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President: Mr. Emilio ARENALES (Guatemala).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Ohin (Togo),
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. WEI TAO-MING (China) (*translated from Chinese*):
On behalf of my Government, let me join in the expressions
of tribute to Mr. Arenales as President of the General
Assembly at its twenty-third session, not only for his great
accomplishments as a diplomat and statesman, but also as
the representative of a people to whom we are bound by
ties of friendship.

2. The Chinese delegation, representing a peace-loving
nation, has always been ready to support every effort
directed towards the strengthening of international peace
and security and to welcome every sign pointing to a
relaxation of international tension.

3. As we survey the world scene of today we cannot but
realize that disquiet and insecurity prevail in many parts of
the globe. The unbridled rivalry of nations, the unrelenting
conflict of ideologies, the readiness with which force is used
to attain political objectives—these constitute the realities
of contemporary international life.

4. The world in which we now find ourselves is far
removed from the world envisaged by the Charter. Under
that great instrument the United Nations is a community of
free and independent States for the achievement of
common objectives. The paramount purpose of the Organi-
zation is the maintenance of international peace and
security. To that end the United Nations is required to take
effective collective measures for the suppression of acts of
aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to achieve
settlements of international disputes by peaceful means and
in conformity with the principles of justice and inter-
national law. Those are the obligations which Member
States have pledged themselves to discharge. Indeed, one of

the most important conditions for membership is the
ability and willingness to carry out those obligations. I
believe that had Members of the United Nations been
faithful to the obligations they had solemnly assumed,
many of the dangerous problems with which the world is
faced today would not have arisen.

5. The invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia by the
armed forces of the Warsaw Pact countries is a case in
point. Here some of the basic and vital principles of the
United Nations Charter are ruthlessly brushed aside—the
sovereign equality of States, the self-determination of
peoples, the peaceful settlement of international disputes,
as well as the inadmissibility of the threat or use of force
against other States.

6. This flagrant violation of both the spirit and the letter
of the Charter cannot but be a matter of the gravest
concern to Members of this Assembly. The use of naked
force to intervene in the internal affairs of a sovereign State
constitutes a serious challenge to the authority of the
United Nations as guardian of international peace and
security. The implications for small and militarily weak
nations cannot be overemphasized. The apparent inability
of both the Security Council and the General Assembly to
respond positively to the challenge is not calculated to
enhance the prestige of the Organization. Nor does it augur
well for the future of world peace.

7. In the Middle East, there has been little progress
towards settling the problems that have arisen as a result of
the war last year. Breaches of the cease-fire have been
frequent, tension has been on the rise and tempers seem to
have been shortened by frustrations and impatience. The
situation remains highly explosive. Admittedly, the differ-
ences between Israel and its Arab neighbours are complex
and deep-rooted. No easy and short-cut resolution of these
differences can be expected. My delegation believes, how-
ever, that neither Israel nor the Arab States wish to see a
re-enactment of the tragedy of June 1967. One of the
hopeful signs in the present situation is that both sides are
interested in the continuance of the mission of the
Secretary-General's Special Representative in the Middle
East, Ambassador Jarring, whose patience and diplomatic
skill have been widely acclaimed.

8. The principles underlying any peaceful settlement of
the issues dividing Israel and the Arab States must be those
embodied in Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22
November 1967, to which the parties concerned have
unequivocally committed themselves. That resolution
stresses "the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory
by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in
which every State in the area can live in security". My
delegation wishes to reaffirm its support of that Security

Council resolution, as well as of resolution 237 (1967) of 15 June 1967 in regard to the safety, welfare and security of the inhabitants of the affected areas.

9. Although a permanent and just peace in the Middle East may not be brought about overnight, it is hoped that a beginning will be made soon to break the vicious circle of violence, retaliation and counter-retaliation, and that the Special Representative of the Secretary-General will be able to enter into serious dialogues with both sides on some of the substantive issues of the conflict. Some progress towards a peaceful settlement must be made in the near future. For any aggravation of the present situation will not only bring in its train the danger of a renewal of Arab-Israeli hostilities, but may also precipitate a crisis of unpredictable dimensions.

10. The war in Viet-Nam continues to cause universal concern. The preliminary peace talks in Paris between the United States and North Viet-Nam have so far been no more than an exercise in futility. Hanoi has used the talks more as a sounding board for propaganda than as a means of bringing the agonizing war to a speedy conclusion. The partial bombing halt has not brought about a de-escalation of war on the part of Hanoi. It has merely enabled North Viet-Nam to infiltrate more troops and military supplies to the South. And what is more, any expression of a willingness for negotiation on its part does not necessarily signify a change in objectives. The doctrine of protracted conflict expounded by Mao Tse-tung blurs the traditional distinction between war and peace. Peace negotiations would only be another form of warfare fought with political and psychological weapons rather than with military hardware.

11. The Chinese Communist régime, let it be remembered, was one of the prime movers of the Viet-Nam war. To that régime, Viet-Nam is the proving ground of Mao Tse-tung's theory of "people's war", and the conquest of the Republic of Viet-Nam would serve to enhance Peiping's leadership in the world communist movement. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Chinese Communists are bitterly opposed to any negotiated settlement in Viet-Nam. On the other hand, Moscow seems to take a comparatively softer line in regard to peace negotiations. As Hanoi is still trying to maintain an equilibrium in its relations with Moscow and Peiping, it is reasonable to assume that the outcome of the Paris talks may well hinge upon the ebb and flow of the influence exerted respectively by Moscow and Peiping.

12. My Government and people support the Republic of Viet-Nam in its valiant struggle for the maintenance of national independence and freedom. Our admiration goes out to the long-suffering Viet-Nameese people for their courage, and our sympathy for their sacrifices. It is gratifying to note that even under conditions of a terrible war, they have made notable progress in the social, economic and political fields. Subversion from within and aggression from without have not prevented them from making progress towards democratic government.

13. The people in South Viet-Nam wish to live in peace, among themselves as well as with their neighbours. The peace to which they aspire is a genuine peace, a peace based on law and justice, not a peace that would deliver millions

of free men to communist enslavement. They struggle for the right to determine their own destiny. They cannot be expected to accept proposals which would mortgage their future. What is at stake, moreover, is more than the fate of the Republic of Viet-Nam; it is the fate of all Asia. In the quest for peace let no one lose sight of the purposes for which the war in Viet-Nam has been fought.

14. The creation of a unified, independent and democratic Korea remains the objective of the United Nations. For two decades the realization of that objective has been blocked by the lawlessness of the Communist North. None the less, the Republic of Korea has achieved political stability in freedom and democracy, economic prosperity and social justice. The achievements of the Government of the Republic of Korea have been commended in the report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea year after year.

15. In recent months the North Korean authorities have stepped up their efforts to subvert, infiltrate and terrorize the Republic of Korea. Their declared intention is to impose Communist rule by force south of the 38th parallel, and their determination to keep the Korean peninsula in a high state of tension constitutes a serious threat to the peace.

16. The hostility and aggressiveness of the North Korean authorities toward the Republic of Korea have made the continuing presence of United Nations forces a necessity. My delegation can find no justification for the General Assembly to include in its agenda item 25, under the general topic of the Korean question, two sub-items entitled "Dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" and "Withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the Flag of the United Nations".

17. Against this background of international crisis and tension, the conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)] stands out as an achievement of no small magnitude. My delegation supported it both at the resumed session of the twenty-second General Assembly and in the Security Council. Recently at the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States in Geneva,¹ we had the opportunity to reiterate our support of the Treaty. While the credibility of the security guarantees offered by the major nuclear Powers may be open to question, we do not discount the political significance of such guarantees.

18. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons does not, of course, altogether obviate the danger of nuclear destruction. My delegation is convinced that so long as nuclear weapons are manufactured, tested and piled up in national arsenals, there is no guarantee that they will not be used. Nuclear destruction can be eliminated only through nuclear disarmament. The non-proliferation Treaty, though primarily concerned with preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, is indeed intended to serve as an initial step towards the reduction and control of such weapons.

¹ Held from 29 August to 28 September 1968.

19. The Chinese Communists have attacked the non-proliferation Treaty in the *People's Daily* of 12 June 1968 as a "big fraud and big plot of United States imperialists and Soviet revisionists in their counter-revolutionary global collusion", and as "something imposed on the non-nuclear States to bind them hand and foot".

