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**President:** Mr. Emilio ARENALES (Guatemala).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Ould Daddah (Mauritania), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. DIALLO (Guinea) (*translation from French*): It is a special pleasure for me to honour our President, on behalf of the delegation of the Republic of Guinea, on his election to the presidency of the twenty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly. We take additional pleasure in this election since, above and beyond his country, Guatemala, he represents Latin America. That continent, through sharing with Asia and with our homeland Africa the same affliction of colonialism, the same social injustices and oppressions, and through nourishing the same hopes for political liberation in the past and for social justice and economic development today, has so many ties and affinities with Asia and Africa that they can surely be called three brother continents, three continents that fate has bound together.

2. Thus our President represents that Third World to which we belong, that world whose determination to reject any foreign domination in whatever guise, any discrimination of whatever sort, is well known to all. Our joy at hailing his election can therefore be imagined. For those of us who know him, who have been able on many occasions to appreciate his human qualities and truly to evaluate his complete mastery of international affairs, there is no need to express our conviction that his presidency will be balanced, just and skilful.

3. Furthermore, in expressing our sincere gratitude to all the eminent delegations represented here, we should like to express to the President our pride at having been elected to the Vice-Presidency of the General Assembly, and to assure him and all our colleagues on the General Committee—whose election we also welcome—and of course the Assembly itself, of our determination to work at his side and under his leadership for the complete success of the

twenty-third session of our Organization's General Assembly.

4. We also take this opportunity to welcome the admission to our Assembly of two new African States, Swaziland and Mauritius. The accession of those two countries to independence will, I am certain, hearten the struggle of the African peoples against colonialism and racism.

5. As you know, Guinea, whose independence following its historic vote of 28 September 1958 played a part in strengthening and broadening the principle of universality contained in the Charter by contributing to the emergence on to the international scene of some new States, is celebrating this year the tenth anniversary of its accession to international, sovereign and independent existence. That anniversary coincides with an event whose political and historical importance must be evident to any observer of the African political scene: the return to the earth of a free and sovereign Guinea which they defended with all their strength, with dedication and passion, against colonial defilement, of the mortal remains of the two great African heroes of Guinean origin, Almamy Samory Touré and Alpha Yaya Diallo, both of whom died in exile, one in Gabon, the other in Mauritania, amidst the material hardships, moral afflictions, humiliations and sufferings created by a colonial rationality—compounded of cynicism, falsehood, fraud and plunder—that sought to eradicate every vestige of African civilization and history.

6. Thanks to the brotherly understanding and co-operation of the Governments of Gabon and Mauritania, the remains of those great African patriots repose today in the soil of their native land, where their heroic sacrifice will continue to inspire the people of Guinea and national liberation movements. We should like here to express our deep gratitude to President Albert Bernard Bongo of Gabon and President Mokhtar Ould Daddah of Mauritania, and to their Governments, for their historic and fraternal gesture.

7. An anniversary is always an opportune occasion to review the past in order better to realize the direction being taken by developments; and if today we were to take a retrospective glance at Guinea's ten years of independence, we should find that we have come a considerable distance.

8. Today we can still remember the extremely difficult but intensely exciting conditions under which Guinea leaped on to the international scene, armed against adversity only by the determination of its people and by its unswerving faith in the future of Africa. The enemies of our State predicted for it but a few weeks of life before it fell apart; while its closest and most optimistic friends, while hoping fervently for its survival, were unable to believe in the feasibility of such a miracle.

9. The ten years through which we have just lived have been ten years of real hardships, of cruel sufferings, of plots concocted by enemies who have learnt nothing from either time or reason. However, they have also been ten years of plots foiled by an alert mass vigilance, ten years of courage and sacrifice, of active sovereignty and real responsibility. They have been ten years of African history that has been free and not imposed on us, in a constant ferment of revolutionary change under the impetus of the Guinean Democratic Party, which has during that decade broadened its popular and democratic base.

10. Starting from practically nothing, the Guinean Democratic Party, with complete trust in the people, has systematically and methodically built a nation, a State that has crossed the threshold from tribalism. We mean "nothing" for, when we came to power, some seemed to be of the opinion that neither the conditions nor the characteristics of a State were present. There were no administrative personnel, no finances, no records, no service agreements. There was an army, a police force, a national guard without uniforms, without rifles, pistols or even swords.

11. From one day to the next, the hospital orderly became a highly-placed administrator, the commander of a region; the prefect took charge of the school; the court clerk donned the robes of an appellate judge or examining magistrate; the African doctor, teacher or registrar found himself a minister, an ambassador, a negotiator in the complex international jungle, or resolutely put on the uniform of a military officer.

12. The young student barely out of university and possessing only academic knowledge, when he dared return to his native country notwithstanding a systematic campaign of disparagement in the international Press, found himself the director of some important State service, a company chairman, a bank manager. They were all active members of the Guinean Democratic Party, with no experience whatsoever of their new life but sentenced to succeed whatever the cost, despite storm and stress, for the honour and the grandeur of Africa. They all possessed no other means of succeeding in those various positions than their determination that was daily, constantly replenished, their unshakeable faith that was daily and constantly renewed in their country's future.

13. We take little pleasure in recalling all those facts. However, they belong to the realm of history, which we can neither conjure away, change nor ignore. In any event, that retrospective look seems appropriate to us in order better to understand the true lineaments of the State of Guinea.

14. It was with those men, those great nameless and unknown men, that the Guinean Democratic Party managed to build one of the most stable nations and States in Africa and in the world. That is the honour and the greatest achievement of the Guinean Democratic Party: to have made all the ethnic groups forming Guinea into a nation aware of its existence and its solidarity; to have restored to the African of Guinea all his pride and dignity, to have decolonized him, to have made of him a man without complexes, certain of his basic equality with all men of whatever continent or colour; a man, indeed,

determined to carry the African democratic and socialist revolution to its conclusion.

15. And today? Today we can be proud of what has been done. No sector of our national life lies outside our control: no responsible position on any level, at home or abroad, in our diplomatic service, is occupied by a foreigner. And, because of our clear awareness of our interests, we are our own technical advisers.

16. The glorious Guinean people's army also obeys that rule: there are no foreigners in any of its arms—land, sea or air. Whereas in 1958 it was practically impossible for us to find carbines to arm our soldiers, and the air force did not exist, nor the navy for that matter, today we can state with pride that our people's army is a modern army, well equipped and capable of resisting any foreign aggression.

17. It has an improved air force with more than a hundred chief pilots, navigators, radio men and mechanics. Many of them are fighter pilots able to fly supersonic aircraft with incredible skill. The entire network of the Air Guinea National Company is provided with the most modern aircraft piloted by completely Guinean crews.

18. The national navy, which also has several units, protects our coastline and our territorial waters with solely Guinean crews.

19. An army of the people, not an army for conquest or of mercenaries or parasites, or for coups d'état, the Guinean people's army plays a vital part in the country's economic life. It has its own factories, its own agricultural areas that belong completely and solely to it and whose production enables it to supply its own needs to a large extent, so that it can forgo any contribution from the State budget.

20. Staffed by convinced militants of the Guinean Democratic Party, with which it is closely linked, the Guinean people's army is only one specialized branch of the population, whom it protects against any outside aggression. In Guinea every soldier is a militant, every militant a soldier.

21. The State, the Government, the Army are all instruments of the policy of the Guinean Democratic Party; and the Guinean Democratic Party is the organized population, the nation mobilized in the service of Africa. Thus we can say that the State, the Government, the Army, the party, the people, the nation, all are one, inspired by the same determination, by the same revolutionary African spirit. It is on that basis that we can issue the solemn guarantee that in the African land of Guinea, free and sovereign, proud and lordly, colonialism will never again appear, neo-colonialism will not be tolerated, and imperialism will find its final burial-place.

22. Moreover, the Guinean Democratic Party undertook from the outset a fundamental reform of teaching in order to decolonize it completely and to make it a mass education, harmonious, balanced and adapted to the facts of our African life. It is within that framework that the national literacy campaign was undertaken, to eradicate from the country the taint of illiteracy.

23. That also enabled us to launch on 2 August of this year the socialist cultural revolution, dedicated to the masses and diametrically opposed to elites, thereby making culture the business of each and all, without distinction.

