismal indeed. It could have become a turning point in the history of international economic co-operation. Instead, it may well become a source of frustration and disenchantment. At New Delhi, developed countries could have paved the way for a new era in the field of international economic relations. Instead, by systematically blocking all important initiatives of developing countries, they have chosen to deepen the cleavage between North and South, fraught with such dangerous social and political implications."

13. After the experience of New Delhi and the results of the debates on the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in New York, we now venture to express the hope that, in formulating a legal régime for the sea-bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, the interests of all, developed or developing, may be fully satisfied in the exploration and exploitation of that immense region which is the common heritage of mankind. The result of the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee to Study the Peaceful Uses of the Sea Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, to which the Brazilian Government had the honour to extend its hospitality recently in Rio de Janeiro, can serve as a basis for effective measures to be taken during this regular session of the Assembly.

14. It is precisely in order to fight for a better world that we meet here today in this Organization, which represents our best hope for the establishment of an international order that will prove just and long-lasting. We are once again called upon to express our ideas and to vote upon the great themes of peace and war, of collective security, of human rights, of economic development and the emancipation of peoples. We shall have to consider complex problems, both those which appear on the agenda and those which do not. We will have to contribute, directly or indirectly, to the effect that the Paris negotiations may, within the shortest possible time, bring an end to the conflict in Viet-Nam.

15. As far as the Middle East is concerned, Brazil has expressed its apprehensions as regards the arms race in which the countries of that area are engaged. We would like to reiterate our appeal for the flow of arms and war materiel to the parties in conflict to be suspended, limited or regulated. If allowed to go on unchecked, this arms race can lead to a new conflagration of unpredictable consequences. We still think that resolution 242 (1967) of the Security Council is a fair and reliable basis for the establishment of peace in the Middle East. We ought to spare no efforts to create conditions propitious to the mission that Ambassador Gunnar Jarring has undertaken as Special Representative of the Secretary-General, a mission that he is discharging with so much patience and tenacity.

16. Finally, the Government of my country observes with great concern that there is a continuing violation of the human rights consecrated by the United Nations and the international community. During this very year, which has been proclaimed in resolution 1961 (XVIII) as the Inter-

national Year for Human Rights, it was with sorrow and dismay that we watched the Pretoria Government take a series of measures in relation to Namibia, in flagrant disrespect for the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. We again call upon that Government to abide by the decisions of the United Nations. For our part, through the adoption of concrete, specific and mandatory measures, the Brazilian Government acted promptly upon the Security Council's decision on Rhodesia aiming at the establishment in that country of a government fully representative of its inhabitants, and at the elimination of its present heinous policy of racial discrimination.

17. Great are the dangers and grave the risks that surround us, and yet never has mankind had at its disposal so many efficient tools to employ in the solution of its problems and difficulties. Science and technology for the first time in history allow an adequate response to the needs of social well-being and progress for all peoples. But, at the same time, there has never been an historical period with such an accelerated chain-reaction of basic problems. The need for frequent readjustments to a great extent explains, if it does not justify, the set-backs which periodically occur in our arduous quest for true peace.

18. Brazil adheres to the belief that the ideals of this Organization will at last prevail over narrow political concepts, over near-sighted and short-term economic positions, over methods of action inadequate to the complexity and unity of today's world. Amid a sequence of crises we witness the affirmation of a sentiment of solidarity that transcends boundaries and the occasional divisions of mankind. Such circumstances and the simple fact that we gather here today the representatives of 125 nations, strengthen and justify our earnest hopes.

19. Mr. RUSK (United States of America): It is my honour and pleasure to convey to my fellow representatives the cordial greetings of the President of the United States, and his best wishes for the success of this twenty-third session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

20. And to you, Mr. President, I am happy to extend, on President Johnson's behalf as well as that of my delegation, hearty congratulations on your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly, an office for which you are exceptionally qualified by your outstanding record in international diplomacy. We are happy to have your guidance in our deliberations in the cause of peace.

21. These deliberations will not be easy. For the General Assembly has for many years borne a significant share of that transcendent duty imposed by the peoples of the world upon the United Nations: the duty "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war." And, as we meet today, our world in too many places is still painfully afflicted by war, by the wrongs and quarrels that can endanger peace, and by the lawless use of armed force among nations.

22. In the heart of Europe, armies of the Soviet Union and certain of its Warsaw Pact partners have invaded and occupied their own ally, Czechoslovakia, an independent State which threatened nobody. This act has sent a

shock-wave of indignation and apprehension around the world and has shaken hopes for better East-West relations.

23. In South-East Asia, the tragic struggle in South Viet-Nam continues in full fury and still engages the anxious attention of the world, while, in the Paris talks, my Government still presses for a constructive North Viet-Name response to our proposals for peace.

24. In the Middle East, the cease-fire of 1967 is in serious jeopardy; the chasm between the parties remains wide; and the hope for a just and lasting peace hangs in precarious balance.

25. All these distressing and explosive issues are sure to be discussed in this world assembly of nations. Indeed, the Assembly's concerns inevitably include the greatest troubles and greatest needs of the world community. They include the suffering in Nigeria, where, despite dedicated efforts within Africa and elsewhere, civil conflict continues to bring death by war and starvation to uncounted thousands. They include the manifold problems of southern Africa, where, in defiance of the United Nations, ruling minorities still unlawfully suppress the rights of the African population. They include the Korean people's twenty-year search for peace and unity in freedom—a search still blocked by North Korean lawlessness. They include the perennial demand of Communist China to expel from the United Nations the Republic of China, a Charter Member, and to sit in its place.

26. Finally, the Assembly's concerns include all of humanity's pressing material and social needs.

27. Most recent among these concerns is the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia today is an occupied country. Six weeks ago, in the middle of the night, suddenly and without warning, that small independent State was invaded by a massive army led by the Soviet Union. Thus a world which had begun to speak of a thaw in the cold war feels once again a chill of apprehension concerning Soviet purpose.

28. In recent months the new leaders of Czechoslovakia had set out, within the communist régime, to conduct their country's internal affairs in accordance with new policies, more responsive to the needs and desires of the people of Czechoslovakia. The Soviet invasion was mounted in order to reverse these policies and to subject Czechoslovakia again to Moscow's will.

29. Those are the facts, and they cannot be changed by anti-facts manufactured in Moscow. There was no attempt from the West to foment a counter-revolution. If there were signs of a desire for a little breath of freedom in Czechoslovakia, that desire arose not from any Western plot but simply from the nature of man. Nor was there an invitation or request from any Czechoslovak authority for armed forces of the Warsaw Pact to enter the country and render so-called "fraternal assistance". I doubt that anybody in this hall believes that there was such an invitation.

30. Yet today, six weeks later, despite repeated promises, the occupying forces remain in Czechoslovakia. We are told that the withdrawal of these forces will depend on the

"normalization" of conditions in Czechoslovakia: evidently the Soviet Union will decide what constitutes "normalization". Warnings appear in the Soviet media to get on with the job of reimposing censorship on the Press, radio and television of Czechoslovakia; to abolish this or that organization not congenial with Soviet ideas; and to get rid of this or that leader of whom Moscow disapproves. Despite Soviet assurances that their occupying forces would not intervene in internal matters, Soviet military commanders have forcibly occupied and closed certain newspapers; and that same "fraternal assistance" is now being furnished to ministries of the Czechoslovak Government.

31. These acts against Czechoslovakia, so repugnant in themselves and so dangerous to peace, have aroused the conscience of mankind. A large majority in the Security Council of the United Nations; the Governments of the great majority of the nations of the world; artists and intellectuals with a long record of friendship for the Soviet Union; even the leaders of some of the world's largest communist parties—all have condemned the invasion and called on the invading Powers promptly to withdraw.

32. Twenty-three years ago, when the United Nations came into existence, it was hailed as the hope of the world. One main reason for that hope was the restraint which the Charter placed on the historical tendency of great Powers to abuse the rights of smaller States. This central restraint of the Charter has been brushed aside by the USSR. The United Nations has been told, in a singularly crude phrase, not to "stick its nose" into the affairs of any of its Members that happen to lie in Eastern Europe within reach of Soviet armies.

33. True, in recent years, especially in the 1960's, signs slowly appeared that Moscow was beginning to permit its neighbours in Eastern Europe to enjoy some measure of independence. The idea of "different roads to socialism" became respectable in discussions between the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies. Even as late as 3 August, they joined in a communiqué at Bratislava declaring that co-operation among them would be based on "equality, respect for sovereignty and national independence, [and] territorial integrity". Along with this trend were other developments equally hopeful for the cause of peace. These included notable agreements in the field of arms control, as well as a new willingness by the Soviet Union to allow its people a degree of contact with the outside world.