20. In defiance of world opinion and in disregard of the welfare of the Chinese people, the Peiping régime has since 1964 exploded six or seven atomic devices in the atmosphere in the desert of Sinkiang. Peiping's nuclear weapons development is still in the early stages. It does not yet have an operational delivery system. But its threat to international peace and security has continued to mount. The threat it poses lies not so much in its stockpile of nuclear weapons, which as yet hardly exists, as in its ability to exploit its limited nuclear capability to subject its non-nuclear-weapon neighbours to periodic blackmail or else to raise the morale and the militancy of the subversive forces throughout the world.

21. Aggression in the present-day world assumes many forms and masquerades under various guises. Not infrequently, it is concealed rather than open. The catastrophic destructiveness of nuclear weapons has made them particularly unsuitable for purposes of aggression in which the victims are small and militarily weak countries. It is aggression with conventional arms rather than with nuclear weapons that should be our primary concern. If we are really determined to suppress aggression, the way to do it is not to conclude another world-wide convention but to revitalize the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

22. The Chinese Communist régime has been, and continues to be, a threat to the peace and security of South-East Asia. I have already referred to the role it has played in Viet-Nam. In a message to the Central Committee of the Malayan Communist Party in June this year, Peiping declared:

"The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people staunchly support the revolutionary struggle being waged by the Malayan people under the leadership of the Malayan Communist Party to smash 'Malaysia,' overthrow the reactionary rule of British imperialism and its lackeys and win genuine independence and democracy for Malaya."

23. The Chinese Communist régime has not even hesitated to export Maoist revolution to countries which have for years been its most ardent supporters both inside and outside the United Nations. India's championship of Peiping's cause has, as we know, been repaid with implacable enmity and armed attacks. More recently, thousands of Naga tribesmen have been trained in the art of guerrilla warfare in the Chinese province of Yunnan. Of these it is estimated that almost a thousand have returned to Nagaland to join the underground forces in their war against India. At the same time, Peiping has called upon the Indian Communist Party to start a "cataclysmic revolution" to overthrow the "landlord class, local tyrants and evil gentry" and "smash the feudal rule and emancipate the poverty-stricken peasants". "The road of Indian revolution to victory", said the *People's Daily* of 26 February 1968, "can only be the one pointed out by Mao Tse-tung, the one traversed by the Chinese revolution."

24. The Chinese Communist régime has been supporting the Communist Party of Burma to carry out the revolutionary line of "winning the war and seizing political power" by "smashing the large-scale counter-revolutionary 'encirclement and suppression campaigns' of the reactionary Burmese Government, consolidating the revolutionary base and expanding the revolutionary armed forces". "The revolutionary situation in Burma", commented Peiping's official *Peking Review* of 30 August 1968, "is excellent."

25. In its promotion of insurgency, Peiping has not even spared Cambodia, which in recent years has been and still is one of its chief supporters in the United Nations. Prince Sihanouk himself admits that Communist nations, particularly the Peiping régime, have been supplying arms to Khmer Reds. Said the Prince on 13 March this year: "The other day, we seized a junk carrying a great amount of weapons of all sorts from China."

26. In Thailand, Peiping-supported subversive and terrorist activities have attained menacing proportions. Peiping's designs against Laos and Indonesia are only too well known—and I do not have to remind the Assembly that these activities are not confined to Asia alone.

27. It is thus clear that the Chinese Communist régime recognizes no friends except those who submit unquestioningly to its leadership and domination. It follows no norms of civilized international behaviour. It is the greatest disruptive force in the world today. No accommodation, no appeasement, no gesture of goodwill can deflect it from its prescribed course of expansion and conquest. "The way to peace", as President Chiang Kai-shek has recently said in an interview, "lies through eradication of the source of evil that is to be found on the Chinese mainland."

28. For all its aggressiveness, the Chinese Communist régime is not really as strong and powerful as it would have others believe. At the twenty-second session of the General Assembly last year, I had occasion to report that the so-called "great proletarian cultural revolution", designed to destroy all vestiges of Chinese culture and tradition, had thrown the mainland into a state of utter confusion, had smashed both the administrative and party machinery and had ruined the national economy. Permit me now to add a few observations about the upheaval which has continued to rock the Chinese mainland. Contrary to reports in the Western press, the situation has further deteriorated.

29. The establishment of the so-called "revolutionary committees" in place of the old administrative and party machinery has failed to restore law and order. A generally accepted and effective system of authority now continues to elude Peiping, resulting in persistent instability, economic decline and recurring violence throughout the land. The official press in *Wen Hui Pao* of 24 July 1968 has blamed this sad state of affairs on "renegades, enemy agents, landlords and other counter-revolutionaries" who have been "disrupting railway traffic, looting State property, attacking military establishments and sowing discord between the Army and the people, thus pointing the spearhead at the great People's Liberation Army". What this really means is that the effort to construct a stable system has been thwarted by the intense hatred which the

majority of the Chinese people have for the Communists and their oppressive deeds.

30. It is clear that the events of the past two and a half years have eroded the three main props of the Chinese Communist régime: the cult of Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese Communist Party and the so-called "People's Liberation Army". The image of an omnipotent and omniscient Mao Tse-tung, which Peiping has made such frenzied efforts to inculcate for nineteen years, has been destroyed for ever. The party apparatus is in the process of disintegration. The Army, which unquestionably holds the key to the régime's future, is torn by factional strife. It is not surprising that a large number of armed organizations, which are anti-Mao or anti-communist or both, have sprung into being and are gaining strength in all parts of the country. The masses of the people on the Chinese mainland have become increasingly aware that there is an alternative to communist tyranny. Their fervent aspiration is the restoration of freedom under constitutional rule.

31. The Chinese Communists are now in the throes of an unprecedented crisis. They have ceased to exercise effective control over the greater part of the mainland. The hopes of the Chinese people for regaining their lost freedom are brighter than ever before. I have no doubt that they will in the end succeed in overthrowing their oppressors. Let no one try to give the Chinese Communists a new lease on life through membership of the United Nations. Let no one pervert the vital principles of the Charter in order to serve the interests of the aggressors and warmakers.

32. Mr. UMBA DI LUTETE (Democratic Republic of the Congo) (*translated from French*): The delegation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo would like to join with all those who from this platform have so warmly congratulated Mr. Arenales on his unanimous election to the Presidency of this session of this Assembly. His reputation as a statesman and distinguished diplomatist is our assurance that under his guidance our work will be fruitful and therefore crowned with success. Moreover, our common membership of the group of so-called "developing" countries leads us quite naturally to take additional pleasure in his election, which confirms the universality of our Organization, based on respect for the sovereign equality of States.

33. We also wish to express our feelings of deep gratitude to his predecessor, Mr. Manescu, Foreign Minister of Romania, who presided over the discussions of the twenty-second session in such notably competent fashion.

34. The activities of the Secretary-General, who spares no effort to give our Organization added impetus, deserves our utmost esteem. My country renews to that pilgrim of peace its assurance of its appreciation and its wholehearted support.

35. In this International Human Rights Year, the present picture of the world, both political and economic, is far from calculated to encourage an atmosphere of international *détente* and human progress: dialogue and negotiation are giving way to the spirit of violence as a means for settling international disputes.

36. Though Viet-Nam, the Middle East and Nigeria may be the most obvious examples of that state of affairs, the

recent events in Czechoslovakia provide clear and lamentable evidence of the return to the law of the jungle, characterized by the arbitrary use of force.

37. At the same time, a similar drama is unfolding on the African continent, where the international community is the impotent witness of the negation of the dignity of the coloured peoples of southern Africa. Indeed, we are all aware that the régimes in power there are endeavouring through tyranny to enact again exploits which have been finally condemned and proscribed by the irreversible course of history.

38. A further matter for concern that we are impelled to stress is the frantic arms race which, by threatening the survival of mankind, risks plunging the peoples of the earth into terror and anguish.

39. On the one hand, political tensions that threaten the future of the international community, and on the other hand an ever-widening abyss between the rich and the deprived countries—that is how the state of the world appears today, locked in a kind of iron yoke. No honest man can close his eyes to those international divisions and those disparities in standard of living that are the lot of our community. They are without any doubt permanent sources of world friction, and a number of speakers have not failed to stigmatize them before this Assembly.