24. That socialist cultural revolution, covering every area of social science, natural science and applied science, holds that there can be no limits set on the acquisition of knowledge for whatever end, and that where knowledge and its application are concerned, society—the whole of society—can overcome any limitation. We can quote President Ahmed Sékou Touré and say:

“That cultural revolution, which will create a new nature of things, a new morality, a type of new man, will enable us to free ourselves finally and completely from any ties that bind us to the colonialism that created an historical eclipse in the life of our nation, and will lead to the total victory of our brave efforts to bring our continent to civilization and to direct it towards international co-operation in regained and strengthened dignity and responsibility.”

25. During that first period of its existence, Guinea undertook a systematic decolonization of its economic structures. Resolutely adopting the non-capitalist path towards development and turning its back forever on the crippled colonial economy whose ruins had been handed down to it, Guinea set itself the goal of building on those ruins factories to supply the primary needs of its people and of setting up a national economy that can achieve a balanced economic development of the whole Guinean nation. Thus all the primary sectors—land, water, electricity, banks, insurance companies, transportation, trade, etc.—were nationalized and now belong solely to the Guinean people.

26. On 1 March 1960 that new order culminated in the creation of the Guinean monetary system, independent of any zone, secured by the labour and trust of the Guinean people and not by gold, as decreed by the theorists of the classic monetary doctrine.

27. That monetary reform gave rise to violent criticism, made the more violent by the basic challenge which the reform offered to privileges that were considered inviolable in a field held to be taboo and were supposed to be reserved for a few initiates, for a few wizard States that are obviously nothing but colonizing and exploiting States.

28. All kinds of criticism were levelled against that important reform in the hope of overturning it, some going so far as to declare outright that it would be the single cause of our hardships. From time immemorial we have considered the right to mint money to be a prominent attribute of sovereignty. That explains the existence of the Guinean currency, which is not doing so badly and which will continue to improve. And, if it does give rise to hardships for us, they are hardships we have chosen and brought upon ourselves, and are the keystone of our future well-being. No more than we shall abandon our chosen political sovereignty, shall we abandon the sovereignty of our currency, which is equally basic.

29. With regard to international co-operation, Guinea has defined the assistance it can accept as that assistance which

can help it to forgo assistance, adding further that it would never regard foreign assistance as more than a supplement to its own national efforts, upon which everything else is based.

30. All those economic reforms enable us to look to the future with the greatest confidence, especially since the loans granted to Guinea by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the United States of America to develop the vital bauxite deposits at Boké, the largest and richest in the world, have just been signed in Washington.

31. That is the outcome of several years of difficult negotiations in which the United States of America, the Bank, the partners of Guinea and Guinea itself have shown patience, understanding and mutual and reciprocal respect. Those loans will enable Guinea to quicken its economic growth and enter on the path of harmonious and unimpeded economic development.

32. We wish to extend our very sincere and heartfelt thanks to the Bank, the United States of America, and our various partners in the Compagnie de Bauxites de Guinée. We assure them once again that Guinea will, as always, faithfully and scrupulously respect all its commitments.

33. This is the place and the moment, particularly at the end of this decade of accepted responsibilities, of active sovereignty, of tried and proved liberty, to state the complete determination of the Guinean people, which has never shunned and which never will shun any sacrifice on the altar of African freedom and dignity, always to be in the vanguard of the struggle for a better future for our continent.

34. Thanks to our undisputed leader President Ahmed Sékou Touré, the supreme leader of the Guinean revolution, on 28 September our whole people gave brilliant proof, despite all colonialist theory, that any people that have been ideologically trained—African peoples as well as others—is always fit to control its own affairs at any moment in its history, no matter how difficult the conditions in which it finds itself.

35. Everyone will be aware of the historic role played in the political development of Africa by President Ahmed Sékou Touré, a man formed in the womb of the African conscience and incarnating the virtues and legitimate aspirations of Africa. That great African, who has eschewed all honours for honour itself, who has given himself to our African homeland that throughout history has been despoiled and despised, has become the superhuman embodiment of a special conception of Africa. This is based on the premise that Africa, whose historical development has been retarded merely by colonization—that degrading fact which mankind would have been better off for not having to recognize—is nevertheless the equal of any continent, and that the African is the equal of any man.

36. Furthermore, this is the place and the moment for us to express our deep and sincere thanks to our friends throughout the world, and especially to the socialist States and to the People's Republic of China, whose support has never failed us during the most arduous moments in the life

of our State. By their loyalty and steadfastness they have helped us to triumph over every obstacle impeding our novel and typically African path. May they too know that history has already recorded their actions, for which the African peoples are most grateful to them!

37. Lastly, we repeat our sincere determination, restated during the historic eighth Congress of the Guinean Democratic Party, to maintain with the States of the world, and especially the African States, friendly relations based on mutual respect and reciprocal benefits and interests.

38. It is an incontrovertible fact that Africa's inexorable progress towards its unity is not always in a straight line, that it takes detours and that obstacles have been created abroad to impede its advance. Nevertheless, in West Africa some notable advances have been made towards unity. At the historic Labé conference<sup>1</sup> in Guinea, within the framework of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Mali, Mauritania, Senegal and Guinea, linked together by every tie—by geography and blood, by history and culture, by political needs and by the demands of economic development, and lastly by the keen awareness of a common destiny—created the Union of Riverain States of the Senegal River.

39. We are convinced that those four States will devote all their efforts towards the successful realization of that common undertaking, which is for the benefit of Africa and has already shown concrete evidence of its vitality by taking the initiative in establishing at the Monrovia meeting<sup>2</sup> the West African Regional Group (WARG). The Group opens new vistas for western Africa and is a milestone in the constant advance that is bringing the African nations closer to the final unity of their continent.

40. Of course, West Africa is today face to face with a tragedy that is assuming the dimensions of an African tragedy. The secession of eastern Nigeria from the Federal Republic of Nigeria, plotted from outside because of the existence in eastern Nigeria of strategic raw materials such as petroleum, and using tribalism as a tool, is one of those fundamental problems whose solution in one way or another affects the political development of all African States, most of which we must acknowledge, have unhappily not advanced to a point where they are safe from tribal difficulties.

41. A great deal of emphasis has been laid on the atrocities of the war raging in Nigeria. In justification of the completely partisan interventions in that affair, and to support the secessionists, it is said that the war was a humanitarian problem and must be brought to an end at whatever cost—in other words, by confirming the secession.

42. In our opinion such reasoning cannot stand. Its proponents not only ignore that any war is atrocious by its very nature and cannot benefit mankind, but they have also never stressed the atrocities that have for several years been committed daily in Viet-Nam, nor those that are rampant in so-called Portuguese Guinea, in Angola, in Mozambique, in Namibia, in Southern Rhodesia and in South Africa.

43. They have never denounced the atrocities committed in the Middle East against the forcibly-exiled Arab population of Palestine, nor those committed in the Arab territories illegally occupied by an invader that the Security Council is unable to bring to its senses.

44. In those tragic situations there is also a humanitarian aspect that could fully justify intervention by the champions of the reasoning that we are denouncing. In those cases, however, they have always taken refuge behind the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States, which here as elsewhere should give way to the right of peoples to self-determination.

45. For our part we are deeply distressed whenever an African falls in defence of his freedom under the blind bullets of the Portuguese colonist. We are deeply distressed whenever a man dies anywhere in the world in the sacred cause of the ideals that brought about the creation of the United Nations. We are also deeply distressed whenever a man is lost in that cruel Nigerian war.

46. What we are saying is that we believe that all wars throughout the world should be ended. We are also saying that in our opinion the Nigerian civil war must be ended, and at once, in virtue of the principles contained in the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and freely accepted by all African States, namely the preservation of the national unity and territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, which some misled brothers who are playing the imperialist game have attempted to challenge on tribal pretexts, thereby bringing great affliction upon an entire people.

47. Only through respect for those principles of the Charter of the OAU will it be possible to avoid further wars, further sufferings and further atrocities in Africa. You have only to glance at the political map of Africa: there are many potential Biafras!

48. The Fifth Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held at Algiers from 13 to 16 September 1968, was very fortunately able to return to the African charter and to adopt a resolution that falls within the scope of protection of the unity of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and preservation of its territorial integrity.

49. In that resolution the African Heads of State made an appeal to all States to refrain from any intervention in Nigeria. We will judge the respect those States hold for Africa and the friendship they feel towards it by their reply to that appeal.