34. Now the subjugation of Czechoslovakia has raised doubt and discouragement about many a hopeful venture. President Johnson's diligent efforts to build bridges of common interest and contact between East and West have been attacked and misrepresented. Policies initiated by the Federal Republic of Germany to improve its relations with Eastern Europe have likewise been condemned.

35. One might think that to devise a justification for such gross violations of the first principles of the Charter would be an impossible task. But last week this task was attempted in an article in Moscow's most authoritative organ, *Pravda*. Therein we read that, contrary to the general impression, the foreign occupying armies in Czechoslovakia are actually "fighting for the principle of self-determination of the peoples of Czechoslovakia". We read further that to

condemn the invasion, as a violation of sovereignty and national self-determination betrays "an abstract and non-class approach" to the subject, because "in a class society there is not and there cannot be non-class laws". And still further we read that "laws and legal norms are subjected to the laws of the class struggle . . .".

36. Finally, in the same article, we read that "the sovereignty of each socialist country cannot be opposed to the interests of the world of socialism, of the world revolutionary movement". And as if to make sure that this instruction from the largest communist country is fully understood by citizens of smaller communist countries, the writer adds this reminder: "Lenin demanded that all communists fight against small-nation narrow-mindedness".

37. Such are some highlights of this new contribution from Moscow to the discussion of international law—a contribution which does not once mention the Charter of the United Nations. In the light of recent events, this Assembly is entitled to know what the Soviet leaders mean by this doctrine of theirs. Does it mean that among the States allied with the Soviet Union the "non-class" laws of the United Nations Charter are mere abstract principles, subordinate to whatever Moscow determines to be the laws of the "class struggle"? Does it mean that the Charter's laws of sovereign equality of States, and of national self-determination, are powerless to shield smaller States within the communist bloc from invasion and domination by the Soviet Union in the name of the "class struggle"? Does it mean that the Charter's law prohibiting the threat or use of force against other States will be dismissed as a mere "abstraction" whenever the Soviet Union finds it in conflict with the laws of the "class struggle"? Does it mean that the Soviet Union's doctrine of "peaceful coexistence" does not apply to its own allies or those with the same social system? Finally: when will the Soviet Union, whose international relations are subject to the United Nations Charter, make good on its own repeated promise by removing its occupying forces from Czechoslovakia?

38. The nations of the world will look to the Soviet Union for answers to these questions, and for assurance that it is not seeking to place itself above the law of the Charter. Let us say very plainly and simply to the Soviet Union: the road to *détente* is the road of the Charter.

39. There are other problems affecting international peace in Europe. We have recently heard assertions by the Soviet Union that it has a right, based on certain language of the Charter, to intervene by force in the Federal Republic of Germany. Neither Article 107 nor Article 53 of the Charter, nor the two Articles together, gives the Soviet Union or other Warsaw Pact members any right to intervene by force unilaterally in the Federal Republic of Germany. Any such action would lead immediately to self-defence measures pursuant to the North Atlantic Treaty, a treaty whose validity under the United Nations Charter is unquestionable.

40. Recently there has also been a renewal of pressures on the freedom of West Berlin. The Western allies have borne for many years a common responsibility for the freedom of West Berlin. As the President of the United States has recently stated with unmistakable clarity, we who bear that

responsibility will not tolerate the threat or use of force against West Berlin.

41. The United States and its allies have certain solemn defensive commitments in Europe which are known to the world and to the United Nations and which no law-abiding nation need fear. These include commitments to uphold the security of the Federal Republic of Germany and of West Berlin until the day comes when the German nation can be reunified in peace and freedom in a secure Europe. We shall be faithful to our commitments.

42. I turn now to the strife in South-East Asia, where our duty—and our fervent desire—is to seek an end to the violence with its tragic suffering and its risks of larger war. We must do all we can to turn from war to the works of peace.

43. In Viet-Nam, the purposes of the United States and its allies are very simple. We want no permanent military bases in Viet-Nam. We are not trying to take over any part of Viet-Nam, nor do we threaten any legitimate interests of any nation in Asia. We want no American empire in Asia. What we do want is a political solution on honourable terms—a solution consistent with the safety and national existence of all of the smaller nations of South-East Asia. We want to ensure that the people of South Viet-Nam can decide their own destiny free of force. We believe that the question of the reunification of Viet-Nam should be decided through free choice by the peoples of North and South Viet-Nam without outside interference. We want a settlement on the basis of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements.

44. These peaceful purposes continue to guide us. Let no one mistakenly suppose that military pressure or any other kind of pressure can make us abandon our commitment to help the Republic of Viet-Nam to defeat aggression from the North and to determine its own future. But, in carrying out that commitment, we shall pursue energetically the road to an honourable peace.

45. To this end, last March, President Johnson excluded from air and naval bombardment all of North Viet-Nam north of the twentieth parallel, an area containing 78 per cent of the land and an estimated 90 per cent of the population of North Viet-Nam. He took this step despite the fact that even today not one square mile of South Viet-Nam is immune from attack. This major initiative led to the opening of negotiations in Paris last May.

46. In the Paris negotiations, the United States representatives have offered a number of specific proposals for de-escalation and a political settlement of the conflict. We have proposed that the demilitarized zone be restored. We have proposed that all parties comply fully with the Geneva Agreement of 1962 on Laos. We have proposed that all concerned respect the territorial integrity and neutrality of Cambodia.

47. We have stated our belief that all the South Viet-Nameese people should be allowed to participate peacefully in their country's future, and have reaffirmed our belief in self-determination on the basis of "one man, one vote". We

have restated our intention to withdraw our forces from Viet-Nam as the other side withdraws, as infiltration stops and the level of violence thus subsides. And we have proposed a number of ways in which the level of violence in Viet-Nam could be reduced and ultimately ended.

48. But Hanoi has rejected all these and many other proposals. We look to the representatives of North Viet-Nam to indicate how they propose that the fighting be scaled down. For our part, we are prepared to stop the bombing the minute we can be confident that this will lead towards peace. But it takes two sides to make peace. The will to peace in the United States—both among its leaders and its people—is deep and abiding. An honourable settlement is possible. What remains is for Hanoi to get down to the serious business of making peace in Paris. It will find the United States receptive and willing to negotiate in good faith.

49. I turn now to the Middle East, which has suffered so much torment and tragedy in this generation.

50. More than fifteen months have passed since the six-day war of 1967 was halted by the United Nations cease-fire. The essentials of peace have not changed since then. They were succinctly stated in an address in Washington by the President of the United States on 19 June 1967 to the National Foreign Policy Conference for Educators in the course of which he said:

"Certainly, troops must be withdrawn, but there must also be recognized rights of national life, progress in solving the refugee problem, freedom of innocent maritime passage, limitation of the arms race and respect for political independence and territorial integrity."

51. On 22 November 1967, in harmony with these objectives, the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 242 (1967), by which it established realistic and equitable principles for a just and lasting peace, and asked the Secretary-General to appoint a Special Representative

"to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles in this resolution".

52. I here reaffirm the complete support of the United States for the 22 November resolution in all its parts. We will do everything we can to help Ambassador Jarring and the parties to achieve its purposes.

53. Here, as in every conflict, the first prerequisite of progress is that the parties to the conflict summon the will to settle their differences by peaceful means. If such a will exists, the parties can free themselves from sterile arguments over procedure and begin to exchange views on the issues that divide them. In the flexible spirit of true negotiation, they can find ways to accommodate their respective claims. And, what is equally vital, they can make the necessary efforts, with the help of the United Nations machinery on the spot, to avoid further incidents of violence such as those which have come before the Security Council in recent weeks, which can all too easily pass beyond control and destroy the atmosphere for negotiation.

54. The inescapable fact is, as President Johnson recently put it:

“The process of peacemaking will not begin until the leaders of the Middle East begin exchanging views on the hard issues through some agreed procedure which could permit active discussions to be pursued.”

Therefore I renew the President's urging to the leaders in the Middle East to maintain and accelerate exchanges on the substance of peace.

55. Today a small but precious momentum towards peace appears to exist in the diplomacy of the Middle East. Ambassador Jarring and many Foreign Ministers are present here at this General Assembly. All of us should seize this opportunity to encourage the parties to move resolutely towards a settlement. Otherwise the danger is great that the area will slip back once more towards chaos and war.

