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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate *(continued)*

1. Mr. GALLIMORE (Jamaica): Madam President, on behalf of the Government and the people of Jamaica I extend to you warmest congratulations on your unanimous election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session. It is seldom that a woman is appointed to this high post and it is the first time that a distinguished and gracious daughter of Africa has become President of the General Assembly. We who over the years have been associated with you, as a member of your country's delegation to the United Nations, have become aware of your generosity and sincerity, and we are sure that you will bring these qualities to bear in the execution of your duties. We have no doubt that with you as president this twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, already made historic by your presence at its head, will be a memorable one.

2. I should now like to pay tribute to the late President of the General Assembly at its twenty-third session, His Excellency Mr. Emilio Arenales, whose untimely passing has deprived us and his country of his valuable services.

3. His Excellency Mr. Luis Alvarado, Chairman of the delegation of Peru, also deserves our tribute for the manner in which he assumed the functions of the Presidency.

4. On this the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, we the Member States may properly ask ourselves what we have done to make this Organization effective in establishing and preserving peace and security in this world. We may also ask ourselves to what extent the Organization has been the real stimulus for international co-operation in solving problems of an economic, social, cultural and humanitarian character. We find that the high hopes with which this Organization was born have not begun to show satisfactory levels of fulfilment in all areas.

5. The traditional actions and policies of some Member States—and more particularly those of the major Powers—have not always been evidence of a genuine endeavour to live within the ideals of the Charter and to make our Organization the force it ought to be in the world community. Today, the consequences of those actions are clear to us. Vast numbers of men, women and children die in major wars which are called limited wars. Devastation, hunger and malnutrition, the dread concomitants of civil strife, leave us cold and impotent. Troops move across frontiers to a chorus of fruitless denunciations and stereotyped ritual exchanges. A number of major issues confronting today's world and endangering the peace we seek are not even being discussed at the United Nations.

6. It is time for us to make a reassessment of our Organization. Indeed, it is high time for the United Nations to be not only an instrument of national policy but, more particularly, a beneficiary of such policy. Surely, specific elements in the policies of Member States should be directed to the strengthening of the Organization. It is to be hoped that during the twenty-fifth anniversary year of the Organization this thorough assessment will take place.

7. Since the twenty-third session of the General Assembly, man has successfully probed the environment of the moon and landed thereon. By that act man has demonstrated his capacity to build a machine of immense and exacting complexity, to co-ordinate its technology with the human will and judgement, and to employ that combination in most spectacular ways.

8. The need is indeed urgent for parallel performance in the machine fashioned by the world community in 1945 and known as the United Nations. It was hoped that with the goodwill and commitment of its members the United Nations would bring man into an environment of peace and security. Some powerful Member States charged with the responsibility for the proper functioning of the equipment on our planet have given only token support in this regard, thus delaying the smooth "lift-off" from the "launching pad". Some Members of the world community continue to tinker with parts of the equipment in a spirit of self-interest, oblivious of the harm being perpetrated on the whole. If the moon landing could bring home to mankind the folly and futility of its short-sighted selfishness in disabling its greatest machine—the United Nations—then, in the view of my delegation, another great cause would be well served.

9. I should now like to review some of the issues that are of immediate interest to the world community. On Viet-Nam, following the announcement of talks, my Government shared the hopes for an early settlement of the conflict. We regret that this has not yet materialized. We urge all parties involved to exercise the necessary will and courage to secure a settlement through those negotiations

and simultaneously to hasten the end of the fighting so that the work of reconstruction and rehabilitation may begin, in the interest of the peoples of Viet-Nam–North and South–and in the interest of the entire world community.

10. Within the recent past my Government was favoured with a visit from the personal representative of Major-General Gowon, President of the Federal Government of Nigeria. A visit was also received from representatives of General Ojukwu. We were heartened by those visits, as they reflected a deep interest in bringing an end to the conflict. The prolongation of strife on the west coast of Africa can only serve to impede Africa's progress and to increase its problems. My Government takes cognizance of the efforts being made by the Organization of African Unity to put an end to the conflict, and reiterates its call made at the twenty-third session of the General Assembly *[1679th meeting]* for a cease-fire, an arms embargo and meaningful negotiations to halt the human suffering and slaughter.

11. The conflict in the Middle East continues to escalate and to consume the time, energies and negotiating talents of Member States. Continued hostilities are most unlikely to hold the answer, and yet the multiplicity of activities taking-place in the Middle East are tending in the futile direction of a full-scale war. Resolutions and condemnations, warnings and pleadings, appear to dwarf the will to arrest the growing seeds of hate. Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967 remains the best foundation for a just and lasting settlement. Jamaica once again repeats its call to all parties to accept that resolution and to seek a solution within its terms. In the final analysis, it appears that the chief participants in that continuing struggle will need to demonstrate more directly their determination to bring peace to the Middle East, thus releasing needed energy and resources for development.

12. In view of the major handicaps to advancement imposed by the conflicts which I have mentioned, I would suggest that this Organization set out to find the true solution that the world body needs and that the Middle East itself is crying out for. In addition to those handicaps, we notice that racism is still spreading in Africa. Rhodesia is well on the road to *apartheid;* sanctions have proved ineffective so far, and optimism regarding their success is undoubtedly at a very low point. Because of the intransigence of the Government of South Africa, the United Nations, charged with direct responsibility for Namibia, still awaits an opportunity to fulfil its mandate vis-á-vis the people of that country. Thus, instead of being able to work towards self-determination and independence with the aid of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Namibians find themselves under the loathsome yoke of South Africa. They are confronted with the unhappy prospect of the establishment in Namibia of so-called homelands, which aims at the division of Namibia on a basis that would reserve the best lands for the use of the white population.

13. The Security Council has spent many man-hours on Rhodesia and on Namibia. Its resolutions have gone unheeded through non-compliance in one form or another. It has also devoted much time to South Africa's *apartheid* policies and to Portugal's continuing presence and performance in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). The United Nations efforts to rectify these issues have not been effective because some nations are flouting and disregarding the Organization's decisions and resolutions against Rhodesia and South Africa, including the calls for trade embargoes. By so doing those nations are sabotaging the United Nations and the objectives of the Charter. They are guilty of attempting to make this world body impotent on these issues. They are establishing precedents that will have serious repercussions on other areas of the world. Jamaica reiterates its call upon those States, which are supporting defiance of the United Nations, to respect and implement its resolutions so that we can achieve the objectives to which we as Members are committed.

14. It should come as no surprise to find that where the Security Council is ineffective on South Africa and where the 30 million black inhabitants of that region continue as virtual slaves in their homeland, liberation movements gain and develop strength and daring for the purpose of achieving self-determination and independence. Indeed, peace is the common goal which we are all seeking and to which we are all committed as a matter of policy–global peace with the threat of nuclear war removed from us, peace in those several areas of the world where the conflict involves major Powers directly, indirectly, or perhaps not at all. Peace, after all, is not only global but regional and local as well, and we all have an obligation to work for its maintenance everywhere.

15. My Government has followed with interest the recent sessions of the United Nations Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. The draft conventions on the prohibition of weapons from the sea-bed and the ocean floor and on biological and chemical warfare are hopeful signs. We accept them as bases for further work, and it is our sincere hope that this session of the General Assembly will give some added stimulus to these endeavours. We accept them as planks for peace in the work programme now being advanced in connexion with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations and with the Second United Nations Development Decade.

16. An item of considerable importance on our agenda is the report of the Preparatory Committee *[A/7525 and addenda]*, which has been submitted through the Economic and Social Council in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2411 (XXIII). My Government appreciates the efforts of the Preparatory Committee and the contributions made by the various organizations of the United Nations system towards the formulation of the strategy for the forthcoming Decade. My delegation, however, anxiously awaits agreement by the Trade and Development Board on the role to be played by the United Nations Conference for Trade and Development in the forthcoming Development Decade. There are several unresolved matters of vital importance to developing countries that fall within the competence of UNCTAD, such as the commodity agreement for primary products in order to ensure reasonable remuneration to producers; the problem of competition from synthetics produced by developed countries; and in the field of the transfer of operative technology to developing countries, the question of patents. It is the hope of my delegation that matters of such importance as those mentioned will be resolved early in the forthcoming Decade.

17. The Development Decade of the 1960s has fallen far short of the expectations of the international community.

Developing countries are still at a serious disadvantage in trade with the developed countries, and are faced with ever-increasing prices for imports essential to their economic growth on the one hand, and depressed prices for their exports on the other. This pattern of trade must be changed if in contrast to the First, we are to gain positive results for the Second Development Decade.

18. Today we approach the start of the Second Development Decade with a deeper conviction based on the accepted principle that there must be integration of social and economic planning and that there must also be integrated programmes of assistance on the part of institutions whose objective is to help overcome the problems of development. We recognize that certain areas of development activities, traditionally regarded as social, are in fact essential investments in economic progress—that education, to take the most obvious example, is as vital a prerequisite to progress as the possession of raw materials or of potential markets. In my Government's view, it is applicable to other so-called social sectors such as health and housing. It is time that this is recognized so that we can do away with many of the artificial distinctions between the social and economic fields in applying for assistance.

19. Recently, this Organization has turned its attention to an important sector of our population—I refer to youth. It seems ironic that an Organization dedicated to saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war has made very little provision for the active participation of that generation in its programmes. Indeed, youth's vision of the world is almost identical to that envisaged by the Charter. Young people abhor war because it threatens their future. They deplore the destruction of the environment because it impairs the quality of the life on earth they expect to inherit. They resent racism because it limits the range of human association and contact and, finally, they oppose poverty as unnecessary and cruel. They are, in fact, our natural allies and we take hope in the belief that this Organization seriously and meaningfully intends to respond to their desire to help shape the future.

20. My delegation will be prepared to discuss in greater detail the elements that we believe are essential in any activity related to young people which the United Nations may undertake. In the urge to create new programmes we cannot afford to forget that a number of our traditional concerns are of vital and immediate relevance to youth, and that we have a great responsibility for strengthening and expanding certain existing programmes and also devising new ones.

21. I should now like to comment briefly on a few aspects of the proposed international strategy within the limits so far determined. My Government well understands that the success of the Second Development Decade will largely depend on the effort of each Member State. There can be no substitute for the national effort charted by wise leadership and fully supported by the citizens in their determination to achieve economic and social development within the individual State and, consequently, within the larger community.

22. Regarding the agricultural sector of the strategy, due note has been taken of the targets set and the comments made by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, particularly in connexion with production. My Government has embarked on a programme designed to increase productivity of the land by the creation of nation-wide institutions under which farmers are encouraged to cultivate specific crops in specific areas, taking into account ecological conditions. There are farm holdings which are too small to be economic to the individual owner. An effort is being made to rationalize productivity on those holdings by Government subsidy to those who farm these lands. Jamaica's effort at rationalization operates within the framework of the Government machinery which provides assistance and undertakes the marketing of produce at guaranteed minimum prices.

23. On the question of trade, the problems of developing countries are well known. The need for international commodity agreements and arrangements which would take into account the particular trading patterns of various groups of developing countries is of vital importance. Another important aspect relates to the need for the access of exports of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods from developing countries to the markets of the developed world. It is the general recommendation of experts, both from countries with which there are bilateral arrangements and from the agencies of this body itself, that developing countries should continue their policy of industrialization. Too frequently, this advice is given without due consideration, by the developed countries, of the concomitant factors of marketing and advantageous trading arrangements.