40. At this late stage in the general debate, my delegation wishes to recall those events in the firm conviction that its modest contribution will add to the range of the solutions so eloquently set forth by the eminent speakers who have preceded me on this platform.

41. In the first part of our statement, we proposed to evoke once more the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, non-interference and self-determination of peoples that constitute the very foundations of the United Nations. If the United Nations is to move forward, relations between States must be based on those principles.

42. Aware of the intrigues of which it has often been the victim, and convinced that respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States is an obligation on all Members of the United Nations, both large and small, the Democratic Republic of the Congo cannot accept any interference in the domestic affairs of others.

43. By reason of its policy of non-alignment in international relations, my country rejects any adherence to imported ideologies and intends to remain aloof from the blocs competing for spheres of influence.

44. In the present international situation, where might prevails over right, for the small countries the problem of how to preserve their hard-won prerogatives and attributes of sovereignty becomes more and more agonizing.

45. There can be no doubt that the events in Czechoslovakia are part and parcel of the dangerous game of preserving spheres of influence and achieving world dominance. Thus once again our fear is that that unfortunate invasion may spark off, within the international community, a series of attempted conquests, violence, inter-

ference and intolerance, things that were once fashionable but were due to disappear and to be supplanted in inter-State relationships by friendship, peace and co-operation. To our mind, the invasion of a sovereign State by foreign forces is a grave violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter; respect for the will of the Czechoslovakian people is the only way to bring the situation in that country back to normal.

46. In the Middle East, repeated military confrontations continually bedevil any prospects of a peaceful settlement of the differences that divide the parties.

47. As it has stated on many occasions, my Government considers that the daily increasing climate of hostility in that region is now becoming more explosive than ever, and is anything but favourable for a return to peace.

48. The spirit of good-neighbourliness and sovereign equality ought to impel the States concerned to work out a just solution in the greater interest of stability and the social and economic advancement of the peoples of that part of the world.

49. Among the steps taken to settle that conflict, the Democratic Republic of the Congo would like to mention particularly the recent resolution adopted at the fifth summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity held at Algiers,² the tenor of which is in the spirit of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967.

50. My Government's foremost desire is to see those States, along with the Member States of the United Nations, endeavouring to implement that resolution by collaborating sincerely and actively with Mr. Jarring.³

51. The second part of our statement will deal with the principles of the Charter relating to self-determination for colonial peoples.

52. At a time when space research and exploration has actually begun, thanks to the discoveries of science and technology, when there is talk of the peaceful use of outer space and of the allocation of the sea-bed and ocean floor to exclusively peaceful purposes, the conscience of mankind is shocked at the continued subjection of the peoples of southern Africa.

53. In that part of the African continent, the last stronghold of colonialism and bastion of racism, some Powers not yet converted to the new ideas—I am referring to Portugal and South Africa—threaten to jeopardize all the progress made by the United Nations towards the liberation of man.

54. The Democratic Republic of the Congo, which has a common frontier with Angola still under Portuguese domination, is physically aware that the security of African States will remain fragile and threatened so long as a part of African territory has not been finally liberated. For that

purpose, the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity must unite their efforts to put an end to that situation.

55. Our determination to support the struggle for liberation of the colonized peoples gives us today the opportunity to congratulate Mauritius and the Kingdom of Swaziland on their accession to international sovereignty and their admission as full Members of the United Nations, and to express the firm hope that we may see Equatorial Guinea joining the great international community following its accession to independence. We are firmly convinced that their accession will inject new life into the United Nations and help to promote the achievement of the aims of the Charter.

56. Southern Africa at present—it needs no emphasizing—is a bulwark for all the supporters of the exploitation of the African peoples. We have declared the fight being carried on by nationalist movements to break the chains of colonialism in their territories to be legitimate, and have appealed to all Member States to give moral and material assistance to those freedom fighters. We are obliged, however, to note that colonial repression in those territories under foreign domination is increasing.

57. With regard to Angola, my delegation must stress that it is the imperative duty of the United Nations to hasten the liberation of that territory, not only in order to conform with the Charter and to answer the legitimate aspirations of the Angolan people, but also to ensure the security of the neighbouring independent States. How many times has not my country complained to the Security Council about acts of aggression by Portugal because my country supports the Angolan liberation movements.

58. Despite the intimidations and threats of the Portuguese military, my Government reaffirms its steadfast determination to support the just fight being carried on by the Angolan people to recover their freedom. More than 500,000 Angolans—I repeat, more than 500,000—men, women and children, have fled from their villages burnt by the Portuguese hordes and found refuge and moral and material assistance in Congolese territory. The right to free self-determination must be restored to the Angolan people and the United Nations cannot evade that duty.

59. There is another cancer in Africa: Southern Rhodesia. Ever since the unilateral declaration of Rhodesian independence by the rebel Ian Smith, economic sanctions against Rhodesia—at first selective, and then general—have had little effect.

60. In the meantime, the internal situation in that colony grows steadily worse; we sit quietly by as savage measures of repression are intensified and constitutional reforms are introduced enshrining the false theory of separate development of the race and the parliamentary predominance of a racist white minority; we also note the expansion of the Rhodesian economy, powerfully supported by certain countries, particularly South Africa and Portugal.

61. Once again, in order to distract international attention during the current session, whole series of negotiations are held, though we know in advance that they are nothing more than delaying tactics to throw dust in our eyes.

² Resolution AHG/RES.53(V), adopted at the Fifth Session of the Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held from 13 to 16 September 1968.

³ The Secretary-General's Special Representative in the Middle East.

62. This survey of the Rhodesian question leaves no doubt that recourse to force is the only way to liquidate the illegal Ian Smith régime. After all, the United Kingdom is still entirely responsible; we cannot help but be astonished at the excuses this administering Power puts forward to justify its refusal to use force in Southern Rhodesia, when we know that it always used that method against some of its former rebel colonies. We repeat, only the use of force can bring majority government to Rhodesia.

63. For its part, my country renews its pledge to co-operate, in solidarity with the Zimbabwe people, with any force in the world willing to help it to free itself from the colonial yoke.

64. Another régime responsible for the unrest in southern Africa is the racist Pretoria régime. South Africa's defiance of resolution 2145 (XXI) by which the General Assembly terminated that country's Mandate for Namibia and made it a direct responsibility of the United Nations sufficiently demonstrates South Africa's extremely unco-operative attitude towards United Nations decisions.

65. Consequently, its presence in this Organization is nothing less than treason. World public opinion is shocked and indignant at the revolting behaviour of a country which condemns innocent Namibians and which since last April has prevented the United Nations Council for Namibia from entering Namibia to perform the functions assigned to it by this Assembly. It is the duty of all Members of the United Nations to co-operate to ensure that resolutions adopted by United Nations organs are effective, lest non-enforcement of such decisions should lead to a total paralysis of the United Nations.

66. So far as my own country is concerned, it is ready to co-operate in implementing the pertinent General Assembly decisions regarding Namibia in order to enable the Council honourably to fulfil its duties. It also urges that the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia should be appointed as soon as possible, so that the administrative machinery will then be complete.

67. In addition to the manifold humiliations inflicted on southern Africa's non-white majority, there lurks in the background a darker and more disturbing shadow; Africa is afraid that the tensions to which the shameless pursuit of this policy of violation of human rights gives rise may one day burst into a murderous and permanent racial conflagration.

68. The racial, segregationist doctrine, based on a difference in skin colour, is by no means confined to South Africa. Like an octopus, it stretches its tentacles over new conquered lands and frontiers in Namibia and Southern Rhodesia and prevents the oppressed southern African majority from acceding to political, economic and social equality.

69. In this International Human Rights Year, my Government takes pleasure in recalling one of the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. I quote:

"The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of

fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation."

70. My country is aware that Member States will help those peoples to realize their legitimate aspirations and recover their inalienable right to self-determination. Consequently, it cannot support any attempt to prevent this question from being considered by the General Assembly.