50. To this day Africa is still the only continent where colonialism is rampant in its pristine—in other words, in its most brutal—form. The African peoples of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea are waging a desperate struggle for national liberation against that inhuman, savage, abject and degrading colonialism. They are achieving resounding successes daily, and the Portuguese owe their continued existence in those territories that they are continuing to pillage solely to the massive assistance with which their Western NATO allies are generously providing them, notwithstanding the United Nations rec-

<sup>1</sup> Held from 21 to 25 March 1968.

<sup>2</sup> Held from 22 to 24 April 1968.

ognition of the legitimacy of the armed struggle of the peoples of those colonies, and despite General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

51. That military organization that today stands in the way of African liberation is made up of Western nations that are quick to make statements of principle which all thinking men must applaud. Unfortunately, those statements of principle are then betrayed in the most cynical way. The Western nations must realize that in the long run it is they who are the losers when they oppose the inevitable freedom of Africa. We wonder how they can reconcile their abetment of Portugal's wars of colonial repression with their proclamations of friendship towards the peoples of Africa. At any rate they should know that those peoples are not taken in by their double-dealing and that, if they persist in it, the peoples of Africa may well end by becoming their bitterest enemies.

52. Strong in the support of its powerful allies, Portugal is at present pursuing a deliberate policy of provocation and bombing against the African States bordering on the territories it illegally occupies; and it is indulging in acts of piracy that pose a standing challenge to international law. Thus, in addition to constant raids against our border villages, Portugal has for more than six months, in violation of the principles of the International Civil Aviation Organization, been detaining civil aircraft belonging to the Compagnie Nationale Air Guinée, with its crew, who were obliged to land in so-called Portuguese Guinea because of a technical instrument failure.

53. Again, it is the West that is enabling the *apartheid* régime not only to survive but even to grow stronger in spite of every principle embodied in Western constitutions, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the United Nations Charter. The Western nations maintain with the South African neo-nazis a trade that is certainly flourishing, but flourishing at the expense of Africa and of African dignity.

54. The West is also wholly responsible with regard to the minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, which is aping that of Pretoria. In our opinion, as we have stated on numerous occasions both before this Assembly and in the Security Council, the only solution to that problem is and remains the employment of armed force to put down Mr. Ian Smith's rebellion. The United Kingdom, which has the main responsibility for that affair, still speaks to us of economic sanctions in an attempt to shirk its historic responsibilities. The Western nations that possess the military means to exert pressure are adopting the same attitude and outdoing the United Kingdom in their calls for economic sanctions.

55. However, from our own experience we cannot agree that economic sanctions can be effective if they are not total and complete. Now, in the matter before us, that cannot be the case, owing to Southern Rhodesia's geographical location and political alliances.

56. Of course we must not condemn unduly either the United Kingdom or the Western Powers while we African States ourselves, who are vitally concerned about those serious problems of *apartheid* and of Southern Rhodesia's minority régime, are unable to take a consistent stand. Our

first step towards any solution to those problems is to organize ourselves and to decide upon a common plan of battle, one that will extend beyond mere words and one by which each of us will make it his duty to abide.

57. The result of our present inconsistencies, the procrastinations of the Western Powers the United Kingdom's unwillingness to fulfil its responsibilities is that Mr. Ian Smith, his unilateral declaration of independence having gone unpunished, is today preparing to make a new move, a new declaration, a declaration of a Republic, to the detriment of the interests of his country's African majority population.

58. Guinea is making an urgent appeal to all African States to join their efforts and to concord them even further so that this second humiliation shall not go unpunished.

59. Another source of concern that we feel called upon to point out remains the Middle East, where armed might long ago replaced reason. Peace is still a chimera for all the peoples of that part of the world, and will continue to be so as long as Israel, flouting United Nations decisions, persists in refusing to withdraw from the Arab territories it is illegally occupying as a result of its aggression of 5 June 1967. The first step towards any peace in the Middle East, towards that peace that is devoutly hoped for by all men of good will throughout the world, is the withdrawal from those territories.

60. Faithful to its anti-imperialist policy and to the decisions of the Organization of African Unity, my Government reaffirms its unconditional support for the just and legitimate demands of the Arab countries.

61. We pay tribute to the Secretary-General and to his personal representative in the Middle East, Mr. Gunnar Jarring, for the untiring efforts they have made in the search for a final settlement of the Middle East situation. We wish to assure them of our total support.

62. Again this year we must repeat how deeply our feelings of justice and equity, our political feelings, are offended by the ostracism that is still the lot of the greatest Asian State—the People's Republic of China—one of the largest in the world and in any case the one having the largest population, with regard to its membership in the United Nations. China has on many occasions given concrete proof of its love for peace and has made an outstanding contribution to world development. The arbitrary and completely personal motives of a minority of States, in particular of the United States of America, are in no way serving the cause of peace or the interests of the United Nations.

63. For that reason Guinea, along with a number of Afro-Asian countries, is this year as in previous years co-sponsor of a draft resolution\* designed to restore to the People's Republic of China its legitimate rights within our Organization. Our hope, our ardent hope, is that that draft may at last receive the approval of the majority of the States represented here.

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\* Later distributed as document A/L.549.



64. Even though the question does not appear on our agenda, how can we refrain from reiterating our deep concern at the continuation of the Viet-Nam war, notwithstanding all the indignant protests that have been made by all the peoples of the world? The majority of States represented here must recognize themselves in Viet-Nam, for, as experience so clearly shows, each of them could have its great Power that might at any time plunge it into total disaster.

65. The Paris peace talks that were hailed the world over with fervour and with hope are becoming increasingly bogged down. The Guinean Government is of the opinion that the restoration of peace in Viet-Nam must of necessity arise out of the complete and unconditional cessation of the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the return to the 1954 Geneva Accords.

66. The United States of America must understand that it would serve the cause of peace and also that of its own greatness if it were to make the move that the whole world expects of it in order to bring an end to that brutal war, to that martyrdom of a people that wishes only to live in peace and freedom, a people whose courage we hail with respect, deference and admiration.

67. Korea is another hotbed of war in Asia. That great country, whose people have lived through more than five thousand years of history, a country that has never experienced tribal or linguistic discord, has been arbitrarily divided for nearly a quarter of a century. The United Nations, which is involved in the Korean situation, must do all it can to withdraw from Korea and allow the Korean people, as masters of their own destiny and sovereign in their own affairs, to settle the problem of reunifying their country according to their own clearly-understood interests.

68. My country remains deeply devoted to the concept of general and complete disarmament that alone will bring about the attainment of a true peace, one that will be more than simply a state of non-belligerence. It is for that reason that Guinea will support any effort made in that direction, which is historically and politically the only effective direction. It does not believe in the value of half-measures such as the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, which, far from basically altering a state of affairs that all the nations of the world have denounced, is tantamount to legalizing that state of affairs.

69. The resources eventually released by general and complete disarmament could be used to advantage for the economic and social improvement of developing countries. That could eradicate the present division of the world into "have" and "have-not" countries, a situation fraught with more tragic consequences for the world than any ideological division. One need not be clairvoyant to declare at this early date—pessimistically, of course—that the Second United Nations Development Decade is from the outset doomed like the First if the great Powers do not fulfil that duty for the sake of mankind.

70. We cannot conclude this statement without expressing our sincere disappointment at the outcome of the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and

Development.<sup>3</sup> The great hopes aroused by the 1964 Geneva Conference have today given way to a bitterness that we cannot conceal. The responsibility of the great Powers is deeply involved in that area. They must realize that solidarity and international co-operation are not empty words but powerful factors for world peace.

71. Mr. GREGOIRE (Luxembourg) (*translation from French*): First of all, I want to join the speakers who have preceded me at this rostrum in offering my warm congratulations to Mr. Arenales, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala, on his election to the office of President of the twenty-third regular session of the General Assembly. His long experience in serving the United Nations is for us an especially valuable assurance at this juncture when he is succeeding our Romanian colleague Mr. Corneliu Mănescu, who led with impartiality, tact and skill the arduous and lengthy discussions held in the Assembly over the past year.

72. I should like next to pay an admiring and sympathetic tribute to the Secretary-General, U Thant. His untiring efforts to bring about an understanding among nations have unfortunately not been met with the eagerly-awaited success.

73. The representatives of the States that drafted the United Nations Charter at San Francisco in June 1945 intended it in the first place to safeguard international peace and security. However, notwithstanding the hopes that have been formulated by all the Governments represented in this Hall today, war continues to rage throughout the world. The bloody tragedies that are rending Viet-Nam, the Middle East and Nigeria conceal unspeakable human sufferings. An extremely serious situation has been brought about in Czechoslovakia.

