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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: I invite His Excellency Sir Dawda K. Jawara, President of the Republic of the Gambia, to address the Assembly.

2. President JAWARA: Mr. President, permit me, first of all, to offer you my warm personal congratulations on your election as President of the twenty-fifth regular session of the General Assembly. I have no doubt whatsoever that, with your wisdom and wealth of experience in international diplomacy, you will not only uphold the tradition of your distinguished predecessors in this high office but also guide this Assembly to even more significant achievements during this historic and important session.

3. I have equal pleasure in conveying my sincere congratulations and thanks to your immediate predecessor, Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph, whose masterly conduct of the affairs of the twenty-fourth regular session has brought credit not only to herself but also to her great country, the Republic of Liberia, and indeed to the whole of Africa.

4. On this memorable occasion, I should also like to pay a tribute to our Secretary-General, U Thant, and to those who have preceded him in this difficult, often thankless but certainly ever important office. I wish to pay homage to the memory of the late Mr. Trygve Lie, who carried a crushing administrative and political burden during the formative years of this Organization. I pay homage also to the memory of another distinguished son of Scandinavia, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, who served this Organization tirelessly and selflessly and finally gave up his life in the search for peace in my own continent. The United Nations is fortunate indeed in having, at this particular time

in its evolution, a Secretary-General of the calibre and integrity of U Thant. With a rare combination of the virtues of patience and understanding and the qualities of persistence and impartiality, he continues to enhance the image and the prestige both of our Organization and of his high office. On behalf of my Government and on my own behalf, I thank him sincerely for his indefatigable and continuing efforts in the cause of peace. Through him I wish to express my appreciation for the services of all those who assist or co-operate with him in his important and exacting task, from the governing bodies of the various specialized agencies of the United Nations to their dedicated but anonymous secretariats, not forgetting the interpreters, précis writers, security officers and other personnel, too numerous to mention individually, who are so essential to the orderly conduct of the day-to-day business of this highly complicated international machinery.

5. Twenty-five years ago, in the city of San Francisco, fifty-one sovereign independent States met to establish an international organization, to be known as the United Nations, and to approve its Charter. Since that day, the membership of the Organization has steadily risen—it is sometimes said in direct proportion to its problems. My country had the honour of being admitted in 1965 as the 115th Member of the Organization, which now has a membership of 126. Those who framed our great Charter were people determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war which, twice before in their lifetime, had brought untold misery, sorrow and suffering to mankind. These were people who firmly believed in the dignity and worth of man and in equal rights for all men. These were people determined to establish conditions of justice and respect for international law and order and to promote social progress and human development in an atmosphere of freedom. In their great wisdom, they declared the primary purposes of the United Nations to be: (a) to maintain international peace and security; (b) to develop friendly relations among nations, on the basis of equal rights and self-determination for all peoples; (c) to achieve international co-operation in the economic, social, cultural and humanitarian fields.

6. Let us pause for a moment, in this jubilee year of our Organization, to see how far we have travelled along the road we set ourselves a quarter of a century ago. Let us look back into our record and see whether we have kept faith with ourselves. Let us determine, if possible, where we have succeeded and where we have failed to come up to expectations, and why. In this way it may be possible to redefine our aims, to readjust our individual policies and attitudes to take

account of present-day realities, so that we may continue into the future, with greater success, the onerous but self-fulfilling task of promoting peace and progress on this planet.

7. During the past twenty-five years, mankind has gone through a series of crises and has at times come dangerously close to a cataclysm. Since the end of the last world war, events in various parts of the world have seriously affected the peace of our planet in varying degrees. The tragic sequence of events in Indo-China has left us the terrible legacy of the conflict in Viet-Nam and now Cambodia. The problem of Palestine has precipitated the present explosive situation in the Middle East.

8. United Nations forces had to intervene in 1950 to repel aggression in South Korea. The spectre of secession raised its ugly head in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 1960 and again United Nations forces had to intervene to restore the situation. Only two years ago this monster again appeared in the Federal Republic of Nigeria and caused untold misery and suffering before it was finally exterminated. Everyone of us here should remember the Cuban missile crisis which brought the world close to the brink of nuclear conflagration. The list is long and makes very depressing reading. I have not even mentioned the Suez crisis, the emergency in Malaysia and later on the confrontation with Indonesia, leading to the temporary withdrawal of that great country from this Organization. Then there was Cyprus, Hungary, Algeria and Czechoslovakia, and the list is still not complete.

9. Those were all times when the peace and security of various parts of the world, and sometimes even of the whole world, were seriously imperilled. In all but a few, either by direct intervention, by conciliation or mediation or merely by bringing the pressure of world opinion to bear on the situation, the United Nations was instrumental in averting a catastrophe.