56. Once again at this session the Assembly will conduct a wide-ranging discussion of the question of disarmament. Last spring, with high hopes, the General Assembly, in its resolution 2373(XXII), overwhelmingly commended the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Its action reflected the belief, widely shared throughout the world, in the constructive effects this treaty could exert in the cause of peace: that nuclear weapons need never be used in war, that, if generally ratified, the treaty would create a powerful barrier to the spread of nuclear weapons; that it would spur the peaceful use of nuclear energy, and that it would commit all signatories to negotiate in good faith for both nuclear and general disarmament. To bolster these hopes, the treaty was accompanied by important assurances to non-nuclear Powers of security against nuclear attack and nuclear threats. Already more than eighty States have signed the treaty, but still others must sign and ratify it if its purposes are to be fully achieved.

57. My Government is well aware of the blow recent events have dealt to international confidence. But progress in nuclear arms control, to which great-Power co-operation is particularly essential, is not a narrow interest of any one Power or group of Powers, great or small; it is an urgent and overriding interest of the human race in sheer survival. No matter what our differences, we all live on the same planet and we all have certain elemental human needs—one of the greatest of which is to be freed from the waste and danger of arms races, both nuclear and conventional, throughout the world.

58. We are prepared to continue to work for a number of arms control measures now pending in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee. We would be ready to explore the feasibility of a viable and effective agreement to prevent the emplacement of weapons of mass destruction on the ocean floor. My Government, for its part, maintains great interest in the major goals we have thus far pursued in the arms control field.

59. Let me now speak briefly of the other side of the coin of peace: the creative works of international co-operation for human benefit. There is only one family of Man, and all of us, regardless of race or creed or ideology, belong to it. All of us share the common needs of the human body and spirit. It is in ministering to those needs that the United

Nations has written some of its brightest pages and has won new respect for multilateral agencies as instruments of progress.

60. The United States derives genuine satisfaction from the part we have been able to play in this United Nations work—in the creation and financing of the United Nations Development Programme; in the work of the major multilateral agencies for financing development, particularly the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Development Association; in the initiation of pioneering United Nations efforts in many new fields of human endeavour, notably those of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, of outer space and of the deep sea-beds.

61. In the same spirit, the United States hopes, at this General Assembly, to work with our colleagues in writing still brighter pages in the record of human co-operation. We hope this Assembly will draw plans for co-operation in the development of the low-income nations that will profit by the lessons of the first United Nations Development Decade and lay foundations for better success in the second.

62. We hope ways will be found to lessen the dangerous imbalance between the world's capacity to produce food and the world's growing population. To that end mankind should take full advantage of the recent encouraging breakthroughs in the production of food, as well as of the rapidly increasing knowledge of ways to moderate sharp rates of population growth.

63. We hope also to see this Assembly break important new ground in a field of growing importance to mankind: the preservation of man's natural environment. The spread of modern industrial civilization is not an unmixed blessing. It has, to be sure, produced immense liberating effects in the reduction of human toil and the manufacture of products of great practical and aesthetic value for countless millions of people; and these things it will continue to do. But this same industrial process, unless we carefully control its side-effects, can also damage our environment in many respects, some of them known today and some only suspected. This danger is becoming a world-wide phenomenon, and the sooner the international community comes to grips with it the more future generations will be grateful to us. My Government will, therefore, enthusiastically support, at this session of the General Assembly, the initiative of Sweden² to make the problems of the human environment a new and major concern of the community of nations.

64. In conclusion, I ask your indulgence for a brief personal word. It has been my privilege, in one capacity or another, to participate at two-thirds of the sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations—beginning with Hunter College and Lake Success. With others of my generation, I have felt deeply that the paramount task for all mankind is “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war”. Many of us in this room have seen the scourge of war and want nothing more earnestly than the promise of a secure peace.

² See document E/4466/Add.1.

65. Perhaps the United Nations, as some have suggested, has fallen short of the high hopes that were entertained for it at its birth. But we can remember the revered statesmen who launched this Organization upon its course. We can recall major crises of desperate danger which we have overcome. We can recall major agreements which represent giant steps towards peace. We can take deep satisfaction from the historical process of decolonization which is reflected in the rise of our membership from 51 to 125. And we can be grateful for the dedicated service which the world has received from the representatives of this Organization as they have toiled tirelessly and patiently, often in danger and without thanks or praise, to bring reason to bear in the affairs of mankind. This Organization was not created to preside over an earthly paradise; it was created to enable frail human beings to find a way to resolve their disputes by peaceful means and to join hands in conquering their difficulties, animosities, prejudices and fears—all in fidelity to the Charter.

66. My fellow Americans are now engaged in a great democratic process, ordained by our Constitution, to determine who shall lead us in the next four years. But of one thing you can be sure: the American people will remain faithful in support of the United Nations, their purposes will continue to be the purposes and principles inscribed in the Charter, and they will remain ready to work in this Organization for the peace and prosperity of its Members and for dignity and justice for those we represent.

67. Mr. AYOUNE (Gabon) (*translated from French*): Mr. President, in speaking for the first time from this rostrum only a few days after your unanimous election to the Presidency of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, I am highly gratified and regard it as a signal honour that I am able to add my voice to those of the distinguished speakers who have preceded me in extending to you the most sincere and most cordial congratulations of the delegation of Gabon.

68. We welcomed that vote with deep satisfaction, because we know that it was not dictated solely by the just principle of geographical distribution, which requires that the Presidency of this Assembly should be filled by rotation. In our opinion, the result of the election is first and foremost a tribute to your country for the unremitting efforts it is making to preserve a true independence, for its fidelity to the noble ideals set for us by the Charter of our Organization, and for its ever more effective and constructive contribution to the triumph of those ideals. In addition, your election establishes before the entire world the high qualifications and great competence of an eminent diplomat, one who enjoys widespread esteem in his own country and who has won the esteem of the Member States that are represented here in this vast and worthy conclave.

69. Therefore, Mr. President, our delegation, along with the others, cannot but welcome the fact that you have been chosen to fill that lofty post, for the choice was based on criteria which are a guarantee that our work will be conducted with competence, with realism, and with efficacy. And you can rely on our delegation to collaborate in helping you in the delicate task with which you have been entrusted, as we count on you to uphold with the whole weight of your authority the efforts that many

delegations, including my own, are determined to make towards the complete success of this session and the attempt to give new impetus to the activities of our Organization. For there is an increasing need for new impetus of this sort, since the will of many Members has obviously weakened and they are slackening their efforts to keep us faithful to the fundamental principles that our Organization offer mankind as those best calculated to preserve continuing humane and fraternal relations between peoples, to maintain world-wide peace and to establish the conditions best suited to universal well-being and happiness.

70. All Member States, by joining the Organization, eagerly endorsed those basic principles, which are so attractive that their implementation would seem to entail no difficulty whatever, since their efficacy for promoting a peaceful and harmonious coexistence among men is self-evident.

71. Unfortunately, experience shows that the generous impulse that prevailed during the drafting and adoption of the Charter that was ratified at San Francisco by nearly every country in the world has decayed until its implementation is no longer of concern precisely to those who originated it.

72. The new countries, we who are late-comers to this community of nations, we who had counted so much on the peace, harmony, solidarity, mutual assistance and co-operation among nations which the Organization undertook to make effective for mankind, for success in building up our nations and for furthering our development, have been bitterly disappointed. For this slackening of effort by the great founding Powers of the Organization now gives us the impression that they are callously disowning it, as though they were looking backwards out of nostalgia for the habits of a past age which they had disavowed and as though they had been impelled by an irresistible and sombre force once again to rely upon "the right of the strongest" which formerly governed international relations. Yet we thought that the lesson of the last world holocaust, which brought them so much wisdom, would be for all time the best motivating force for this peace-loving Organization, which was conceived and brought into being to banish forever from our world that law of the strongest.

73. Our disappointment is not, however, discouragement. We know that it is man's nature to return the next day to what he has repudiated and abandoned the day before. The essential thing is that he be able to draw back in time and realize that such withdrawals, such surrenders will not promote mankind's progress towards the fullness of life for which all of us also wish naturally.

74. The United Nations Charter is a code of international morality. So long as the rules it embodies are not abandoned by all States, there is still hope. Indeed, if only a very few nations remain faithful to those rules, the defaulting Members will follow their example, recover their nerve and reawaken to their duties as they regain their former spirit. Then, the United Nations will profit from that new spirit which it needs so badly today in order to keep open all the brilliant prospects for well-being and happiness that its establishment spread before the gaze of mankind.