71. I cannot conclude my remarks on colonialism and its various manifestations in Africa without mentioning a burden that unfortunately has weighed heavily on the independence of our young States: the presence of mercenaries on the sacred soil of our ancestors. That has a new phenomenon, a final effort by the retrograde forces of colonialism, imperialism and racism to reconquer or consolidate at all costs their lost or threatened positions in Africa by opposing by any means in their power the independence, unity and progress of the African peoples and their States.

72. In deciding to rid our continent of these hired killers, we have taught a highly moral lesson to the old embittered civilizations, and we remain convinced that the measures that have been taken will prevent these international predators from ever again reappearing in Africa.

73. Another of my country's international concerns is the threat hanging over the national unity of certain States. The Democratic Republic of the Congo, which was once a victim of that cancer, remains attached to the principle of the territorial integrity of States, and considers that the United Nations should assist artificially divided countries and countries threatened by such division, whether Nigeria, Viet-Nam, Korea or Germany, to protect their national unity.

74. In the case of Nigeria in particular, where foreign interests and monopolies are doing their utmost to maintain secession and the civil war, the territorial unity and integrity of this Member State must be safeguarded in conformity not only with the spirit of our Charter but also with the relevant resolutions of the Organization of African Unity.

75. Again, when we consider the burning issues that threaten world peace, it is impossible not to speak of the painful problem raised by the escalation of the destructive war in Viet-Nam.

76. My country is especially concerned at the suffering of the Viet-Nameese people and is convinced that recourse to force is not the right way to the complete restoration of peace in the Indo-Chinese peninsula. My country supports the continued efforts of the Secretary-General and hopes that the Paris talks, however slight the chances, may one day reach a positive result.

77. Since we are speaking of Asia, I should like to say a word about the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations and about its contribution to the achievement of the aims of the Charter. Both the demographic importance and the political weight of the Asian power on the international chessboard require its

participation in our labours in order that the United Nations may achieve universality, and that peace, sincere understanding and mutual friendship may prevail among all peoples. However, in the past as at present, it has frequently been noted that that country's international contact conflicts with these lofty aims. Its discourteous attitude in its relations with other States, especially with my own country, is a handicap to its admission. Furthermore, examination of this question cannot be permitted to prejudice the position of Taiwan as a member of the United Nations.

78. Foreign intervention in Czechoslovakia, the endless conflict in the Middle East and the murderous war in Viet-Nam have undoubtedly threatened and still threaten international security, but it is the relentless arms race, also, that provides the overwhelming climax of anxiety and horror.

79. Despite the expected modest success in the way of armaments control, the nuclear stockpiles of the great Powers continue to grow. It is our opinion that the extension of the 1963 partial test-ban treaty to all areas would reinforce the efforts stimulated by the recent conclusion of the Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons [*see resolution 2373 (XXI)*]. At the same time, some means should be found of rendering more effective the recommendations of the Conference of Non-Nuclear States, especially those for ensuring the safety and protection of States with no stocks of nuclear weapons [*A/7277, resolution A*].

80. My delegation considers that general and complete disarmament is undoubtedly the only means of ensuring international peace and security.

81. Another aspect of international peace that we should like to examine is the economic balance between nations. Any peace which does not rest on solid foundations cannot be more than transitory, and economic balance is, in our opinion, one of those solid foundations.

82. The economic gap between the developed and the developing countries, and the economic stagnation the latter are experiencing, can only create instability in those countries, an instability that can lead to the breakdown of peace at the international level.

83. We are, however, aware of the fact that the economic development of our various countries depends above all on ourselves, and that international co-operation should be regarded as an adjunct to our domestic efforts to increase their efficacy in the quest for development.

84. Having with great difficulty recovered its political stability, my country, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, has now set to work to rebuild its infrastructure and set its economy moving again by a series of fundamental reforms.

85. The recent monetary reform, accompanied by appropriate fiscal reforms and a reorganization of public finance administration, has laid a solid foundation for economic progress. Our new monetary unit, the Zaire, is becoming stable with very favourable effects on our balance of

payments, so that we have been able to liberalize our exchange system and create favourable conditions for private investment.

86. In addition, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, with a view to rationalizing the exploitation of its natural resources, has enacted legislation regulating land concessions and mining exploitation so that its sovereignty over these resources can no longer be questioned. That legislation is proving to be very effective.

87. We cannot therefore speak of the problems of economic development without touching on the problem of training the necessary managerial staff to ensure its progress. In this direction, despite the difficulty of its situation since its accession to international sovereignty—which I need not enlarge on here—the Democratic Republic of the Congo can be proud of its achievements. The number of managerial staff trained in our universities and colleges is steadily growing and we continue to do our utmost to increase the number of our training colleges and to improve the quality of the teaching. To the numbers of staff trained in our national colleges must be added the Congolese staff trained abroad, and we take this opportunity to thank all those countries which have granted and are still granting such valuable assistance to the Democratic Republic of the Congo in that sphere.

88. In order to ensure a rational utilization of these managerial staff and prevent their possible exodus from the country, we have enacted suitable legislation which takes our development needs into account.

89. Experience shows that if the burden of development is shared, it weighs less heavily on all concerned. It is therefore natural that the Democratic Republic of the Congo should turn first to its neighbouring brother countries to which it is bound by a wholly spontaneous solidarity. The formation of the Union of Central African States, comprising the Central African Republic, the Republic of Chad and our own country, is evidence of our belief in the need to create natural regional bodies in order to ensure the harmonious development of all the States of Africa.

90. This form of regional co-operation, imbued with the spirit of good-neighbourliness and mutual respect for sovereignty, satisfies one of our peoples' deeper aspirations, the creation through solidarity and economic integration of an atmosphere of understanding and friendship, and the economic progress of our respective States.

91. Having exerted great efforts at the internal level, and having demonstrated our peoples' firm determination to achieve regional economic integration, we are now turning to the external world with which we must co-operate under the rules of economic interdependence.

92. The first United Nations Development Decade is drawing to a close, and we are preparing to set the goals for the second Decade. It is only natural that we should begin by drawing up the balance sheet, however brief, of the first Decade.

93. As every speaker who has preceded me on this platform has stated, the results of the first Decade have

been disappointing. Despite the efforts of the developing countries and of some international bodies, the goal which had been set—a minimum 5 per cent growth rate in the developing countries—has not been attained; the principles adopted at the first session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held at Geneva⁴ to govern international economic relations have not been applied; the second session of the Conference, held at New Delhi,⁵ was also a partial failure, if not a set-back, even though it adopted the principle of the transfer of 1 per cent of the developed countries' gross national product to the developing countries and the principle of non-reciprocal preferential treatment for the exports of the developing countries.

94. Allow me to say how disappointed we feel at this state of affairs. Are we to believe that the very basis of international co-operation between the developed and the developing countries is again being called in question?

95. Not that we have any wish to overlook the assistance, both bilateral and multilateral, which our country has continued to receive ever since its accession to international sovereignty. Indeed, we must pay a sincere tribute to all those friendly nations, to the United Nations and to its specialized agencies, for the concern they have shown for our economic problems.

96. All of us firmly believe that both bilateral and multilateral assistance have an immense value for the economic development of the developing countries; we are equally convinced that the most important, effective and stable assistance the developing countries expect from the developed countries is the reorganization of international trade patterns in order to improve the terms of trade of the developing countries so as to favour their exports.

97. The Democratic Republic of the Congo itself attaches particular importance to the expansion of international trade. In our view, such expansion should involve a greater participation by developing countries. Those countries will be able to rely on such expansion to implement their development programmes, provided they can be assured of an increase in their capacity to import capital goods.

98. On the threshold of the second Development Decade, we must express our concern at the fact that the idea of re-organizing international trade patterns and the principles that should govern international economic relations which were adopted at the first session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development have not yet been accepted by all countries.

99. We cannot help but wonder whether the second Decade, despite the careful preparations we should like to see made for it, based on the excellent ideas about global strategy and quantitative goals put forward from this platform, will not in the end meet the same fate as the first, for the simple reason that the fundamental principles that should govern international co-operation have not been accepted by all.

100. However, we remain optimistic and believe that reason will prevail, so that an economic balance between

the nations, that firm base for international peace, will be achieved.