10. Many a time, people have expressed disappointment in the efficacy of the United Nations. It has even been predicted, with unjustifiable pessimism, that this Organization will go the same way as its predecessor, the League of Nations. I personally shudder to think what the world would be today without the United Nations. In spite of the tremendous difficulties which are imposed by its size and the variety of its membership and in spite of its shortcomings, the United Nations remains, in my opinion, the most effective instrument for the maintenance of world peace and the promotion of understanding among nations that man has so far devised. If its record is not any more impressive than it is already, the fault is in ourselves and not in the Organization. If Member States were to approach the United Nations in the true spirit of its Charter, instead of transforming it into an ideological battlefield or a mere talking shop, the interests of mankind in general would be much better served. I have no doubt whatsoever as to the efficacy of this Organization or about the essential role which it has played and continues to play in maintaining international peace and security.

11. The second of the primary objectives of the United Nations is to promote friendly relations among all nations of the world, on the basis of equal rights and self-determination for all peoples. Even before the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples ten years ago, this Organization was already very actively involved in the decolonization process. The prominent and crucial role played by the United Nations in the political emancipation of many former colonial territories does not require to be glossed over. The increase in the membership of the Organization since 1960 is a living memorial to the success of the campaign waged by the world body in this direction.

12. In commemorating this great event, it would have been a fitting tribute to the splendid work of the United Nations if today we were in a position to assert that colonialism and all that went with it had been relegated to history. It is a matter of profound regret that despite repeated appeals, recommendations and resolutions, and all the resources of diplomacy, both inside and outside the United Nations, certain colonial Powers still refuse to march with the times. Africa spoke with one voice when my colleague, His Excellency El Hadj Ahmadou Ahidjo, President of the Republic of Cameroon, presented the Lusaka Manifesto¹ to the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly [1780th meeting]. In this unequivocal statement of Africa's stand on the problems of decolonization and racial discrimination in the southern part of the continent, it can be seen that the hand of friendship was being extended to Pretoria, Lisbon and Salisbury for peaceful and honourable co-operation in achieving the purpose of the Charter in that part of the world. It is a sad fact that this gesture of peace and co-operation has been spurned. *Apartheid*, in all its forms and manifestations, continues to plague the conscience of mankind. Minority régimes continue to impose their will on and to perpetrate nefarious deeds against the suffering majority in Southern Africa. Repressive laws are enacted daily and brutal means employed to subjugate further the peoples of South Africa, Rhodesia and the so-called Portuguese territories in Africa, people whose only crime is their love for freedom and human dignity. Neighbouring African countries like Zambia, the United Republic of Tanzania, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Guinea and Senegal, which have given humanitarian assistance and succour to the distressed people of these areas, have in turn become the victims of aggression. Time is running very short. This situation cannot continue indefinitely. It is my earnest hope that before it is too late, wiser counsels will prevail in Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon so that it may come to be realized that the Lusaka Manifesto offers what might well be the last chance for peaceful coexistence among the races in Southern Africa.

13. The third of the primary purposes of the United Nations is to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character. This part of the Charter also lays down the principle of respect for human

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

rights and the fundamental freedoms. For the attainment of these purposes, the United Nations relies on the action of the Economic and Social Council and the specialized agencies, as well as on such emanations of the Organization as the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, the International Monetary Fund, and so on.

14. The problems hampering economic growth in the developing countries are many and varied. Many of these problems have an external source and cannot be resolved by the domestic policies of these countries. Perhaps the most acute of these problems is in the field of trade. The export trade of developing countries is largely dominated by primary products, the prices of which are very unstable. These fluctuations in export earnings restrict the extent to which developing countries can purchase capital goods and machinery from the developed countries. These fluctuations also adversely affect the capacity of developing countries to meet interest and amortization payments on foreign loans. This in turn prejudices the long term creditworthiness of developing countries which, in turn, again reduces the incentive to the flow of loan funds for development purposes. The steady deterioration in the terms of trade creates a vicious circle which the developing countries cannot break without greater assistance from the developed nations. The practical results of the First United Nations Development Decade have not been particularly encouraging. It is time that the affluent members of the international community understand that an indispensable concomitant to the realization of lasting peace and prosperity in the world is to reduce the gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots" by assisting the developing countries to rise above economic stagnation and to promote their economic development. Poverty and super-abundance are strange bedfellows, and the division of the world into rich and poor nations will always pose a threat to peace and security. I am hopeful that more determined efforts will be made during the Second United Nations Development Decade to achieve the targets set by the second session of UNCTAD. The international agreements on coffee, sugar, wheat and tin have contributed towards reducing the instability of the market prices of these commodities. The compensation schemes for fluctuations in the total earnings of developing countries, evolved by the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, including the special drawing rights, have also been great sources of help.