74. Only one of those problems—that of the Middle East—is explicitly included in the agenda of the current session. Now, despite the unfailingly patient efforts made by the Secretary-General's Special Representative in the Middle East, Mr. Gunnar Jarring, no visible progress whatsoever has yet been achieved since the Security Council's unanimous adoption on 22 November 1967 of the resolution [242 (1967)] enumerating the few principles that can lead to a final settlement, it being understood that no territorial gain achieved by force can be condoned.

75. That resolution has the dual advantage of providing at the outset for an equitable solution and of defining the goals that the interested parties themselves, I believe, no longer question. On the contrary, they unfortunately remain in disagreement as to the practical way in which that resolution can be implemented. After more than a year of equivocations, acts of violence, surprise attacks and reprisals on both sides, the differences of opinion between Israel and the Arab countries are as deep and explosive as ever.

76. In those circumstances it is the bounden duty and in the vital interest of the countries directly concerned to co-operate constructively with the efforts being made by Mr. Jarring towards finally establishing a method of reach-

<sup>3</sup> Held at New Delhi from 1 February to 29 March 1968.

ing a common ground of understanding. Repeated resort to force will only delay and ultimately endanger peace.

77. In Viet-Nam, too, human sufferings and material destruction have gone on ever since the General Assembly last met a year ago. The Vietnamese people, already so sorely tried, is still suffering the awful consequences of pitiless military confrontation.

78. It is true that the United States made an important move towards peace when on 31 March it limited the bombing of North Viet-Nam. That courageous political action enabled the Paris talks to get under way; and we are hopeful that those talks will soon lead to genuine negotiations.

79. The Government of Luxembourg remains convinced that only a negotiated solution of the conflict can bring a just peace to that sorely-tried region. That is why I am renewing my appeal to the United Nations to exert all its influence towards speeding a political settlement of the war.

80. Whereas the conflicts in Viet-Nam and in the Middle East have been going on for many years, two no less grievous tragedies have saddened the world in the past few months.

81. Although the civil war that is raging in Nigeria most closely affects all the African States, the world conscience cannot remain silent in the face of that terrible internecine struggle. It is unthinkable that the United Nations should turn its back on the humanitarian task of bringing to an end the nameless sufferings being wrought upon civilian populations, even if to do so it must bring up the matter at this very meeting.

82. A large number of countries and international organizations have provided generous assistance. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the International Red Cross have played an important and valuable part in procuring food and medical supplies for the victims under extremely difficult conditions. It is our duty to appeal to the Federal Government of Nigeria to facilitate the direct shipment of that assistance and to guarantee the personal safety of all inhabitants, especially women and children. However, in addition to humanitarian assistance, the efforts recently and so courageously undertaken under the auspices of the Emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie, to end the armed struggle must be continued. The United Nations must in its turn exert all its influence towards the working out of a lasting solution with which all the population can agree.

83. However, of all the events that have occurred in recent years the invasion of Czechoslovakia is the one that may deal the hardest blow to the cause of peace. That invasion is a flagrant violation of the law of nations and of the United Nations Charter. The illegal occupation of Czechoslovakia has provoked an international crisis, both politically and military, of extreme gravity. Affecting as it does the atmosphere of trust that has been developing in Europe for the past several years, that crisis can only be relieved by the withdrawal of the occupation troops and by the complete re-establishment of Czechoslovakian independence. The operation by the Warsaw Pact countries has rent the veil of

illusions and has at one blow destroyed many hopes that had been built up over the long years of untiring efforts towards *détente* and towards a better understanding between East and West.

84. Faced with what is known as the "balance of terror", mankind has no choice. Despite some events that take us back to the most sombre days of the past, we, along with countries that share our ideals, want to continue with patience and firmness along the only practicable road, the road to *détente*. We remain convinced that the reduction of tensions, along with the widening of areas of understanding and agreement, can in time bring about the conditions in which settlement of the great problems dividing the world will at last become possible. Mankind's survival will depend on that settlement.

85. Luxembourg signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*], despite its serious imperfections and omissions, precisely because it is an important forward step towards disarmament and is consistent with the strengthening of security and peace. We sincerely hope that events in Czechoslovakia will not compromise the entry of the Treaty into force.

86. However, the Treaty on non-proliferation, if it is ratified and implemented by a sufficient number of States, particularly those States that are already on the threshold of nuclear development, can only be a beginning. The final responsibility still rests with the nuclear Powers. We therefore fully support the initiatives taken during the recent Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States<sup>4</sup> to invite the atomic Powers to enter without delay into talks designed to put an end to nuclear weapons tests and to halt the development of those weapons.

87. Given the present state of affairs, however, we must guard against undue hope. The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, which has just ended its summer session at Geneva, did not achieve any concrete results. How can any progress in that particular area be achieved in an atmosphere of distrust and fear?

88. The Soviet Union holds the key to the problem. The hope for a return to trust through a reduction of tension will be a vain hope so long as the occupation troops remain in Czechoslovakia and so long as the Soviet Union continues to bring the threat of intervention to bear on other countries as well. In that connexion I should like to join those who, following the example of our Secretary-General, have refused to accept the thesis according to which certain provisions of the United Nations Charter provide the Soviet Union with the right to intervene unilaterally by force in the Federal Republic of Germany. I feel impelled also to denounce the biased defamation campaign being waged against the Federal Government with the all too evident intention of turning it into both a scapegoat and a scarecrow. Such procedures can only revive old bitterness and thereby perpetuate discord and distrust in Europe.

89. Therefore I cannot refrain from joining my voice with those of so many others in addressing a solemn appeal to

<sup>4</sup> Held at Geneva from 29 August to 28 September 1968.

the great Powers to reconsider their policy and to decide deliberately in favour of law and freedom. That is the sole attitude worthy of those who are alive to their immense responsibilities towards all mankind. In recent years we in Europe—in the East and in the West—have come a long and difficult way to bring our peoples together. The great development in human and political contacts, in cultural and economic exchanges, seemed to mark the beginning of relations of greater trust among States. It would be a tragedy for Europe as well as for the entire world if the fruit of so many arduous efforts were destroyed.

90. However, the concern we feel at the deterioration of the international situation must not distract us from the other great task incumbent on the United Nations, that of building with perseverance a better world. Here, assistance to developing countries has pride of place. The struggle against poverty and the efforts to create everywhere living conditions more in keeping with human dignity, the establishment of a greater social justice among all nations, both rich and poor—those, in the long run, are what my Government sees as the basic conditions for the safeguarding of peace in the world.

91. Its difficult financial situation notwithstanding, the Government of Luxembourg this year made a considerable effort to increase substantially its contribution to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). We intend to continue along that path during the coming years, taking into account, of course, our limited means. However, we are aware that the formidable problem of the underprivileged awaits a solution towards which every industrialized country is in duty bound to make an increasing contribution, taking heart from the determination of the developing countries to make the best use of that assistance for economic, technical and cultural purposes.

92. Of course, it must be agreed that the immediate results obtained by the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development have been rather modest. The instances in which the requests formulated in the Charter of Algiers<sup>5</sup> by the developing countries have become concrete facts are all too few. However, I believe it would be an exaggeration to maintain that the Conference accomplished nothing but a more solemn exposition of what had already for some time been recognized as necessary.

93. Although it had no immediate spectacular results, it is to the credit of the Conference that it recognized the need to situate the problem before it within the framework of a world-wide development strategy and to define more clearly both the responsibilities of the industrialized countries and those of the developing countries.

94. Last year, speaking from this rostrum before this nearly world-wide audience, and rising above a semi-tacit pessimism, I attempted to set forth the guiding principles that embody the still undisputed value of our Organization. Am I not today impelled to recant and deny my words, since obviously all my hopes have been dashed by the violent events that have occurred in defiance of our Charter and of the humanism of which we are so proud?

95. Since those who have preceded me have done so very well, I shall not repaint a picture of the gloomy events that have marked the year's passage and are so out of key with the high status mankind pretends to have attained intellectually, technically, socially and spiritually. In obvious regression, the tank with its guns has come forth to make the decisive argument for brutal violence; it has not been and it will never be the profound embodiment of a nobly human stand. Quite the contrary.

96. That being said, we must unfortunately expect to hear it answered in a language full of double meanings, a language that some speakers employ in an attempt to have the political last word whenever their duplicity is mentioned. For decades now we have been forced to witness the progressive debasement of truth, whose meaning is being continually adulterated by distorting the real state of affairs by means of ideological trickery and by the foisting, by force, of a false view of reality on people doomed to suffer the disastrous effects of incessantly repeated misrepresentation.