24. My Government wishes to emphasize that development is an international responsibility equal in scope to the responsibility for the maintenance of international peace. Against this background, on the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, we propose for consideration by this body: first, the formulation of a strategy for international development for the forthcoming decade—a strategy which should be regarded as a supplement to the Charter of the United Nations.

25. Second, the establishment of a world resources data centre which would undertake an inventory of world resources requirements for their equitable exploitation and would reflect the size of their reserves. In this context I should like to recall the proposal by my delegation at the twenty-third session of the General Assembly that documentation centres on a programme basis be established in developing countries by the United Nations *[see 1679th meeting, para. 208]*.

26. Third, developed countries should be invited to examine, within the context of an over-all strategy for the Development Decade, ways and means by which resources now being transferred to developing countries by both their public and private sectors can make a more meaningful contribution to rapid economic growth. In the public sector there is an increasing need for untying aid in order to facilitate the more efficient use of these resources. In the private sector, on the other hand, there are many instances in which investments should be more closely linked with national development plans.

27. Before I close, I should like to make some observations contingent on what may be called the qualitative

dimension of development in the Second Development Decade. At the twenty-third session of the General Assembly a comprehensive resolution *[2398 (XXIII)]* drew attention to the necessity of preserving the human environment. The resolution authorized the Secretary-General to begin preparations for a United Nations Conference on the Human Environment to be held in 1972. This question involves nearly every institution in the United Nations family. It touches many of the already established items on the agenda of the General Assembly. We welcome this effort to co-ordinate national and international activity in a sphere which affects the very existence of man on earth. We congratulate the delegation of Sweden for its enlightened conduct of the co-ordinated efforts which led to the adoption of this resolution at the twenty-third session.

28. I should also like to express my country's appreciation of the thoroughness of the work which the Secretariat put into the report on the problems of the human environment[1] which was laid before the forty-seventh session of the Economic and Social Council. This is a most useful basis for the commencement of preparatory work for the 1972 conference. My Government was pleased to be associated with the resolution *[1448 (XLVII)]* adopted by the Economic and Social Council.

29. One result of the 1972 conference that we should like to anticipate is that United Nations offices should give careful consideration to preparing manuals of environmental science, using the material available to the conference. These manuals should be of value in the educational process at the primary, secondary and university levels, as well as in the necessary process of mobilizing public opinion.

30. Finally, the year ahead, 1970, stands out in its particular importance to our world Organization. This is the year in which we celebrate our silver anniversary—25 years spent in trying to improve the lot of man and the world he inhabits. This is the year that will mark the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. This is the year which will see the start of the Second Development Decade. This is the year chosen to highlight the need for greater educational efforts—International Education Year.

31. The present twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly is a prologue to this important year. The success of the projects and observances to be undertaken in 1970, the ability of this Organization to move forward constructively into the second quarter-century of its existence, will be influenced in large measure by the quality of work that is done at this session. The Jamaican delegation hopes that this will be a true working session, bringing into sharp focus the changing problems and priorties of the world and devising more effective means whereby the United Nations can give them its attention. This, then, is a period of hope—hope that all Member nations will work together more fully to realize the goals of our Charter. To this end Jamaica remains committed.

32. Mr. JEDRYCHOWSKI (Poland) *(translated from Russian)*: Madam President, may I be permitted, first of all, to congratulate you cordially on your election to the high and responsible office of President of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Your election is not only a tribute to your personal accomplishments and to your many years' work in the United Nations, but also yet another demonstration of the growing international role of the African States.

33. Together with the whole General Assembly, we grieve that death did not allow Dr. Emilio Arenales Catalan to complete his term as President of the twenty-third session. We pay a tribute to his memory.

34. In beginning my statement, I should like to mention how greatly we appreciate the efforts of our Secretary-General, U Thant, to widen international co-operation and ensure respect for the Charter of the United Nations. He resolutely defends the authority of the United Nations, takes decisions and puts forward proposals for initiatives which, although sometimes perhaps not acceptable to all, invariably testify to his total dedication to the cause of peace. We wish him further success in carrying out his tasks.

35. We are living in an era of far-reaching and rapid changes, in an era of impressive developments in science and technology. These developments open up unlimited prospects to mankind, but they are also fraught with potential danger if the gap between the developed and the developing countries widens further, and if the tendency to stockpile and constantly improve the means of mass destruction is maintained.

36. The peoples expect the vast intellectual and economic capacities of mankind to be u[illegible]d in the interests of the peoples of the world and for the benefit of mankind.

37. The monstrous and senseless arms race increases danger while at the same time absorbing enormous material and financial resources and this at a time when millions are living on the verge of hunger and destitution. We cannot reconcile ourselves to this state of affairs. We believe that the spectre of a nuclear disaster should disappear from our planet and that the funds now allocated to armaments should be assigned to the harmonious and peaceful development of mankind. Suffice it to say that the cost of armaments—which has reached the staggering sum of $200,000 million a year—is equal to the combined national incomes of the developing countries of Asia and Africa.

38. The arms race, which, so it is sometimes said, is justified by the need to maintain the balance of power, means that the "balance of fear" is being raised to an ever higher, ever more expensive and ever more dangerous level. Thus, the process of strengthening security on the basis of a balance of power is developing into the opposite and is posing an increasing threat. The equilibrium on which the security of the world could be based should be sought by curbing the arms race and turning it into a process of disarmament. That is how we understand the Secretary-General's proposal—a proposal worthy of support—that the years 1970 to 1980 should be proclaimed the "Disarmament Decade" *[A/7601/Add.1, para. 42]*.

39. The preservation and consolidation of peace is not a simple and easy task. Common sense obliges us to be guided

1 Document E/4667 (final offset).

by the logic of peace and not by speculations based on the multiplication of conflicts. However, there are forces that are seeking to hinder mankind's progress towards new forms of international relations, as well as the strengthening of national sovereignty and the independent development of new States. Those forces are unwilling or unable to understand the essence of the new alignment of forces resulting from the emergence and development of the system of socialist States and the liberation of peoples from colonial dependence. Those forces are trying to delay, or even turn back, the march of history. The means of action used by those forces range from political subversion and economic subjugation to the launching of local wars of aggression.

40. We observe the economic and political situation in many developing countries with great concern. Former metropolitan Powers, as well as some other capitalist countries, are trying, under the pretext of aiding the developing countries, to continue their old exploitation of those countries by new methods. It is in this, rather than in an excessive natural increase in population, that one should look for the cause of the unsatisfactory level of development of many countries that have recently gained independence. Convincing evidence of the continuing exploitation of the developing countries is provided by the well-known figures for the movement of foreign capital and the transfer of profits abroad, for losses on those countries' balance of trade and payments as a result of the unfavourable terms of trade, and for losses in their trade with the highly developed capitalist countries.

41. The developing countries, and in fact the whole world, are on the threshold of the Second Development Decade. It should be more successful than the First Decade in helping the less developed countries to extricate themselves from their stagnation, to accelerate their development, to reduce the ever-widening economic and technological gap separating them from the highly developed countries, to make their economies more independent of the dictatorial policy of the big monopolies and of the sharp price fluctuations on the capitalist markets. We fully support the objectives of the Second Development Decade, for we consider the development of the economically retarded countries to be one of the most important problems of the present-day world.

42. Poland, like other socialist countries, is helping the developing countries in their advancement as far as it is able, and is also ready to help them in the future. The socialist countries' assistance to, and economic co-operation with, the developing countries are not aimed at making large profits; nor do they result in the passing of the natural resources of the developing countries into foreign hands; on the contrary, they contribute to the development of those countries' own resources and national production potential. Moreover, the rate of interest on credits granted by socialist countries is considerably lower than that charged by the capitalist countries.

43. The situation in which the developing countries find themselves is particularly understandable to us, because our country began its development in the first years after the Second World War under conditions that were not much better. Moreover, our country had been devastated as a result of the military operations and the rapacious policy of the occupying forces. Even today, although we have considerably developed our industry and our whole economy, the structure of our exports to highly developed capitalist countries is very similar to that of the exports of developing countries. That is why we ourselves are interested in a stabilization of world prices and in ending the reduction in the national incomes of less developed countries because of unfavourable price trends in world trade.

44. Another negative feature is the accumulation by some Western countries of gold and hard currency reserves at the expense of the balance of payments of many economically weaker countries. This undermines the financial and monetary system of the Western world and contributes to economic instability, with very detrimental effects on the situation of many developing countries, whose economies are linked with that system.

45. The commonwealth of socialist countries, too, is composed of countries at different levels of economic development, and at the beginning those differences were rather considerable. However, among the members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, the economic growth of the less developed countries is proceeding more rapidly than that of the more developed countries, and this is leading to a reduction of the differences between individual socialist countries; in other words, the process that is taking place is quite the opposite of that in the relations between capitalist and developing countries.

46. It is appropriate to ask the question: why is it that among the socialist countries the former discrepancies in levels of industrial production, national income and standard of living are being reduced, while in the capitalist world the "economic gap" between the most developed and the developing countries is constantly becoming wider?

47. This is happening because the peoples of our countries have taken their natural wealth and resources into their own hands; they have mobilized all their own forces for economic and social development, and co-operation between socialist countries is based on the principles of equality, mutual assistance and mutual benefit.

48. It is on these very principles that we are prepared to extend our relations with the developing countries.

49. The period of history in which we are living sets before us numerous tasks which call for the strengthening of international co-operation based on respect for the independence and right to self-determination of peoples, on non-interference in the domestic affairs of other States, and on the principle of regard for the interests of all co-operating countries. These tasks assume even greater importance in view of the symptoms of a stalemate or even a deterioration in the international situation, as the Secretary-General of the United Nations rightly points out in his report for this year.

50. Too often we witness flagrant violations of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, sometimes of a directly demonstrative character.

51. No other construction can be placed on the behaviour of the present Government of Israel, which, in defiance of

the unanimous decisions of United Nations organs, continues to occupy Arab territories, presents the world with faits accomplis, and openly proclaims its expansionist aspirations in its official declarations. It carries out more and more provocative military actions and prevents commissions established by the United Nations from fulfilling their functions in the occupied territories.

52. Can it be supposed that that Government would venture to behave in such a way if it did not enjoy economic, political and military support from outside, the support of certain Powers? Can one be surprised in these circumstances, that the efforts of Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, have so far met with no success? Let us hope that the talks of the four Powers on the subject, as well as the parallel Soviet-American exchange of views, will lead to a change in that situation as soon as possible.

53. The Polish delegation, as it has done hitherto, stands firmly in favour of an urgent solution of the Middle East conflict on the basis of the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 *[242 (1967)]*. This is one of the few resolutions which the Security Council has adopted unanimously. It provides a good basis for a peaceful, political elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression. However, if the Security Council resolution is not to remain a dead letter, it should be supported by a corresponding attitude towards the aggressor on the part of all States. Israel must be made to feel strong pressure and not be allowed to count on tacit moral support and overt financial and material support.

54. Another example of disregard for the Organization and of the undermining of its authority is the racist policy of the Republic of South Africa, which maintains its colonial domination of Namibia and, by supporting the Smith régime in Rhodesia, as well as the tottering position of the Portuguese colonialists in Angola and Mozambique, has become the mainstay of colonialism and racism in southern Africa. It has thus created an alarming threat to peace in that continent. In this case, too, that policy is being countenanced by the very same powerful and highly developed Western countries, which in the pursuit of large profits maintain extensive economic relations with that country, export their capital there and collaborate in the development of its military potential. All this strengthens the racist régime and its policy of *apartheid* and facilitates the open disregard of resolutions adopted by United Nations organs.