75. Gabon is a young country; it has just celebrated the eighth anniversary of its independence. That means that having barely entered the community of sovereign nations, Gabon is still faced with many problems in completing the building up of the nation. Its major problem is the struggle it is waging against underdevelopment, a struggle that it is determined to win in order to join the ranks of the developed countries as quickly as possible. This, however, is possible only in the context of peace and only if Gabon can rely on the co-operation of the wealthy countries as well as on the understanding and friendship of all countries. For that reason, Gabon is zealously devoted to the fundamental principles that govern our Organization, if only out of self-interest. It therefore feels itself in duty bound to express its admiration and gratitude to all those who, like yourself, Mr. President, are assuming the responsibility of upholding and protecting those principles.

76. In this connexion, my delegation wishes to take this opportunity to pay a deserved tribute to your predecessor, who with unquestionable competence and wisdom presided over the discussions of the twenty-second session.

77. My delegation would also be seriously remiss in its duty of gratitude and fairness if it were to neglect to make special mention here of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. His abilities and his total devotion to the cause of peace are patent to all, and if the world has not so far been involved in further disaster, we owe it in great measure to U Thant. We should like to express to him and to his staff our deep gratitude and our sincere esteem.

78. When we examine our Organization's activities designed to attain its purposes, we find that it is encountering difficulties and obstacles calculated to lead to pessimism.

79. When it comes to putting into practice the provisions of the Charter which we freely accepted, vacillation, open opposition, hesitation and passivity are factors condemning our Organization to impotence, inflicting bitter setbacks on the authorities responsible for implementing that Charter and discouraging them. Such surrenders by the international moral leadership to often paltry interests represent fatal blows to the United Nations and can only lead to re-establishing in the world the reign of those evil forces—imperialism, oppression, slavery and exploitation of the weakest—all of them forces engendering the ruin and misery that we are trying to eradicate.

80. This course of restoring the reign of irrational forces in the world becomes the more alarming as it increasingly takes a turn that appears to be flouting the action of our Organization.

81. I am not taking any malicious pleasure in drawing up here an account of the shortcomings of the United Nations in order to conclude that it is useless; but I believe that if we are concerned for the survival of this institution, the situation must be examined realistically.

82. Gabon, for one, is concerned for that survival, especially since our Organization is not really impotent; for if the negative aspect of its activity stands out especially, that activity has nonetheless a positive side. And the very

fact that the Organization is still in existence is in itself encouraging. It is encouraging because so long as life remains in a body, even a body that is seriously ill, all is not lost. The same holds true for our Organization, which is still very much alive in all of its Members—and they are in the majority—who are concerned for its existence.

83. We must certainly make a greater effort to augment its achievements in all its areas of activity and to ensure that the very extent of those achievements revives our colleagues' faltering courage. This means that primarily the founders of the United Nations—especially those which are known as the "great Powers"—need to recover a keen sense—which they appear to have lost—of their duty and their responsibilities towards mankind which is now so deeply disillusioned by their apparent apathy. They have only to examine their conscience to find written there in letters of fire the great principles of the Charter that they drew up and gave to the world; they will rediscover the will and the sense of duty to mankind that will enable them to make the sacrifices that are needed to rise above their special interests and to safeguard the interests of mankind. For it is the "great Powers" which are responsible for the threats hanging over world peace and for the Organization's impotence in its attempts to maintain that peace.

84. Having survived the recent disaster and mastered it by their might, they displayed great wisdom by using their genius to put an end once and for all to the horrors of war on earth by setting up an organization designed to safeguard the world.

85. Mankind welcomed their labours with enthusiasm and gratitude. Barely a few years have passed, however, and the "great Powers" have returned to their efforts to achieve world hegemony, burying deep in their consciences the thoughts of peace and brotherhood they had conceived out of their common danger and splitting the world into two violently opposed blocs, each characterized by its own ideological and economic system, each basing its existence on the murderous might of its armies, each devoted first and foremost to extending its zone of influence. Hence, there has been an unprecedented stockpiling of all kinds of weapons, produced by the greatest scientific discoveries of the century, ranging from the most highly developed of the so-called conventional weapons to atomic and thermo-nuclear bombs that are plunging all of mankind into the disarray created by an ever-present threat of total destruction. Acting on the instinct for collective preservation, other nations who were able to do likewise were unable to resist their bad example. Then what is the use of people who possess stocks that are capable of blowing the earth to bits submitting to others for signature a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons?

86. No, the real way to restore peace on earth is through total disarmament, and it is for the "great Powers" to set an example and to take the initiative. Their prestige cannot but be increased and their credit enhanced in the great ledger of history if they can, without reticence or haggling, divert to the purposes of justice and solidarity the power and the wealth that they are now lavishing upon weapons. It has been suggested that one day's preparations for war should be devoted to development and peace. May this suggestion be heeded!

87. There are those who will call me an optimist when I advance such proposals for restoring credit and power to the United Nations. Those who see things simply, who try to see clearly and to walk a straight path, go right to the heart of problems and do not indulge in euphemism. That, in a word, is the special characteristic of the people and Government of Gabon on whose behalf I am speaking here. Gabon loves simplicity and directness. It has faith in reason and truth. It engages in dialogue in order to achieve tolerance, two sacred words that are henceforth enshrined in the threefold principle of Gabonese policy, the third being peace. Gabon shuns hypocrisy and subterfuge. It is able to fulfil its obligations and it is on that account that it finds it hard to believe that the fundamental principles governing our Organization can be systematically flouted by some, or that the Charter has lost its meaning and become nothing more than a worked-out lode.

88. My country is among those that retain their confidence in our Organization's ability to carry out the role entrusted to it, a confidence inspired by the advance in thinking that has occurred since the Second World War and by the establishment of this Organization. The clash of ideologies, the opposition of blocs, manoeuvring and scheming, all mean very little since they have not impeded the survival of our institution.

89. I have already said that my country is a young country and a small one; it does not have the means to undertake alone the enormous task of building the nation. Nevertheless, like all those countries which have in recent years gained control over their own affairs and have acquired international sovereignty, Gabon is actuated first and foremost by a will to build up the nation, by a concern for its economic and social development on which depends the improvement of its inhabitants' living conditions. Its presence within the Organization assuages its feeling of isolation and gives it some sort of confidence that here it will find the support and the courage it needs to meet its future.

90. Faced with the duties incumbent on all Members of the Organization in the accomplishment of its task, Gabon therefore naturally feels itself compelled to take part in the consideration of all the problems that must be solved in order that the threats that have been mentioned may be overcome and dangers averted.

91. Situations of this sort are in fact being created in various parts of the world. Gabon must therefore have its say with regard to them, as it must express its views concerning the important problems that concern the world. I must do so on its behalf, and in order to do that I need only refer to the three basic areas in which the United Nations is taking action and from which all the items on our agenda are derived. These are the maintenance of international peace and security; the right of mankind to life, liberty and dignity, as well as the right of peoples to self-determination; and, thirdly, understanding and solidarity among nations in achieving a balance of development and prosperity which will enable them to overcome the inequality of living standards.

92. With regard to the first area, though it is fortunate that the two super-Powers, despite the basic difference

between their social and economic systems and despite their struggle for influence that represents the greatest threat to the world, are endeavouring to practise peaceful coexistence, causes of tension continue to pose a permanent threat to world stability; and here and there the tension explodes and gives rise to open armed conflict.

93. There is, for example, the Far East, where the war in Viet-Nam has been going on for years with its awful spectacle of horrors and destruction. There are the African countries still under colonial rule—Angola, Mozambique, Guinea, or Bissau—in which liberation movements have organized to win free from the Portuguese conquistadors by force of arms. There is too the Middle East, where the serious and bloody crisis opened between Israel and the Arab countries over a year ago far from being solved completely, owing to lack of a settlement, has been reappearing for some time in periodic explosions that may at any moment rekindle the war.

94. One of those causes of tension can be found in the division imposed on certain nations by external forces.

95. For example, we find such a great European Power as Germany doomed, for 'no discernible' reason, to exist divided and to be kept out of our Organization—in flagrant violation of one of the fundamental principles of our Charter, the right of peoples to self-determination—and those responsible for that partition ignore its protests. Such a situation cannot, however, but arouse our conscience as Gabonese for, as I stated earlier, Gabon is devoted to the fundamental principles embodied in our Charter, and it cannot understand how nations that feign a like devotion can systematically withhold from another nation that right to self-determination to which we all lay claim for ourselves. If we think that such a partition is desired by the majority of the German people, it must be proved to the world by holding free elections throughout the country and by accepting the democratic decision of those elections, either to continue partition or to proceed to reunification. That is the only way to find a just solution to that problem, a solution which is one of the prerequisites for establishing a true relaxation of tension on the European continent and throughout the world.