101. May I conclude very briefly with a few thoughts. Peace threatened in the Middle East and in Viet-Nam; Nigeria rent asunder; colonialism and *apartheid* strengthened in southern Africa; an armaments race; half the world under-developed: that, alas, is the unpleasing picture the world has to offer, those are also the problems the United Nations has to face. Established to serve the noblest cause of all—the cause of peace—it is hamstrung by the failings of Member States in the peaceful settlement of disputes.

102. So that the acceptance of the concepts of sovereign equality and interdependence and the unflagging determination to support the fight for liberation that is being carried on with such determination by the peoples of the territories still under foreign domination may be strengthened in every Member State, the Democratic Republic of the Congo once again proclaims its unshakable faith in the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter. It is convinced that only the good faith of Member States, their support of the efforts of the United Nations, and their mutual understanding can strengthen peace, solidarity and friendship among peoples.

103. Mr. NTAWURISHIRA (Burundi) (*translated from French*): Mr. President, it is an honour for a representative of the Republic of Burundi to have been given this opportunity to extend his warm congratulations to Mr. Arenales on his election to the Presidency of the twenty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly. I am sure that his many qualifications will contribute to the success of the current session, and I can assure him of the positive collaboration of the delegation of the Republic of Burundi.

104. The delegation of Burundi would also like to join with all those who have preceded it in paying tribute to the President of the previous session, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Romania, Mr. Manescu, whose competence, authority, clear-sightedness and objectivity did honour both to his country and to the United Nations. Yes, he did do honour to the United Nations, and for that he is deserving of our praise, for he succeeded in doing what many are no longer able to do because they no longer respect the Charter.

105. To do honour to the United Nations means respecting man himself, for United Nations ideals all focus on man. To do honour to the United Nations means recognizing equality among men; it means recognizing the colonial peoples' right to independence; it means respecting the sovereignty of nations and their territorial integrity; it means doing nothing that could compromise world peace and, lastly, it means contributing to man's full development by taking an active part in the fight against ignorance, disease and poverty.

106. Yet how blatantly, also, have those ideals, of which we are all aware and to which we all subscribed in adhering to the United Nations Charter, been flouted by those very people who in the name of an allegedly higher civilization and culture preach the equality of man in churches and public places, but deny Africans the right to enjoy their freedom!

⁴ The first session was held from 23 March to 16 June 1964.

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

107. Even today, during the twenty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly, when we could reasonably hope for relative peace thanks to the Organization's constant efforts, the picture of the international situation reveals in many places too many disquieting shadows.

108. In South Africa—as many speakers have emphasized—the status of the black man gets worse instead of better. He is subjected to every conceivable humiliation as if to convince him that his only value is his market value. And yet who among the South African leaders could substantiate the white man's claim to superiority over the so-called coloured man? We know that they would not attempt it. Science defies them to do so. But what they do know—and it is at this point that their malice takes on a criminal aspect—is that by keeping a man in conditions unfavourable to his mental development, by denying him education, by depriving him of his freedom, by enmeshing him in a system of inhuman laws, they are depriving him of the means to react against his debasement.

109. What the advocates of *apartheid* do not know, however, is that the so-called coloured man does not believe in either the superiority or the inferiority of the inventor of *apartheid*, but believes firmly in equality among men. Thus, he maintains his balance and acts in conformity with the ideals of a Charter that is vainly trying to restore to him his rights.

110. That South Africa, whose shameless practices are well known to us all, should remain a member of the United Nations flouts morality and discredits the Organization. Furthermore, that it should refuse to grant independence to Namibia and systematically practise its policy of *apartheid* there, shows just how determined it is to defy mankind. No one will deny that.

111. The United Nations must take urgent steps to lead this territory—Namibia—to independence. It is true that the key to the problem is in the hands of the great Powers. What a fine example of international co-operation and participation in the betterment of man those four great Powers—the United States, the Soviet Union, France and the United Kingdom—could give us if they would undertake for a fixed period, on behalf of the United Nations, the task of leading that country to independence.

112. Of course, I realize the hazardous nature of my reflection if it were to become a proposal, and I fear the competition of ideologies and interests on Namibian soil. I also realize—and this is merely stating a fact—that in the twentieth century the age of miracles is past, or almost. It is perhaps due to the progress of science.

113. In any case, if we add to this unhappy South African picture the shadow that the Ian Smith régime has cast over the map of Africa by Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence,⁶ Africa has no reason to rejoice, and the United Nations has no reason to be proud.

114. Of course the phrase has become common usage and everyone talks about the “unilateral declaration of independence”, whereas in fact it would be more correct to speak of Rhodesia's “concerted declaration” of independence; for

the Republic of Burundi has certainly never believed that the Rhodesian settlers would have set that infernal machinery in motion without the tacit agreement of the United Kingdom Government. The passivity of the reactions to the “concerted declaration” of independence corroborates the view that there was complicity on the part of the United Kingdom Government.

115. From the outset, the Republic of Burundi has made it clear that the United Kingdom alone was responsible for this usurpation of the territory of Zimbabwe by the English settlers, and that it was for the British Government alone to restore its lawful rights to the Zimbabwe people.

116. We firmly believe that economic sanctions are nothing but a subterfuge to distract international public opinion and that the United Kingdom Government is equally convinced of their ineffectiveness, whence the importance it attaches to that kind of manoeuvre.

117. The Government of the Republic of Burundi has never ceased to believe that the only way for the British Government to prove the sincerity of its intentions, and consequently its desire to stamp out what it calls the “Rhodesian rebellion”, was by using force. We do not think that regular meetings, like the one that has just taken place at Gibraltar between the Head of the British Government and Mr. Ian Smith, are planned in the interests of the people of Zimbabwe.

118. They are rather—and that follows logically from the “concerted declaration” of independence—regular meetings for the co-ordination, the redefinition of a joint strategy and of the methods to be employed to perpetuate colonialist domination in that region of Africa.

119. The moments for the meetings are well chosen, for attention must be paid to international public opinion. The first session of the last meeting was held—it will be remembered—at practically the same time as the opening meeting of the present United Nations General Assembly. How ironical! How deceitful!

120. As we can see, there are few grounds for optimism. African pessimism is further increased when we find that the most backward country in Europe—Portugal—refuses to grant independence to Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) and persists in practising the evils of colonialism on the African continent.

121. For Portugal, it matters little that the United Nations has condemned colonialism and called for those colonies to be given their independence; the important thing is that, despite the chronic under-development of its own territory, it is mobilizing an army of 140,000 men to crush the freedom fighters and perpetuate its exploitation of African soil. The delegation of the Republic of Burundi pays a ringing tribute to the victims of Portuguese colonialism. But since Portugal is a Christian country, since it is Catholic and since it rejects legal arguments, ought it not perhaps to be reminded that exploitation of African soil is stealing and that stealing is a sin. Perhaps it would be sensitive to the Christian principle which says that all men are equal? There can be no doubt that Portugal believes in that principle, but it adds a qualification; it says “All men are equal except before economic and financial interests”.

⁶ Declaration of 11 November 1965.

122. In fact, it is by virtue of that qualification that *apartheid* is practised in South Africa, that Namibia is denied independence, that Southern Rhodesia has proclaimed so-called unilateral independence, and that Portuguese colonialism continues its massacre of the innocents. Wherever men are suffering, there are economic and financial interests at stake.

123. Nigeria has not escaped this sad state of affairs. To be sure, the Nigerian war has caused and is still causing many victims, and we regret that. The Government of the Republic of Burundi is very sensitive to Nigeria's sufferings. It has proposed a cessation of hostilities, but it also remains very much aware of the danger that besets Africa. If a secession, for whatever motives, were to succeed in Africa, it would inevitably mean the disruption of the majority of African States. Africa has no interest in seeing the war continue, but we must also ask where the province of Biafra is getting its arms from. Providing it with arms is taking part in the slaughter. Providing it with food-stuffs and medical supplies is performing a humanitarian deed. And out of respect for Nigerian sovereignty, everything should go through Federal Government channels.

124. It is illogical to speak of respect for national sovereignty elsewhere and to ignore it when it comes to the African countries. Those who talk about independent States and of the right of self-determination should be asked straight out exactly what meaning they attach to that principle. We will not dwell on the point; the danger for young African States is all too obvious, for the meaning they attach to it is subject to the demands of imperialism. Let us hope that human lives may be spared, and that Nigeria may retain its full integrity.

