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President: Mr. Emilio ARENALES (Guatemala).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Sharp (Canada),
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. YIFRU (Ethiopia): The election of the Foreign Minister of Guatemala to the high office of President of the General Assembly at its twenty-third session is eloquent testimony both to his high personal qualities as a diplomat and a statesman and to the very important and constructive role that the Latin American nations are playing in international affairs. The fact that his candidature was put forward unanimously, by the Latin American nations shows in what high esteem and regard he is held in a continent which can count a great phalanx of world renowned diplomats and statesmen. It was therefore natural that that assessment of his qualities as a leader and a diplomat should have been confirmed unanimously also by the Assembly.

2. It is also appropriate that I should pay a tribute at this time to the outgoing President, Foreign Minister Corneliu Mănescu of Romania. The calm dignity and efficiency with which he presided over the deliberations of the twenty-second session of the Assembly were positive factors which were ever present in our deliberations at that session.

3. Since I am a representative of an African country, it goes without saying that it gives me great pleasure to welcome to United Nations membership the Kingdom of Swaziland. We know that the Swazi people and their Government will bring to bear on our work a fresh outlook, youthful zeal and idealism. We look forward to working with their representatives here at the United Nations, as well as in the Organization of African Unity, for the ideals which both Organizations represent.

4. We also look with joyful anticipation to the impending independence of Equatorial Guinea. I should not like to let this opportunity pass without noting with appreciation the co-operation which the Spanish Government has always given to the United Nations since the question of Equatorial Guinea came before the Organization, and especially

when the last stage of consultation with the people was conducted.

5. As the General Assembly once again embarks on a exercise in introspection, the brutal fact emerges that the international situation has further deteriorated over the past year. Such indeed has been the extent of this deterioration that it has now begun to affect the fabric of international law and order so painstakingly constructed in the post-war years. True, this edifice has never been completed to anyone's satisfaction; it has never been really strong and firm. Yet, unstable as its foundation was, and even as it moved and swayed with the forces that pulled it in all directions, it nevertheless provided some shelter to all of us. This edifice is now shaken to its foundation by developments that have continued over the past year and by new ones that have occurred; a growing cynicism seems to be eating at its very roots.

6. What we are witnessing today is, in fact, not only a revival of the cold war, ominous as that may be, but, most significantly—and, I believe, with more far-reaching consequences—a gradual acceptance and institutionalization of a system of politics based on spheres of influence. Roughly speaking, this is politics based on geopolitical considerations which take into account only what the super-Powers believe to be in their vital interests, as they see and define them from their particular vantage points. It is politics that, consciously or unconsciously, but nevertheless vainly, seeks to establish a semblance of order on a mutual recognition and accommodation of those so-called vital interests of the big Powers. It matters little that such interests might be based on false premises.

7. Under this emerging pattern, what the big Powers—especially the super-Powers—think or fancy to be in their interests becomes the guiding rules of international relations; their security needs become so overriding and justifiable ends in themselves that, in the interest of what they allege to be the preservation of peace, the super-Powers are permitted to violate or bend sullenously accepted principles of international law and the Charter. In such a reverse order of priorities, the interests of the weak and the small, which make up the vast majority of the international community, assume at best a secondary role. What is even alarming is that, in the name of so-called realism, the international community has increasingly come to acquiesce in the ground rules of this re-emerging politics of spheres-of-influence.

8. This pattern of international relations is not altogether new; it is, in fact, a reversion to a situation that existed before a sustained effort was begun at the turn of this century to organize intercourse among States on a rational ground based on rules of conduct that reflect a community

of mutual interests. It is obvious that, as spheres-of-influence arrangements have not worked in the past, they cannot work now. Whatever semblance of order such politics may lead to will inevitably be a bogus order that will no sooner be established than it will disintegrate into something of a free-for-all. The so-called realism that allows this type of politics to proceed is also a bogus realism which does not appreciate the fact that there can be no lasting order without justice.

9. My Government believes that it is time that we, the small nations, raised our voices high in defence of the principles of the Charter and international law when those principles are tampered with or violated—the more so when the violator is a big Power, only because our voices and collective conscience are the only weapons we have against it. It is imperative that we should do so for unless the rules of the Charter and international law are applied with equal force to the big Powers, we shall end up by having no Charter and no laws.

10. Be it in Viet-Nam or in Eastern Europe or in any other part of the world, no consideration of national security or other compelling reasons of vital interest can be so overriding as to justify a big Power's taking unilateral action that violates the sovereignty and the right of self-determination of nations, and hence also the United Nations Charter. My Government fervently believes that even now, where the Charter has been violated or bent, it is not too late to remedy the situation by minimizing and mitigating the damage already caused. This can be done now only by applying all principles of the Charter without exception. It is also the hope of my Government that the problem that has arisen with regard to Czechoslovakia will be resolved with due respect for that country's sovereign rights.

11. Despite the talks under way in Paris between the United States and the Democratic Republic of North Viet-Nam, an end to the war in Viet-Nam does not seem nearer than when the Assembly met last year at this time. The high hopes which those talks raised when they began some four months ago are now at a low ebb. It has now become obvious that, in the absence of real and meaningful steps to reduce the level of the hostilities, no real progress can be expected at the Paris talks.

12. It is no secret that my Government has felt for a long time—and we said it here in the Assembly last year—that a halt to the bombing of North Viet-Nam could be a realistic and meaningful step that would lead to a process of de-escalation of the hostilities as well as to genuine negotiation. Since the last regular session of the Assembly we have seen that a partial curtailment of the bombing of North Viet-Nam led to the beginning of talks. We are even more convinced now that it is reasonable to expect that, if the suspension of bombing covered the whole of North Viet-Nam, the Paris talks, which so far have been more of a soliloquy than a real discussion, would move to a stage of realistic negotiation of the real issues involved. It also has to be recognized that, if an acceptable solution is to be worked out, all the parties to the conflict will have to be brought into the discussion at some stage or other.

13. In the long run, however, there can be no denying the fact that the Viet-Nam problem has to be solved on the

basis of the free expression of the will of the Viet-Nameese people. It is also important that this expression should not be tampered with or forcibly bent in any direction by outside forces if the decision is to be that of the Viet-Nameese people alone, and thus binding on all concerned. We have always believed that the Geneva Accords of 1954 could serve as an acceptable practical basis for the expression of the Viet-Nameese people's choice as regards their future and the political and social organization they want to adopt.

14. The lack of any appreciable progress in the solution of the problem of the Middle East has no doubt contributed to the prevailing international mood, which can be described only as one almost bordering on helplessness and resignation. Even as the Secretary-General's devoted and tireless Special Representative is, shuttling from one capital to another in search of a hopeful sign and a break, the cease-fire ordered by the Security Council has, on several occasions, been punctured by artillery duels and, on some occasions, even by air actions. Uncertainty seems to hover over the entire region; nobody seems to know what to expect next, where the next exchange of gunfire is going to take place. It almost seems as if the preservation of the fragile cease-fire arrangements is consigned to a blind interplay of incidents rather than the dictates of international obligations or even of self-interest. The Organization appears almost impotent to control or influence the inexorable march of events unmistakably shaping up into yet another conflagration.

15. It is obvious for all to see that, unless some beginning is made right away on a process of diplomacy that could immediately lead to an alleviation of tension, thus paving the way to a realistic solution of the outstanding issues, an outbreak of large-scale hostilities any day is a distinct possibility. Time is therefore of the essence; a further delay can only militate against a possible solution as it is bound to add more complications and more frustrations to a situation which has been infinitely compounded by three tragic wars in less than twenty years.

16. My Government believes that the only way such a beginning can be made is by supporting the Security Council resolution of November 1967 authorizing the mission of the Secretary-General's Special Representative and by assisting the efforts of Ambassador Jarring to succeed. That resolution contains a delicately balanced mutual set of obligations that could provide a basis on which and a framework within which a realistic solution could be found. What matters most now is that all the parties to which that resolution is addressed should accept all the obligations that are contained in it, and that each side should be ready to perform forthwith those parts that pertain to it. If there is such an acceptance by all the parties, my Government sincerely believes that the implementation of the principles of that resolution, and particularly any controversy as regards the timing of the implementation of its various parts, will pose no insurmountable obstacle.

17. Eventually, a resolution of the problem of the Middle East will have to be based on the renunciation of any state of belligerency and any claim of rights arising from it and the acceptance by all of the existence of Israel as a

sovereign State with rights which, like those of all other States, must be respected by all. The Palestinian refugee problem should also find a just solution on the basis of past United Nations resolutions and the right of those refugees to compensation and restitution.