96. The same problem arises with regard to Korea, and there, too, it cannot be solved, in our opinion, other than by means of a free election by all the Korean people, held under United Nations auspices.

97. But it is the armed conflicts which are now ravaging some areas of the world that fill us with dismay and bitterness. Unfortunately, our Organization, which was powerless to prevent them, lacks all means of putting an end to them.

98. With regard to the war in Viet-Nam, everyone has already been greatly relieved to learn that the belligerent parties have agreed to hold discussions around a conference table; it can only be hoped that the discussions will not be a dialogue of the deaf.

99. With regard to the Middle East and the Arab-Israel conflict, Gabon has already taken a stand that it regards as being in conformity with the rights and principles which it

endorsed when it became a Member of the United Nations. What is now at issue is respect for the territorial integrity of States and the peaceful settlement of disputes, which apply equally to Israel and to the Arab countries.

100. If, therefore, we are to recognize Israel as a State with a right to exist, whose territorial integrity must be respected, morality and logic require us to take the same position with regard to the Arab States. We are therefore in favour of the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories, with the proviso, however, that the Arab States refrain from belligerent actions likely to rekindle the war.

101. In any event, no one can accuse the United Nations of remaining inactive in the sensitive, complicated and explosive situation prevailing in that part of the world. For twenty years, it has exerted all its efforts to remedy that situation, and if it has but imperfectly succeeded, its sense of responsibility cannot be questioned.

102. The maintenance of peace among nations is of such vital importance to us because it is basically a guarantee of security for both the life of nations and for the lives of the individuals that form nations. Consequently, we believe that wherever human life is being threatened, our Organization must have its say and, if need be, must take the steps necessary to protect human life. Man, who cannot create life, cannot have the right wantonly to destroy it.

103. I must appeal here to man's inalienable right to life, to existence, as I think of the upheavals that have for several years been disturbing the African continent and have brought about wide-spread destruction of human lives. Hundreds of thousands, millions, of lives have been destroyed in this way, and no one has lifted a finger or tried to determine the cause. Whatever the reason, whether it be quelling a rebellion or preventing secession, our Organization cannot remain indifferent to such slaughters. When a State is going through those upheavals, we can at most allow other States, in their rightful concern to respect the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other States, to remain passive. But that principle may be advanced to conceal a pogrom, a campaign of genocide in our States that have a mixed population, where ethnic minorities are not sufficiently protected. Our laws, laws that severely punish parents that mistreat their children, have as yet done nothing to guarantee that same protection to the majority of our States in which tribal antagonisms still prevail and where the refusal to live in those societies that do not adequately protect the weak is looked on as treason punishable by death.

104. What States cannot undertake with regard to another State by virtue of the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of others can be undertaken by the United Nations, in line with its duty to see to the protection of human life. That duty gives it the right to supervise the affairs of States whenever the lives of individuals or groups of individuals are threatened for a motive that cannot be discerned from outside, especially when those individuals are of the same ethnic background. It is futile for us to strive valiantly to eradicate malaria, yellow fever, smallpox and other endemic or epidemic diseases if we must stand by impotently and watch the extermination of human beings

for the sole reason that they are a hindrance to others or that they are distasteful to them.

105. In these cases, therefore, the United Nations must act, even if it incurs the risk of being accused of complicity. It must begin by seeking information on the origin of the events in order to determine their hidden motives and then go on to intervene in order to stop the massacres, by rendering harmless those who take refuge in the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States in order to proceed coolly, without qualms, about their sorry business of grave-diggers.

106. Again, with regard to international security, there are those who think that the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations would be an essential factor in relaxing international tension and promoting world peace. The Government of Gabon is concerned with that problem, which has, in its opinion, special importance because of its implications. If Gabon remains hesitant with regard to the admission of that country, it is primarily due to the fact that the leaders in Peking and their bellicose and intolerant attitude towards ideological matters make my Government sceptical as to their ability to work for the peace and solidarity of nations, whatever their form of government. It is for that reason that my Government continues to support the Republic of China which is, furthermore, a founding Member of the Organization; but to us the ideal situation would be a single China.

107. Following a consideration of the problems facing the United Nations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, I must now turn to the field of man's right to freedom and dignity and to the right of peoples to self-determination.

108. That field is of special interest to the continent of which Gabon is a part—the African continent—because it is there that these two rights have been the most flouted.

109. Nevertheless, the fate of the world has decreed that after the Second World War mankind, newly alive to its duties towards itself, has directed its forward march in a direction more in keeping with the value and dignity of man. It is for that reason that the colonial Powers, loosening their hold on the continent, initiated the process which history will call "decolonization".

110. The young nations that resulted from this decolonization are all represented within this Hall. I need not, therefore, name them. May I, however, associate myself and my delegation with those speakers who have from this rostrum welcomed the accession to independence of Mauritius and Swaziland in the period between Assembly sessions and the admission to our Organization of Swaziland at the opening of this twenty-third session [1674th meeting].

111. In a few days, Equatorial Guinea, another country formerly under colonial domination, will be acceding to independence. At least, that is the pledge the Spanish Government, which is responsible for that territory, has made before the world, and we regard everything it has done so far to further the speedy and regular development of the decolonization process in that country as an assurance that Spain will keep its word.

112. Gabon, which has followed the evolution of that process of decolonization with the utmost attention and with unconcealed satisfaction, cannot but be pleased at this brother country's accession to national and international sovereignty. This accession is a striking testimony to the realistic and humanitarian policy of the Spanish Government, which I should like at this time, on behalf of my country and my Government, to congratulate most warmly on the magnanimous example it has thus set to its neighbour, Portugal.

113. There you have three new examples of the liberation of colonized peoples that must be set down to the credit of our Organization. But, although we have every reason to rejoice on their behalf, the concern we feel regarding some extremely serious situations that appear to be growing up on the African continent has not diminished. Those situations are those in South Africa, in Rhodesia and in the Portuguese possessions.

114. Notwithstanding the repeated appeals and the numerous condemnations issued during the course of successive sessions in the form of General Assembly resolutions, the South African Government not only remains set upon its insensate policy of *apartheid*, but is continuing to extend it. Arbitrary laws on segregation, sentences, summary executions, these are some of the despotic methods being employed by the leaders in Pretoria in implementing this policy.

115. This being so, it is hardly surprising that these millions of oppressed, humiliated and segregated, human beings are resorting to lawlessness and violence since they are forbidden to make themselves heard peacefully and legally. And because violence begets violence those who claim to be their masters are retaliating with the most savage oppression.

116. Inasmuch as the resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly are regularly being flouted by the rabid and unrepentant South African racists, what can we do to put an end to such a situation? It is naive to believe that their stand will be altered by condemnations issued in this Assembly unaccompanied by sanctions.

117. Some believe that only the great Powers hold the key to the problem, since only they possess the economic means to force South Africa to listen to reason. When I think of the results of the economic sanctions that were imposed on Southern Rhodesia, I continue to be sceptical on that point. I continue to be sceptical even with regard to the effectiveness of force for putting that country on the right track, when I consider the conditions under which it was created—unless all the Powers represented here and that are censuring it form a coalition to compel it by force to alter its policy.

118. The fate of the Blacks of South Africa is therefore hopeless, as was the fate of the other colonized countries in Africa before decolonization. In my opinion, only the fluctuations of history can bring the South African Government to alter its policy. Indeed, such a change implies an evolution in mentality that can enable South Africa to live in the present; by their actions its leaders are revealing that their present mentality is out of date; it is a way of thinking

that harks back to the Stone Age. Hence, it is not surprising that those leaders are incapable of adapting themselves to the intellectual currents of the twentieth century, which particularly condemn racial discrimination.

119. Portugal's policy with regard to its colonies can only be explained by the same phenomenon. It is shocking that seven years after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples Portugal should still be bending all its efforts to maintain its hold on its colonial possessions. But Portugal will be unable to appreciate the Declaration as long as the considerations of justice and equity that warrant the Declaration remain inaccessible to its intelligence. For that matter, neither economic sanctions applied against it nor open revolt by the peoples of its colonies will influence it to give way before the great surge of liberalism that has dismantled the colonial empires, since liberalism is not a notion that is accessible to every mind. Can it be done by rebellion? Perhaps but it must still overcome the might of Portuguese reaction.

120. Portugal will let go only when it comes to realize that it is moving against the times, and that history furnishes no instance in which demands for freedom and justice have not finally been victorious. But what a price in human deaths and destruction will be paid for that victory!