97. That ideology conceives of itself as absolute and therefore predominant. While preserving a political strategy that has been rigidly defined from its inception, it enjoys posing as a constantly evolving dynamism whereas, by means of a continually-shifting tactic based on distortion of facts, it only interprets data in a partial way and thereby lays traps that are incessantly being reset to ensnare honest men, who will always be men of good will.

98. Since words are becoming increasingly devoid of meaning, it seems to me natural that public opinion should have little faith in those who employ words; for the public rather quickly discovers that actions completely concealed by words are the direct opposite of what those words try to make them. Need I recall those actions here?

99. Human rights! What rights are involved when important men are kidnapped and when the route they have chosen to travel is changed and passengers, with their pilots, are constrained to play the dangerous game of a unique kind of piracy, under threat of arms?

100. Disarmament! What is the real meaning of the term in that region of the world where the stronger party is increasing its war potential and where, backed by tanks, planes and machine guns, it uses the word in its basic sense, depriving the weaker party of all means of resistance?

101. Peace! Coexistence! How in the light of those words can we explain the myriad attempts at intimidation, the enormous political and military blackmail, the increasingly frantic preparations for war—to be waged preferably by third parties—and the acts of aggression that are ostensibly undertaken, to guard against any eventuality by creating a buffer zone that will tomorrow become the graveyard of the subjugated peoples?

102. Socialist friendship and solidarity! What is that friendship whose bonds are devoid of spontaneity and sincerity? What is an obviously imposed solidarity worth? And who would still dare compare it to a chain from which, we are informed, not one link can be removed, when it concerns still living nations and not dead things? Is not

<sup>5</sup> Charter adopted by the Ministerial Meeting of the Group of Seventy-Seven Developing Countries (10-25 October 1967).



that metaphor of nations forged into a single chain a revolting illustration of the status of those nations, welded together in so-called solidarity?

103. In that double-talk, the concept of imperialism has in truth completely changed its content, since it has become a sort of alibi for those who have learnt to replace open genocide by a slow and effective kind of asphyxiation that enables territorial aggrandizement to take place by wiping from the map certain small nations until they have completely vanished from men's memory. In that case, is not the neologism "bolshe-tsarism" apt for precisely describing the actual situation in that part of the world where the neo-colonialism used against evolved nations is aimed at making the boundaries of what it calls its "sphere of influence" congruent with its national political borders?

104. Spheres of influence! An open sesame that entails the treatment of many regions of the world as no more than the protectorates and expected legacies of one particular super-Power. However, we do not want to be influenced from either the right or the left, since that kind of influence means nothing but dependency, supervised freedom, and solidarity in political misdeeds that are manifested by cannon fire and the building of gallows.

105. I shall refrain from citing those whom I might wish to declare guilty. In that chain of deeds and misdeeds the guilt seems to me to be equally divided. But I feel it my duty to denounce any ideology that inspires outrages against humanity; to indict the hand that arms itself the better to annihilate; to indict the hand that arms another so that it can take part in the warfare of third parties; to indict the speculators who bring about the deaths of millions by dabbling in poverty and misfortune; to blame our own shortcomings within this great United Nations family and to warn those who, albeit Members in good standing, respect neither the principles nor the decisions of the Organization; to shame those who, by refusing to fulfil all the necessary conditions for membership, risk crushing the Organization under the weight of the disdain they create among men already prepared to see United Nations impotence as the disgrace of the final years of the twentieth century.

106. That is the stand taken by a very small nation whose words may seem bold, but whose vocation is as evident as its impartiality in the conduct of world affairs is absolute. That vocation leads us from time to time, along with all other small nations, to become the voice of conscience for the great Powers. Unfortunately it does not spare us from being compelled at times to feel that shame which the strong too readily ignore; nor does it mean that, when the influence of the great Powers takes the form of a prevailing humanism, achieved peace and guaranteed freedom, we shall eschew that influence. We are countering that motto which those same great Powers are too prone to apply — "Might is right" — with the motto that very humbly says to all the prideful: "One often needs someone smaller than oneself".

107. I am deliberately referring here to a well-known fable of La Fontaine—or, if you prefer, of Aesop—to remind you of certain tendencies to exclude the very small, the too small, from this Organization in order to reserve the

exercise of the right of membership solely for the great nations. However, if henceforth that right were to be based on the criterion of size alone—defined by geographical dimensions, by population, or even by national income *per caput*—we should be venturing into the realm of despotism, of that despotism that could very easily endanger the fundamental principle of our Organization.

108. That fundamental principle was mentioned this morning [*1687th meeting*] by Mr. Medici, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy: it is the principle of our Organization's universality, a principle to which must be joined that of the autonomy of peoples who have attained independence.

109. It would be highly dangerous to make admission to the United Nations depend upon some numbers, agreed to by a majority of Members, setting the low limit of size; since some interested countries could always change that limit. The figure of one million inhabitants, for example, might perhaps be found insufficient by some nation with 20 million; the figure of 20 million might be too small for another with 50 million; and again 50 million, according to the circumstances, would be too small in the eyes of a great nation with a population of 200 million.

110. Since in the end the law or relativity always takes effect, the United Nations would eventually consist only of some large nations that would settle among themselves the fate of all those who had been left out.

111. That is why I say that within this Hall the small, the very small, the smallest, are important, even if their importance is only derived from human values and from the spiritual wealth created by outstanding personalities, rather than from a large mass of less gifted inhabitants. For we must not forget that on what we might call here the "great scales of peace or war" those poor nations somehow represent the few ounces that can quite naturally tip the balance in favour of well-being for all mankind.

112. To return to our vocation: it will be fulfilled through a mission in which we are determined not to fail: that of permanently fostering natural impulses towards goodness and greatness wherever they may spring up; that of proclaiming that, since fear of the freedom of others destroys oppressors, hope will always inspire those whom oppression seeks to crush; that of joining with those who grant the greatest degree of real freedom in order to bring an end to the present dangerous situation in which there is neither real peace nor open war; and lastly that of refuting the contention of those who preach the Organization's total incapacity to reform its institutions and to adapt them to the demands of those great basic principles.

113. Firm in that faith, we find it inconceivable that the fate meted out by the League of Nations in 1921 to a humane suggestion made by Fridtjof Nansen regarding five million pounds sterling intended to relieve several million starving people can recur in the United Nations in 1968 with regard to a suggestion made by a great-hearted man and once again concerning the world's poor and disinherited.

114. If such were the case, I should have to ask again the question I asked last year [*1568th meeting*]: "What use is

the United Nations? ”, and answer it with a reply that would be the opposite of the hope I had tried to manifest.

115. The United Nations: the voice of mankind, the voice of man, the universal voice, the voice of justice and of peace. That is the voice we want to hear, and that is the voice that we should like to hear again speaking with all the brilliance of its great deeds.

116. Mr. LYNG (Norway): First of all, I should like to join many other speakers in congratulating the General Assembly on the election of its new President. I should also like to wish the President success in carrying out the important task entrusted to him—a task for which we all feel he is eminently suited.

117. I think that it is worth noting how often the highest officials of the United Nations—the President and the Secretary-General—are elected from among the representatives of the smaller Member States. Those who hold these important offices symbolize the very concept of world-wide co-operation which is the fundamental idea of the United Nations. The smaller nations have the greatest stake in organized international co-operation, and perhaps also the greatest appreciation of the necessity of such co-operation. The smaller nations, if left to themselves, have only limited possibilities to assert themselves in international politics. Their possibility of influencing international developments and protecting their own way of life and their own interests lies in close co-operation with others. The activities of the United Nations and the effectiveness of the Organization will therefore be of special importance to the smaller nations.

118. This leads me to what is a basic theme in my statement, namely, the possibilities of the United Nations for settling or mitigating conflicts—particularly conflicts which threaten the freedom or the existence of the smaller nations.

119. In his very interesting introduction to his annual report [A/7201/Add.1] the Secretary-General does not present a very encouraging picture of the international situation. On the contrary, he gives a rather gloomy review of tensions and crises and serious conflicts in all corners of the world. I am afraid that we all have to concur with the Secretary-General that a steady deterioration has taken place in the international situation during the last year.