18. While these two cardinal points should form the hinge around which the final solution should revolve, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the territories they now occupy as the result of the June war is an obligation which has to be fulfilled.

19. The tragedy that has befallen the brother people of Nigeria, with the needless high toll of lives and the wide destruction of property that it has already exacted, the incalculable injury and deep scars it is leaving on the spirit and the soul of that people, have filled the hearts of the Ethiopian people with deep sorrow. No words could be adequate to describe the deep anguish that the plight and trial of the whole Nigerian people have given rise to in my country.

20. It is thus understandable that as a mirror of the conscience of his people, and consistent with his own long history of dedication to a peaceful resolution of human conflicts, my august Sovereign, His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, should have tirelessly laboured over the past few months, together with five of his fellow African Heads of State, to bring about a peaceful solution to the civil strife that has of late bedevilled Nigeria. While my Sovereign's efforts and his personal intervention have already led to the first series of serious dialogue between the Federal Government of Nigeria and the secessionist authorities, as it is becoming increasingly obvious to all sides that no lasting solution can be found except on the basis of the will of the Nigerian people as a whole and of extending justice and security to all elements of the population, it is our fervent hope that the second round of dialogue will lead to a resolution of the strife. A preponderance of force might perhaps bring about suppression of the strife, but it must be clear that it cannot heal the deep wounds already opened, nor will it restore a sense of confidence and security, the lack of which is at the root of the present crisis.

21. It is our belief that a solution to the Nigerian crisis should be essentially left to the Nigerians themselves. Those who have the interest and welfare of the Nigerians at heart, if they want to assist, should do so on the basis of the resolution adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity on 16 September 1968 which calls for an immediate cessation of hostilities and the solution of the problem within one Nigerian sovereign personality. Any departure from that principle would be tantamount to interference in the domestic affairs of Nigeria; it might also introduce into this tragic situation elements of the cold war and commercial and other rivalries.

22. The same resolution of the OAU Heads of State also calls on Member States of the United Nations to extend to the Nigerian people humanitarian assistance in a manner and through arrangements that will not compromise the sovereign rights of Nigeria, so that the introduction of complications into a situation which is already delicate and complicated may be avoided.

23. I have every confidence that all the humanitarian organizations which have shown such commendable concern for the suffering and the deprivation of the Nigerian people, regardless of the side of the strife on which they may be, will always keep those twin objectives in mind, for I know how much they themselves realize that partisanship is inimical to their lofty goals.

24. While much of mankind remains alarmed by what has continued to happen and by the new events that have taken place in the past year, some amongst us—in fact an overwhelming majority in number but a minority in terms of economic and military power—have for a long time kept our fingers pointing to the big fire that is building up now in southern Africa.

25. The refusal of a few but powerful States to recognize for what they are the pungent smell of burning already in the air and the sparks of fire that are already evident has been, in the view of my Government, one of the major factors that have created despair and cynicism in the international community; so much so that, in much of the world today, there is a feeling—now almost burgeoning into a belief—that the United Nations is incapable of bringing about a peaceful resolution of the remaining colonial problems. True, some progress has been made over the past year in the field of decolonization, as evidenced by the independence of Mauritius, Nauru and Swaziland, but this should not hide the essential fact that independence was conceded to these Territories by colonial Powers that had already for the most part divested themselves of Territories several times as large and wealthy.

26. The remaining colonial problems in southern Africa are, however, of a different character. What the peoples of Africa and the United Nations are confronted with is a diehard colonialism mostly spearheaded by minority settler régimes espousing and practising a racist philosophy, which has set out to push as far back as possible the frontiers of independence and liberty in Africa. In this undertaking of challenge, Portuguese colonialism, the rebel minority régime of Ian Smith and the racist *apartheid* régime of South Africa have created a military alliance the aggressive nature of which has been amply demonstrated by events over the last two years.

27. No progress has been discerned in any of these Territories despite the many calls issued by the United Nations. Portugal's reply to the legitimate demands of the African peoples for independence in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) has been to send more guns, and to perpetrate more burning and looting and still more bloodshed. There is no sign whatsoever that Portugal wishes to lead the African peoples in these Territories to the road of self-government and independence. On the contrary, the African peoples in these Territories are continually being told that they have to be Portuguese if they want to be independent; the fact remains, however, that these peoples do not want to become Portuguese.

28. For over two years and a half now, the minority white settlers in Rhodesia have taken the law into their own hands and have imposed on the indigenous people of the Territory a rule of terror which has now developed—as has been dramatically demonstrated by the assassination of

freedom fighters—into a mob lynch rule. This has come about in the first place because the Government of the United Kingdom, which had and continues to have administrative responsibility for the Territory, refused to live up to the full measure of that responsibility when confronted with the threat of a rebellion. Brushing aside our protestations, and pleading constitutional incompetence despite its clear responsibility, the United Kingdom Government made it unmistakably clear to the people who were preparing a rebellion that nothing effective would be done to enforce the laws which they were supposed to observe. Since the rebellion, Britain has continued its policy of double talk and vacillation, coupled with a clear indication that the use of force will not be contemplated, even when Ian Smith and his cohorts in Salisbury are assassinating people who are fighting for their freedom. Aided and abetted by forces from without—notably from South Africa and Portugal—and in circumstances which have given them an insurance against the use of force, the rebels have continued to consolidate their position. They are now succeeding in installing a copycat version of the *apartheid* experiment of South Africa.

29. The same United Kingdom Government which pleaded constitutional incompetence to do anything to remove the threat of a rebellion and which also opposed United Nations interest in the matter, has lately turned to the United Nations for assistance. But the type of assistance Britain seeks from the United Nations is a far cry from being an effective remedy. First, foreclosing any possibility to use force, Britain opposed the imposition on the rebel régime of comprehensive mandatory sanctions. When it came around to accepting comprehensive mandatory sanctions in Security Council resolution 253 (1968) of 29 May 1968, it was not ready to contemplate effective measures against the sabotage by the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique and the Government of South Africa, which had made a mockery of the earlier selective mandatory sanctions imposed by the United Nations.

30. Given South Africa's avowed policy of helping Ian Smith's régime and Portugal's policy of duplicity and complicity in this respect, no prophetic knowledge was required to see that comprehensive mandatory sanctions would not work either. The majority of the members of the Security Council—especially the African and the Asian members—did not entertain any illusion on that score when the question of Rhodesia was taken up in the Security Council last May, but the choice that was given to them at the end of a very prolonged negotiation was to have either these mandatory sanctions, imperfect as they were, or no action at all.

31. It can be said already, after the so-called comprehensive mandatory sanctions have been in force for over three months, that they have proved to be very ineffective. The Secretary-General's latest report on the application of sanctions¹ is ample proof, if proof was ever lacking, of that fact. Analysing replies as regards the application of the mandatory sanctions received from countries which in 1965 had received 79 per cent of Rhodesia's exports and supplied

68 per cent of its imports, the Secretary-General reported that imports by those countries from Rhodesia fell from \$330 million in 1965 to \$40 million in 1967, while their exports to Rhodesia likewise fell from \$187 million to \$54 million. If the story told by these figures were true no country—particularly a small country like Rhodesia, with limited resources—could have survived for so long the impact of such a severe punishment on its economy. If the Rhodesian economy has thus survived up to now, it certainly is not due to divine intervention or a miracle. Surely Rhodesia must have been receiving and sending out goods through intermediaries—and in this regard no one needs to stretch his imagination to know who the culprits are.

32. The repression in South Africa is continuing unabated. In this regard, it should be realized that it is perhaps misleading at this stage to look at the question of *apartheid* and the policy of racial discrimination merely as a problem of violation of human rights. Whatever historical validity such a perspective may have had, it should now be recognized that what we are confronted with in South Africa is a situation where the right of an entire people to freedom and independence is trampled on. The question of *apartheid* in South Africa has thus become essentially a colonial question.

33. Moreover, this colonialism is on an aggressive move. It has already usurped in broad daylight a ward of the international community—the Territory of Namibia. Having refused a United Nations presence there, South African colonialism is now engaged in the ignoble enterprise of stretching the net of *apartheid* over that Territory.

34. The peoples of Africa and the international community at large are thus confronted by an alliance of colonial forces. This alliance is out to frustrate all efforts by the United Nations on behalf of the rights of the indigenous peoples. A move against any one of them is considered by the members of this unholy pact as a move against all of them.