121. But since everyone believes that the boycott of Portugal will succeed in weakening its position, while Gabon will continue to maintain it since it is willing to live up to its undertakings, it will do so without conviction—but it also hopes that those who voted for those sanctions will not shirk their part—just as it will continue to support so far as it can those who are struggling to gain their freedom in Angola, in Mozambique and in Guinea (Bissau).

122. While for years our Organization has been struggling fruitlessly to bring South Africa and Portugal to see reason and change their policy, the colonials of Southern Rhodesia—British colony—under the guidance of their leader, Ian Smith, have brazenly and unilaterally declared that country independent since 1965. Although this Assembly has on two occasions warned them against any arrangement whereby the powers of the administering Power were transferred to the colony in conditions disregarding the rights of the local population to self-determination and independence, the Rhodesian rebels have gone ahead and, following the example set by South Africa, the neighbouring country whose mentality and political concepts they share, they have turned that country into a new stronghold of *apartheid* in which millions of Blacks still live under the domination and yoke of barely 200,000 Whites, not knowing whether they will one day obtain their freedom and enjoy the exercise of the civil and political rights which most of their brothers on the continent possess today.

123. In order to bring an end to the Rhodesian rebellion, the Security Council imposed economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia; however, with the complicity of South Africa and Portugal, its partners in the shameless practice of racism and racial discrimination in Africa, Southern Rhodesia is receiving supplies, bolstering its export trade and continuing to live—to such an extent, indeed, that in

1968 the notorious and discredited illegal regime of Ian Smith will be celebrating its third birthday, and the establishment of a South African-Portuguese-Rhodesian axis is to be feared, perhaps with the aim of reconquering the African countries which have already become independent.

124. I have already stated what my country feels about the efficacy of economic sanctions against South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia; although we are applying them in a spirit of co-operation, we do not believe that they will achieve the desired results.

125. If our Organization and the United Kingdom are really determined to re-establish the rule of law in Southern Rhodesia, they must contemplate other forms of action.

126. Thus, for forces of colonialism, like those of imperialism, are still very active in Africa, where they control almost impregnable strongholds. Alongside them, however, other more insidious forces are at work. Acting under the seductive guise of an ideology of liberation and under cover of a revolution aimed at setting up a society in which everyone will enjoy the benefits of equality and fraternity, those forces are silently creating a dangerous threat by undermining the stability of our new nations. These machinations take the form of interference in the domestic affairs of these nations, where subversive movements are set up in an attempt to change their régimes and lead them into the Marxist-socialist camp.

127. We must vigorously denounce, as Gabon has always done, these unwarrantable interferences that represent a constant threat to the domestic security of our countries and that constitute a threat to their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

128. In conclusion, let us consider the area in which the United Nations is pursuing the aim of understanding and solidarity among nations in order to achieve balanced development and prosperity that will lead to redressing the differences in levels of living. This aim is embodied in the search for a solution to the crucial problem brought about by the difference in economic and social conditions between the so-called developed countries and those which have been classed among the countries rightly called underdeveloped.

129. We must be grateful to the United Nations for having given this problem high priority by inaugurating a Development Decade in 1960, and also for setting up specialized agencies to promote that development, financed by contributions from Member States. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the United Nations Development Programme have been and still are of great assistance to many countries of the third world.

130. We may of course properly ask why these organizations demand an equal contribution from all States, from the underdeveloped as well as the developed countries, whereas solidarity in the true sense would seem to require the latter to contribute to the former from their surplus wealth.

131. Be that as it may, my country is most grateful to the United Nations for its support of our current efforts towards promoting an economy that will promote the social progress of the Gabonese people, one that will enable that people not only to have access to a decent standard of living but will also consolidate the country's political independence by making it economically independent.

132. Within the framework of the first economic and social development plan which is to be completed in 1970, and in the second plan designed to supplement the first, Gabon has begun carrying out the vast development projects which it considers essential for its economic "take off", a deep-sea port, a railway, dams, the extension and improvement of its road network, its air transport system, schools, health services and so on.

133. The construction of the port, which was initiated last June, has been financed by the European Development Fund to the amount of nearly 350,000 million francs CFA.³ The accompanying industrial underpinning was financed by the French Fund for Assistance and Co-operation at a cost of nearly 1,000 million francs CFA.

134. We should like to express here our warmest gratitude to France and to the European Economic Community of which France is a member for the valuable and substantial assistance they have given us in our struggle to overcome underdevelopment. The assistance given us by the United Nations, too, is considerable, and it is because we are aware of the assistance it is furnishing us that we shall not hesitate to call upon it again for help and for the necessary capital in the form of long-term loans in order to complete the other major projects planned for our economic development.

135. We have great hopes of obtaining those loans from the recently created United Nations Capital Development Fund. We are also counting upon the United Nations Industrial Development Organization. Indeed, because of its mineral wealth, Gabon is made for industry, and so it may contemplate establishing a modern industry that will enable it to develop a dynamic economy capable of providing our people with the benefits of a twentieth-century industrial society.

136. At the present moment, however, the fact is that Gabon is an underdeveloped country with an economy that is still primitive and, even worse, extremely unstable. Gabon produces timber, manganese, uranium and oil, and a large part of its economy depends on their export. As a result, it is in the dangerous and unstable position of the countries which must compete for the sale of their raw materials on the international market.

137. Gabon is, therefore, in the same position as the rest of the underdeveloped countries in this regard. It is not my intention to reiterate here the factors that are characteristic of those countries' economies and account for their instability and their inability to achieve and regularly to maintain a growth rate sufficient to enable them rapidly to join the ranks of developed countries.

³ Communauté financière africaine.

138. It has long been generally agreed that the division of mankind into nations which are growing richer and richer and nations that are growing ever poorer is placing it in so insecure a position that the danger need no longer be demonstrated. In the general interest, therefore, we have tried to take the necessary steps to obviate that danger; for the situation calls for concerted action, since the underdeveloped countries cannot act alone to achieve the aims we have described without the assent of the developed countries.

139. If, however, the studies that have been made have revealed the weak points in our economic system, weak points that can be described in a general way by the classic expression "worsening of the terms of trade", those responsible seem to falter before the need to apply measures designed to improve the situation. Naturally, it is the wealthy countries that display this hesitation, to the point where we have been forced to draw the depressing conclusion that prosperity—individual as well as national prosperity—tends to create a detached, if not indifferent, attitude with regard to the well-being of others.

140. One of the first measures was the inauguration of the United Nations Development Decade from 1960 to 1970 [*resolution 1710 (XVI)*], during the course of which development was to reach a growth level of 5 per cent in order to give it sufficient impetus to traverse the various stages that poor countries must go through to arrive at the level enjoyed by the rich countries. With one year to go in the Development Decade, the rate of growth has reached only 4 per cent.

141. The hopes that were aroused by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development from the time of its first session in 1964 in the search for appropriate ways to eradicate the worsening of terms of trade are far from being realized. And we know that that worsening is the most serious brake upon the growth of our economy and on our general development, since it prevents us from setting up stable development plans.

142. Although the Kennedy Round produced some agreements, those agreements were of benefit only to the rich nations, which used them to organize their exchange machinery and to increase their trade, whereas no significant advantage accrued to the underdeveloped countries, and no solution was found to their basic problems.

143. In the face of this desperate situation, with the gap between rich and poor growing ever wider, the poor countries have realized that they must agree amongst themselves in order to undertake concerted action to convince the developed countries of the need to join together to restore the balance of world development, a balance that will ultimately lead to security for all, even though its realization will demand greater sacrifices from some than from others.

144. The representatives of the underdeveloped countries, now known as the Group of 77, meeting at Algiers in October 1967,⁴ therefore undertook a careful study, in

depth and in detail, of the problems raised by the establishment of this balance in order to arrive at appropriate solutions. Those problems and solutions, which form what is called the "Algiers Charter", are well known.

145. This Charter is not a declaration of war against the developed countries. It is, as has been stated, "an act of faith in a future of justice and peace, an instrument of solidarity and co-operation, and not of division and sectarianism; it is a sincere programme for world co-operation for a balanced development". It is a global strategy made up of measures designed to accelerate economic and social growth in the developing countries.

146. Submitted by its authors at the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at New Delhi,⁵ the Charter could have helped in drawing up this policy of development, lacking which the first Development Decade achieved so little. It would thus have ensured the success of the second Development Decade.

147. The meagre results of this Conference, as we well know, showed that those to whom the Charter was addressed were not prepared to appreciate its scope and to grant it their immediate support in order to bring about that moral solidarity between rich and poor countries which is needed if the desired balance in world development is to be achieved.