55. The Polish delegation has repeatedly expressed from this rostrum its opinion on the fatal political consequences to international relations deriving from the continuation of the war of aggression against the people of Viet-Nam. The people of Viet-Nam—unlike any other people in the world—have for many years now been enduring the tragic results of the brutal use of the most advanced technique of destruction. They are prepared to carry on their heroic defensive struggle until their natural right is respected—the right to determine, in full sovereignty, the ways and means of their future development without any interference from outside. This, of course, entails the withdrawal of all interventionist troops from South Viet-Nam, as demanded in the programme of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam and in the well-known Ten Points of the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam. This well-founded and legitimate demand has been put forward by the representatives of the people of Viet-Nam for many years now. It is being presented clearly and honestly by the delegations of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam in Paris.

56. We fully share and support that point of view. Polish diplomacy has had particular opportunities constantly to be convinced of the sincere desire of the representatives of the people of Viet-Nam to achieve a peaceful solution of the problem of Viet-Nam.

57. Peace in Viet-Nam cannot be secured by meaningless gestures, still less by intensifying military operations and extending them to other countries of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, as has recently been shown by the alarming news from Laos. Peace can be achieved only by withdrawing all interventionist troops from South Viet-Nam and enabling the people of Viet-Nam to form a new government on the basis of a broad agreement of all patriotic forces and not by letting power remain for ever in the hands of a small group that has no popular support.

58. World public opinion, including a large section of public opinion in the United States, understands this. So, too, do many Governments, which, having made a realistic evaluation of the situation, have now established diplomatic relations with the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and have recognized the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam.

59. In speaking of potential sources of conflicts in the world, it is impossible not to dwell on the Korean question. The time has come to dissolve the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and to withdraw United States troops from South Korea. The retention of this relic of the "cold war", with the use of the United Nations flag by the United States forces stationed there, does not serve the interests of peaceful development in Asia, nor does it strengthen the authority of the United Nations in the eyes of the Asian peoples, particularly those which are not yet Members of the United Nations. The Korean people should have an opportunity, on the basis of their own decision and without foreign interference freely to determine the approximate road to the unification of the country.

60. Our particular interest in the affairs of the European continent is determined not only by the historical experience of the Polish people, but also by our geographical situation. For many centuries, that continent has been an important centre, exerting an influence on the situation throughout the world. It was from there that the colonial expeditions to other continents set out. The metropolitan States of Western Europe became centres of imperialist domination and exploitation of other races. That was the main source of their affluence. Europe, especially its eastern and southern parts, provided the United States with cheap labour, without which the rapid development of that country would not have been possible. Instead of that emigration, there is now a "brain drain" from Europe, which enables the United States to achieve a technological

progress which is more rapid than that of Europe and is today one of the characteristics of the United States economy.

61. But Europe—despite all the negative phenomena in its past—has remained a great centre of human thought, culture, science and art. It became a great centre of progressive, revolutionary ideas. It was in that part of the world that the French Revolution put an end to the feudal era, and it was there that the first socialist State in the history of mankind came into being and opened a great chapter in the world's progress towards socialism and communism. These facts deserve to be recalled on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of the great Lenin, an anniversary celebrated by enlightened people all over the world and not by communists alone.

62. But it was also in Europe that two world wars started. They caused the sacrifice of 50 million human lives. All the other continents were drawn into this bloody struggle. It is hardly necessary to recall that African, Asian and South American troops fought against the Nazi aggressors and for the liberation of the peoples of Europe from the yoke of the occupier. Some of them did not fight under their own flag, but we in Poland will not forget their contribution to the common victory. During the battles of the Second World War those troops proved the right of their own peoples to independence.

63. At present, European security has not yet been consolidated and the future of peace is still undetermined. It is true that a quarter of a century has passed without an armed conflict in Europe. The main factor contributing to this relative calm has been the existence of the powerful system of socialist States, bound as they are by common defence arrangements and close co-operation in all fields, and by the policy of peace which they are consistently carrying out. The existence of the system of socialist States is an irreversible fact, since socialism is not, as its opponents would wish, a temporary phenomenon. The existence of that system has substantially changed the international situation. A region which in the past was a hotbed of unrest and conflicts, can now be recognized as a most constructive element in international relations. We shall not allow anyone to interfere with these achievements.

64. However, as I have already said, peace in Europe has not yet been consolidated, and this is directly connected with the policy which the Federal Republic of Germany still pursues. No political observer aware of the role of German imperialism during both the First and Second World Wars can fail to notice in West Germany many phenomena which have a negative influence on the peaceful development of international relations. A quarter of a century after the overthrow of the Third Reich by the anti-Hitler coalition, the old Nazi tendencies are reviving and the neo-Nazi National Democratic Party is operating legally. Past active membership in the Brown Shirt legions is not an obstacle to a political career at a time when—as some would have us believe—a renaissance of democracy has supposedly begun.

65. At the same time, the foreign policy of Bonn is based on the so-called "Hallstein doctrine", by virtue of which the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has usurped the right to represent the entire German nation within the long non-existing borders of 1937, and is thus attempting to dictate to other sovereign States regarding the countries with which they should or should not maintain diplomatic relations. Bonn has also refused so far to recognize certain obvious European realities: the permanent character of European frontiers, the existence of the other German State—the German Democratic Republic—and the political and juridical independence of West Berlin.

66. What else does this denote but an aspiration to reverse the results of the last war and to change the *status quo* in Europe based on the documents of the Potsdam Conference? This inevitably reminds one of what led, after Versailles and Weimar to Hitler's *Parteitage* and to the drenching of all Europe in blood. This must not be forgotten, especially at the present time when the military potential of the Federal Republic of Germany is increasing, when that country refuses to accept the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and when it is gaining financial and economic advantages in the North Atlantic alliance, which was allegedly created to curb German militarism and extremism, whereas in fact it is being led, whether it so wishes or not, by the Federal Republic of Germany.

67. Each nation draws conclusions from its own history and tries to determine its future accordingly. We Poles are sometimes suspected of having an anti-German obsession. We have no such obsession. We have full respect for the peaceful accomplishments of German culture, science and technology and for the organizational capabilities of the German people. We recognize and appreciate those forces in West Germany which are sincerely striving to lead the German people out of a blind alley. Those forces need to be helped. We shall watch attentively the elections in the Federal Republic of Germany this coming Sunday, in order to ascertain who wins and in which direction they will lead the West German people, which needs peace as much as we do.

68. On our part there has never been any lack of goodwill and initiative.

69. The clearest evidence of the fact that we hold no grudge on our side was the proposal we made to the Federal Republic of Germany as early as 1955 for the normalization of relations, as well as the proposal we made this year for the conclusion of a treaty on the final character of our western frontier. The first proposal was firmly, although tacitly, rejected; with respect to the second, it can be noted that a reply is being evaded. However, we shall patiently wait to see what Bonn's standpoint will be after the elections on Sunday.

70. The clearest manifestation of these tendencies on our part is our friendly co-operation, based on the principles of internationalism, with those Germans who are our direct neighbours on the other side of the Oder and the Neisse and who organized themselves into the first peace-loving German State, the first socialist State of the German people—the German Democratic Republic. The German Democratic Republic is celebrating its twentieth anniversary this year and, thanks to the achievements of

constructive, productive and hard work, it represents one of the foremost economic, social and cultural forces in the world. Polish-German good-neighbourly relations, which are so necessary for Europe and peace, are being developed on the Oder and the Neisse, in the co-operation between the Polish People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic. We shall cherish this achievement.

71. We have always believed that Europe has all the objective requirements for showing the whole world an example of peaceful development and co-operation. That assumption has always been the basis of our initiatives and proposals.

72. Permit me to recall that it was from this rostrum that we proposed in 1967 the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe with an appropriate system of control *[697th meeting, para. 236]*. In December 1963, Poland put forward its proposal for a freeze on nuclear armaments in Central Europe, and in subsequent interventions we urged that consideration be given to the idea of extending the freeze to other European States. In December 1964, my predecessor, Mr. Adam Rapacki, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, proposed from this rostrum the convening of a European conference on security and co-operation *[1301st meeting, para. 66]*. At the General Assembly session in 1966 the Polish delegation submitted a preliminary draft agenda for such a conference *[1434th meeting, paras. 35-37]*.

73. Through no fault of ours, those proposals were not accepted at that time. However, we must point out here that Polish representatives had bilateral talks on those matters with several European countries, in the profound conviction that positive measures of a multilateral character should be worked out through bilateral discussions among the States most closely concerned, as well as those that might wish to obtain a better understanding of existing opinions on the matter pending the adoption of a final decision. My Government has always been ready to hold such dialogues, and it intends to do so in the future. We note with pleasure and satisfaction that many European Governments share this point of view. A better clarification of the points of view will mean that they are better understood, and this will help to strengthen peaceful co-operation among States, despite their different social systems.

74. Seeking to bring about a halt to the arms race and save mankind from the calamities of a war waged with weapons of mass destruction, we proposed the preparation of a report on the effects on mankind of the use of nuclear weapons; subsequently we raised the question of chemical and bacteriological weapons. As a result of these proposals, the draft of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons *[resolution 2373 (XXII)]* was agreed upon, and on the initiative of the delegations of nine socialist countries, the question of the conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons and on the destruction of such weapons *[A/7655]* was included in the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly.

75. We consider it very important that the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons should come into force and be signed and ratified by a majority of States as soon as possible. It is particularly urgent that this Treaty should be signed by the Federal Republic of Germany, which possesses an enormous technical and economic potential. In the Federal Republic of Germany many representatives of military and political circles aspire to the possession of atomic weapons. In the interests of all European peoples, including the German people themselves, such aspirations must not be allowed to become a reality.

76. We also express our firm conviction that the entry into force of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons will be but a first step on the road to nuclear disarmament of the nuclear Powers and towards general and complete disarmament, in accordance with a number of resolutions adopted by the United Nations, beginning with its first session in 1946. For our part, we are prepared to put forward further proposals for regional disarmament after the entry into force of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and its ratification by the Federal Republic of Germany.

77. The proposal to convene an all-European conference on security and co-operation, which was put forward by the socialist States signatories of the Warsaw Treaty, was expressed in the Budapest Appeal of 17 March 1969.[2] Poland considers that the main purpose of such a conference should be to discuss and prepare a treaty on collective security and co-operation.

78. Undoubtedly, a treaty on collective security and co-operation should include a formal obligation on the part of the signatories to refrain from the threat or use of force; to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of all States; and to refrain from interference in the domestic affairs of other States, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It should also ensure that all future disputes are settled by peaceful means. We consider that the treaty should include a clause on recognition of, and respect for, the status of neutral States. Indeed, the part those States can play in the maintenance of European security ought to be recognized and rightly appreciated.

79. We also consider that a treaty on collective security should contain a clause binding the parties to take further measures in the field of regional disarmament. Finally, a treaty which also deals with questions of co-operation should include appropriate provisions concerning the development of economic, scientific, technical, cultural and other relations.

80. In particular, at the European conference and in the treaty it might adopt it would be possible to deal on a new basis with the question of strengthening bilateral and multilateral economic relations among all European States, which are now divided into three economic groupings. The abolition of the existing obstacles to economic, scientific and technical co-operation among all European countries would, among other things, help to eliminate the "technological gap" between Europe and the United States, which

2 Appeal by the States members of the Warsaw Treaty to all European countries, adopted at a conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the States members of the Warsaw Treaty at Budapest on 17 March 1969.

is tending to widen. It would also enable European countries to make larger and more effective contributions to the economic development of other continents.