35. In the circumstances, my Government has felt for some time now that the world should recognize the confrontation imposed by colonial forces in southern Africa for what it is and be prepared to deal with it accordingly. There should therefore be a disposition to recognize the interconnected nature of the problems and thus to seek interconnected solutions.

36. In the judgement of my Government, nothing short of comprehensive measures of economic sanctions against South Africa—the main bulwark of the colonial alliance in southern Africa—could be effective; anything short of such measures would be only a palliative which South Africa and its colonial allies could successfully undermine.

37. Confronted as they were, for the most part, over the past year with situations that were potentially explosive, Member States simply did not have the peace of mind nor the time to address serious thought to the other important aspect of the work of the United Nations, namely, that of promoting conditions for peace.

38. At a time when the need for United Nations peace-keeping efforts and the actual and potential usefulness of

¹ Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-third year, Supplement for April, May and June 1968, document S/7781/Add.5.

such efforts have been dramatically demonstrated, the United Nations is bogged down in a quagmire of legal controversy which obscures more than enlightens the real political issues. As a result of this, the fate of the United Nations peace-keeping experiment, as we have known it, now hangs in the balance; and unless the international community wakes up to its responsibility it may well be on its way to extinction. If that comes to pass, we shall have thrown away one of the most imaginative instruments for peace fashioned by the United Nations over the years. The historical significance of our inability to resolve this issue thus cannot be too strongly emphasized.

39. A significant achievement in the field of arms control has been registered over the past year by the General Assembly's acceptance, in resolution 2373 (XXII) of the draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and by the increasingly wide adherence it has so far obtained. Coming as it did after long and protracted negotiations in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament in Geneva, the agreement reached on that Treaty was one of the few dramatic proofs that indicated the imaginative use to which the process of diplomacy and negotiations under the umbrella of the United Nations could still be put.

40. Much as we may congratulate ourselves for this signal achievement, we should at the same time keep in mind what still remains to be done. First of all, we should not lose sight of the fact the the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is a treaty to prevent the proliferation of nuclear Powers, but not of nuclear weapons themselves; for, by tolerating the further refinement of nuclear weapons, the Treaty allows the nuclear arms race to proceed at a more sophisticated level which will make eventual disarmament even more difficult to achieve.

41. The viability of the non-proliferation Treaty and its historical significance will also depend on what will happen in the immediate future; it will depend, first, on the speed with which the nuclear-weapon Powers follow this agreement with real measures of disarmament; second, on how soon nuclear technology will become the technology of the day and to what extent a non-proliferation arrangement will meet the demands for non-discriminatory scientific and technological co-operation.

42. Finally, there is the question of security. This is as much a psychological problem as it is a question of providing tangible guarantees against nuclear aggression to those countries which, under the treaty, will have renounced the acquisition of nuclear weapons. It is psychological inasmuch as the desire of non-nuclear-weapon Powers to acquire nuclear weapons is proportionate to the insecurity which they feel. Thus, the necessity of maintaining a climate of international confidence, a readiness to solve problems by negotiations rather than by force, and to strengthen the United Nations cannot be overemphasized.

43. Above and beyond that, the collective security system enshrined in the Charter should be readapted to enable it to meet the exigencies of the nuclear age.

44. It was thus natural that the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States, which just concluded its deliber-

ations in Geneva, should have addressed itself to the twin problems of the security of non-nuclear weapon Powers and international co-operation for harnessing atomic energy for peaceful purposes. The Conference was a success in that it brought to bear a wide range and a searching exchange of views on those two aspects. The recommendations which evolved from the Conference bear testimony to the efforts involved and the wide concern felt. My delegation is ready to examine, in the course of the present session of the Assembly, ways and means to follow up the recommendations issued by the Conference.

45. My Government believes that, if the momentum generated by the acceptance of the non-proliferation Treaty is to be maintained, some crucial problems in this field need to be tackled immediately. There is, in this connexion, the urgent necessity to prohibit the testing of nuclear weapons in all environments. As a matter of fact, the viability of the non-proliferation Treaty itself is vitally and immediately linked with such an agreement, for further testing could only contribute to the proliferation of nuclear arms. The Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament should also afford the nuclear Powers a framework within which they should negotiate a reduction in the deployment of ballistic missiles.

46. We cannot but concur with the opinion expressed by the Secretary-General that the development of chemical and bacteriological means of warfare is potentially and more dangerous than nuclear weapons because they are very cheap to develop and, moreover, their development could be effectively concealed, thus making control and disarmament in this area extremely difficult.

47. Finally, before the world is overtaken by technological development, agreement must be reached not to put military installations on the ocean floor. Not only should the ocean floor and the sub-soil thereof be used for peaceful activities, but their resources should also be exploited in the common interest of the international community.

48. In this respect, there is need to evolve an equitable régime of international law concerning the resources of the sea, the ocean floor and the sub-soil thereof before powerful nations with technological means stake unilateral claims. Once conflicting claims arise, as they are bound to arise, our task will be infinitely complicated. The task of legal engineering in this area, therefore, is something which the United Nations should urgently undertake.

49. All told, the efforts of the United Nations in the economic and social field do not present an encouraging picture. The shortcomings, in all fairness, cannot be attributed to the United Nations as an organization nor to the various instruments for action which it has fashioned. The problem has been one of the slackening of will on the part of Governments—especially Governments of countries which have the means to put adequate resources behind these efforts of the United Nations.

50. Paradoxically, this has come about at a time when the need for more resources has been keenly felt and the ability and the capacity of the United Nations and its family of agencies to use additional resources effectively have vastly increased.

51. It took almost two decades for the United Nations to reach the point where it is now in developing a framework of concepts for economic and social development and the institutional framework for action that it now has. What has been achieved in this respect is a result of a great historical process—one of the signal achievements of the United Nations—of a confrontation over those two decades of human ideas and concepts representing the wide range of experiences of the peoples which make up the United Nations.

52. The tragedy is that, at a time when the international community has developed deeper insights into the problem of economic and social underdevelopment and its implications for international peace and security, the will to engage in action in the manner and of the magnitude necessitated by the seriousness of those problems is slackening.

53. The second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which convened in New Delhi at the beginning of this year, has amply demonstrated how far the will to engage in further action has lagged behind the awareness of the international community of the seriousness of the problem. In much of the developing world it had been cautiously hoped on the eve of the second session of UNCTAD that perhaps some beginning could be made in solving certain specific trade problems, that some promise for action could be elicited from the industrialized countries. The Conference not only dashed that flicker of hope but, in point of fact, only confirmed our worst fears.

54. The race of food production with population growth has not yet been won but, if we are to judge by the latest report of the Secretary-General [A/7201/Add.1, para. 61-71] the situation in this area is improving as far as production is concerned. But the other problem of food, which is almost as serious as production, has become acute. This relates to critical imbalances and shortage of certain essential elements in the world food supply, some of which could be as crippling as hunger itself. The shortage of protein has been felt acutely everywhere in the developing countries, and particularly so in Africa. My Government believes that protein deficiency is an area in which the United Nations could make a worth-while contribution by co-ordinating international efforts.

55. After two decades of continuous debate at the United Nations one thing has emerged clearly: that is, the recognition that the causes of economic and social underdevelopment are varied and many and that, quite often, they interact on one another. As the problems are thus multifaceted, it should be recognized that the strategy for economic and social development should likewise be multidimensional. At the international level, this strategy would require that not only developing nations should co-ordinate their development efforts at the national level, but the efforts of the developed and the developing nations should converge on a common policy of international action.

56. I do not wish to finish my statement without calling attention to the significance of the International Year for Human Rights. Even as we celebrate in our respective countries in various ways our attachment to the ideals of

human rights, the massive assault against human rights which the international community has decried for some time now is being intensified in South Africa. Lately, this assault has been extended to Namibia and Southern Rhodesia.

57. It is obvious that there are two opposing forces, one bent on setting standards for the respect of human rights, while the other is bent on destroying any semblance of such rights. At a time when we are rededicating ourselves to expand the frontiers of human rights, no task would be more worthy and deserving than to assist those peoples in the world which have been denied their human rights as individuals and their collective rights to freedom and independence.

58. Let me say, in conclusion, that no amount of disparaging could help the United Nations. Those who attribute the inaction of the United Nations to specific faults of the Organization are certainly misplacing their criticism. The fault certainly does not lie with the Organization. The fault lies with each of us. Thus the contribution that we can make to the United Nations should start with the question: in what way can each one of us help?