120. I do not intend to follow the Secretary-General on his tour around the horizon in discussing the many tragic conflicts facing us. I should like, however, to deal briefly with a few conflicts and events which have given cause for much apprehension and insecurity. These conflicts are very different in nature, but they do at the same time highlight certain shortcomings of the powers and procedures of the United Nations.

121. Let me begin with some words concerning the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

122. Like the other members of the NATO defence alliance, my country has been of the opinion that it would be useful to strengthen relations between countries in Eastern and in Western Europe and to work for increased

co-operation between them regardless of the differences in their political and social systems. This has of course been our policy also towards Czechoslovakia.

123. But these efforts were never aimed at interfering in the internal affairs of other countries or their alliances. This principle of non-intervention has been observed by all the Western nations. The allegation that attempts have been made by these nations to carry out infiltration in Czechoslovakia is not borne out by facts.

124. A government whose territory is occupied by foreign troops is, of course, not a free Government. Its freedom of action is obviously seriously curtailed. We are of the opinion, however, that the present Government in Czechoslovakia is the one which in this situation best represents the will of the people to handle its own affairs. And it is quite clear that, on the part of the West, there will in no way be any interference with the dispositions of that Government.

125. That being said, however, I wish to add the following. One cannot accept the argument that it is the sole concern of a group of neighbouring States or allies when a big Power through military force subjects a small nation to its own control. On the contrary, such an event is a matter which concerns the whole world.

126. The events in Czechoslovakia represent a clear violation of international law. The invasion is an obvious and unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of another country. It is contrary to all the principles on which relations between nations must be based. It is of particular concern to this Assembly that this occupation of one of the Member States is a violation of the fundamental principles of the world Organization.

127. The occupation has accordingly resulted in a strong and spontaneous reaction all over the world. It has created new apprehension, new insecurity and new tensions. The efforts to create conditions for a lasting *détente* in Europe have suffered a severe setback. Nobody wants a return to the cold war or to provoke a new sterile arms race. But the events which have taken place have forced individual States, as well as military alliances, to consider new steps in order to safeguard their own interests. It is particularly regrettable that the entry into force of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons has been endangered.

128. What, then, are the prospects now facing us? How and when will it be possible to resume the work of creating better conditions for peaceful coexistence in Europe?

129. Much will depend on how the occupying Powers use or abuse their military superiority, how soon and to what extent the demand for withdrawal of the occupation forces is implemented, and to what extent the country's own authorities and political leaders are allowed to carry out their functions. As mentioned by several other speakers, only the occupying Powers can answer these questions and only they can undo some of the harm which has been caused. Until this happens the relations between these Powers and the outside world, and particularly their neighbours, will be marked by doubt and insecurity.

130. Let me now say a few words about the crisis in Nigeria, a crisis which, of course, is of an entirely different character. World opinion has, above all, been concerned with the human tragedies inflicted upon the civilian population. Armed conflicts or civil wars will always bring hardships to the civilian population. In this conflict, however, unfortunate circumstances seem to have made the fate of the population very, very tragic.

131. Many Governments and humanitarian organizations have contributed to large-scale operations to bring relief to the civilian population. These efforts have a purely humanitarian objective, with no political aims. Substantial quantities of food and other provisions have for a long time been available close to the distressed areas and further supplies can easily be obtained.

132. However, it has proved extremely difficult to reach the starving population with the supplies which have been collected. Nevertheless, substantial quantities have been airlifted through the battle lines and these supplies have saved many lives. But this relief has not been sufficient to prevent the tragedy from reaching frightening dimensions. Several Governments and organizations have tried again and again to improve the possibilities for the transportation of really effective help. The Governments of the five Nordic countries have jointly taken a very active part in those efforts.

133. I shall not pass any judgement between the conflicting parties on the responsibility for these difficulties. However, one must be permitted to express profound disappointment that those efforts have not yielded better results. The tragedy has thereby reached dimensions which not only are frightening but seem quite unnecessary. This disappointment is widespread in many countries and it has also been directed at the United Nations. Many have asked why it has been impossible for the United Nations to act even in respect of a task of such a limited nature and of a purely humanitarian character.

134. In my opinion, there is no basis at all for criticizing the Secretary-General or his staff or the United Nations relief agencies, such as UNICEF, the World Food Programme and others. I do not believe that these organizations have shown any lack of devotion or will to help. These events, however, have again focused attention on the insufficient mandate and authority given to them and have demonstrated the insufficiency of the means and facilities at their disposal.

135. The conflicts to which I have referred—Viet-Nam and the Middle East are other examples—have again brought to the foreground a question so often discussed in the United Nations: How can we strengthen and develop the Organization and enable it to play a more active role in settling conflicts and alleviating human suffering?

136. The Norwegian Government has consistently advocated a gradual expansion of the authority of the United Nations. This is, however, a difficult and time-consuming task, and we have no guarantee that it will ever succeed. At the same time, however, it appears likely that in the years to come international developments will confront us and future generations with problems of such magnitude that

they will not be able to be solved without an organization of a truly global character having sufficient powers.

137. Should it not be a task for all of us to consider what concrete steps could be taken in order to strengthen the authority as well as the means of operation of the United Nations administrative organs? I would suggest that a measure of a relatively limited character be considered. Could we not consider the possibility of giving the United Nations and its agencies, the Secretary-General, UNICEF, the World Food Programme, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, a stronger mandate and increased authority—for instance, by means of a special treaty—a mandate to carry out the purely humanitarian task of organizing and providing relief to a civilian population which has endured great sacrifices brought upon them by wars, conflicts or other calamities?

138. The tragedies which we have recently witnessed, for instance in Nigeria, demonstrate the need for such an extended authority for the United Nations. The United Nations Charter is a flexible instrument. It is up to the Member States to develop those powers which, though not expressly provided in the Charter, are conferred upon the United Nations by necessary implication as being essential to the performance of its duties, but which have not yet been formulated in international agreements.

139. This year we celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The General Assembly has unanimously proclaimed 1968 as the International Year for Human Rights.

140. May I take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. René Cassin, to whom the Nobel Peace Prize Committee of the Norwegian Parliament has just awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, for his untiring work for human rights. This may be considered a symbolic salute to the International Year for Human Rights. We feel also that the strengthening of the authority of the world Organization in the humanitarian field would be a worthy contribution to the celebration of this event.

141. The International Covenants on Human Rights constitute a step in the right direction. It may be necessary, however, to go beyond this and to work out an international agreement which would provide the legal basis for the United Nations and its agencies to take action in emergencies involving great human suffering.

142. In line with this and in order to emphasize the wish of my delegation further to strengthen the United Nations, I should like to confirm the Norwegian Government's strong support of the proposal for the peaceful use of the sea-bed under the auspices of the United Nations. The United Nations has also an important task regarding the problems connected with the physical and social environment. We therefore fully support the Swedish proposal, which led to resolution 1346 (XLV) of the Economic and Social Council, for an international conference to study these questions on a global basis.

143. If the United Nations is to be able to accomplish the tasks just mentioned it must fulfil a basic requirement, that of establishing the basis for a durable peace. It is indis-

pensable to halt the nuclear arms race and prevent the further proliferation of nuclear weapons. In spite of the feeling of insecurity created by recent international events, particularly in Europe, the Norwegian Government will this autumn seek parliamentary approval for the ratification of the non-proliferation Treaty. I should like to express the hope that a great majority of the States Members of the United Nations will ratify the treaty at the earliest possible date. This would undoubtedly be greatly facilitated if the atomic Powers took steps to initiate negotiations on nuclear disarmament as envisaged in article VI of the non-proliferation Treaty.

144. Mr. NZANANA (Rwanda) (*translation from French*): The delegation of the Republic of Rwanda takes real pleasure in joining with those speakers who have preceded it at this rostrum to extend its warmest congratulations to Mr. Emilio Arenales on his splendid election to the presidency of the twenty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly. This gives us the opportunity to rejoice at the election of a representative from Latin America, from that continent with which Africa has the closest co-operative relations, particularly with regard to problems of decolonization and of economic and social development. I would therefore repeat to Mr. Emilio Arenales our desire to co-operate with him in carrying out his weighty task, which we hope may be fruitful.

145. I should be remiss were I not to pay special tribute to Mr. Corneliu Manescu, whose great good humour, impartiality and political and diplomatic acumen contributed to the fruitful outcome of the labours of the General Assembly's twenty-second session.