125. That integrity we hope for everywhere, including the Middle East, where Israel still occupies territories it usurped in the June 1967 war. The Republic of Burundi has said more than once what it thought of that war and its consequences. It would be superfluous to repeat it. What it must, however, repeat is that Israel, by refusing to implement resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November last, is seriously compromising the chances of peace in that part of the world.

126. It is also timely to repeat that, just as Israel has the right to exist, so it does not have the right to occupy territories that do not belong to it. We sincerely believe that it is high time a lasting solution was reached to the Middle East problem, failing which there will continually be an obvious risk of armed confrontation between the antagonists and the great Powers.

127. What causes us the greatest anxiety is our conviction of the interest of the great Powers in that region and of their determination to make the Middle East problem their own. We can easily see the implications for world peace if we continue to provide the great Powers with opportunities to exercise their imperialism in that region. Israel must withdraw from the illegally occupied Arab territories. That is how that country can contribute to the restoration of peace in the Middle East.

128. Peace is what the world needs everywhere: in Africa, in the Middle East, in Viet-Nam, in Europe.

129. In Viet-Nam, with the opening of the Paris talks, we had thought we saw a glimmer of peace on the horizon. Unfortunately, those talks have now been going on for several months but the war is still raging. That war would surely have ended by now if the Viet-Nameese had been allowed the opportunity to settle their problems themselves without outside interference.

130. Non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States is a principle that must remain inviolable. The recent events in Czechoslovakia can no more be justified than those in Viet-Nam. In 1968, also, imperialism will not have been, as we always thought, the monopoly of the capitalist powers. Can the presence of foreign troops in Czechoslovakia really be explained except by the feelings of power and hegemony that actuate the occupying Powers? If, in the name of ideological orthodoxy, a super-Power can occupy any country whatever which follows the same ideology, how can there be any respect for the sovereignty of States? The Republic of Burundi has always protested against such practices.

131. So long as international morality continues to be governed by force, the situation of small States will remain precarious.

132. The situation recently created in Europe is not calculated to inspire confidence in the States which have already signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)], and is causing those States which had intended to accede to it to hesitate. The Republic of Burundi, for its part, feels that the Treaty does not contain sufficient safeguards for non-nuclear States. Moreover, the Government of the Republic of Burundi sees behind the Treaty the great Powers' determination to preserve the bloc policy. Two Powers will go on dictating the law to the world without any possibility of other views being heard. The Republic of Burundi will not refuse to sign the Treaty once it has an assurance that all States in the same position as itself are protected. It will always be ready to join those who seek peace.

133. Similarly, it will always be ready to join those who observe the rules of logic in international relations, especially when logic can lead to a *détente* among nations. Because of the machinations of certain Powers, the United Nations does not behave logically. A nuclear Power whose technical and industrial achievements command the admiration even of its enemies, and whose more than 700 million inhabitants make it the world's most populous country, the People's Republic of China is still absent from the United Nations; we sincerely believe that it would help the cause of peace if it were to admit it to the United Nations. Incidentally we are glad to see that some European countries which formerly opposed China's admission to the United Nations have realized that it is better to adopt the logical policy of *détente* and that in the long run there is nothing to be gained by persisting in a mistake.

134. Unfortunately, to this gloomy picture of the international political situation must be added the no less gloomy picture created by the immense discrepancy of wealth among countries and by the protectionist trends of the richest States. As a member of the Group of Seventy-Seven, which recently grew to eighty-nine, and suffering the

fate of the economically deprived countries, Burundi cannot help but regret the refusal of the industrial powers, at the second UNCTAD session at New Delhi, to abandon their traditional trade machinery. It goes without saying that the protectionist measures applied or projected by the developed States are an obstacle to the progress of the developing nations. It must also be recognized that international co-operation is impeded when equality of rights is not observed in trade agreements between members of the international community. A better order of world trade cannot be established without the determination of the industrially developed States to remove the obstacles and restrictions on imports of products from the developing countries. Since UNCTAD is responsible for the improvement of trade relations among Members of the United Nations, it should set to work to abolish as rapidly as possible the restrictive practices that are hampering and retarding the flow of imports from the poor nations.

135. We hope that during the second Development Decade the efforts of the United Nations will be directed to remedying the causes of the setbacks of the last ten years and to translating into reality the resolutions adopted at the second session of UNCTAD, particularly those for the establishment of a world economic balance and international trade co-operation conceived as an instrument for the development and progress of mankind.

136. However, if we had to choose which should be given priority, whether economic problems or decolonization problems, we should have no hesitation in saying that the United Nations must first set out to extirpate the cancer that is gnawing the vitals of southern Africa, for we are convinced that once man regains his honour, he will find the necessary means to conquer natural evils.

137. Mr. RABEMANANJARA (Madagascar) (*translated from French*): The Malagasy delegation would like first of all to extend its warmest congratulations to Mr. Arenales on his election to the Presidency of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly. I am certain that he will devote to the service of our Organization the outstanding qualities of which he has given proof throughout a brilliant career. His experience of international life and his great gifts will, I am sure, help to create in this hall the serenity with which we all hope our labours may be marked.

138. I am also glad to salute in him the representative of a small country, Guatemala, and a country of the third world. I would like to see his election as, on the one hand, evidence that talent is always recognized within the United Nations and, on the other hand, a promise that the problems of the developing nations will be considered here with all due attention.

139. My delegation would also like to pay tribute to the outgoing president, Mr. Corneliu Manescu, whose impartiality and skill greatly contributed to preventing a confrontation that might have led to the break-up of the United Nations.

140. The Malagasy Government would say the same of the untiring and persistent efforts, in every field, of our distinguished Secretary-General, U Thant. Despite the

limitations of the Charter and the complex and shifting realities with which he has constantly had to contend, he has invariably given proof of his determination that the United Nations should fulfil its role not only as a deliberative body, but as an instrument of positive stimulus and action.

141. I should like to extend fitting congratulations to Swaziland and Equatorial Guinea on their accession to independence. The admission of those brother countries to the United Nations is a special source of pleasure to me because it marks a further stage in the process of the total liberation of Africa.

142. I speak on behalf of a country which, thanks to its geographical situation and the wisdom of its President and its people, is able to live in peace and, in these difficult times, to devote itself entirely to the only battle that is, in its opinion, worth fighting, the battle against under-development. Ever since the proclamation of the Republic, whose tenth anniversary was recently celebrated in Madagascar with unprecedented enthusiasm and fervour, the essential aim of the Malagasy Government has not changed: it is to secure the well-being and security of the great island's inhabitants and to seek to free them forever from the age-old scourges of ignorance, hunger, disease and fear of the morrow.

143. All the nation's resources and strength have been mobilized for that purpose. At the same time, the aim of Malagasy diplomacy, hinged mainly on international co-operation, has been to find abroad the additional financial and technical resources needed to equip the country, and to promote the establishment, on a world scale, particularly with regard to trade, of the indispensable conditions for the achievement of our development plan.

144. But however committed we may be in this battle, and however bent on our own aims, the Government and people of Madagascar are none the less attentive to what is happening in the rest of the world. We are all the more attentive because, although it may not always be directly and strikingly affected by it, Madagascar cannot help but be profoundly moved by the deterioration of the international situation, and deeply concerned about the future of peace, respect for human freedom and the independence of nations.

145. When I was here in this same hall, last year at the same time, there was an atmosphere of *détente*, of hope. There was what I might call a relative optimism. There was talk of burying the cold war once and for all and of setting forth resolutely on the path of peaceful coexistence. There was reason to think that arms would be laid down in Viet-Nam, in the Middle East and in Africa, and that reasonable and humane solutions would be found to those bitter conflicts by negotiation. It even seemed possible that substantial progress on the thorny problem of general disarmament might quickly be achieved. Finally there was a feeling that, freed from the spectres of racism, ideology and war, the world was about to turn to building the future and to make up honestly, seriously and effectively the great question of the division of the world into rich and poor, into over-developed and under-developed countries.