148. At least the Conference had the basic positive result of arousing a growing sense of moral solidarity in certain circles within the developed countries, where the economic and political consequences of the exclusion of States to the third world, so serious in the long run, are beginning to be seen more clearly. Those consequences would include the formation of a real world proletariat opposed to the rich nations, an element of disunity and insecurity for all mankind.

149. However, the third world has not lost heart, and the measures that have just been adopted by the two conferences of the Organization of African Unity—that held by the Ministers⁶ followed by that held by the Heads of State⁷—which met last September in Algiers enable us to foresee more vigorous, better co-ordinated and more methodical action at the next session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

150. In the meanwhile, the States of the third world know that they must make a great effort to convince public opinion of the value of their arguments. For it is a matter, first and foremost, of acting through persuasion so as to bring about a widespread conviction that will overcome all hesitations. Next we must go on to implement the principles embodied in the Charter. It is at that point that we are destined to come up against the barrier that is formed by considerations based on self-interest. Therefore, in order to achieve the basic goal, balanced world development, we must fight and win against self-interest. Selfishness itself is the most formidable force preventing the

⁵ The session was held from 1 February to 29 March 1968.

⁶ Eleventh Ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity (4-12 September 1968).

⁷ Fifth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (13-16 September 1968).

⁴ Ministerial meeting of the group of seventy-seven developing countries, 10-25 October 1967.

attainment of all the goals set forth in the programme of the United Nations. But precisely because we are desirous of attaining to all the ideals embodied in our Organization in order to bring about the new era of justice, peace and happiness to which all mankind aspires, we will fight and we will vanquish selfishness wherever it is to be found.

151. Mr. NILSSON (Sweden): Before I begin my speech let me tell you, Mr. President, how happy I am to see you presiding over our proceedings. You have had long and rich experience in international affairs. You have proved your skill as an outstanding negotiator. You possess indeed all the qualities to make your presidency distinguished and successful.

152. It is generally admitted that the principles which are laid down in the Charter of the United Nations serve as standards against which the actions of Governments in the international field are judged and measured. No Government and no statesman in our time can escape such critical scrutiny. It has been hoped that government leaders, when furthering their national interests, will take into practical account the international ideals which are represented by the United Nations and that they will come to realize that national interests also are, in the long run, best served in this way.

153. All too often this hope is frustrated and we have to witness how the principles of the United Nations are violated or ignored. During the course of this year violence, or the threat of violence, has been employed in many parts of the world. We have heard different motivations and excuses offered in defence of what has happened. But we have not become convinced by these explanations. One of the principal rules enshrined in the Charter, as a result of the collective experience of generations, stipulates that unilateral resort to violence, or the threat to use violence, is never permissible. The sole exception to this rule is defence against an armed attack.

154. When one of the States Members of the United Nations, Czechoslovakia, was occupied by the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary and East Germany, this was an act of force in clear contravention of the provisions of the Charter. It is thus a matter of proper concern for our Organization. The reasons given for the occupation are not valid, whether from a legal, political or moral point of view.

155. The foreign troops entered the country without the knowledge and against the wishes of the legal Government. It was an infringement on the territorial integrity and the political independence of Czechoslovakia and it has led to intervention in the internal affairs of the country. The Charter does not provide for any right to intervene on grounds of allegiance to a common ideology.

156. The Czechoslovak leaders had declared and manifested their determination to continue on the road of socialist development. They had declared their adherence to the military and political arrangements in Eastern Europe. Their efforts to achieve a humane and more democratic form of socialism were followed with interest and sympathy, not least in my own country, Sweden.

157. Under these circumstances we cannot but deplore the action undertaken against Czechoslovakia as a tragic political error as well as a breach of legal and moral principles. The peoples of Czechoslovakia have conducted their struggle for independence and in defence of their form of social and political life with dignity and courage. Such policies cannot hurt the legitimate interests of any country. On the contrary, they can only improve the prospects for peace in Europe based on good neighbourly relations among all States. The sooner the foreign troops are withdrawn and the peoples of Czechoslovakia are allowed to plan and to decide their own future without external pressure, the better are the chances of limiting the damage that has been done to the efforts at *détente* in Europe and in the world. The damage is there and it is severe. It must be repaired so that a renewal of the cold war can be avoided and the efforts resumed to rebuild bridges where they have been destroyed, to eliminate fears where they have led to irrational actions, and to recreate confidence where it has been shaken.

158. The use of force does not achieve any permanent solution of political problems. That is true in the case of Czechoslovakia. It is equally true in the case of Viet-Nam.

159. The war in Viet-Nam causes horrible sufferings to the Viet-Nameese people on both sides of the demarcation line and exposes the country to widespread devastation. The talks in Paris have been followed in my country with great attention. While appreciating fully the difficulties of those talks, I do not wish to conceal our feelings of regret and disappointment that as far as is known they have not led to any real progress. It is clearer than ever that attempts to solve the conflict by means of continued and increased use of violence are doomed to failure. Everything must now be done to achieve a peaceful solution. There is no doubt that a gradual de-escalation of the hostilities would improve the prospects for such a solution. We have maintained for a long time that it is incumbent upon the militarily strongest party, the United States, to take the first step in that direction and to cease the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. It is deeply regrettable that the bombing halt which began in April is only partial. According to available information, the total explosive power of the bombs used over North Viet-Nam has not diminished. In our opinion, the bombing should be halted today. This would mean a great step towards peace in Viet-Nam.

160. In the modern era, the use and the threat of force cannot ensure durable peace. That assertion is equally true in the Middle East. The cease-fire which was achieved after the war in June last year is precarious and constantly threatened by serious incidents. It must be replaced by a peaceful solution which respects the principle that military conquest does not establish any right to the territory of another State and which, at the same time, recognizes the right of all States to live in peace and security. It was a remarkable achievement for the Security Council to reach agreement on the guidelines for such a solution. The whole world now expects the parties to collaborate in good faith with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in the search for a solution. It is the duty of all other Member States, in particular the great Powers, to do everything they can to facilitate and expedite this search.

161. We are now living through a period of tension and frustration. To quote the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report:

“there has been a serious decline in the standards of international ethics and morality, with States relying increasingly on force and violence as a means of resolving their international differences” [A/7201/Add.1, para. 174].

He adds that, if this trend is not reversed, “the future of international peace and security itself is indeed a very dark one” [*ibid.*]. Is that equally true if we try to place world developments in a slightly longer perspective?

162. There is no doubt that we live in a time of dramatically increased interdependence. That is true both in war and in peace. An armed conflict between the great Powers would now directly affect us all and cause destruction and suffering of unimaginable proportions. At the same time, however, the conditions for peaceful coexistence have changed radically, drawing the peoples ever closer together. Modern science and technology have broken down the barriers of time and space. No country can insulate itself against the changes caused by the application of modern technology to communications, information media, industry and commerce. This trend towards greater interdependence is unmistakable and it will continue to grow at an ever increasing pace. All the people on our planet are bound to a common destiny. Nobody can escape, not even by excursion into outer space or to other celestial bodies.

163. The fact that the deeper movement of history brings us towards increasing interdependence is something which we understand and experience only slowly and hesitatingly. Even more slowly and hesitatingly we recognize that our dependence on one another requires a fresh way of looking at international and social relationships, new concepts and methods for meeting the imperative need to create a stable and just world order.

164. One of the conclusions which can be drawn is that the United Nations must be strengthened in every way. If it is to represent fully the essential unity of mankind, the goal of universality of membership must be actively pursued, and, in particular, the doors of the Organization should be opened to the People's Republic of China.

165. Even though our recognition of the fact that we all belong together and must therefore keep together is incomplete and in no way measures up to the degree of factual interdependence, we can, nevertheless, point to certain hopeful signs. It seems, at last, to be understood by people everywhere that disarmament is a vital issue. Public opinion has begun to realize that the frantic arms race does not increase security and that the precise opposite is true. All Governments must nowadays take this opinion into account.

166. In the field of disarmament we have during the past year been able to register one important achievement. The non-proliferation Treaty promised to lay the foundation for further relaxation of tensions. It was also regarded as the first bridge to be crossed on the road towards more far-reaching measures of disarmament. Whatever reserva-

tions we in Sweden may have had in regard to the text of the Treaty while it was being negotiated, we are firmly convinced that these expectations are still well founded and that therefore the Treaty should be signed and ratified by as many countries as possible, as soon as possible, including, in particular, those countries whose participation is absolutely necessary to make the Treaty a living reality. It is to be hoped that the events in central Europe will not jeopardize this process.