81. In my opinion, all European countries should consider what the best course of action is in these matters, and how they can assist constructively in exploring the idea of such a conference more fully.

82. Of course I am thinking and speaking of Europe as a whole, as defined by geography and history, not of that "crippled Europe", the part of our continent situated west of the river Elbe, which the partisans of West European integration would like to isolate from the whole as an artificial entity.

83. We give our unreserved support to the draft "appeal to all States of the world" submitted to this Assembly by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union *[A/7654]*. We shall set forth our position in detail when that text comes up for consideration at this session of the General Assembly.

84. The Soviet proposal on the strengthening of international security throughout the world shows the road that should be followed. Even today it is not too early to say that it ranks in political importance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which the Soviet delegation submitted to the General Assembly in 1960 and which has become one of the most important documents of the Organization. The considerable effect of the Declaration in accelerating the process of decolonization has been amply demonstrated during the nine years which have passed since its adoption. Next year we shall celebrate its tenth anniversary.

85. It is our hope that this appeal will play a similar role in the field of strengthening world security and that, like the Declaration, it will accelerate processes that are necessary to progress.

86. The Polish delegation has listened, as always, with great attention to the highly interesting statements made in the general debate. We could not fail to note also the statements criticizing the United Nations. Many of the statements, as well as the analysis of the situation contained in the introduction to the Secretary-General's annual report on the work of the Organization, are very well-grounded.

87. The nations of the world expect from the Organization, first of all, lasting achievements and progress in the most important field of all: the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security. When we feel that there has been a lack of achievement in this field and when day by day we witness bloodshed and casualties on battlefields, we realize that the cause lies not in any lack of efforts to preserve peace, including the efforts of the United Nations, but in the defiance of peace and of the United Nations by those who violate binding international agreements and refuse to implement unanimously adopted resolutions. Everyone knows that the Organization is and will be only what its Members allow it to be.

88. That is why we cannot agree with certain excessively critical statements which attempt to attribute these deficiencies to the structure and principles of the United Nations. It would be a mistake if we were to start on improvement by changing—as some speakers have suggested—the principles on which the Organization is based and by altering the *sui generis* legislative procedures which have developed in the course of its activities. It would, in particular, be a great mistake to weaken the role of the Security Council—the principal organ responsible for the maintenance of peace and security.

89. Medium and small States—Poland being one of them—can play a particularly important and essential role in the Organization. However, taking into account the existing balance of power in the world, we cannot agree to any departure from the basic principle of the Charter—that of the unanimity of the great Powers.

90. Any attempt to change the basic principles of the structure of the United Nations would lead the Organization into a crisis, whose consequences would be hard to foresee. It is only by strictly observing the provisions of the Charter, by accurately fulfilling the decisions of the Security Council and, finally, by consolidating the universal character of the United Nations that the Organization can be strengthened.

91. In speaking of the universality of the United Nations, attention should be drawn to the fact that there are no representatives of States such as the People's Republic of China or the German Democratic Republic in the Organization. The question of proper representation in the United Nations of the great Chinese people should not cause anyone any doubts. The interests of peaceful development in Europe require that the German Democratic Republic should be given an opportunity to participate in international organizations, including the United Nations, even if only—for the time being—with the status of observer.

92. Taking into account the economic, social and cultural potential of the German Democratic Republic and the large numbers of highly qualified specialists in that country, its contribution to international organizations would be a considerable one. A positive solution to this question would be a manifestation of political realism, especially in view of the fact that the other German State—the Federal Republic of Germany—already has an observer in the Organization. In this connexion I repeat that Poland continues to believe that both the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany should become full and equal Members of the United Nations.

93. In summing up the achievements of the United Nations over many years on the eve of its twenty-fifth anniversary, we should not forget that everyday, often unspectacular, but none the less important fields of its activity which seldom reach the front pages of the world press. It is true that the efforts made in the economic field are inadequate in relation to the magnitude of the needs. Nevertheless, if it were not for the useful work done by the United Nations specialized agencies and experts, the situation in many developing countries of the world would be more difficult. One cannot fail to mention the Organization's achievements in the field of social progress and respect for human rights, and also in the codification of international law and the resolutions of the United Nations,

which define the norms of coexistence of States and their mutual relations. Nor can we forget the assistance given by the United Nations to colonial countries and peoples in their struggle to free themselves from their age-old state of dependence.

94. Some progress can be observed even in the field of disarmament, such as the treaty banning the use of armaments in outer space, and the treaty on the demilitarization of the Antartic, as well as those limiting the nuclear arms race.

95. Aware of the limited possibilities of the United Nations, but aware also of its weak and strong points and its achievements, Poland—as one of the founding countries—will, as hitherto, spare no effort to strengthen the Organization and ensure respect for its decisions, so as to guarantee its political effectiveness in promoting peace and social progress throughout the world.

96. Mr. BOURGUIBA (Tunisia) *(translated from French)*: Madam President, the fact that it is you who guide our work in this temple devoted to freedom, on the eve of its twenty-fifth anniversary, is more than a political event; it is a sign, a historic message which we, as representatives of States, political men and men of action, must interpret if we intend to have a place in history and remain worthy of confidence and respect in the eyes of world public opinion—worthy, quite simply, of ourselves.

97. Africa, your land and ours, the land of all Africans, the Africa which has summoned you, a daughter of its first free republic, to receive in this forum the homage rendered to you by free men, this Africa, as you know, is perplexed and full of doubt.

98. How could it not be in doubt when it sees millions of its children oppressed, 24 years after the peoples of the United Nations had sworn at San Francisco that never again would one man be oppressed by another?

99. How can the faith of our continent in the solemn commitment of the United Nations not falter when, in South Africa, Namibia, Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), the Cape Verde archipelago, a terrible colonialism still maintains, in the sight and with the knowledge of the entire international community, millions of our brothers in a state of subjection of a barbarity rarely equalled in history?

100. How can the hopes of Africa remain intact when despair daily tightens its hold on millions of human beings who have long since reached the limits of suffering and endurance? The night grows darker around them; the madness of their oppressors increases; the prisons, the Bantustans—those veritable concentration camps—resound with their cries of anguish; and we here, in these precincts, continue innocently to believe and seriously to proclaim that freedom is the absolute and natural right of all.

101. The Governments of Pretoria and Lisbon, the authorities of Salisbury, take us with so little seriousness, and find our lack of consistency so reassuring for their policy, that they are no longer even embarrassed when declaring their intentions; they no longer even disguise their aims, whether immediate or distant.

102. For the immediate future they intend to continue and intensify repression, to enact laws which every day grow more implacable in their inhumanity, and to consolidate, militarily, economically and legally, the basis of this veritable "agreement of defiance". On the basis of present action, it is not difficult to imagine the features of the last great colonialist bastions of the distant future: the exclusive rule of white societies freed from all trace of what was the African man.

Mr. Rifa'i (Jordan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

103. Unless those who have already lost all finally manage to proclaim their ultimate refusal in the face of their oppressors, to rise up in tragic despair and, powerless to save their lives and happiness, to bear witness, so that history, humanity and future generations may know that they were men and that they were willing to give their lives as the price of their dignity and their humanity.

104. Unless also the colonialists, in one final burst of evil and in the resolve to maintain their aberrant system, unleash their policy of collective suicide, with the danger that millions of innocent people in Africa and the rest of the world will perish along with them.

105. There is no dearth of signs that our fears are well founded. On the one hand, the freedom fighters in those martyred lands have courageously broken the chains of fear and resignation; their blood still flows, but this time in a battle of men. On the other hand, Pretoria is transforming South Africa into a diabolical arsenal, while Salisbury morbidly savours its latest victory—the adoption of a constitution for the rebel régime—and Lisbon sends its aircraft to bomb peaceful villages in Zambia.

106. Who, then, can fail to realize the extent of the danger to international peace and security constituted by that new "axis"? Nevertheless, there are Powers—Powers that are ultimately responsible under the terms of the Charter of the United Nations for the peace and security of the world—which are helping to pave the way for the catastrophe by pursuing a policy of the closest political, economic and military co-operation with South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal.

107. Since the decision of the Organization to impose economic sanctions, South Africa and Rhodesia have never been more prosperous. As far as Portugal is concerned, despite its extremely limited national resources, it is waging its anachronistic war on several military fronts with complete success. What is to be said, again, about the fratricidal war which is tearing Nigeria asunder—a war which, unfortunately, is being prolonged by the supply of weapons to both sides by certain developed countries? We are convinced that, without those deadly weapons which neither side manufactures, the warring brothers would be left faced with their real problem—that of working together and struggling together for their common development.

108. Africa is not the only continent still suffering from the evils of colonialism, nor the only one which is resolute in paying a heavy price for freedom. There are other men, also brothers of us Tunisians—brothers, indeed, of all peace-loving people: the Palestinians—who, despite all

obstacles, have undertaken to force the hand of destiny, and, spurred on by their miraculously restored dignity, are making sacrifices which astonish not only their oppressors but the entire world.

109. Israel, however, has spared no effort in its endeavour to achieve the total Zionist absorption of Palestine, a course it has pursued for the last 20 years; nor does it hesitate to use any means, even going so far as to abet an attack on the Holy Places placed under its responsibility as occupying Power. What a sacrilege for a people that claims to be the partner of God! Aware that the God of the Palestinians is also their past and their identity as a nation, Tel Aviv, borrowing a classic colonialist practice, has not hesitated to disfigure everything in Jerusalem that was calculated to keep values and traditions alive either in the memory or in the actual life of its inhabitants. It was also to be expected that little by little, Zionism's pernicious plans would lead to the fire which seriously damaged the Al Aqsa mosque; it was in the logic of events. And things being what they are, one is entitled to fear concerning the fate of the rest of the national and cultural Palestinian heritage, whether Moslem or Christian.

110. What is more, there is reason to fear that the Middle East conflict, already a grave threat to peace because of its Palestinian and Arab dimensions, has, since the criminal act of 21 October 1968, acquired a third dimension—that of religion—which, by extending the conflict to other regions of the world, can only make it even more tragic. The debates in the Security Council, which had been convened to consider that question at the request of 26 Moslem countries—one of them my own—and resolution 271 (1969), adopted by the supreme organ of the United Nations, have clearly demonstrated the correctness of the viewpoint expressed by the President of the Tunisian Republic at the news of the disaster, in messages addressed to the Secretary-General, U Thant, and to the Heads of State and Government of the four great Powers.

111. No serious political leader can fail to recognize that the Zionist military adventure which began in Palestine in 1947 has since broadened its horizons in incredible fashion, as witnessed by the fact that Israeli troops today occupy the banks of the Suez Canal and of the Jordan, and the Golan heights, and that the settlers of the "chosen people" are busy setting themselves up in the very heart of the Arab world, in new territories conquered by force.

112. More than two years have elapsed since the last expansionist drive by Israel, and each day brings us more alarming news: Israeli raids on what remains of the military and economic potential of Egypt, Jordan and Syria; devastating reprisals against Lebanon, which is supposedly responsible for the acts of courage of the Palestinian fighters; the destruction of entire Arab villages; provocative statements by various leaders of the Jewish State—in a word, acts of defiance to the world, one more exasperating than another—acts nurtured by the arrogance of the soldier-occupier, only equalled in our times by the arrogance of the South African, Rhodesian and Portuguese colonists in southern Africa.

113. Yet the rule of law could have been established in the Middle East. A formal and precise framework, marked with the seal of universality and a pledge of justice for all, has existed since 22 November 1967. Carried away by a sense of omnipotence after its victory in the June 1967 war, and following the example of other conquerors whose tragic fate is recorded in history, Israel has blindly preferred the fascination of territorial expansion and has taken the easy road of a policy of fait accompli.