15. Protective barriers and the increasing substitution of synthetics for natural materials, made possible by technological progress, constitute further major impediments in the way of developing countries. In the field of foreign aid also, administrative complications arising from tied or conditional aid—especially when this is tied not only to the source of procurement but also to certain projects—greatly slow down planning and development.

16. All those problems tend to compound the numerous domestic ones which are inherent to the developing

countries; problems resulting, for example, from constraints to capital formation, technical know-how and population growth. They are nevertheless, in my opinion, not insuperable. The Lester Pearson Commission report entitled *Partners in Development*² and the United States Peterson report on international development³ contain some constructive imaginative suggestions. I can only hope that those recommendations will not fall on deaf ears, as it is an illusion to believe that the affluent sector of the world can remain a quiet island in the midst of a stormy ocean, an oasis of prosperity in a desert of desperate poverty.

17. I shall complete my address with a brief statement of my country's position on certain issues which will be discussed during the current session of the General Assembly.

18. On the question of disarmament and arms control, the Gambia cannot but lend its full support to the efforts being deployed by this Organization to achieve, firstly, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons; secondly, a partial, leading to a complete, ban on the testing of nuclear weapons, either underground, in the atmosphere or under the sea; and, thirdly, final and complete disarmament.

19. Whilst we deplore and are rightly perturbed by the havoc and devastation of local wars, we tend to forget the ever-present threat of total annihilation by the products of our own intelligence. With modern weapons of mass destruction, the balance of power has given place to the balance of terror, but, of course, a peace based on terror is not real peace. It is right therefore that we should, if only in the interests of self-preservation, revise our ideas on this important question, and reaffirm our belief in the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, within the meaning of the Charter of the United Nations.

20. With regard to the Middle East, we in the Gambia believe that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967 offers a basis for an equitable solution to this difficult problem, leading to lasting peace in that greatly disturbed area. The initiative of Mr. Rogers, United States Secretary of State, was most welcome to me and my Government at the time, as we saw in that development the first signs of hope and a desire for a settlement, particularly when the plan put forward by Mr. Rogers was accepted by the parties directly concerned in the conflict. It is to be deeply regretted that recent events and developments have brought those initiatives to a halt—I hope only a temporary halt. The situation in the area, as everyone knows, tends to become more and more explosive with each passing day, and the danger of a general conflagration starting in the area is graver today than ever.

21. We are aware that diplomatic moves are afoot, aimed at containing the situation and bringing about a *détente*. I therefore appeal to the great Powers to

² *Partners in Development—Report of the Commission on International Development* (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1969).

³ *U. S. Foreign Assistance in the 1970s: A New Approach* (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970).

redouble their efforts in this direction. I strongly urge that all parties should refrain from any action at this time which may further aggravate the situation. I hope and pray that it will soon be possible to resume discussions under the Rogers plan, and that during those discussions the spirit of peace and brotherhood may touch the hearts of our brothers who have been locked in conflict for so long—indeed, for too long—and guide them to a mutually acceptable settlement which will restore peace, security, goodwill and brotherly co-operation among all the peoples of the area.

22. On the question of the representation of China, the position of the Gambia has been enunciated several times. That position has not changed. In the first place, considering the form in which the problem has been put to this Organization, my country holds that the question of the representation of China is an important question within the meaning of rule 85 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly. It is always an important matter to any Gambian delegation here to decide whether one China should be expelled from the place it occupies as an original Member of the Organization to make place for another China. The Gambia is quite satisfied that the Republic of China is a lawful Member of the United Nations. Apparently, the majority of the Members of this Organization feel the same way, as evidenced by the voting on the question of the representation of China from year to year. If the People's Republic of China wishes to apply for membership of the United Nations and agrees to accept the obligations imposed by the Charter, the Gambia—like, I am sure, most other countries—would consider supporting its application.

23. Adverting to the Korean question, and dealing with this under the various aspects in which the problem has been posed in the past, I would say that the Gambia's position is as follows.

24. Firstly, regarding the invitation aspect of the problem, our feeling is that representatives of the Republic of Korea and of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea may be invited to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, if—and only if—the interested parties unconditionally and unequivocally accept beforehand the competence and the authority of the United Nations to take action in this matter within the terms of the Charter.