167. The next steps will be crucial. Will it be possible to slow down the spiralling armaments race or will the race towards more destructive and more expensive arms continue unchecked?

168. A very heavy responsibility rests with the two super-Powers. The plans for an agreement regarding limitations on nuclear missiles, plans which were coming to fruition before the Czechoslovak crisis, must be pursued. A complete test-ban treaty must be hammered out and the countries which continue to test nuclear weapons must be persuaded to stop doing so. We have a right to expect the super-Powers to give, without delay, concrete evidence of their declared intentions to take further steps on the road to nuclear disarmament.

169. Besides the problems of nuclear weapons, the threatening spectre of the development of biological and chemical weapons has been given increasing attention in the last few years. It is our hope that the studies initiated in this field will soon result in international agreements. Only by such means will it be possible to prevent the catastrophes which may follow if the development of those weapons is allowed to continue unchecked.

170. A field where interdependence is being recognized, although imperfectly, is that of economic and social development. It has been increasingly realized that welfare, like peace, is indivisible. Twenty years ago, the industrialized States were engaged in rebuilding their own economies. It was only thereafter that they began to take an active interest, gropingly at first, in the problems of development. No doubt, the total volume of contributions from the rich to the poor countries has increased substantially. But the pace of the increase has been dismally insufficient in relation to the gigantic needs. Moreover, in recent years the total volume of assistance from the industrialized States had tended to stagnate or decrease. Nevertheless, there seems to be a feeling in many quarters that we have ample time to solve the problem of development.

171. That is a dangerous misconception. A large part of the population of the earth is living on or below the minimum subsistence level. The population explosion may well create an untenable situation, if far-reaching measures are not taken. Time is running short. Fortunately, it would appear that these grim facts are now penetrating deeper and deeper into the public consciousness. Welfare, like peace, is a goal which must be sought in a global context. It can never be secured in our time for only one country or one group of countries. We encounter here on the international level the same reality as in the national community; harmony can never be achieved without a reasonable and just distribution of the total resources, without solidarity.

172. The realization of the increased interdependence between peoples expresses itself in a change of psychological attitudes on race problems. There are today, twenty years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, not many régimes which dare proclaim openly that certain races are superior to others and that the supposedly superior should have a right to suppress the supposedly inferior. There is a change here and a welcome change. But even if there has been some progress, racism remains one of the ugliest features of our times.

173. We are painfully reminded how easy it is to appeal to people's prejudices against those who by colour or otherwise differ from the people around them. Racial antagonism and racial violence in certain industrialized States and also in some countries in the third world show that no community is free from these problems. The appeal to antisemitic prejudices which some communist States have permitted themselves is another example that racial thinking is far from extinct.

174. The most serious case of such thinking occurs when a régime bases its official policies on conceptions of racial superiority. Such a régime finds itself inevitably in sharp opposition to the international community. By pursuing its irrational and hateful policy it creates international tensions and risks which justify energetic reactions on the part of the United Nations.

175. This is the background of the involvement of the United Nations in the racial problems of southern Africa and of the ever-increasing opposition of the international community to the policies of the South African Government, which openly defies the world Organization.

176. It is also part of the background of the Security Council decision on mandatory sanctions against the illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. The conspiracy of interests between certain régimes is now reflected by the attempts by both South Africa and Portugal to reduce, by various means, the effect of the sanctions decided upon by the United Nations. South Africa has even supplied armed forces in the struggle against the representatives of the majority of the population of Southern Rhodesia. It goes without saying that the world Organization must react against the actions of South Africa and Portugal. They involve a serious threat to the efforts to build a world where races live in peace with one another and in mutual respect.

177. The sanctions against Southern Rhodesia are the first example of the world Organization undertaking the strongest peaceful enforcement action at its disposal. The policy of sanctions has, however, not yet led to the result intended. But this is no reason not to pursue the policy as long as the régime in Salisbury is there to pursue its dangerous course. We note with satisfaction that the Security Council, by its resolution 253 (1968), has appointed a committee to follow the implementation of the decision on sanctions.

178. We also have to examine in which cases and under what conditions the weapon of sanctions can be applied in the future. Sweden is among those States which, in principle, consider it proper and necessary to apply

economic sanctions in order to bring the policy of *apartheid* of South Africa to an end. Such measures, to become effective, require the participation of the major trading nations. We have also urged that efforts be increased to halt the obsolete and grossly provocative colonial policy of Portugal.

179. I do not wish to conclude my remarks on the situation in southern Africa without referring to the recent resumption of the trial in South Africa of the thirty-one Namibians. This trial has been condemned by the conscience of mankind, speaking through the United Nations, as a flagrant violation of the rights of those people and of the international status of Namibia. We must once again warn the Government of South Africa against the continuation of this travesty of justice and demand the release and repatriation of its victims.

180. Testimony to the growing feeling of interdependence among all peoples is the fact that, when people are struck by distress and suffering as a result of natural disasters or military action, a wave of sympathy and compassion goes around the world and gives an impulse to relief actions of great magnitude. One example is the strong support for relief to Iran after the earthquake which took such a tragic toll of human lives. Another example is the wide and active participation in the humanitarian relief aid to the civilian population in Nigeria, which has been so cruelly struck by the hostilities there. At its recent session in Algiers, the Organization of African Unity expressed deep concern for the suffering population. It called upon all parties to co-operate in order to ensure the rapid delivery of humanitarian relief aid to all those who are in need of it. This appeal has been heard all over the world. The Swedish Government wants to do all in its power to support the relief programmes for the Nigerian population. We have noted with interest that the Secretary-General has appointed a representative to assist in the relief and humanitarian activities for the civilian victims of the hostilities. We hope that the representative's mission will be fruitful and that the Secretary-General will provide, in appropriate form, information on its progress.

181. In another part of the world, Viet-Nam, the population is equally being subjected to inhuman suffering and great parts of the country are being destroyed as a result of warlike actions. In this case as well, sympathy and desire to help have given rise to actions and plans to bring relief. Already at this time, while the war still rages, certain measures are being taken by such organizations as the Red Cross and UNICEF. These actions are necessarily of limited scope. When the war is over one day, a new phase of intensive efforts will begin in order to relieve distress, reduce suffering, repair material damage and start peaceful reconstruction.

182. It is, of course, up to the Viet-Nameese themselves to decide what kind of aid they wish. But the international community must be ready, in the name of humanity, to help the Viet-Nameese people to heal the wounds inflicted by the war. The Nordic countries have begun certain investigations concerning the likely needs for external aid and the methods to organize a relief action. No definite conclusions can yet be drawn from these investigations, but obviously an enormous relief operation will be required

which can be made possible only through common efforts of a large number of countries.

183. The increasing mutual dependence is perhaps nowhere as clearly perceived as among the young. All over the world, young people seem to be ready to look beyond national frontiers. Underlying many reactions and attitudes of youth in the last few years is a strong feeling of world solidarity and a sense of common responsibility for peace and justice in the world. Young people revolt against prejudices and traditions which create dividing lines and barriers between nations, between social classes, between races, between rich and poor, between young and old. This is a healthy sign. When the youth of today assume increasing responsibility in their own countries and in international life, this attitude will, one hopes, lead to greater understanding among all peoples.

184. The agenda of this session of the General Assembly includes a number of items to which the long-term perspective which I have outlined here can be applied. May I recall one of the problems which, in a very succinct manner, expresses the interdependence among all peoples and which can be solved only through common efforts. I refer to the need to protect and improve the physical and social environment in which we live. Modern technology and science have put immense resources into the hands of man with which to influence our environment. The change

is often for the worse. Nature does not tolerate every kind of exploitation and misuse. If the natural balances are upset, the fundamental living-conditions of man are jeopardized. Such processes have to be stopped in time. But man can also use his new power in order to shape the environment according to his wishes. Much research is being done in the field. Several United Nations organs are doing valuable work. What is required now is to focus public opinion round the world on the urgency and the gravity of these problems. My Government considers that an international conference would be the best method to fulfil this purpose. We intend to submit a proposal to this effect, in consultation with other countries, when the question is considered by the General Assembly pursuant to resolution 1346 (XLV) unanimously adopted by the Economic and Social Council last summer.

185. Let me now sum up. It is our conviction that the deeper movement of history is towards ever-growing interdependence. In order to survive, humanity will have to co-operate. Viewed in this perspective the military conflicts which we now witness can be seen as temporary relapses into the primitive modes of thinking and acting of an earlier era. Let us react resolutely against relapses. Let us support the trend which is that of the future.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.