114. Who, then, however favourably disposed to the United Nations he may be, can reconcile himself to acceptance of this shocking reality? How can he keep his faith in the Organization when Israel, its own creation—the State which was to set an example of respect for law—has grown in size, and intends to continue to grow, by means of fire, bloodshed and faits accomplis? Small countries like mine, whose only strength until then consisted in a firm belief in a really operative and protective international order, are today a prey to distress and anxiety at the evidence of the scandalous degradation of the system of rules on which civilized nations had hoped to see a new society built after the nightmare of the Hitler era. The situation created by the Israeli occupation of Arab territories opens the way to international anarchy in which naked force will replace the rule of law.

115. Because of the state of insecurity prevailing throughout the world, it is understandable that some countries choose to arm themselves in their turn. Every State has the absolute right to defend its territory, its national existence, its people and its wealth. To believe that, in the absence of rules of conduct that are recognized, accepted and respected by all, States would lightly give up a right which, throughout the history of mankind, has constituted the very basis and the concrete expression of their being, which has always proved to be their last recourse against the threat of extinction, would be to show if not bad faith, at least a strange lack of realism.

116. Who in this forum, who among men, unless he has a perverted mind, would prefer war to peace, if peace can be achieved in freedom, justice and dignity? Far be it from us especially, peaceful people that we are, to glory in destructive violence. Tunisia, on good terms with itself, its neighbours and the world, maintains one of the smallest armies on the African continent, devoting the major part of its resources and efforts to building a society which it hopes will be prosperous, just, harmonious and untroubled.

117. Moreover, we have never neglected an opportunity of contributing to the promotion of international peace and security. We have signed and ratified the Moscow Treaty of 1963 banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. We have acceded to the 1925 Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare. Finally, we have welcomed the conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons *[resolution 2373 (XXII)]* as a major step towards the establishment of peace.

118. In our opinion, the prospect of planetary suicide has introduced a measure of rationality into the strategic relations between the two super-Powers. While we must welcome the results of this rationality, we nevertheless deplore the persistence of obstacles, of old ways of

thinking, of fears and irrational suspicions, which still prevent the United States and the Soviet Union from reaching agreements that are more favourable to peace. Is it not absurd that the two super-Powers should continue to build up their arsenals of nuclear weapons and to perfect and deploy anti-missile missile systems? The unending nature of the race, the generally recognized impossibility of ensuring the superiority of one State over the other–in a word, the futility of that race–should convince the two great Powers of the need to resume and seriously pursue conversations such as those which led to the conclusion of the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

119. There are areas where reasonable hopes exist of concluding agreements as long as there is a firm and sincere political will to do so. To prohibit underground nuclear tests, to stop–either through an agreement or through a moratorium accepted by both parties–all work on the perfecting of new delivery systems, whether offensive or defensive, of strategic nuclear weapons, to prohibit chemical and bacteriological weapons, to prevent the extension of the arms race to the sea-bed and the ocean floor–those are some of the measures that could lessen the "mad pace" of the arms race, to use the words of our Secretary-General.

120. On the specific question of the use of the sea-bed and ocean floor, Tunisia believes it to be its duty to denounce any attempt, from whatever source, to set up nuclear bases in the seas, especially in the Mediterranean basin where the situation is already explosive enough. In adopting this unequivocal attitude, we remain faithful to our own principles, since we have never ceased to believe that military installations outside a State's territory, far from promoting the peace and security of nations, only aggravate international tension.

121. The measures that we recommend for adoption, and others, should contribute to general and complete disarmament with, it goes without saying, the single final goal of creating a peaceful atmosphere. Peace itself, that is to say not only the absence of war, but also and above all co-operation–indeed interdependence–among nations, without either political or economic recriminations, true peace will remain to be built patiently and laboriously by eliminating the causes of war.

122. Our profound conviction is that it is not always the mere existence of armaments that leads to their being used, but that it is the conflict of aspirations, of interests and dreams–in a word, dissatisfaction–which drives peoples and States to war, and for that purpose to manufacture, improve and accumulate weapons. Lucid thought must lead us to recognize that the elimination of the instruments of war, whether rudimentary or sophisticated, would not simultaneously eliminate, above all in the state of international insecurity of our times, either the reasons for fighting or the will to fight.

123. The *status quo* being invariably to the advantage of the stronger and of the victor of the hour, nothing is more natural than that one opposing party should seek to perpetuate the situation and the other to change it, each in his own favour. The major stabilization that followed the Second World War is about to disintegrate before our eyes, whether on the political, the strategic or the economic level. We believe that there is still time to prevent the present confrontation from ending in apocalypse. While the economic problems facing mankind–destitute and refusing in despair to accept a reality fashioned without its knowledge and at its expense–call for more imagination, more effort and more forceful means to solve them, nothing but goodwill is required for the just settlement of conflicts of a geopolitical nature.

124. In the Middle East, peace depends essentially on the unequivocal acceptance and the total implementation by Israel of the resolutions of the United Nations, and particularly of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). Let the leaders of Zionist Israel abandon their fantastic dreams, let them realize, in the interests of the well-being of almost two million Jews whom they have involved in their adventure, that the spoils of war are never finally secure, and tomorrow, instead of occupation, of tactical combats, of raids of reprisal, in other words instead of the infernal cycle of violence, an atmosphere favourable to a just and honourable peace will have a hope of emerging and of blossoming in this Middle East which has suffered all too much. Or else we must draw the lesson which seems dictated by the failure of the Jarring mission and conclude that because of the arrogant intransigence of the Israeli leaders and their narrow interpretation of the role of the Swedish diplomat–an interpretation which has been explicitly rejected by Secretary-General U Thant in the introduction to his annual report *[A/7601/Add.1, para. 67]*–there remains no real hope of peace in the Middle East except through concerted, direct and immediate action by the four great Powers, members of the Security Council, which are ultimately responsible under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security.

125. For its part, Tunisia, which has always stressed the necessity and urgency of an initiative by the four Powers to resolve the crisis, welcomes the French plan for quadripartite consultations which was recommended and approved by the Secretary-General, welcomed by all peace-loving men as a contribution to the restoration of peace, and finally adopted as its own by the United States Government. These consultations, however, do not seem to have achieved the desired results. Our hope is that, faced with the resumption of violence in the area and the threat of a general renewal of hostilities, the four Powers–and above all the United States and the Soviet Union–will once again seriously consider the question. It has become obvious today that, left to itself, the Middle East will sink once again into catastrophe, a catastrophe which may involve the entire world in chaos.

126. Nor, if left to themselves, would South Africa, the illegal authorities in Rhodesia and Portugal, choose freedom for the peoples that they oppress. The detestable policy of *apartheid* practised by Pretoria will not yield tomorrow to a régime of freedom for all, in which the rights of man are respected, unless the political, commercial and military partners of South Africa were to oblige their protégé to adopt such a solution.

127. We must also admit that the Rhodesian settlers will make no effort of their own to lead the African majority to self-determination; here again, the solution of the problem

lies with the ex-protector, the former administering Power, the United Kingdom.

128. In the case of Portugal, a change of Government might have been expected to bring about a change in attitude towards the colonial territories and towards the fundamental question which arises therefrom, namely independence. Today we are obliged to revise our ideas and to admit that the blindness of Lisbon and its obstinacy in continuing to live in an outworn past leave no doubt of the need for intervention by its protectors to change the course of events.

129. In South-East Asia, too, the conflict is basically geopolitical. The martyred land and people of Viet-Nam have learnt that painful fact over the past quarter of a century. Nearby China, quarrelling both with itself and others, nevertheless dominates by its gigantic power the destiny of that part of the world and even, since its acquisition of nuclear weapons, that of the whole world. It too poses a political problem which, as in the case of Viet-Nam, cannot be solved unless all parties share a sincere desire for peace.

130. In the circumstances, all those concerned should accept unequivocally, and respect without reservation, the principle of the self-determination of peoples. We would then see the Viet-Namese, the Chinese, all the peoples of the region, adopt in serenity and freedom the political system of their choice and thus South-East Asia would enter into an era of peace.

131. While hoping that the Paris Conference on Viet-Nam will contribute to that result, Tunisia considers it useful to stress once again the need to assist China to overcome its convulsions by welcoming it into the concert of nations. In the name of justice, but also for reasons of prudence and realism, it seems to us imperative to recognize the urgency of such action, for already today the future of the whole world no longer depends on the polarization of Washington and Moscow, but on a wider pattern of forces in which Peking, because of the area, resources, population and nuclear weapons possessed by China, is a determining feature. It is for the United Nations to find a formula which would permit that great Power to play its fitting role within the Organization. It would still be necessary to secure the assent of the People's Republic of China, for it goes without saying that, in our opinion, the formula should in no way prejudge the fate of Taiwan nor its presence in the United Nations.

132. These are the political conflicts which are tearing our world apart and which, unless there is a genuine will to peace, could lead it into an even more deplorable situation. Any efforts we make towards their solution today would not only create conditions conducive to an atmosphere of peace—peace by negation—but also and principally make it possible to release from the sterile conflict of pride the efforts, resources and means necessary to face a both formidable and exalting task, through which alone can a future of positive peace be assured. I refer to the task of overcoming under-development.

133. In this field the international community, thanks to the experience of the First United Nations Development Decade, already has a pattern for action.

Miss Angie E. Brooks (Liberia) resumed the Chair.

134. Many opinions, often contradictory, have already been expressed on the results and merits of this undertaking. For our part, we believe that it has enabled the organs of the United Nations system, as well as Governments, to identify the problems to be faced and the limits of any international action. Through this First Decade it has also been possible to collect information and to make the studies that are indispensable for any major action to promote development on a scale commensurate with the needs of the countries of the third world as a whole. We thus now have several diagnoses of the situation which the international community is called upon to remedy.

135. We express the hope that the preparations for the Second Decade will be carried out under the most favourable possible conditions. The abundant material available, if properly utilized, should enable more substantial results to be obtained during the next such period.

136. The fact that the General Assembly has decided to establish a special committee to prepare for the Second Decade is evidence of the importance which we attach to it. What is needed, in our opinion, is to determine the framework within which adequate action can be undertaken by Governments and by the international community to combat under-development.

137. It is no less necessary to reach agreement on a certain number of urgent measures which countries, both developed and developing, would commit themselves to take in the course of the next 10 years. The list of fields requiring firm initiatives has already been drawn up; among the most important, I would mention in particular international trade, trade expansion, economic co-operation, regional integration among developing countries, financial resources for development, the development of human resources, and the transfer of technical and scientific knowledge to the underprivileged countries.

138. Adequate solutions can and should be found to the problems from which international co-operation suffers in these fields. It would not be realistic to expect radical changes before the Decade is even launched, but the achievements of the Decade should be such as to raise it to the level of an historic event.

139. The conception of a Development Decade is that of a dynamic and continuous process involving the convergence towards an identical goal of the various actions and activities of Governments and of organs of the United Nations. This is a complex target, but it is now generally recognized that it can only be achieved by harmonizing a number of coherent actions so that they constitute the interdependent parts of a single whole.

140. In this task the principal responsibility rests, in our opinion, upon the poor countries themselves. What they have already accomplished in this matter is recognized by all, but in view of what remains to be done, their continued efforts are more necessary than ever. By sincere and productive endeavours they will impose respect and lead the richer countries to increase their assistance, which, in turn, can stimulate the mobilization of domestic resources.