59. Mr. DEBRE (France) (*translated from French*): Once again, a Latin American statesman has been elected President to our Assembly. The Government of the French Republic is glad of his election, as I am happy to say publicly and sincerely. As his country's Minister for Foreign Relations, our President has already demonstrated his competence and authority. Both his experience and his devotion to international co-operation have qualified him for the duties to which he has been called. I wish to extend to him my compliments and my good wishes, and I should also like to tell him that my country feels itself honoured to have as his country's ambassador at Paris Mr. Miguel Angel Asturias, who this year received the Nobel Prize for Literature.

60. It would not be right, now that we have just elected a new President, not to remember his predecessor, Mr. Manescu, whose authority throughout some difficult months did honour both to his country and to the United Nations General Assembly. Our colleague, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Romania, may rest assured of our cordial remembrance.

61. I should also like to express to our eminent Secretary-General the satisfaction I feel at speaking in his presence. For many years, I have been in a position to be informed of his labours. I have been happy to establish with him relations of trust which reflect the regard felt for him by my compatriots and my Government. We have watched sympathetically the efforts he has made to bring an atmosphere of calm into the world and, in particular, to help the developing countries in their struggle to improve their populations' health, education and well-being. We often concur in his judgement of the world's important affairs. We are following with attention his efforts to reorganize the Secretariat in the interests of greater efficiency and economy, and to establish equality among the working languages in conformity with the wishes expressed at recent sessions of the General Assembly. I wish to extend my compliments to him as well.

62. One would have to be either very cynical or very ingenuous, to come to this rostrum and deliver the speech on the state of the world that the General Assembly calls upon us to make each year, without being deeply disturbed by the distressing gap which exists between the goals that the community of nations seeks to set itself and the sad realities of the situation.

63. The United Nations was established, and it must exist, to ensure peace among States by enforcing respect for the sovereignty of the weak against the strong and, to that end, to inspire and compel respect for international law, which is the bulwark of the freedom of men and nations.

64. How far have we succeeded in that task? It would be a little unkind, in this year in which we have solemnly commemorated the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to itemize all the conflicts, the extortions and the standing threats that are giving rise to injustice, humiliation, poverty and unhappiness, not to mention, as simply but sadly we must, loss of life running into the thousands. I am well aware that nowadays the press, radio and television magnify every incident to universal dimensions. But we need only pause for a moment to discern on every continent a situation contrary to the Charter, in other words, contrary to freedom and law and ultimately dangerous to peace.

65. Once again, we must note the distance between man's admirable ability in our century to overcome technical difficulties, to work out through scientific research ways of prolonging life, of reducing work fatigue, of conquering space, and his subjection to the most ancient passions, passions which lead through breaches of the law and through violence to conflict. Of course, these are what we like to call local conflicts; but surely each of us should be constantly fearful that one or another of these local conflicts may directly or indirectly lead to war, a war in which every discovery of technology and science will inexorably serve to bring about the downfall, abasement and death of mankind.

66. Politics are not ethics, for ethics are a thing of the mind while politics mean action. Any action, however nobly inspired, must obey the law of success, which requires that reality must be known if it is to be understood, obeyed and mastered.

67. But the feeling that is prevalent today—shared unconsciously by people in all countries and consciously, I hope, by their leaders—is one of impotence; and that impotence leads to actions motivated by immediate concerns without thought of the future. And the result of all this is confusion.

68. In the face of that impotence and confusion, our first duty is to recall the principles whose repudiation or neglect is at the root of the tragedies that are steeping mankind in blood. That is what I am going to try to do on behalf of my country, France, which in recent years, after many difficult trials, has been committed to the strict implementation of those principles. I shall speak, I repeat, not as a moralist but as a politician. These principles, after all, must continue to be our goals—and by that I mean the goals of all the Governments represented here, for what is the use of our meeting together in the Assembly while acting outside it as

though the United Nations did not exist, and thereby weakening it?

69. The first principle, still pertinent though the oldest, is as we all know the right of peoples to self-determination. That is a fundamental principle: while it is not in itself a sure guarantee of peace, we can be sure that to reject or ignore it must certainly lead to revolt and war. If it occupies a prominent place in our Charter, that is because it also embodies the prime safeguard of human rights. A society of recognized autonomy of which every man feels himself to be a part is in fact the basis of individual freedoms, from the right of elementary respect for the human person to the right of each man to social progress.

70. In recent years, there has been ground for satisfaction in the considerable advances which the development of world politics has enabled us to undertake and to carry to a successful conclusion. For example, the vast movement of decolonization, to which my country, with General de Gaulle at its head, has made such a great contribution, seems, despite some occasionally painful setbacks, to have marked a decisive step forward. The portions of territory where one can still find evidence of that dominion of one people over another, of one race over another, which international law has condemned and stigmatized, have been steadily shrinking. And there has been another great movement with which for France, indeed for Europe, the name of General de Gaulle is associated: the movement of *détente*, which has given even the most apprehensive some hope of the recognition of human freedoms on the basis of the right of nations to govern themselves without fear of outside interference.

71. But events bring back our old fears. The spirit of hegemony, as formidable as ever, is either appearing in new guises or reappearing in its old forms: the Viet-Nam war, the tragedy of Biafra, the Czechoslovak crisis—all seemingly very different, each on a different continent. But they have a common feature: they reveal our impotence in the face of violations of the principle fundamental to peace.

72. The war in Viet-Nam shows how difficult it is for a people to decide on its own régime free from outside interference. This year again, we have to record further devastation and loss of human life. The prolongation of the Viet-Nam war, whatever its origins may have been, is repugnant to common sense. So long as it continues, we will not cease repeating that.

73. France long ago staked out the path it regards as the only one to peace. The conditions for an over-all political solution do not seem to us to have changed. In 1954 agreements were signed at Geneva to put an end to an ordeal my country remembers only too well. The bases for a lasting settlement must be sought in the implementation of those agreements.

74. One step—the halting of the bombing raids ravaging North Viet-Nam—would at least prevent an extension of the conflict, and reason allows us still to hope that one of the greatest Powers of our era will take that step.

75. The two countries have chosen Paris for the seat of their meetings and negotiations. That choice today enjoins

me to discretion, but it lends a special warmth to the wishes I now express for the earliest possible success of the talks and the re-establishment of peace on the Indo-Chinese peninsula. After that, it will be time to calculate the loss of life and the devastation, to bind up wounds, to rebuild and to restore harmony.

76. In Africa, refusal to recognize the right of peoples to self-determination has been evidenced up to now by the oppression and humiliation formerly experienced by some African populations. Not all the necessary progress has yet been made; I will return to that subject later on. However, how can we help but denounce the tragedy of Biafra, the martyrdom of the Ibo nation, that tragedy which the world community has watched and discussed—which, indeed, it is still watching and discussing—without trying to put an end to it?

77. Of course, it is imperative that food and medical supplies arrive as quickly as possible where they are urgently needed, and we must emphatically denounce the obstacles that still impede the dispatch of assistance. However, it is even more necessary and would be even more helpful to stop the arms shipments which are prolonging the fighting.

78. Beyond that, we must note that notwithstanding the inequality of the forces facing one another the will of the Biafrans has not faltered. Every day it becomes clearer that only a solution which takes into account that people's indisputable personality and which is consistent with the principle of self-determination proclaimed in our Charter can solve this painful problem. The French Government hopes for such a solution.

79. Eloquent voices have very often been raised within these walls to condemn the actions taken by certain colonizing nations at the expense of populations demanding their right to self-government. The great movement of nationalism which changed the face of Europe, these speakers have asserted, should be extended throughout the world, and the freedom of a people to determine its own destinies should not be a monopoly of the white peoples. The time has come for us to ask our African friends what they themselves intend to make of that principle, and to remind them of what painful experience has taught us Europeans: that intolerance can exist among brothers too. Silence too long maintained, inactivity in the face of bloodshed and growing famine—those things are undermining Africa's new prestige. I speak these words, from this rostrum, as a steadfast and faithful friend of the Africans, with concern, but also with confidence in their prompt response.

80. From Africa, let us turn to Europe, where the situation is, of course, quite different. Nevertheless, it is with similar feelings that I mention the event which this summer marked a tragic day in the post-war history of Europe. It must be said: the vast majority of Europeans, of whatever nation and in the East as in the West, were shocked beyond words when they heard the news of the military intervention in Czechoslovakia by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and four Warsaw Pact nations.

81. In defiance of its many solemn pledges and of resolutions that were adopted in this very place on its own

initiative, a very great Power decided to interfere in the domestic affairs of another country, in the most blatant fashion, for purposes of coercion. And that country is one of those which in the recent past have paid the heaviest toll to the cause of freedom. Immediately, as was to be expected, the demons of the cold war were reawakened, and since the rights of one people cannot be flouted without making others fear for their own, there was fear, as there is still reason for fear of the rebirth of opposing coalitions, in other words, blocs which can give rise only to disputes and conflicts.