25. Secondly, for so long as the precarious peace which now prevails in Korea continues, the Gambia cannot support any resolution, however worded, aimed at securing the withdrawal of the United Nations forces at present stationed in the Republic of Korea. In the opinion of my Government, those forces are legally stationed in that country as a result of a decision of this Organization which still remains valid, and we consider that those forces still play an important role in maintaining peace in that part of the world.

26. Thirdly, as a corollary to the foregoing, the Gambia is unable to agree that the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea should be dissolved or that the United Nations should

cease discussing the Korean problem. We continue to hold the view that the problem of Korea is one in which the United Nations has a legitimate interest. We consider that the ultimate aim and the final solution to the problem should be complete reunification of the two parts of the country under a popularly elected Government, following free and democratically conducted elections throughout the country, preferably under United Nations supervision.

27. The problem of Viet-Nam is perhaps more complex and for this reason, no doubt, has so far defied solution. The Gambia will actively support any moves to bring about an immediate end to the fighting and to create an atmosphere in which a peaceful and lasting solution could be devised. Here again, we believe that the people of Viet-Nam, both North and South, should be given the chance to exercise a choice, free from coercion, intimidation or terror, concerning the form of government under which they would wish to live.

28. On the question of Rhodesia, I have said in another place that—considering the Smith régime had flagrantly violated and deliberately flouted all the five principles enunciated by the British Government⁴, on the basis of which the British Government proposed to reopen negotiations—it would only lend a degree of undeserved respectability to the illegal régime in Salisbury if negotiations were to be reopened. I have said that the Gambia still regards the British Government as primarily responsible for restoring legality in Rhodesia. My Government and I trust that sanctions will be maintained and further tightened, and that, if necessary, the United Nations will use force under Chapter VII, Article 42, of the Charter to put an end to this intolerable situation, which is a permanent insult to the United Nations and all that it stands for, and a direct challenge to the integrity of the Organization of African Unity and to African solidarity.

29. Portugal persists in its pernicious doctrine that its overseas colonies are an extension of the metropolis. On this score, it continues to defy world opinion and to set at nought United Nations decisions calling on it to grant independence to its colonial Territories overseas, the so-called Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde Islands, Angola and Mozambique. The time may have come when this Organization should consider expelling Portugal under Chapter II, Article 6, of the Charter. Alternatively, or even concurrently, some action under Chapter VII, Article 42, may be called for.

30. *Apartheid* in all its forms and manifestations is, sadly, still with us. First South Africa, then Portugal, and now the illegal régime in Rhodesia, continue with cynical impunity, to impose this abhorrent doctrine, this inhuman practice, on the Africans under their domination. Whatever action the international community may contemplate taking in its efforts to predicate *apartheid*, it is clear that such action should be directed equally against South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia. The Gambia believes that isolating these three countries from the international community might

⁴ See *Rhodesia: Proposals for a Settlement—1966* (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Cmnd.3159).

not be enough to achieve the desired effects. At the appropriate time, the United Nations should not hesitate to consider action under Chapter II, Article 6—expulsion—or under Chapter VII, Article 42—persuasion by the use of force. In this context, my Government and I have indicated our strong opposition to the proposed sale of arms by Britain to South Africa. I do hope that the British Government will not fly in the face of world opinion by deciding on the resumption of such sales. I also strongly appeal, on humanitarian grounds, to those countries which are still supplying arms to South Africa to refrain from doing so, as such arms would or could be used against the African majority in those countries.

31. In the matter of foreign relations in general, the Gambia pursues a policy of positive non-alignment in a pragmatic sense, by which I mean that we will not identify ourselves with any particular Power bloc, military grouping or ideological doctrine. We shall, however, actively encourage, second and support any moves or efforts, from whatever quarter, to enhance peace, and to promote better understanding and co-operation among all peoples. I am proud to be able to say that the Gambia is at peace with all countries. We have no enemies that we know of, and we shall do everything in our power to make things stay that way. We believe in good neighbourliness and friendly co-operation among countries for the common good, and I am sure our record in this field will stand the closest scrutiny. We believe in non-interference in the internal affairs of other sovereign States, and we hold these views and we pursue these policies because we sincerely believe that only in this way can we attain universal peace, without which there can be no true happiness.

32. In this era of rapid advance in technology, which has witnessed the first landing of man on the moon, mankind has displayed remarkable ingenuity for creating things that could lead to his own destruction. If only a fraction of this ingenuity were diverted towards peaceful coexistence and improving conditions on this planet, mankind would be infinitely the better for it. Let us strive continuously towards an enduring peace and ever-lasting prosperity in the sort of world order which was envisaged by the founding fathers who drew up the Charter of the United Nations.

33. Finally, Mr. President, I am profoundly hopeful that this twenty-fifth session of the United Nations General Assembly will, under your wise and able leadership, achieve results which will redound to the credit of representatives and further strengthen man's faith and hope in this august Organization.