141. It is indeed time that the concept of aid should be precisely understood and its meaning clarified in the context of international co-operation. This will be to the advantage of all participants, since in the last analysis the development of the third world, in addition to freeing millions of human beings from suffering and poverty, would in large measure benefit the industrialized countries themselves and increase their prosperity.

142. With regard to this war against poverty, I would pay a special tribute to the action undertaken by the United Nations Development Programme. But here again, the lack of resources from which the Programme suffers imposes restrictions on its work. I venture to hope that the successive appeals launched by its dynamic Director, Mr. Hoffman, and by the Secretary-General, U Thant, for an increase in its resources will meet with a favourable response from all contributing Governments.

143. The motives of war, and the stakes risked, have always been territory, resources, the domination of peoples for the sake of glory and, in our time, for the triumph of an idea. Nothing could be more natural, since these are the prizes and the underlying conditions of any political society.

144. The same battle is being fought today, but with other means. Once again, nothing is more natural, since fundamentally man remains the same, despite the evolution and growing sophistication of his knowledge and his techniques.

145. What should have been "nuclear peace" in the shadows of the death-factories built by the Sparta and the Athens of our times has not succeeded in stiffening the protest of the dissatisfied nor in preventing conflict in the form of guerrillas, wars and "limited warfare"; and this simply bears witness to man's genius for adapting himself and facing each hostile historical situation with the means most suited to his particular character. To believe that our debates here and now, or the deeds of generations to come, will, as in some fantastic vision, bring about the reign of that perpetual peace of which all philosophers have dreamed and which certainly remains the deep desire of every man is to ignore the lessons of history and the facts of science; it is to feed on illusions and to invite the worst disappointments; in a word, it is to condemn oneself to a facile scepticism.

146. Anyone who opts for lucidity will readily admit that, all in all, history, and above all our contemporary history, has developed in the direction of increased freedom, justice and prosperity for the human community. He will also recognize that, in spite of all its imperfections, the world we inherited from the Second World War, even though it has failed to live in mutual understanding, has survived the disorder for which motives have abounded during these last 30 years. Unless one seeks to quarrel with oneself, there is therefore in the final analysis more cause for optimism than for pessimism. Unless we are unfair, we must grant that the United Nations, established in 1945 to save future generations from war and to serve as an instrument for political, economic and social progress, has played a preponderant role in this happy state of affairs.

147. Within the limits that we have just mentioned, limits determined by history, human nature and the far-flung international situation which emerged out of the last World War, it is nevertheless reasonable to expect a greater contribution from the Organization to the establishment of justice and peace. We may be clear-sighted, but we are also realistic, and realism demands that we draw attention to the scandalous disparity between the Organization's theoretical power and its real power to find solutions for the crises which disrupt international life. Without conceding that world opinion is completely in the right, we are bound to admit that the Eden which the Charter may conjure up in a naïve and fertile imagination, and the thousands of resolutions adopted by the United Nations, are in no way consistent with the state of insecurity, colonial oppression, the policy of the fait accompli, arrogant defiance, war and injustice, or with the state of misery in which hundreds of millions of human beings live.

148. In these conditions, the alternative before us as Member States is simple: either to reform our understanding or to reform the Organization. To reform our understanding would be to draw the conclusions which flow from the ineffectiveness of the United Nations. To reform the United Nations would be essentially to remind the four great Powers, members of the Security Council, of their ultimate responsibilities under the Charter for the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security. It is incontestable, and the facts prove it, that all the crises afflicting the world today are in the last analysis matters involving the responsibility of the four great Powers. Everything leads us to believe that if they do not take action as called for by the Charter—a contract under the terms of which we small countries have, as a counterpart to their commitment to maintain and promote international peace and security, practically consented to a virtual surrender of sovereignty in their favour—to ensure respect for and the scrupulous application of the decisions of the Organization, the latter will wither away, and with it, the world will fall into uncertainty and chaos. We believe that there is still time to save future generations from this fate. Like Machiavelli, we believe that, if history is a matter of chance, a raging river that uproots everything in its path, it is nevertheless true that chance governs only half our actions, and the other half remains under the control of our free will, so that hope is still justified. With the exercise of will, of goodwill, peace may reign at last tomorrow.

149. Mr. BUDO (Albania) *(translated from French)*: In the first place, Madam President, let me congratulate you warmly on behalf of the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania on your election as President of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

150. During this year, the course of events in the world arena has been characterized by the continued upsurge of revolutionary and national liberation movements, by the heightened struggle of the peaceful and freedom-loving countries to safeguard their independence and their higher vital interests. Those interests are being increasingly menaced by the policy of intervention and imperialist domination followed by the United States of America and the revisionists of the Soviet Union, which are intensifying their aggressive activities in accordance with their joint plans to subject the world to their hegemony. As a result of the policy of positions of strength pursued by these two great Powers, a serious international situation has arisen which is fraught with grave dangers for general peace and security.

151. Today the oppressed peoples and nations are more than ever aware of their legitimate rights. Their revolt is taking an increasingly vigorous form. The storm of the revolutionary struggle for national liberation and social progress is raging in the four corners of the earth. It is developing continuously to become an impetuous torrent which has shaken imperialism, colonialism and international reaction to their very foundations and which is getting the main hand, the great and glorious path of history, along which human society is rapidly advancing. The flames of the armed struggle for freedom burn ever higher, becoming stronger and spreading further, engulfing vast regions of the globe and extending from the Pacific and Indo-China to the Middle East, to Africa and other areas. The world is evolving in a direction favourable to the peoples and against imperialism, its allies and its tools.

152. The successive waves of the peoples' struggle have dealt harsh blows to the ringleader of imperialism, the United States of America, and are speeding its decline. Following the most shattering defeat it has ever suffered in its armed aggression against Viet-Nam, and as a result of the reverses it has experienced throughout the world owing to its policy of aggression and of oppression of peoples, the United States of America is becoming more and more deeply enmeshed in serious economic, financial and political crises. Its internal and external contradictions become daily more flagrant. Its policy of global strategy and of world rule has received irreparable damage. United States imperialism has blundered into a blind alley from which there can be no escape.

153. The revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union are equally prey to numerous contradictions and insuperable difficulties, both domestically and internationally, on account of their betrayal of Marxist-Leninism and of their restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. Soviet revisionism has now unmasked itself on the world stage as a social-imperialist Power linked to the United States of America in a counter-revolutionary "Holy Alliance" seeking to rule the world.

154. The peace-loving peoples and countries are becoming aware that United States-Soviet collusion is the most serious threat and danger to their common cause, their sovereign rights and international peace and security, and that the struggle against such a conspiracy has become an imperative objective necessity. Indeed, the imperialists of the United States of America and the Soviet Union are hated; they are being increasingly fought and isolated by the peoples. This is their great weakness and will be of decisive importance in hastening their total collapse.

155. Faced with such a situation, the two great Powers are multiplying their aggressive efforts and actions; they are speeding up the arms race and their preparations for war, intensifying their collaboration and hatching new plots and conspiracies. Recently, the contacts between them, their negotiations and dealings both secret and open, which extend to various fields and affect the vital interests of the world community, have become still more frequent. In essence, all these plans and machinations are designed to counter the struggle for freedom of the oppressed peoples and nations, to enslave both them and other independent nations, to exploit the peoples and pillage their wealth, to establish the world hegemony of the two Powers by dividing the globe into spheres of influence. This is confirmed, *inter alia*, by the agreements and plans of these two Powers in the field of nuclear weapons, including the bargaining at present in progress between their Foreign Ministers with regard to strategic arms; by the many deals, deceptions and pressures of all kinds in connexion with the question of Viet-Nam and that of the Middle East; by the aggression against Czechoslovakia and its military occupation; by their haggling over the German question and over that of West Berlin; by their joint plans to bring Europe and Asia under their sway and, in particular, by the encirclement of the People's Republic of China and the war being waged against it and in many other ways.

156. One of the consequences of the great Soviet-American counter-revolutionary conspiracy is the armed aggression of the Yankee imperialists against the people of Viet-Nam, which has been in progress now for several years. Despite the barbarous means to which the United States imperialists have had recourse, despite the continuous escalation of the war in the south and the most ferocious bombing raids in the north, the people of Viet-Nam has, by its heroic struggle, dealt a series of shattering blows to the aggressors and has driven them to the wall. It was precisely on the eve of total United States defeat in Viet-Nam that the Soviet revisionists made their greatest efforts, as compensation for the benevolent attitude adopted by the United States with regard to their aggression in Czechoslovakia, to extricate their imperialist United States partners from a difficult situation, to save their face and their imperialist positions and to win for them at the conference table what they had been unable to obtain on the battlefield, namely, the capitulation of the people of Viet-Nam to the Yankee aggressors.

157. But the people of Viet-Nam has never fallen to its knees. It is well aware of the fact that only by armed struggle can it win complete victory over the aggressors. It knows that "peaceful" negotiations, American-style, are intended to undermine its legitimate struggle for freedom and to perpetuate the United States occupation of South Viet-Nam in accordance with aggressive imperialist-revisionist plans against the other countries of the region and, primarily, against the People's Republic of China.

158. The Albanian people and its Government have been and always will be at the side of their brothers of Viet-Nam. We are profoundly convinced that, by resolutely pursuing its armed struggle to the bitter end, the people of Viet-Nam will bring about the ignominious failure of these diabolical plots and will achieve its sacred aspirations.

159. Progressive humanity has unanimously condemned the perfidious armed aggression of the Soviet revisionists against Czechoslovakia. Law in Czechoslovakia today is made by tanks and bayonets. By fire and by sword the masters are trying to stifle the will of the Czechoslovak people to reconquer its national dignity, its freedom and its independence, which were trampled underfoot on 21 August 1968.

160. The events which have occurred during one year of occupation, and particularly the recent events on the anniversary of 21 August, have once again demonstrated to

the whole world that neither a reign of terror, nor tanks, nor a state of siege, nor emergency powers can succeed in curbing the legitimate resistance and struggle of the Czechoslovak people. It will never bow to the foreign invaders and its struggle for freedom will be strengthened and developed in every possible way and by all possible means until victory is won.

161. The Albanian people and its Government resolutely and energetically condemned, from the very first day, the Fascist-like aggression against Czechoslovakia and formally denounced the Warsaw Treaty, which has become an instrument of aggression in the hands of the new imperialist Soviet Power against the other signatories of the Treaty. We have always followed with deep sympathy the resistance of the Czechoslovak people to the odious occupation régime. The people of Albania are and will remain on the side of their Czechoslovak brothers in their legitimate struggle against foreign occupation.

162. The aggression against Czechoslovakia and its military occupation, as well as the evolution of relationships between the Soviet Union and its "allies" in this region, have revealed that the policy and action of the Soviet leaders towards these countries are now based on blackmail and threats of force, the principal weapon being the Warsaw Treaty. Frequent movements of armed units of Warsaw Treaty forces or successive manoeuvres by the forces of that aggressive organization have recently taken place in those countries. It is clear that all this has been done to demonstrate the military power of the Soviet revisionists and to obtain, by the threat of force, obedience or concessions in favour of their policy of hegemony as well as to prepare for new adventures against other countries.

Mr. Ogbu (Nigeria), Vice-President, took the Chair.

163. In their endeavours to find a theoretical foundation for this policy of hegemony and aggression, the Soviet revisionist leaders invoke the interest of the "socialist community", i.e. their imperialist policy and the slogan of "limited sovereignty" borrowed from their mentor, Mr. John Foster Dulles.