146. The Republic of Rwanda has aimed its entire foreign policy at the total execution of the provisions contained in the Charter signed at San Francisco, relying as it does on co-operation among nations for safeguarding peace and security and for bringing about better living conditions for all peoples.

147. Here I should like to recall the statement made by the Head of State of Rwanda, Grégoire Kayiblanda, on the occasion of the admission of our young Republic to the United Nations. He said:

"The Republic of Rwanda is among those who have already accomplished so much for the true decolonization that leads to better conditions for development and for progress. We are among those who are struggling for the equitable sharing of the fruits of progress in the many forms of technical and financial assistance. We are among those who are trying to eliminate methods based on discrimination and violence. We are among those who are working to create or to strengthen in a realistic way the joint bodies for co-operation among nations. We are among those who are trying in every peaceful way to ensure and to promote the fullest possible exercise of the fundamental freedoms." [1122nd meeting, para. 103]

148. Those goals, which were valid a few years ago, are becoming more and more imperative at the present time when even the "have" countries—those countries that might have been thought less vulnerable—are experiencing political and social movements that are upsetting communities in their search for greater well-being and a new equilibrium.

149. In fact we are witnessing a renewed outbreak of troubles. The current year has added its train of explosive situations to those problems that were already acute in 1967. To single out only a few, there is the internecine struggle raging in Nigeria, while conciliatory missions of the Organization of African Unity, the international agencies and the Holy See, to which are added the appeals of the United Nations Secretary-General, are being frustrated in their desire to bring an end to hostilities between brother communities.

150. Furthermore, the new travel restrictions imposed on the inhabitants of West Berlin by East Germany are increasing Berlin's isolation and thereby interfering with prospects for *détente* in that vital area of the European continent.

151. Furthermore, the most advanced countries are showing caution in development assistance, anxious as they are to fall back on a kind of outmoded "Cartierism"\* sometimes guided by the justifiable need to solve domestic problems, sometimes apathetic, and sometimes unjustly encouraged by the instability that prevails in some developing countries but is nothing more than an outgrowth of the dissatisfaction that accompanies their national evolution.

152. Lastly, the difficulties of a monetary system in search of new formulae have imperilled the very foundation of international trade.

153. All those questions, I repeat, are added to the still unsolved question of the Middle East, where the spirit of conciliation and mutual respect has not yet prevailed.

154. Both Biafra and West Berlin emit from time to time louder echoes than the Paris talks, which nevertheless form one of the most encouraging sources of hope in our troubled world. The Government of the Republic of Rwanda is therefore following with the greatest attention the progress made towards terminating a conflict which, for human, political and economic reasons, forms one of the major concerns of the entire international community.

155. My delegation firmly believes that good will on both sides can enable such important human and material resources to be employed henceforth for the greater benefit of the populations. It is for that reason that the Paris talks must provide more than merely an opportunity to make speeches aimed at improving morale and inspiring confidence in the allies of one or the other side. Those talks must lead to workable and reasonable compromises. We therefore hope with all our hearts that the first step towards a termination of the South Viet-Nameese conflict can lead to a settlement in which selfish views and questions of prestige—which are for that matter out of place—will give way to reason and to the spirit of conciliation and mutual respect.

156. The delegation of the Republic of Rwanda is of the opinion that cessation of the bombing and hostilities on both sides would contribute greatly to creating an atmosphere of *détente* and wisdom among the negotiators.

\* Translator's note: evidently a reference to the journalist Raymond Cartier.



157. When the Paris talks got under way, the Republic of Rwanda highly appreciated the decision made by the President of the United States to limit the bombings to the region south of the 17th parallel in order to facilitate negotiations. Nevertheless, we had hoped that that decision might meet with a greater determination from the other belligerent party to seek out ways of bringing peace to the region. We are hopeful that the moment will come when both parties will understand that that endless stalemated war is to no one's benefit.

158. The policy of the Republic of Rwanda with regard to the countries and peoples still under colonial rule remains unchanged, especially with regard to the so-called Portuguese territories of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau); the same is also true with regard to Rhodesia, where a racist minority has usurped power; Namibia, where South Africa is unlawfully maintaining its policy of racial segregation; so-called French Somaliland; Gibraltar; Equatorial Guinea, and other territories aspiring to freedom and independence. Rwanda believes that the struggle that has been undertaken for the independence of those countries must continue: it is prepared to play its part in that noble and legitimate struggle.

159. However, we believe that that struggle cannot be waged by force of arms: we recommend that our Organization and each of its Members support through negotiations the demands for independence that political parties and social institutions are constantly making to the dominating nations.

160. With increasing frequency, liberation movements created outside the country are showing a gross incapacity to achieve the desired goal of national independence. There is even a danger that the colonizing nations will succeed through all sorts of corrupt methods in isolating and neutralizing those liberation movements set up outside the country to be decolonized. In addition, armed struggle has been condemned henceforth by the conscience of mankind.

161. Our Organization—and the Trusteeship Council in particular—must arrive at a practical and effective formula for supporting peacefully but firmly the political parties within the country itself that demand their country's independence from the colonial Power.

162. Rwanda views with concern the problem of Rhodesia, which is unsolved owing to the complicity of the economic and financial interests of the great Powers that are allowing the coloured peoples to be deprived of their rights to human dignity and self-determination. Rwanda deplores that the manoeuvrings of the British Government and Parliament are preventing the economic boycott decided upon by the Security Council from achieving its intended aims.

163. We feel a similar concern with regard to the attitude of the South African Government, which continues to ignore various United Nations resolutions adopted to assist the populations subject to the Pretoria régime. We are hopeful that this session can decide on effective measures designed to establish a régime of freedom and human dignity everywhere.

164. Rwanda rejects the argument according to which populations that have not yet reached a sufficient degree of maturity cannot claim to become independent. In fact, that is a harmful thesis, since the yoke of a foreign government has never created political maturity otherwise than through arousing in oppressed peoples an awareness of the abuses of the colonizing Power and thereby inciting them to violence in order to obtain justice. Furthermore, we can counter certain outmoded sophistries by saying that there is no society that does not want to decide its own future for itself.

165. Therefore we are renewing our fullest support for all countries, African and other, that are trying to free themselves from the colonial yoke. At the same time we express our gratitude to the countries that were forerunners in the decolonization movement.

166. We are most grateful to those colonizing countries which each year heed and respond favourably to the appeals for self-determination made from this rostrum.

167. This year we have welcomed the independence of Mauritius and Swaziland and their entry into the United Nations. Soon, if the United Nations and especially the Security Council are willing to play their part in that disturbing question, we will be welcoming—at least, we hope so—the independence of Gibraltar, Equatorial Guinea, Rhodesia—but not a Rhodesia dominated by a white minority—and Namibia.

168. With regard to the refugees, Rwanda pays tribute to the United Nations High Commissioner for the great humanitarian work that has already been carried out to assist displaced populations and to prevent aid to those unfortunate people from becoming a means of subversion aimed against the countries of origin. Further in that connexion, countries that receive refugees must be wary that the territory they generously offer to refugee populations is not used as a supply area for subversive movements in other countries.

169. As for the problem of the divided countries such as Germany, Korea, Viet-Nam and China, the Republic of Rwanda favours search for any method by which a return to territorial unity can be achieved. Rwanda stresses its devotion to those countries that are known to respect the principles of the United Nations Charter and are putting forth real efforts to contribute to the economic and social development of other United Nations Members.

170. Turning specifically to the question of China, my delegation regrets that the Peking leaders are not prepared to abide by the principles that guide our Organization in building a better world free from subversion, oppression and poverty.

171. With regard to the question of Chinese representation in the United Nations, the position taken by Rwanda is as follows: China already has a seat in the United Nations and even has a privileged place on the Security Council. Advocates of the admission of what they call "big" China and the expulsion of "small" China are implicitly the "two Chinas" thesis, which my delegation is completely unable to support. We consider that the seat of the Chinese State is

already filled. As for the legitimacy or the credentials of its representative, we consider that to be an internal matter that the factions within the Chinese nations can settle themselves.

172. In our view there is only one China, and its seat within the United Nations is occupied by the Chinese representative. It remains for us to support any actions that can promote a meeting between Taipei and Peking at which they can set aside the impassioned aspects of their problem and seek out peaceful and effective ways of establishing a national government that can serve the interests and progress of that great and friendly nation.