82. For our part, we shall not cease to maintain that there is no conceivable future for mankind—above all in Europe, a continent where peace is of prime importance for the entire world—without a relaxation of tension between the European nations of West and East; and there can be no relaxation of tension where occupation troops are stationed in a country against its will. Only the withdrawal of the occupation troops and the rejection of any measure inspired by the pernicious policy of blocks, by whatever name it may be called, can prevent, for Europe, first, and then the world, the aggravation of the tensions created by the events of this past August.

83. It has been suggested that the decision to intervene was due to the dangers resulting from a new surge of militarism in the Federal Republic of Germany.

84. France has never concealed its view that the leaders of the Federal Republic have to recognize certain facts arising from the war and the international decisions taken in its wake. Moreover, the fears to which memories of the Second World War give rise, and will for a long time to come give rise, in both Eastern and Western Europe, demand from their leaders a special prudence which we constantly urge.

85. But in placing its trust in the Federal Republic of Germany and the democratic policies of its leaders, in viewing with satisfaction that country's economic prosperity and social progress, in co-operating with it and with four other States within the Common Market, in working in depth for mutual understanding between the two peoples, France, which is as alert as anyone to the needs of its security and of European security, is certain of having chosen the right path, the only path that can lead to conciliation and, ultimately, to peace. Attacks and threats only jeopardize that evolution of events.

86. Europe is in need of *détente*, of a deep and lasting *détente* which is the strait but necessary gate to co-operation and understanding. We hope that each European country that is aware of the responsibilities it shares will help to build our common future. I repeat: the task is not to alter social structures or principles of economic organization; those are matters for each nation to decide for itself. Nor is there any question of altering, in the absence of a freely contracted general agreement, the political balance set up after the war. What must be done is to establish the conditions necessary for that peace to which the men and women of the old world, in the East and in the West, thinking first of the tragedies their fathers and they themselves have experienced and then of the different future they want for their sons and daughters, believe they are fully entitled. France for one, has done a great deal in

that direction in recent years, and is determined to continue along the same path.

87. The first principle is the right of peoples freely to determine their future.

88. The second principle complements the first, to such an extent as to be almost a part of it: I refer to the principle of respect for justly formulated and enacted international law. There can be no freedom for peoples without respect for just international law. There can be no just international law that is not based on the right of nations to existence and the right of man to freedom.

89. The United Nations can have no higher ambition than that of elaborating and enforcing respect for that just law. That is a task that is never done for even the best decisions are constantly called in question by passions and interests.

90. Such is the case in that part of Africa in which the status imposed on the African is still repugnant to all mankind. With regard to Rhodesia, France has joined in the sanctions that were adopted to put an end to an illegal situation. France deplores the fact that South Africa is still evading the obligations resulting from the international status of South West Africa, and, in particular, is persisting in imposing *apartheid* on that Territory. For that reason France, as it showed clearly during the recent Security Council debates on the problems of that part of the world, is still prepared to join in the search for any solution calculated to restore to the peoples in question the rights and dignity of which they have been too long deprived.

91. There is one breach of international law which raises a very serious threat to another part of the world, if not to the world as a whole. No real progress has been made towards a solution to the problem of the Near East or the establishment of lasting peace in that region. That situation, if it continues, can lead to new conflicts. I say this with the seriousness the problem demands, and without blinding myself to the difficulties of the task.

92. Speaking from this rostrum last year [*1571st meeting*], my predecessor set forth the basic principles by which we are guided in regard to that bitter situation, and outlined France's approach to all the problems calling for solution.

93. On the substance, the French Government takes it as a basic premise that each of the States in the Near East is entitled to live in security, and has already stated that it does not accept or consider acceptable any local *fait accompli* with regard to territorial boundaries or the status of inhabitants. The results of the unilateral action taken in 1967, in other words, gains won by force of arms, cannot be recognized, since to recognize them would be a negation of international law. What was said last year I now repeat, if possible with increased emphasis, for no progress can be made if we do not begin at what is the necessary beginning.

94. That principle stated, we made it clear that in our opinion the essential problems, aside from the question of navigation, were the status of the Palestine refugees and the conditions for neighbourly relations among the States concerned. Direct negotiations between the Israeli Govern-

ment and each of the Arab Governments, we felt, stood not the slightest chance. The violence of the antagonisms, exacerbated by the war and by the events following in the wake of the occupation—everything goes to make such a procedure most difficult. For that reason, the French Government was already stressing last year that it was the duty of the United Nations to work out the bases for a reasonable solution. Nothing could be done in that direction, we made clear, without agreement between the great Powers; if such agreement had existed in May 1967 it would have prevented the outbreak of the conflict. That was—and that remains—the essential condition for the return to stability.

95. That is the course our Organization has decided to follow. On 22 November 1967 the Security Council unanimously adopted a resolution [*242 (1967)*] which still in our view provides the basis for a realistic settlement leading to a just and lasting peace.

96. For several months Mr. Jarring, the Secretary-General's Special Representative, has been engaged in a patient effort which deserves to be continued since it still, we believe, offers the best chance, first, bringing to an end the duress being exercised by the victor, and next, for creating the conditions for that coexistence between the Arab States and the State of Israel which is needed. That mission must now succeed, for it would be dangerous to allow the present situation to persist.

97. I have heard the arguments on both sides. I note, as everyone can note, that terrorist activities and reprisals are escalating and arms supplies are being expanded. To impede the conciliation effort which must be made would be fraught with heavy consequences for whichever of the States involved was responsible. For one of the interested great Powers to refuse to take its part in the necessary international safeguards would be equally serious. France, need I repeat, has already stated that it is ready to assume its commitment in a system of guarantees based on a general agreement designed to apply just international law in this part of the world, where it is so much needed.

98. In addition to the two principles, essential to peace, which are defined in legal terms as the right of peoples to self-determination and respect for justly formulated international law, there is a third principle, one of equal importance but more readily stated in economic terms. I refer to the assistance which the industrial countries owe to the developing countries—the form of international co-operation of the greatest value to peace. May it not be redundant to speak here of that assistance, that co-operation; has not everything already been said?

99. Of course, everything—or almost everything—has been said. Suffice it to impress upon ourselves that without this solidarity the widening gap must become a source of bitterness and rebellion. The solidarity which should be a bond of union between developed and developing peoples is not solely a humanitarian policy; it is also a rational policy. However, the action that is being taken, along lines that have been described in so many speeches, is still inadequate.

100. It is inadequate because in the industrial countries public opinion has not been made sufficiently conscious of

the fact that the task of assistance which is indispensable if dangerous imbalances are to be avoided requires not only political but economic understanding. For assistance implies an annual levy on each nation's income growth; it does not consist of loans or paper currency alone, but is a sharing of what is produced and earned. The price of generosity must be made clear; it will then be better understood.

101. It is inadequate because, in the developing countries as well, it has not been sufficiently stressed that the assistance called for is dependent on a two-fold discipline: economic discipline, which means in particular work and effort to put the assistance provided to full use; and social discipline, in particular a policy of more effective income distribution designed to prevent the coexistence of great wealth and great poverty. Those are the shortcomings which explain why little progress has been achieved.

102. Indeed, can we regard as progress the agreement reached on our target of 1 per cent, even if now calculated on the basis of the gross national product? How many countries are honouring that agreement? France, despite its own financial difficulties, is adhering to that figure, just as it accepted the principle of a supplementary contribution to the International Development Association. A new effort is called for in Europe and also in America, or a rude awakening will be not long coming.

103. A further prerequisite for progress—and here the active participation of the developing countries is necessary—is an understood scale of priorities among needs. Some countries are hungry; in others, all that is needed is land improvement; others need industries. What co-operation asks of the developed countries is a careful study of needs, which are not everywhere identical, and not blind general demands.

104. It is the duty of United Nations to review that great problem with a view to better defining the basic rules and disciplines which its solution must impose upon all of us.