164. The course of events and the well-known facts clearly demonstrate that the Soviet Government has now embarked on a policy of imperialist expansion. Large Soviet military forces are deployed in the territories of its allies, particularly along the Romanian frontiers, both on Soviet territory and on that of Hungary and Bulgaria. In the Mediterranean, the Soviet fleet is competing with the United States Sixth Fleet and is playing the same part: threatening the security and liberty of the independent countries of that region. It must be stressed that the naval bases of these two fleets constitute a grave danger both to the countries in which they are installed and to the other peace-loving countries of the Mediterranean. We energetically denounce the serious threat constituted by these bases to peace and security in the Mediterranean and in Europe as a whole.

165. It is clear that the Soviet leaders have already unsheathed the sword and are preparing for military adventures. They are plunging ever more deeply into a policy of aggression and of war. The aggressive actions of the Soviet leaders follow one another in an unbroken sequence. This is confirmed, *inter alia,* by their armed aggression against Czechoslovakia, their acts of armed aggression against Czechoslovakia, their acts of armed provocation and aggression against the People's Republic of China and their blackmail and threats of force against Romania, Yugoslavia, Albania and other countries. One thing is certain, however: the lot of the aggressor will be total destruction, such as has always been the fate of aggressors and military adventurers, as history confirms.

166. As for anyone who has aggressive designs against the People's Republic of Albania, we say to those who would dare to lift their hands against us that the new socialist Albania is invulnerable and will never be taken by surprise. The Albanian people, master of its destinies and with a long tradition of combating any invader, will know how to answer. It is not alone, and the assistance it will be given will know no frontiers. Anyone who dares to attack our socialist fatherland will, as always, fail lamentably.

167. Two years have already elapsed since the imperialist Israeli aggression against the Arab countries, and the resulting tragic and unbearable situation in that region remains unaltered. The chief responsibility for that monstrous crime against the Arab peoples rests with the United States of America and with the revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union. With odious cynicism, these two imperialist Powers are vying with each other in extracting every possible advantage from this situation so as to assure for themselves dominating positions in the oil-rich and strategically important Middle East, and to gain the maximum profit at the expense of the Arab peoples. Meanwhile, the Israeli aggressors, emboldened by this situation, continue to apply their aggressive and expansionist policy in the occupied territories and against the neighbouring Arab lands. Their aggressive actions persist; they are constantly launching attacks and acts of armed provocation against the United Arab Republic, Jordan, Syria and the Lebanon. The Arab peoples in the territories occupied by the Zionist aggressors still live under a reign of terror.

168. The Arab peoples are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that the two great Powers are opposed to a just solution of the Middle East problem. While the United States of America openly supports Israel, continually provides it with arms and uses it as a tool for the realization of its plans against the Arab peoples, the Soviet revisionist leaders are taking advantage of the situation thus created to carry out their own designs for hegemony, calculating that the Arab peoples threatened by Israel will have need of them and will thus be obliged to defer and submit to them. The objective of both great Powers is to stifle the legitimate struggle of the Palestinian people and of the other Arab peoples, to eliminate the Palestinian problem and to maintain the tense and tragic situation which has been created to the detriment of the Arab peoples, in order to secure a position of dominance for themselves and to plunder the wealth of the countries of that region. The same objectives are served by United Nations resolutions, such as that of 22 November 1967 *[resolution 242 (1967)]*, a product of the plot between the United States and Soviet Governments, or the other plans which they have been evolving in the course of bipartite, quadripartite and other negotiations in the United Nations or in the corridors of the Foreign Ministries.

169. The old and new imperialists and the Zionists imagine that they can easily impose their criminal plans on the Arab peoples. They forget with whom they are dealing. The Arab peoples have never agreed, and will never agree, to submit to pressure, intrigue or naked force on the part of open or concealed aggressors. They are brave and freedom-loving peoples, with glorious cultural, warrior and humanitarian traditions, dating back many centuries, and they have illuminated the history of mankind in every field. They have given to the world since ancient times some most eminent writers, historians, philosophers and scientists. Their universities have been celebrated; they revealed to Europe the treasures of ancient Greek philosophy.

170. These people who have struggled heroically against foreign invaders throughout the centuries, will not allow themselves to be subdued either by intrigue or by tanks and aircraft, whether made in the United States or elsewhere. They are invincible; their power is great and it will inevitably triumph. Let their foes tremble! The heroic and glorious struggle of the Palestinian partisans is the best evidence of this. I wish, from this rostrum, to salute on behalf of the Albanian people our Palestinian brothers who, sword in hand, have raised high over the battlefield the banner of liberty and independence.

171. Imperialism and international Zionism have striven for decades to introduce Jews from all over the world into Palestine and to establish there a bridgehead of domination and aggression. Jews from various Western countries as well as from the Ukraine, Poland, Romania and elsewhere have infiltrated into that land. My Palestine brothers, they have come into your territory, financed by international Zionism, and, usurping your land, have forced you to live in tents in the desert. But, as one, you have arisen in a valiant fight for the recognition of your sacred rights. The imperialists and the modern revisionists, however, are applying the rule of silence with regard to your struggles.

172. As a representative of the Albanian people and as your loyal brother, however, I will raise my voice here, in the United Nations; I shall speak of your rights and of your heroic struggle and I shall do so always and incessantly "though all the world should fall" *(hatta ua laou dounya kharabat)*.[3] They accuse you of terrorism, of outrages; but you are a people of great ideals, of noble and pure spirit; you are warriors who, under the threat of oppression, have for years been struggling night and day for your freedom, dignity and honour, for the honour of your women and for a happy future.

173. Your policy is one of fraternity towards all your Arab brothers and towards all the progressive peoples of the world. You have also shown a truly humane attitude towards the Israelis. But you are not a people with the spirit of slaves. It is those who oppress you who are slaves in spirit and—whether today or tomorrow—they will be defeated by your heroic struggle, an integral part of the struggle of the Arab peoples.

174. There are those who claim that Israel is strong. This is not true. A State which is rapacious, represses other peoples and drowns them in blood cannot possibly be strong. The truth is that the alleged strength of Israel stems above all from the temporary difficulties of the Arab peoples. No one should deceive himself, however. As for us, the people of Albania, we are firmly convinced; that the Arab peoples will rise up in ever-growing strength and will surely overcome the enemies of their freedom and sovereignty to use one of your own expressions, we believe in this as in the air we breathe.

175. Some might, perhaps, nourish the hope of a political settlement to this question of life or death for the Arab peoples—a political settlement through deals between the United States imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, with the direct or indirect assistance of Israel and international Zionism. No settlement will come from that source, but only from the freedom struggle of the Arab peoples themselves. The pseudo-mediators and pseudo-defenders are well aware of this truth and fear such a settling of scores. Not only, therefore, is it wrong to foster illusions or cherish hopes of a so-called peaceful solution, but those Powers must not even be permitted to continue their dealings amongst themselves, since the facts show that as long as such bargaining goes on, the horizon will remain dark. This is quite understandable, since the aim of United States imperialism is, above all, to strengthen its position of domination in the Middle East, Africa and the Mediterranean, while the Soviet revisionists—the new imperialists—are also seeking to reinforce their positions in the same areas by turning the temporary difficulties of the Arab peoples to their own advantage.

176. In conclusion, the question of the Middle East can, in the hands of the two imperialist Powers, serve only as a kind of currency for use in bargaining amongst themselves to smooth over their disagreements in various parts of the world. This should be evident to all. Some recognize it, others do not. Some think that, under these equivocal conditions, they can disengage themselves from a situation which, for various reasons, they find uneasy. That is quite another question. Nevertheless, we Albanians think and act frankly, openly expressing our points of view. We are sure that our friends will never hold it against us if we speak the truth in all sincerity, because we love them with all our hearts, and will the more so in times of difficulty; if our enemies are offended, this in no way disturbs us.

177. The popular partisan struggle is an integral part of that great fight for the liberation of the peoples which the occupiers and the enemies of free countries dread so greatly. The imperialists and revisionists are endeavouring, through pressure and demagogy, to impede and stifle your heroic partisan struggle, my Palestinian brothers. You are fighting a just fight; the ultimate victory will inevitably be yours.

178. In the perfidious plans of the United States and Soviet Governments, an important place has been allotted this year to their co-ordinated designs on Europe and Asia. The repeated proposal of the Soviet revisionist leaders concerning "European security" and their proposal for a "collective security system in Asia" are unquestionably interconnected. They are the product of joint Soviet-American machinations for the suppression of revolutionary movements in the countries of Europe and Asia and are aimed at bringing those countries into submission and involving them—particularly those of Asia—in the aggressive

[3] Transcribed from Arabic.

adventures of the two Powers on that continent, especially against the People's Republic of China. The two great Powers are seeking to use the peoples as cannon-fodder in implementing their aggressive plans for world domination. This is also the purpose of the efforts made by the President of the United States, in the course of his tour of Asia, to create a defence system in that continent. Having learned the lesson of their failure in Viet-Nam and in view of the crisis and the whole series of grave problems which have resulted from it, the United States leaders are attempting to achieve the same objectives—those of their aggressive policy—by making still greater use of the peoples of Asia. In other words, this is a great imperialist-revisionist conspiracy aimed at assuring by means of such military pacts—in parallel with the aggressive NATO and Warsaw pacts—the preservation of the *status quo* in Europe, the subordination of that continent to the suzerainty of the two "super-Powers" by dividing it up into spheres of influence and by transforming it into a secure rear base from which to undertake a crusade against the revolutionary peoples and peace-loving countries of Asia, particularly in order to implement the Soviet-American plan to encircle great socialist China, the main obstacle—the insuperable obstacle—to the realization of their monstrous objectives, and to launch an aggressive attack against it.

179. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania can well understand the preoccupation of some peaceful countries of Europe concerning the cause of peace and security in that continent. The facts reveal, however, that the policies and actions of the two great Powers are following a course diametrically opposed to the noble objectives to which all European peoples aspire. We are happy to know that many countries of Europe have expressed reservations concerning those perfidious plans, and that many Asian countries have categorically refused to become involved in the aggressive policies of the imperialist Powers and to allow themselves to be caught in the trap of their military adventures.

180. How is it possible to conceive of the security of Europe and Asia under the direction of the two Powers, when it is precisely because of their aggressive policies and activities, and of their collaboration, that the freedom-loving and peaceful peoples of the two continents are living in a state of insecurity and when, as a result of that collaboration, bargaining is carried on, plots are hatched and armed aggression is waged against their freedom, sovereignty and national independence?

181. How can there be any talk of such security when the armed forces of those two Powers are actually stationed in many foreign countries, trampling underfoot their sovereignty and independence and constituting a serious danger to their own safety as well as to international peace and security; when their war fleets, cruising in the Atlantic, the Mediterranean and the Pacific, threaten the independence and security of the peoples in those areas? How can there be any talk of security in Europe under the guarantee of those two Powers when, among other things, it is precisely because of them that a quarter of a century later, the problems arising from the Second World War have not yet been settled in that continent; when not only has the German problem not been solved, but when the Soviet leaders are making use of it and of the West Berlin problem as a bargaining counter with the American imperialists and the West German "revisionists", to the detriment of the German Democratic Republic, and of the German people, the other countries of Europe and the very security of all the peoples of Europe? No, the peoples of Europe and Asia will not allow themselves to be deceived; they will not allow themselves to be cheated by the two imperialist Powers; they will never allow themselves to fall into the traps laid for them; they will never agree to leave their security and their destiny in the hands of the American and Soviet leaders.