146. We representatives of the third world had come from the Algiers Conference⁷ where in all humility we had drawn up a charter which was intended to be moderate and constructive and which, in broad outline, it seemed to us, was bound to be accepted without too much difficulty at the international Conference at New Delhi. Of course, we had no illusions about another night of August the fourth, about robbing the rich to give to the poor, but we did think in all simplicity that something new, something original, something truly humane would be done and that at last, in the words of Dr. Raul Prebisch, the United Nations Development Decade was going to cease to be a development decade without a development policy. Alas! the least that can be said is that up till now, 1968 has scarcely fulfilled the promises of 1967.

147. In Viet-Nam blood is still being shed and ruins pile up, while in Paris the talks are stalled over preliminaries which can only lead to doubts as to whether there is any real will to peace.

148. In Korea the situation has again become explosive.

149. In the Middle East, the arms race has started again; surprise attacks and reprisals follow each other at an increased tempo in spite of the Security Council resolutions; the Suez Canal remains closed and it is distressing to find that no one seems to be thinking seriously about reopening it, though it is obvious that the economies of a great many countries—my own country, Madagascar, being one of the first among them—are suffering cruelly in consequence.

150. Nigeria is still plunged in fratricidal war. The right to self-determination is still denied to the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. Racism is still rampant in South Africa and Rhodesia; in the latter country, unfortunately, it is now taking the form of bloody repression.

151. In Europe, in one tragic night that will go down in history, 600,000 Warsaw Pact soldiers have put an end to what was called the "Prague springtime", and ridden rough-shod over the legitimate hopes of a people merely seeking justice, equity and freedom.

152. I could quote lots of other examples. But what is the use? You all know them. To weigh the consequences and the risks, I cannot do better than repeat the words of our eminent Secretary-General, U Thant, when he said that the world is faced with a serious decline in international morality [see A/7201/Add.1, para. 174], with States relying increasingly on force and violence as a means of resolving their international differences. And he added:

"If this trend is not reversed, and if the principle of non-intervention in the free destiny of nations is not re-established, the future of the international peace and security itself is indeed a very dark one." [Ibid.]

153. It was inevitable that all those dramas, those lowering clouds, accompanied by so much unproductive expenditure, should have unfortunate repercussions in the economic sector and that, alas, most of the hopes of the countries of the third world should be dashed.

⁷ Ministerial meeting of the group of seventy-seven developing countries, held from 10 to 25 October 1967.

154. I have no wish to dwell on the results of the New Delhi Conference; too much has been said about it here already. But as the spokesman for a proletarian nation, I cannot but deplore from this platform the meagre progress achieved at New Delhi in sectors as fundamental for us as financial assistance, organization of commodity markets, guaranteed access to markets, transfers of technology, and the preparation of global development plan.

155. Of course, it is some comfort that when the New Delhi Conference was over, we were able to feel that the ground had been prepared, that problems had been isolated and that there had been a general recognition of the problems involved. It is also true that negotiations have not been broken off and that committees of experts anxious to solve those problems are already at work. But time is short and, as in the political sphere, the situation, alas, is steadily deteriorating.

156. The GATT annual report for 1967 states that:

"... there was a marked slowing-down in the economic growth of developing countries in 1965 and 1966. In those two years, gross product (at constant prices) expanded at an annual rate of only about 3.5 per cent which, having regard to population growth, represents an annual increase of only 2 per cent in per capita income. This was the first time since the early 1950s that there had been such a low growth rate for two consecutive years."⁸

157. The same report notes that in 1956 the growth in developing countries' imports was more rapid than the growth in their exports, so that the deficit in their balance of payments increased. It also notes that the third world's share of world trade is decreasing steadily: 27 per cent in 1953, 21 per cent in 1961, 20.4 per cent in 1965, 19.3 per cent in 1966. At the same time, the percentage of assistance granted by the developed countries, which had been 0.87 per cent of national income in 1961, fell to 0.62 per cent in 1966. In Madagascar, a country that is considered to be especially privileged in this matter, it is noted that in 1967 foreign assistance in the form of subsidies or loans decreased by 17 per cent in relation to 1966.

158. Thus, against every hope and in spite of torrents of fine words, trade and capital movements still continue to flow in the same direction, from the poor to the rich, from the weak to the strong, a paradoxical blood transfusion from the anaemic patient to the man bursting with health. The inflexible law of wages seems now to have been succeeded by the inflexible law of under-development. The supreme irony of this is that it is all happening in the middle of the Development Decade. What, then, would be happening if a number of solemn undertakings had not been given in 1961? What will happen tomorrow when the tension resumes, when we once more begin to think and act in terms of power, when the arms race gathers speed even though there are already enough to blow up our planet ten or twenty times? What will it be possible to offer the third world countries apart from idle promises, military bases and perhaps the pill?

159. Faced with these gloomy prospects, what are we to do? My answer lies in those principles which represent the

⁸ *International Trade, 1966* (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade publication, Sales No.: GATT/1967-1), p. 8.

constants of Madagascar's foreign policy, as defined by Mr. Philibert Tsiranana, President of the Republic,

"non-interference in the affairs of other countries, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, non-recourse to threats or force, conciliation, negotiation, arbitration, strengthening of international co-operation".

I shall not expatiate on those principles. Their wording seems to me to be clear enough and self-explanatory. They are the very theme of the Charter.

160. I would, however, like briefly to remind you of my Government's position on some of the major problems, a position that in essence conforms with the views expressed from this platform by my two regretted predecessors, Mr. Albert Sylla, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Louis Rakotomalala, Madagascar's Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

161. Madagascar will still not vote in favour of the draft resolution requesting the admission of the Peking régime: first of all, we cannot accept a country which does not hide its contempt for United Nations principles and for the United Nations itself; secondly, how can we help but feel most distrustful of a régime which attempts to impose its will by violence and subversion on millions of human beings whose only aspiration is for freedom?

162. Madagascar strongly urges the Paris negotiators, both American and North Viet-Nameese, to seek a peaceful solution that will enable the Viet-Nameese people to choose freely and independently the form of government it wishes to see established in its country.

163. I would like now to repeat the recent words of Vice-President Humphrey. Would the great American people really be running a considerable risk if it were to stop the bombing of North Viet-Nam completely? Then we would really be able to gauge Hanoi's desire for peace. If the infiltrations of men and supplies continued and terrorism persisted, it would mean that Hanoi did not really want peace and was accordingly opposed to the establishment of a government by democratic process.

164. My country considers that, in present conditions, since the *Pueblo* affair and the attempted assassination of South Korean leaders by elements infiltrated from the North, retention in Korea of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and a United Nations force is more necessary than ever. The United Nations presence is a moderating and dissuasive factor, as we have noted elsewhere, particularly in Cyprus over the past two or three years.

165. As I said just now, Madagascar is particularly sensitive to the situation in the Middle East, especially as a result of the closing of the Suez Canal. I now make a fraternal appeal to Israel and to the Arab States to embark on serious negotiations for the recognition of the State of Israel and the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories.

166. I would beg our African brothers who are killing each other on Biafran battlefields to abandon a futile combat that is imposing intolerable sufferings on thousands of

women and children. I hope there will be a speedy cease-fire, that the talks at present broken off will be resumed and that in those talks the two brothers in conflict will not forget that the dismantling of African States would inevitably lead to the Balkanization of our continent, a result that would be completely incompatible with the aims of the Organization of African Unity. I also hope that a misplaced sense of propriety will not lead us to ignore the events that have provoked a murderous struggle between the different ethnic groups in certain regions of Africa.

167. Finally, I would like to assure our African brothers who are fighting for their independence and being kept in a state of subjection by racism, of the support of the Malagasy Republic. True, Madagascar's support is not always expressed in ringing statements, by spectacular and ephemeral gestures. But, as our Head of State, President Philibert Tsiranana, has rightly emphasized, one of the best ways to overcome the last strongholds of colonialism and to combat racism is by demonstrating that different races can live together in perfect harmony. Madagascar is a prime example of that. Its frontiers are open; anyone can come and see that black, yellow and white work and live in peace there together.

168. As a former colonized African, I was tempted to say nothing of Europe. But I feel bound to state that the principle of a self-determination should apply to Europe as well. If it were applied effectively, the German problem would have been settled long ago and the recent painful events in Czechoslovakia would never have happened.