105. Nevertheless, it has been clearly demonstrated that direct assistance, necessary as it may be, can only be of a supplementary nature. The basic element in the progress of the Third World countries must be their export earnings. To help their exports to increase at a rate corresponding to needs, a preferential system facilitating the importation into the richer countries of the industrial products exported by the Third World would no doubt be useful. For the Third World, however, industrialization is not a matter for the present or the near future. Accordingly, French spokesmen will continue to stress that the significant advances in this field, which can immediately bring the under-developed countries a considerable increase in currency earnings, will be those that can be created by organizing the markets for the principal primary products in the form in which they are extracted from or cultivated in the soil. Speaking last year at Rio de Janeiro before the assembly of the International Bank and the Fund,² and

² Annual Meeting of the Boards of Governors of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Finance Corporation, the International Development Association and the International Monetary Fund, held at Rio de Janeiro from 25 to 29 September 1967.

early this year at New Delhi before the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development,³ I had the honour to draw attention to those basic points and to certain measures which those international organs—especially the financial institutions could take to assist in the effort to regulate trade and to stabilize prices.

106. May I venture to say that I see scant evidence of any progress in this area. May I venture to voice my disappointment at certain obstructionist manoeuvres which have prevented any serious response from being given to proposals that are both reasonable and fundamental. May I lastly, express my surprise at the exception being taken in some quarters to regional associations which are being formed among States at various stages of development, an excellent example of which is the association of the Six with certain African States. If we are to abandon our efforts at the “regional” level, in the sense in which we understand the term here, the efforts being made at the world level will have to prove more effective than they have been up to now.

107. I should be remiss if I were to overlook the decisive part that can be played in the struggle against under-development by the human factor, the main example of this being technical assistance for manpower training. This is a remarkable type of co-operation; under which technicians at all levels and in all fields are sent abroad for periods of one or more years; men whose dedication and ability are contributing to the technological evolution of the Third World and who at the same time are weaving bonds of effective solidarity between the industrialized and the developing countries to the mutual benefit of both. The French experience is conclusive, and I would like to mention it once again. Each year thousands of our young people are sent out on technical training assignments. Many of them are young men performing their military service, from which they are then automatically exempted. That is, as it were, an example, a symbol of the forces that would be released for humanitarian tasks and for the struggle against hunger, ignorance and poverty once the threat of war were removed and nations freed from the burden of armaments.

108. That, indeed, is the fourth principle and the fourth goal: disarmament. Must we return to that subject? It seems illogical to do so at a time when disregard of fundamental principles, particularly those I have just mentioned, by creating insecurity is impelling all countries to arm. Nevertheless, when we speak of peace we are compelled to speak of the goal of disarmament, it being understood that we are speaking of genuine disarmament.

109. To disarm is not to limit, for financial reasons, the armaments of the already over-armed Powers. To disarm is not merely to prohibit weapons of mass destruction to States which do not possess them. To disarm is to resolve to do away with existing weapons and to prohibit all countries from manufacturing new ones.

110. Of course, to limit the arms build-up of the super-Powers through mutual agreement between themselves is a political gesture which may help to promote *détente*. Of course, to prevent the dissemination of nuclear weapons is a

³ Second session of the Conference (1 February-29 March 1968).

useful goal. But the real problem lies elsewhere, as in the last analysis each of us well knows. To perpetuate the privilege of the Powers which possess large numbers of weapons and their many types of delivery vehicles, is to resign ourselves, by setting up a monopoly at the expense of the independence of the other nations, to a precarious balance which can be upset at any moment.

111. Although France is, to the extent of its capacities, a nuclear Power, it would be the first to join in the negotiations of a genuine form of disarmament which would redound to the security of all and not as hitherto solely of a few. Such disarmament would first of all have to be brought to bear on existing nuclear arsenals; it would therefore be up to the Powers possessing such arsenals to agree on the matter between themselves. At the same time, it would have to be accompanied by radical disarmament in the field of conventional weapons, so that the resulting order ruled out any new imbalance of forces. In addition, as the French Government has stated on many occasions, these measures would have to be accompanied by the establishment of precise and effective control machinery.

112. Those are the conditions for genuine disarmament which should in addition be extended by the application, with due control, of the 1925 Geneva Protocol prohibiting the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons, and by sound agreements on the peaceful use of space and the ocean floor.

113. In the outside world, if not within these walls, remarks such as those I have made on disarmament are greeted with scepticism. How could it be otherwise? The clatter of weapons is heard on all sides, and no business nowadays has more customers. If there is one area in which the responsible Powers, on the one hand, and the United Nations, on the other, should wish to get to the root of the problem, this is surely the one. On the day when a majority emerges to confront the problem head on and without any lingering thought of monopoly or hegemony, France will be the first to lend its co-operation.

114. Right of peoples, respect for international law, aid to disadvantaged countries, genuine disarmament: may this useful recapitulation serve as the occasion for a real assessment of the world today! We have entered into a period in which, once again, there is a profit in violence, one in which once again private preserves are being constituted within which freedom is threatened by intolerance.

115. Once again, violence is profitable; but in the end violence is answered by revolt, and revolt leads to war. It is wrong to think that wars can long be limited to the local scale. The effect of the nuclear terror is to localize conflicts, to swell the ranks of neutral States. But these are only palliatives whose days are numbered, and we can see in Europe, in America, in the East and in the Far East, conflagrations which could set off another great war.

116. Private preserves are maintained or set up, it is held, to protect certain continents, or certain parts of continents. But those two great ideas, the independence of peoples and the universality of international law, languish and die when they cross the frontiers of zones of influence or the threshold of private preserves.

117. Let us hope that next year our discussions take place in a less threatening atmosphere. It is not only the prestige of the United Nations that is at stake, but also, and above all, the great cause of suffering mankind. Setting the hopes which inspired the young soldiers who fell twenty-five years ago for the freedom of their homes, and for the freedom of all peoples, against the failures we are witnessing today, we must all find the strength to take action.

118. On the true and noble road of peace, peace in freedom and in solidarity, you will always find France.

119. Mr. LARAKI (Morocco) (*translated from French*): Mr. President, I take special pleasure at the outset in conveying to you, on behalf of the Moroccan delegation and of myself, our hearty congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly. We are convinced that under your guidance and thanks to your ability, wisdom and political understanding our labours at this session will be carried out in the best possible conditions and will achieve positive results for the international community. The Moroccan delegation is happy to offer you its full support and co-operation towards that end.

120. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to your eminent predecessor, Mr. Manescu, for his exemplary guidance in the work of our last session, and for his untiring efforts and devotion to the cause of peace and understanding among peoples.

121. Against the background of the threatening situation which has prevailed in the Middle East and in other parts of the world, the various attempts made in recent months to arrive at a settlement of international conflicts through peaceful means had given cause to hope that the current session of the General Assembly would be held in a less threatening and more relaxed atmosphere. Unfortunately, the reverse is true: the world situation has continued to deteriorate and to justify the most serious concern, facing the United Nations with responsibilities even more pressing than in the past.

122. Because of Israel's intransigent and negative attitude, the Middle East crisis will continue to be one of the most dominant and urgent issues before the current session. Israel still refuses to carry out the United Nations resolutions, and is relentlessly persisting in its aggressive policy against the neighbouring Arab countries, and especially against the territory of Jordan. The international community recalls with indignation the attacks carried out against the Suez oil refineries and the Karameh refugee camp with countless lives lost and heavy material damage. Despite the Security Council's unanimous condemnation, in March 1968, of those criminal acts, Israel persisted in its acts of violence and provocation, destroying and burning cities and villages in Arab territory. In the face of those constant violations of the cease-fire and those repeated aggressive acts, the Security Council was again compelled on several occasions, to condemn Israel, in its resolutions 248 (1968), 252 (1968) and 256 (1968).

123. Besides, carrying out large-scale attacks against the Arab countries, the Zionist forces are committing the most reprehensible acts of oppression against the people of the occupied territories. Imprisonment, exile, humiliation and

torture have become every-day occurrences there. Suffice it to recall in that connexion the tragedy of the refugees captured in the attack on the camp at Karameh, who were subjected to cruel ordeals, and the unremitting and systematic expulsion of thousands of people from their homes and their lands. Similarly, Israel is engaging in the veritable 'despoilment of these territories' resources and is drawing up long-range plans for their exploitation and the appropriation of great stretches of land for the establishment of new kibbutzim, forward outposts of Israeli colonization.

124. As for Jerusalem, despite the many United Nations resolutions condemning Israel for its actions, the Zionist authorities persistently maintaining that the process of integrating the city is irreversible and non-negotiable, are continuing to profane and destroy Muslim and Christian holy places, expelling hundreds of people, confiscating their private property and intensifying their oppression. Persisting here again in their obstinacy and their refusal to accept United Nations decisions, the Zionist authorities on 2 May, despite the Security Council's opposition, organized a military parade in the Arab sector of Jerusalem, thus treading under foot every religious value and aggravating an already tense situation.