182. It should be noted that the American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, in addition to their collaboration at the expense of the peoples, also have their disagreements; they quarrel through greed and their desire for hegemony; this is perfectly understandable and natural when the imperialist nature of the Soviet-American alliance is borne in mind. In particular, the United States Government, taking advantage of the weaknesses of the Soviet leaders and of their readiness to make concessions, persistently puts forward ever-growing pretensions. American imperialism not only claims the lion's share but is also trying to oust its partner and replace it in the very countries which the latter claims to regard as its reserved areas. This also accounts for a certain sensational initiative taken in this respect at the appropriate moment by the United States Government.

183. It is obvious that in spite of their contradictions, these two Powers understand one another within the framework of their global strategy, and can reach agreement where it is a question of stifling the struggle of peoples fighting for their freedom, independence and self-determination.

184. It is typical that the leaders of the Soviet Union are now showing more and more zeal in their collaboration and joint counter-revolutionary actions with the American imperialists. They are sparing no effort to find new ways of continuously consolidating the new "Holy Alliance" and refrain from any action likely to weaken it. Indeed, after every pseudo "anti-imperialist" gesture made for demagogic purposes, they hasten to reassure their partners in Washington of their loyalty and to give them practical proof of the real meaning of the noisy declarations they make for form's sake.

185. Terrified at the immense successes and the uninterrupted consolidation of great socialist China, particularly after the historic victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution which set the seal on the complete failure of the plots of imperialist-revisionist agents trying to take the Chinese citadel from within, the Soviet leaders have gone over to overt and sanguinary attacks against the Chinese people.

186. During this period, they have distinguished themselves in particular by their aggressive actions against the People's Republic of China, accompanied by an unbridled campaign of anti-Chinese calumnies. The attention of world public opinion has been particularly drawn to the successive incidents they have provoked on the Chinese-Soviet frontier, particularly through acts of armed provocation on the Ussuti river and in the Chinese territory of Sinkiang. The

Soviet Union has also concentrated enormous forces in the Far East, near the Chinese frontier, and has become deeply engaged in a policy of aggression and preparation for war against China. The Soviet leaders thus stand revealed as rabid partners of United States imperialism in the anti-Chinese alliance.

187. For their part the American imperialists, along with their feverish attempts to implement the two Powers' joint plan to encircle and wage war against China, excel themselves in instigating their Kremlin partners to commit themselves ever more deeply to that military adventure, just as the Western imperialists did on the eve of the Second World War, striving to launch Hitler's Nazis into war against the Soviet Union. The Soviet leaders show similar tendencies with regard to the United States of America, and both partners fear great socialist China.

188. Peaceful countries and international public opinion are following with close attention the evolution of this dangerous situation, which is a grave threat to peace and security in Asia and in the world.

189. Whatever the plans, the intrigues and the deals, the acts of provocation and of aggression which may be contrived and undertaken by the United States imperialists and the Soviet socio-imperialists, they cannot succeed in intimidating the peoples; they will never be able to mislead them as to their true designs as rabid enemies of the peoples and of international security. For its part, great socialist China is little concerned by the hysterical outbursts and aggressive actions of the American imperialists and Soviet revisionists. There is no force in the world which can bring the Chinese colossus to its knees. China, with its population of 700 million, is stronger today than ever before, and if the imperialists and the Soviet revisionists dare to undertake any act of aggression against China, they will receive the answer they deserve, and that will be the end of them.

190. The struggle of the peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism has entered a new phase. It is becoming ever more powerful and better organized. Workers' strikes and revolts by young people and progressive students in support of rights are breaking out everywhere in Europe, Asia and the Americas. The peoples still groaning under the colonial yoke are intensifying their resolute armed struggle to deliver themselves once and for all from the chains of slavery. The people of Viet-Nam, the people of Czechoslovakia, the people of Palestine and of the other Arab countries, victims of Israeli imperialist aggression, the people of Oman, the people of Laos and of a number of Indo-Chinese countries, those of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), South Africa, Namibia, Southern Rhodesia, Puerto Rico and all the other peoples suffering from imperialist, colonialist and racist oppression are waging a great struggle; in every continent and in all parts of the world, they are dealing furious blows against the old and new imperialists, their colonialist allies and agents. The ground is giving way beneath the feet of imperialism.

191. It would be superfluous to stress here the responsibility resting upon the United Nations in the face of the situation at present prevailing in the world arena and of the major problems of concern to the peoples of the whole world. Indeed, as a consequence of the pernicious influence exercised on it by the United States of America and its chief collaborators, the present leaders of the Soviet Union, not only is the United Nations incapable of actively fulfilling its mission, but is at the same time being transformed into an instrument of the two Powers' policy of aggression and pursuit of hegemony.

192. Far from helping to settle the major problems of our time, which affect the legitimate rights and higher interests of the peoples, the United Nations is acting in a manner flagrantly opposed to the fundamental purposes and principles of the Charter. It has profoundly disappointed the peoples struggling for their freedom and independence, who have now lost all confidence and have come to the conclusion that no good can be expected from the United Nations as long as it is manipulated by the United States and is subserving American-Soviet plots and collaboration.

193. Many Member States are seriously concerned over the deplorable situation which has grown up within this Organization, and at the grave harm done to its prestige and authority in the eyes of the peoples. There is no doubt that the first task to be undertaken is the urgent restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and its organs. The immediate elimination of the unprecedented anomaly whereby the seat of the great Chinese nation in this Organization is usurped by the remnants of a venal clique, representing nothing, is a categorical imperative. The restoration of China's rights is not only a vital reparation for the most flagrant and shameful violation of the Charter and of the elementary rules of international law, it is also in keeping with the urgent need of this Organization to have in its ranks great socialist China, which represents one quarter of mankind and without whose membership, as must be obvious to all, none of the great international problems can be solved. It is well known that it is not China which needs the United Nations, but rather the United Nations which needs China.

194. We do not deem it necessary to speak on this occasion of the hostile and imperialistic designs with regard to the Chinese people which have prompted the United States of America to impose its will upon a number of Member States in order to deny the legitimate rights of China in this Organization. In addition to the fact that this is well known, we shall have the opportunity to speak on it at length as well as on other aspects of the question, when it comes up for discussion in the General Assembly. We would, however, wish to stress at this point that a decision to restore the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations would mark an important advance in the direction of ending the manipulation of the United Nations by the United States and would encourage new steps in the same direction.

195. China is a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council. The Government of the People's Republic of China is unquestionably the sole legitimate representative of the great Chinese people; it and it alone is entitled to enjoy the legitimate rights of China in this Organization.

196. We would express the hope that those peaceful Member States which cherish the fundamental principles of

the Charter and are aware of the immense role of the great land of China in the world will have the courage to take a stand in favour of the request made by 14 countries, including Albania, that the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and in all its organs be restored, and that the Chiang-Kai-shek clique be immediately expelled from this Organization *[see A/7652]*.

197. The Albanian delegation deems it necessary to stress once again that, in its view, Member States which are seriously interested in respecting the principle of the sovereign equality of States, non-intervention in domestic affairs, observance of the territorial integrity of other States and respect for the rights of peoples to self-determination cannot fail to dissociate themselves from the two great Powers in their treacherous and aggressive plans, which are dictated by the aims of their imperialist policy of dividing the world into spheres of influence and thus dominating it. The urgent task of such States is, in our view, to oppose those two Powers and their collusion at the expense of the cause of peace-loving peoples and countries, and to combat their dangerous plans to place various peoples and countries under their tutelage, whatever form such plans may take. American-Soviet collusion is today the greatest danger to international peace and security. It is the primary duty of peace-loving Members of the United Nations, therefore, to concert their efforts here to oppose the *diktat* of the two Powers and their conspiracy to control this Organization.

198. The work of this session of the General Assembly coincides with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the liberation of Albania, which the Albanian people will celebrate on 29 November next. Ideals which inspired and guided the revolutionary struggle of the Albanian people for their freedom against the Fascist invaders, as well as the principles upon which the new socialist State was built and developed after that victory, form the basis of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of Albania.

199. Just as during the course of its struggle for freedom, the Albanian people, still firmly united around its workers' party, headed by its beloved Comrade Enver Hoxha, and relying unshakably upon its own resources, has, in the past quarter of a century, achieved such success in building the new socialist life, despite numerous difficulties, some natural and some created by its enemies, that it has radically changed the face of our country. Once a backward agricultural country, Albania has now become a country whose agriculture is being modernized and mechanized and whose industry is advanced. Albania's industrial production is today some 52 times higher than in 1938, the last pre-war year. In other words, our industry now produces in one week what was produced in a year in the pre-war period.

200. In socialist Albania, the exploitation of man by man has been eliminated once and for all. The material and cultural standard of living is incomparably better than in the past. The national income is 7 ½ times greater than before. Nowadays, not only has illiteracy been completely eliminated, but education and culture have become the property of the masses of the people; one person in four attends school and the number of students receiving higher education is 25 times higher than in 1938.

201. The tremendous achievements in all fields, obtained in a relatively short period, provide striking evidence of the supremacy and vitality of our social system. They are a guarantee of further victories and of a happy future.

202. Guided by the profound aspirations of the Albanian people, our Government has followed an independent and revolutionary foreign policy which is fully in keeping with the defence of our independence, our sovereignty and the inviolability of our fatherland and of our socialist victories, as well as with the great cause of peoples and countries struggling for their freedom, independence and self-determination, in order to ensure genuine international co-operation.

203. The People's Republic of Albania has pursued and will continue to pursue its policy of friendship and fraternal co-operation, on the basis of the principles of Marxist-Leninism, with the peoples of the socialist countries; its policy of friendship for and solidarity with the peoples of countries struggling for their freedom, democracy and progress and, in particular, with its brothers the Arab peoples, the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America and with all anti-imperialist forces.

204. A close and fraternal friendship, inspired by common ideals, links the Albanian people with the great people of China. Albanian-Chinese friendship, forged by the two heroic parties, is indestructible, since it is built on immortal foundations. It provides a striking example of relations between socialist countries, a lively demonstration of the strength and vitality of genuine socialist relationships, which know no obstacle and will triumph over every enemy.

205. The Albanian Government has constantly followed its policy of good-neighbourliness and of normal relations between States having different social systems, on the basis of the principles of sovereign equality, non-interference, respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and co-operation based on mutual advantage.

206. The People's Republic of Albania has become a factor for peace and progress in the Balkans and the Adriatic. It plays an active part in and is making a constructive contribution to the cause of peace and security in Europe and in the world. Thanks to this policy, the People's Republic of Albania enjoys today the sympathy, respect and support of all progressive and peace-loving countries. The Albanian people is fully aware of all this and of the obligations incumbent upon it in this respect. As always, it will fulfil its obligations with determination.

207. The People's Republic of Albania will continue to co-operate, as in the past, with the peaceful countries which are Members of the United Nations; alongside with those countries, it will not fail to make its modest contribution to the struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression and of oppression of peoples.

208. We should like to take this opportunity to say here how much we appreciate the spirit of co-operation that a great number of Member States have shown us with respect to many important international problems, thus proving that we have many common interests. We should also like to express our gratitude to all friendly countries and peoples for their sympathy and solidarity with, and sincere

support for, our people in the various situations which have arisen over the last 25 years. Their friendship and solidarity have been and will continue to be precious to our people; they constitute and continue to constitute important factors in our achievements and successes, in all the victories of the People's Republic of Albania, which thus offers a historic and living example of the extent to which peoples, whether great or small, are powerful, of the extent of their possibilities when they are unshakably resolute in their struggle for freedom, independence and progress.

The meeting rose at 1.45 p.m.

Litho in United Nations, New York

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