169. With regard to Czechoslovakia, and because I represent a country with a socialist government, I cannot refrain from castigating its occupation in the name of socialism. For us in Madagascar, socialism means control of the principal means of production by the people as a whole, equal distribution of wealth, the eradication of parasites; but above all it means the liberation of man through democracy and freedom of expression. We cannot understand a socialism that is unable to maintain its existence without censorship. We cannot understand intervention with apparently the main purpose of bringing journalists and artists to heel.

170. I was really horrified to read in a French newspaper these words by a Soviet journalist:

"The free play of political forces within a capitalist society benefits the working class because it assists the struggle to satisfy its needs. But in a socialist society when political power is in the hands of the working class, such free play would represent a descent to a lower level of development."

Such reasoning and such principles reveal an alarming mental aberration. Their acceptance would inevitably pave the way for a world of concentration camps.

171. And here I come to the last part of my statement, in which I should like to set forth my Government's views on international co-operation.

172. My Government is more than ever convinced that it is there and there alone that the solution to the problems facing mankind is to be found. Its active participation in

the International Conference on Human Rights,⁹ its welcome of the plans for an "International Education Year" [see resolution 2306 (XXII)], its ratification of the Treaty on the peaceful uses of outer space and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons are evidence of its desire to co-operate in every field of endeavour. There is, however, one field in which my Government is more particularly interested: and that is the field of technical, economic and financial co-operation. There is nothing surprising in that for, as I emphasized in my preliminary remarks, Madagascar is an under-developed country, and it can be forgiven if it is obsessed by development; need I remind you that from this platform such an authority as Mr. Michel Debré, France's Foreign Minister, stated:

"... the widening gap"—[between industrialized countries and those that are not yet industrialized]—"must become a source of bitterness and rebellion. The solidarity which should be a bond of union between developed and developing peoples is not solely a humanitarian policy; it is also a rational policy. However, the action that is being taken, along lines that have been described in so many speeches, is still inadequate." [1583rd meeting, para. 99.]

173. In recent years, Madagascar has not neglected any form of co-operation. At the bilateral level, after normalizing and strengthening its relations with the former metropolitan country, it has negotiated and signed a whole series of agreements, quite a long list of them—with other countries. At the African level, the closest collaboration has been maintained with the French-speaking countries, first in the Afro-Malagasy Organization for Economic Co-operation, then later in the joint Afro-Malagasy Organization. A *de facto* free trade area has been set up and the African and Malagasy coffee and sugar organizations have now gained international recognition.

174. The Government of Madagascar feels that it must go further. It is for that reason that it is taking an active part in the preparatory work for the establishment of a common market for East Africa; it is for that reason that it would like to see the efforts of the Organization of African Unity directed more specifically to economic problems.

175. I should like to express to this Assembly my great pleasure at the recent extension of assistance to Madagascar by the great international organizations, in the full sense of the term: the United Nations Development Programme (Special Fund component), the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the World Food Programme. That is a type of assistance that is greatly appreciated, for we know it is completely objective and disinterested.

176. The Government of the Republic of Madagascar would however like to see that assistance directed rather more towards Africa, and made more accessible by a modification of some procedural and basic provisions, especially those concerning, for example, the problem of counterpart funds.

177. I should also like to stress that, despite the relative failure of the New Delhi Conference, Madagascar will

continue to support the efforts of UNCTAD in its patient and laborious search for an improvement in assistance and world trade.

178. UNCTAD is, in fact, the supreme platform for the proletarian nations, the tool from which they expect changes in the grossly unfair and unjust economic laws by which the world is at present governed, and whose harmfulness cannot be over-emphasized, since those laws contain the seeds of strife and war.

179. Madagascar and a group of other countries have often been reproached with having helped to paralyse UNCTAD's work by their attachment to regional forms of co-operation. Everyone will understand that I am referring to our association with the European Economic Community.

180. I wish to state clearly here that the Government of Madagascar will enthusiastically welcome an arrangement on a world scale, and is ready to accept its share of sacrifices the moment an acceptable solution appears. But it is obvious that, responsible as it is for its nation's future, it can only do so once reasonable and concrete proposals that can be implemented immediately have been put before it.

181. Still in connexion with UNCTAD, may I express a wish? It is that more attention should be paid to the problem of transfers of technology. Technology is now progressing at a dizzy rate, but it remains the prerogative of the privileged nations. Unless we are careful, the privileged nations will always be in a position to ensure their domination. At best, we shall have replaced the under-development we now deplore by another kind of under-development, just as intolerable and just as pernicious.

182. Of course, Madagascar does not expect everything to come to it from outside. It is familiar with the proverb, "God helps those who help themselves". That is why it has mobilized all the nation's internal resources. Auxiliary structures—a national bank, a national investment company, an industrial production development bureau, co-operatives, federations of communes, State farms, civic services—have been set up as part of the five-year plan.

183. An increasingly large proportion of budgetary credits is being allocated to investment. Even in 1966, it already represented 13 per cent of the total budget, but it rose to 40 per cent in 1967. Furthermore, in its anxiety to show the importance it attaches to international institutions and its feeling of solidarity, Madagascar has just doubled its contribution to the United Nations Development Programme (Special Fund component).

184. The deterioration of the international situation and its corollary, the arms race, can lead at any time to a general conflict and the destruction of mankind. They involve considerable expenditure which might by rights be devoted to the economic and social betterment of the millions of men, women and children living in poverty, despair and humiliation. It is time, it is high time, that the world pulled itself together and behaved more sensibly.

185. It is for the purpose of dealing with this crucial question that Madagascar, along with Cambodia and Gabon, has taken the initiative of proposing the inclusion in the

⁹ Conference held at Teheran from 22 April to 13 May 1968.

agenda for the General Assembly's twenty-third session of the item entitled "One day of war for peace" [A/7183 and Add.1].

186. It is my earnest hope that the General Assembly will seriously consider this proposal which, I must emphasize, has no ulterior political motive. I hope the General Assembly will give it a favourable reception. The resources it would liberate would serve the interests of all countries and would without any doubt bring about an improvement in economic and social conditions throughout the entire world. But above all, its adoption would mean that Governments had become conscious of the serious dangers threatening mankind and of the duties that now face them. It would prove that all is not lost, that the sun is going to rise, and that men can still have hope.

187. In reaffirming my Government's attachment to the principles of the Charter, to the aims and purposes of the United Nations, I would like to conclude simply with a few words from the prayer of St. Francis of Assisi:

"May the United Nations remain an instrument of peace. May we sow faith amidst doubt, the joy of peace amidst the horrors of war, hope amidst despair and light amidst darkness."

188. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I call upon the Secretary-General, who wishes to make a statement.

189. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I have asked for the floor in order to make a brief statement concerning the health of the President of the General Assembly.

190. Following extensive examinations, the President of the General Assembly, His Excellency Mr. Emilio Arenales Catalan, underwent a surgical operation today. The medical staff of the Lenox Hill Hospital has issued the following statement in connexion with the operation:

"A tumour of the brain was completely and successfully removed and a period of recovery of several weeks is contemplated."

191. The consensus of the attending physicians is that His Excellency Mr. Arenales will be able to resume his functions as President of the Assembly within a few weeks.

192. In the meantime I presume it would be the wish of the General Assembly to proceed with its work as already programmed, the meetings to be presided over in turn by the Vice-Presidents. I shall, at the earliest possible time, discuss with the President the arrangements for proceeding with the work of the Assembly thereafter and report to the General Assembly accordingly.

193. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Members of the Assembly have followed with great concern the course of the illness of our distinguished President. It is reassuring to learn that the operation he underwent today has been successful and that the doctors feel that His Excellency Mr. Arenales will be able to resume his functions as President of the General Assembly within a few weeks.

194. I take it that the General Assembly has no objections to the suggestion by the Secretary-General that the Assembly continue its work as planned, the meetings being presided over in turn by the Vice-Presidents. At the appropriate time the Secretary-General will report to the Assembly on his discussions with the President concerning the arrangements for its future work.

195. In the meantime, I am sure that all Members of the Assembly will agree that we should send a message to Mr. Arenales offering him the General Assembly's wishes for a speedy recovery. I therefore propose sending him the following telegram:

"The General Assembly extends to you its warmest good wishes for your prompt and complete recovery. During your absence we shall carry on with the work of the General Assembly and look forward to your joining us again soon to guide our deliberations."

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.