125. Israel's constant violations of the cease-fire, its bombing of cities and Arab populations, the massive build-up of its military strength, its expulsion of thousands of refugees, the appeals being made by its leaders for new immigrants, all fully confirm its expansionist aims and demonstrate that its aggression of June 1967 was only one stage in a well-thought-out plan for the definitive annexation of the occupied Arab territories. Moreover, Israel is continuing to carry out its imperialist designs in complete disregard both of international public opinion and of the United Nations, towards which it shows, on the contrary, only defiance and contempt. What then does it hope to gain from this serious and explosive situation, the result both of its acts of aggression and of the impotence of the United Nations? The ultimate acquisition of vast territories as the reward of its aggression? Or the submission and capitulation of the Arab Governments and peoples? No, so far as we are concerned aggression, occupation, arrogance and contempt inevitably meet with rejection, resistance and struggle. We regard opposition to and defence against intervention and annexation as a natural and legitimate right. There can be no double standards: that right is sacred and must belong to all alike, whether in the Middle East, in Europe or elsewhere. It is in the name of that right that we pay tribute, and give our support, to the self-defence of the Arab countries and to the resistance of our Palestinian brothers who refuse to accept occupation and extermination. If it should seem that that is the only path that can lead to a solution of the problem, we are sure that the Arab nations, certain of the justice of their rights, will overcome their difficulties and sufferings and ultimately triumph over the invaders. However, we must repeat again today before this distinguished Assembly that the Arab countries will never turn their backs on a peaceful solution to the problem, achieved in dignity and justice. In that connexion, everyone knows the positive and entirely responsible position that was taken by the United Arab Republic and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan with regard to the solution put forward by the Security Council on 22 November [see resolution 242 (1967)], whereas Israel used

all its ingenuity to reject categorically—as it continues to reject—every United Nations resolution, in particular hampering the mission entrusted to Mr. Jarring.

126. Given the impasse thus created by Israel, threatening peace and security in the Middle East and in the world, it is imperative that the United Nations, which is directly responsible for the origins of this tragedy, should take such adequate and effective measures as are necessary to compel Israel to cease its aggressive acts against the Arab countries and withdraw from all the territories it is occupying. If, on the contrary, the United Nations persists in its present wait and see attitude, we believe that its inaction and impotence will have the most serious consequences for the future of the Middle East, for such an attitude will make a peaceful solution to the crisis more difficult and at the same time will further encourage Israel to continue its occupation and to continue its acts of aggression and provocation against the Arab countries and the innocent peoples of Palestine.

127. However, we are happy to point out in this connexion the line taken by the International Conference on Human Rights,⁴ which condemned Israel for its violation of human rights and fundamental freedom in the territories it occupied following the hostilities of June 1967. We hope that the General Assembly will ratify that condemnation and will give effect to the recommendation of the Teheran Conference calling on Israel to desist from its inhuman acts, acts contrary to international morality and to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the 1949 Geneva Conventions. With the same satisfaction, we welcome the Security Council's resolution of 27 September 1968 [259 (1968)] recommending to the Secretary-General that he send a representative to investigate violations of human rights in the occupied territories.

128. Another problem no less disturbing than that of the Middle East is also having a critical effect on international relations. I refer, of course, to the colonial problem, which is threatening peace and security throughout the world. Africa is still the principal victim of that phenomenon. In South Africa, the racist Pretoria Government is continuing to practise with impunity its abhorrent policy of *apartheid* at the expense of the indigenous populations. It is sad to note that despite the measures adopted by the United Nations in that connexion several Powers are still lending economic and military support to the Government of South Africa, whereby encouraging it in its inhuman policy based on racism. With regard to Namibia, the Pretoria Government is also refusing to comply with the United Nations decision [resolution 2145 (XXI)] terminating its Mandate over that Territory. It thus maintains its illegal authority over that country, upon which it still imposes its policy of oppression and racial segregation.

129. In Southern Rhodesia, Ian Smith's illegal régime is continuing its impositions, going so far as to execute Zimbabwe patriots. It is more and more consolidating its usurped power, notwithstanding the promises that were made that it would be forced to give way by mere economic sanctions. If we consider the present situation in that Territory, we must admit that the measures so far taken have yielded no appreciable results. If we truly want

⁴ Conference held at Teheran from 22 April to 13 May 1968.

to put an end to the Salisbury rebellion—and here, because of its responsibilities in this Territory, we address ourselves to the United Kingdom—we must take the energetic and effective measures that are essential in such a situation. The Security Council recently passed a resolution [253 (1968)] recommending measures designed to strengthen the sanctions and setting up an *ad hoc* committee to supervise their application. We hope that the Powers which are especially responsible for the ineffectiveness of United Nations policy will now give the Council's resolutions fuller support.

130. In Angola, so-called Portuguese Guinea and Mozambique, where liberation movements fighting valiantly, Portugal, still clinging to outdated myths and ideas, continues to resist their struggle by military means and maintains its negative attitude towards the decisions taken by our Assembly.

131. If all colonized territories are to achieve dignity and national sovereignty, the United Nations, in accordance with its duties under the Charter, must act with greater authority and decisiveness to see to it that the decisions taken on that subject are actually respected and carried out.

132. Despite the fact that colonialism lingers on stubbornly in several parts of the world, we have to admit that from time to time progress, slow though it may be, is achieved, bringing either the emancipation of new nations or the settlement of certain territorial problems. Thus we are happy today to welcome the accession of Swaziland to independence and national sovereignty, and to hail its admission to the United Nations. Its delegation, now here among us, will, we are certain, lend its full co-operation in upholding the principles of the Charter and striving for fruitful co-operation among peoples.

133. In this context, and turning to my own country, I should like to draw attention to the efforts made by His Majesty the King and the Spanish Government to work out a solution to the territorial dispute existing between the two countries. In the recommendations made by the various United Nations bodies which have dealt with that problem, the two countries have repeatedly been invited to enter into direct negotiations with a view to a solution which will respect the freely expressed wishes of the populations concerned on the basis of self-determination. The Moroccan Government fervently hopes that the negotiations now in progress will result in an early agreement, providing in particular for the transfer of the Territory of Ifni to the Moroccan authorities before the conclusion of the General Assembly's present session. We are convinced that the solution of that question will mark an important step forward towards the settlement of the other problems still pending between the two countries, and will further strengthen their traditional bonds of friendship and inaugurate an era of fruitful co-operation.

134. On the other side of the Mediterranean, Gibraltar is still a bone of contention between Spain and the United Kingdom. The Moroccan Government still believes that that Territory's future should be decided by way of direct negotiation between the parties concerned, in conformity with the wishes expressed by our Assembly.

135. A tragedy is taking place at this very moment in the heart of Africa, tearing Nigeria apart. All peoples friendly

to that great Republic feel deep sorrow over Nigeria's crisis and the sufferings of its people. They grieve that that country, destined by its human potential and its natural wealth to play a great role in Africa, should be afflicted and paralysed by this painful crisis. In the exceptional circumstances Nigeria is experiencing, we fervently hope that the secessionist leaders, fully aware of the responsibilities they bear to the Nigerian people and to Africa, will heed the Organization of African Unity's appeal to them to put an end to the hostilities and to co-operate with the Federal authorities in restoring peace and unity in Nigeria in an atmosphere of reconciliation. Morocco, which is keenly aware of the dangers besetting or threatening the territorial unity and integrity of some African States, cannot but endorse the efforts that are being made by the Federal Government of Nigeria to preserve the unity of the country.

136. Although it is not included in the General Assembly's agenda, the question of Viet-Nam will continue to have serious repercussions on the atmosphere of our work and on international relations. The war in that country is still going on, despite the successive efforts undertaken on all sides to initiate a procedure that can lead to peace. His Majesty's Government deeply regrets that gragic situation, the more so in that the talks begun in Paris between the parties concerned had given us reasonable ground to hope that the hostilities would be progressively reduced and that the conflict would soon be brought to an end. Despite the uncertainties and difficulties which still exist, His Majesty's Government expresses the hope that the talks now under way in Paris will soon bring about a peaceful and honourable settlement of the conflict, allowing the Viet-Nameese people to work out its own future without any foreign interference.