173. I cannot refrain from mentioning the sensitive Middle East question, concerning which several delegations have already spoken. The Republic of Rwanda, which maintains real bonds of friendship and co-operation with both parties to the conflict, adjures the belligerents to put an end to the state of war existing in that vital area of the world. The confronting parties must be encouraged to meet to discuss their dispute among themselves in an atmosphere imbued with the spirit of legality and mutual respect. The first step towards liquidating a conflict that has already caused so much suffering and bitterness must be a verbal as well as a military de-escalation. However, we have no intention of condemning or exonerating either belligerent: my delegation stresses that discussions are the only method that can lead to a lasting understanding whereby violence ceases to be a "way of life". We wish to make it clear that the attempts being made to wipe out Israel as a nation are not only destined to meet with failure, but are creating the acts of violence that we all condemn.

174. I now turn to the problem of peace-keeping. When the United Nations Charter was signed, the world conditions that it was designed to remedy were very different from what they are today: hotbeds of tension, albeit very grave at the time, were nevertheless localized, whereas now they are breaking out on all sides daily.

175. Only one country possessed the atom bomb; today we officially have five countries that pose an incalculable threat to the world. The number of United Nations Members, very small at that time, has grown to 125.

176. In other words, when we consider the nature of international relations, the multiplicity of the problems discussed here and the varied composition of the Organization, that instrument, the Charter, no longer adequately meets the needs of our era.

177. The peace-keeping system set forth in the Charter, which remains the province of a limited number of privileged Members, no longer answers present-day needs. Indeed, all Member States of the Organization should be able to take part in seeking a solution to problems of world peace and security.

178. Rwanda is among those countries that believe that a new system of peace-keeping could be devised under which all countries would contribute according to their means. The establishment of a permanent security force within the framework of the United Nations could provide at least a temporary solution to the problem of peace-keeping. We

are aware of the complex nature of the problems to which the establishment of such a force would give rise, especially problems of recruitment, financing, leadership and the type of equipment to be made available to that force, not forgetting the problems created by the carrying out of peace-keeping operations.

179. If my delegation dwells on the part that all States Members must play with regard to peace-keeping operations, it is because we are convinced that the United Nations must not continue to be an instrument controlled by certain Powers, but that it must be an organization that can serve peace and equilibrium throughout the world.

180. That, however, is the point: can we speak of peace and equilibrium so long as a disarmament treaty which will include China has not been signed? That is why Rwanda welcomed with satisfaction the news of the invitation extended to People's China by the Secretary-General, U Thant, to join in the disarmament discussions at the Geneva Conference. We would wholeheartedly have hoped that the Peking authorities would reply favourably, for my delegation believes that any disarmament in which China is not a participant cannot be the general and complete disarmament towards which we are striving.

181. Can we speak of peace and equilibrium when each year new types of both conventional and nuclear weapons are invented?

182. Rwanda had sincerely hoped that the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons would have been more complete, so as to include both the horizontal and the vertical aspects of the problem. As we have stated from this rostrum on other occasions, we believe that that treaty, which was opened for signature on 1 July 1968, can only be a partial solution to the problem of disarmament. Now, a problem of such importance, that concerns both the future security and the future development of all countries, requires search not for half-measures but for solutions that meet the seriousness of the situation. No progress will be achieved so long as the nuclear countries can still endlessly increase their atomic arsenals and so long as they do not provide sufficient guarantees of security to non-nuclear countries.

183. It was with special satisfaction that we welcomed the statements of the American and Soviet Governments announcing their readiness to enter into joint negotiations aimed at reducing their offensive and defensive missile systems. We believe in the sincerity of their promises and we express the hope that these will be carried out.

184. We look forward to the moment when all United Nations Member States, large and small, freed from the need to have recourse to weapons, can devote their resources to economic and social development.

185. We believe that economic and social development is one of the principal objectives of the United Nations. And since, instead of joining in the fruitless arms race, Rwanda has devoted its every effort to achieving well-being for its peoples, my delegation would like for a few moments to draw your attention to some economic and social questions of great urgency at the present time.

186. The Republic of Rwanda wishes here to stress the efforts and the failures that we have made in the area of development.

187. The President of the Republic of Rwanda, speaking of development assistance to the African continent, stated:

“That assistance is necessary given Africa’s present stage of development, given the conditions in which each State has acceded to independence, and given the need to achieve the balance of mankind’s contemporary history.”

188. Pointing to the United Nations role in the promotion of countries’ economic progress, President Kayibanda went on to say:

“It is time that the liberation movement advanced from the preliminary stage of gaining independence and turned to more intensive action in the economic, social and cultural development of what today is correctly called the third world.”

189. Rwanda hails the efforts that have already been made towards both bilateral and multilateral assistance. My country particularly notes the new policy adopted by a number of countries, such as Germany, Canada, Denmark, Japan, the Netherlands and Sweden, to increase their budget allocations for development assistance.

190. Nevertheless, appreciable as those efforts are, they are still small compared with the enormous task that remains. At the present time there is considerable pessimism with regard to development. The development crisis has this year been perhaps the most widely discussed subject in the economic and financial world; it has been created by a lack of implementation and orientation of development assistance. As early as the beginning of the year Mr. George D. Woods, former President of the World Bank, stated at New Delhi:

“Up to now, bilateral programmes of assistance had had as one of their primary objectives helping the high-income countries themselves; they had looked towards financing export sales; towards tactical support of diplomacy, towards holding military positions thought to be strategic.”<sup>6</sup>

191. Moreover, the crisis is due to the fact that assistance tends to become stagnant. Some assistance budgets are radically reduced; even trade, because of the expedients by which an attempt has been made to compensate for lack of assistance as such, gives rise to disappointments owing to the pressures brought to bear to lower the prices paid for certain agricultural and mining products; in addition, new trade restrictions are set up to protect certain industries. In this connexion Rwanda urgently directs world attention to the serious situation that the rapid development of the synthetic industries is creating for our own insufficiently-diversified economies.

192. How can it be surprising that, faced with such a situation, the development effort undertaken by some young nations has been handicapped both in the setting up

and the financing of their development plans and in their efforts towards economic diversification?

193. For we cannot over-stress that the first United Nations Development Decade ended in failure; however, our disappointment is mitigated by our determination to learn as much as possible from past mistakes. Indeed, there was failure to achieve over-ambitious goals; there was failure in the discussions held at New Delhi to establish more equitable standards in international trade; there was failure in fixing realistic interest rates and terms of aid better adapted to the capacity of our weak economies to meet high foreign indebtedness.

194. Although realism forces us to accept the present limitations of bilateral aid, we should hope that we might rely at least on multilateral assistance, that donors would be generous to various United Nations agencies and regional assistance organizations. In addition, a more thorough study should be made of the feasibility of multilateral aid to our national development banks.

195. We believe that emphasis should be placed on strengthening the role and the methods of multilateral assistance, which ought to make a more substantial contribution to better planning for the second Development Decade.

196. Let us be very clear. We have no intention of extolling the useless and even detrimental proliferation of organizations that, under cover of the United Nations, would only increase problems of duplication and co-ordination. The delegation of Rwanda believes that an increase in the role and prerogatives of existing programmes could enable the United Nations better to serve our assistance needs. For example, the recently established United Nations Capital Development Fund would gain by being integrated with the United Nations Development Programme; furthermore, once a technical assistance fund were created it could provide an excellent solution to our acute lack of trained personnel by assisting in financing technicians and experts recruited by the governments concerned in addition to bilateral and multilateral assistance.

197. Still within the framework of the United Nations Development Programme, it would be desirable for the United Nations to consider making available to our governments real economic advisers, not agents who frequently act as purely diplomatic representatives. Those advisers would assist our governments in fixing our priorities and in discerning and preparing development projects to be submitted for financing by the appropriate United Nations agencies.

198. The delegation of Rwanda stresses that international co-operation for economic, social and educational development is a pressing duty that no country can shirk. The achievement of that goal requires not merely the study of special projects and the financing of those projects; nor does it require merely sending technicians and experts. At the present stage it also requires serious economic and sociological studies, that must include the entire world, and especially the Third World. Such studies are one of the basic elements in the joint planning of national and international democratic development; they represent the

<sup>6</sup> *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Second Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.68.II.D.14), Annex V, p. 207.

best method of guiding development on the path of world peace.

199. In conclusion, the delegation of Rwanda expresses its great satisfaction at having been able to contribute to one of the United Nations gatherings, which proves that,

notwithstanding differences between peoples and nations, mankind is aspiring to a new order in which an atmosphere of *détente*, justice and co-operation will prevail.

*The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.*