137. The current acute international crises in no way obscure the importance of the fundamental question of disarmament. For everyone knows that a genuine relaxation of tension and world peace and security, depend primarily on general and complete disarmament. The General Assembly, fully convinced of the importance of the problem for all mankind, treats disarmament, on a continuing basis, as one of the essential parts of its work. The Government of His Majesty King Hassan II, aware of the imperative need for disarmament and understanding the great part it can play in bringing about an atmosphere conducive to international co-operation, has supported and indeed proposed measures aimed at putting an end to the arms race, both regional and international. Without underestimating the obstacles still to be surmounted and the suspicions still to be overcome on the path to general and effective disarmament, His Majesty's Government cannot but express today its satisfaction at the advance made by the adoption of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [see resolution 2373 (XXII)]. Despite the legitimate anxieties still felt over problems relating to security guarantees for non-nuclear countries, we feel that the Treaty represents an appreciable gain for the international community. We hope that the phase thus completed will be one stage on the road to the true solution: general and complete disarmament with total prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, an end to all production of such weapons and the destruction of existing stockpiles.

138. In any event, the Moroccan Government will continue to give particular attention to this question, for in addition to its effects on world peace and security, we cannot ignore the relationship that exists between the arms race—with the immense expenditures it entails—and the tragic under-development of the majority of mankind. In increasing efforts to achieve disarmament, therefore, our goal remains the same: that of seeking the conditions necessary for preserving peace and security in the world and bringing mankind to true economic and social development.

139. Turning now to the problem of development, we are obliged to note that the year that has just gone by, far from giving ground for satisfaction, has on the contrary been one of disappointment. The outcome of the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in itself justifies the bitterness and discouragement we all cannot help feeling at the outset of a new United Nations Development Decade. But although the first Decade was a failure, to the extent indeed that some outstanding international figures have described it as a “Decade of frustration”, we for our part would not be willing to regard the fact of that failure as the sole conclusion to be drawn from it, or to give up all hope for future action. Similarly, we have no desire whatsoever to anathematize this or that country, for we refuse to evade in any way responsibilities which all the nations concerned must share. We on our side still feel that there is much to be hoped from a new effort which, profiting from the lesson of failure, will enable us to find a way towards a more active solidarity among all members of the international community. Such solidarity, we feel, will offer the best way of avoiding past mistakes and of approaching the problems of development in a manner more realistic and better suited to the means available internationally. If that is to be done, we believe, we must proceed on a contractual basis and conclude an agreement formulated differently from the general principles we adopted ten years ago. It was with that in mind that during the last session my delegation supported the work being done by the Committee for Development Planning, especially its move to put forward a charter for the second Development Decade. Above all, we must concern ourselves with the ground lost during the first Decade and take more effective measures to remedy the situation, which has continued to deteriorate during recent years.

140. For we are a long way behind the target we set ourselves in order to achieve a minimum of development. Even the “adjuvant” of 1 per cent of gross national income intended to ensure the developing countries an average growth rate of 5 per cent has never been attained. We have only to examine the documents the Economic and Social Council has put before our Second Committee to convince ourselves that there is an enormous and constantly widening gap between the haves and the have-nots. Whereas the former countries are experiencing a growth rate regarded by some experts as approaching the danger point, the latter, on the contrary, are still regressing in a manner which is in actual fact dangerous. While one third of mankind already dreams of post-industrial society, and accounts for 80 per cent of the world’s exports, two-thirds of that same mankind have as their sole resources trade earnings which bring them a continually decreasing purchasing power. The Third World nations are thus increasingly having to grapple

with all sorts of difficulties which make their situation even more precarious; not only are they being deprived by industrial advances in the field of synthetic substitutes of part of their traditional market, but in addition protective measures which have been stiffened in several sectors, are undermining the competitive position of their raw materials trade, with the result that progress in that sector is becoming more rapid in the developed than in developing countries.

141. It is accordingly difficult to see how the developing countries can ensure their progress on the basis of their foreign trade earnings alone. The idea of proposing that the wealthy countries should transfer 1 per cent of their gross national income to the developing countries, was intended precisely to provide compensation for the inadequate purchasing power of the developing countries in commercial transactions. Unfortunately, the action taken in 1964, instead of serving as a springboard for international assistance, succeeded in the last analysis only in fixing a maximum rate, from which any retreat was now permissible. As a result of that misunderstanding, which is difficult to justify, the flow of capital has decreased year by year, to such a point that now it represents no more than about 0.6 per cent of gross national income, instead of the 0.9 per cent figure which prevailed at the outset of the United Nations Development Decade. We are not unaware of the difficulties the large capital-exporting countries have encountered since that date, but we must nevertheless recognize that restrictive tendencies are becoming increasingly prevalent.

142. Furthermore, we must express our concern with regard to the new tendency towards selective allocation of assistance. That way of dispensing assistance compels the requesting countries to give up any thought of planning and to confine themselves to the sectors in which the approval of their potential creditors can be obtained.

143. Just a Development work, however modest, cannot be accomplished by trial and error and must necessarily fit into a broad view of interdependent activities, so also, to be effective, development assistance must promote the process and stress “programming” as well as “projects” that at all events cover all the needs it is designed to meet, whether in foreign exchange or local expenditure. Unless “selectivity” is abandoned, development assistance will but aggravate an already prevalent malady caused both by the rarity of, and the onerous conditions attached to, foreign financing. We already know that this assistance to the developing countries will become increasingly haphazard, as it is expected from 1972 on to be used only to clear matured loans. Nevertheless, in the hope that things will change before that fateful point, we shall go on trying to baulk any proposal that would further complicated what is already an extremely intricate machine.

144. Despite all the reasons for despondency in face of an international economic situation inimical to their development, the countries of the Third World continue to draw courage from their common lot and from their ability to help one another. Steps towards regional integration are becoming more common, and we are happy to see this trend advancing in Africa. Morocco’s own experience with its Maghreb neighbours is promising for us; as is also the

increase in trade with the Republics of Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Niger and other kindred countries in Africa.

145. Along with this effort at integration and mutual aid, the developing countries are still hoping to be able to create conditions conducive to fruitful co-operation with their partners in the developed regions. And, as they cannot properly rely on increased public aid whether bilateral or multilateral, they still hope that the deficiency will one day be covered by an increase in private assistance. Hence their introduction of a variety of economic and legal machinery designed to promote the flow of private investment. In that connexion, His Majesty's Government has promulgated an investment code which, besides guarantees for private investment, offers promoters tax concessions and a capital bonus that enhances the investment from the outset; but separate efforts to that end by countries of the Third World would be inadequate without international action to free capital at its source.

146. If we really wish to make a further effort, internationally, to conquer under-development, we must needs agree on a minimum programme reflecting our awareness of the problems I have just mentioned. The conclusion of an international agreement is more indispensable than ever before, in order to achieve a healthy commercial balance based both on: (1) the reinvigoration of trade and (2) the release of capital.

147. Along with that option, we must rethink existing international structures, the better to adapt them to the task of development. These structures, which gravitate around the United Nations system, themselves tend periodically towards renewal for greater effectiveness. Nevertheless, a new strategy can reach its goal only if adequate structural facilities are made available.

148. Our Assembly's task at this session is obviously highly intricate and arduous. My delegation will spare no effort to give the Assembly its full support, unremitting as is its confidence in the great capabilities of the international community, which, carefully channelled, could surely help to build a more prosperous human society. In the words of His Majesty King Hassan II:

“The present imbalance must not give rise to strained relations between the developed and the under-developed

countries, but rather create a common desire to co-operate towards building a better world based on a fair distribution of wealth.”

149. Before concluding my statement, I venture again to express our great concern at the serious events still occurring in the Middle East. Israel is still freely waging total war against the Arab countries. We have no intention of reiterating before this Assembly the whole list of its crimes and massacres. We merely wish here to launch a further urgent appeal to the international Organization to assume its full responsibilities in seeking out a just and peaceful solution to the crisis, in accordance with the principles and purposes of our Charter.

150. We also wish to express our deep concern at the alarming events that have just occurred in another part of the world, involving direct interference in the domestic affairs of a Member State. These events have created an atmosphere of unrest and international tension, and may provoke a new phase of the cold war.

151. On this occasion, His Majesty's Government wishes to restate its position of principle on this question and to repeat its disapproval of any armed intervention or any other kind of interference in the domestic or foreign affairs of States. It regards the use of force as an instrument for settling international problems as a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and a dangerous aggravation of world tension. Powers that interfere in the domestic affairs of other States, in so doing, incur a heavy debt to history and to all peoples. There to, we appeal to the United Nations to fulfil its obligations by ensuring observance of the principles of self-determination and non-interference in the domestic affairs of countries, and by guaranteeing each peoples' inalienable right to freedom, independence and the safeguarding of its sovereignty.

152. In a year in which we are solemnly commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights, we venture to hope that these appeals will be heard and that the international Organization will, bravely and resolutely, ensure that our present era will be one of peace, freedom and justice.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.