34. Mr. SHARP (Canada): The General Assembly is fortunate indeed to have as its President, in this year of anniversary, a distinguished citizen of Norway, a country that gave the United Nations its first Secretary-General and has always made a constructive contribution to our work here. As the General Assembly knows, our President is a member of a family that for half a century or more has played an active part in international organizations. I wish you well, Mr. President,

in your new responsibilities and assure you of the active support of the Canadian delegation.

35. I would also like to congratulate the retiring President, Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph, who fulfilled her responsibilities with grace and distinction, bringing to her task long experience at the United Nations and special knowledge of the African questions which occupied so much of our attention during her year of office.

36. Only a few weeks ago, the cease-fire in the Middle East and the proposals for negotiations to settle the conflict there gave cause for some cautious optimism. Today we are faced with a deadly serious situation in the Kingdom of Jordan, a situation which has already manifested itself in new violence and bloodshed. The struggle between forces within Jordan threatens to involve neighbouring countries and there is a constant risk of widening conflict involving more distant Powers. In the course of these events we have seen new dimensions added to what is already a growing threat to world order. I refer to acts of air piracy. In the Middle East a significant new dimension is the holding of innocent people hostage for ransom for political and other purposes, one of these being to compound the difficulties already surrounding the cease-fire.

37. No Government in the world today can fail to be concerned about the far-reaching implications of this kind of international lawlessness. It is my strong conviction, and the strong conviction of my Government also, that legal and technical arrangements such as those being discussed in the International Civil Aviation Organization, necessary as they are, cannot produce the whole solution. Air hijacking must come to be regarded as abhorrent, never to be condoned or justified, regardless of the motives of the hijackers.

38. Even without these new complications the peace talks in the Middle East are stalled because of substantial charges and counter-charges of cease-fire violations. The parties and the sponsoring Powers that brought about the cease-fire must be aware of the dangers implicit in this situation of deadlock and deterioration.

39. I believe that the United Nations is on trial in the face of an obvious threat to the peace in the Middle East. This means that all of us, the Member nations, are on trial. If we are to meet this challenge we must stand behind and support the efforts Ambassador Gunnar Jarring and others are making to bring peace to that troubled area.

40. If the Middle East conflict, with all its new dimensions, were the only threat facing the world, that would be sufficient to occupy fully the energies, imagination and resources of the world community. But in other parts of the world there are formidable obstacles to peace and security.

41. We have found no answers to the continuing race conflict in southern Africa. It continues to smoulder

more and more dangerously and if nothing is done might end in a conflagration engulfing the southern half of the continent.

42. In Indo-China, war burns with varying degrees of intensity while the talks in Paris show little sign of coming to grips with the real issues.

43. Europe remains divided but there have been some encouraging developments. We can be thankful that deteriorating situations in other parts of the world have not been used to impede the movement toward the relaxation of tension between the super-Powers. The strategic arms limitation talks continue, rapprochement between West Germany and the Soviet Union has been taking place, and similar improvements are foreshadowed.

44. While international conflicts, and especially outbreaks of violence, of necessity occupy the attention of many Member Governments, they must not be allowed to overshadow equally important developments of concern to the entire world community.

45. Developing nations see a crisis in the international development programme. Canada shares their concern and is making an increasing contribution.

46. Environmental issues are looming larger each day. The United Nations, I am happy to say, is responding. Canada has made available the services of a distinguished public servant, Mr. Maurice Strong, to be Secretary-General of the 1972 conference⁵.

47. All around the globe nations are in a state of uncertainty about the economic outlook.

48. World prosperity and world security are indivisible and depend upon the strength of the world economy. Over the years the United Nations has set up—partly in anticipation of needs, partly in response to demands—a large and impressive family of inter-governmental bodies and other international instruments for strengthening co-operation in important fields such as finance, trade, and economic and social activity. Their contributions to better world conditions rank high on the record of United Nations achievement. The continuing need is to keep them effective.

49. In my speech on behalf of Canada last year [1769th meeting], I drew attention to the need for renewal of the United Nations. Events in the past twelve months, some of which I have spoken of, have brought a new sense of urgency to this need. Procedural improvements can help, and I will have something to say about this in a few moments. They cannot in themselves meet the need.

50. In its work for mankind the United Nations is today facing new threats, new constraints and new obstacles. The very assumptions upon which the Organization operates must be re-examined if the aims of the Charter are to be advanced. This advance will

⁵ United Nations Conference on the Human Environment to be held in Sweden in June 1972.

depend on the readiness of Members to exploit opportunities, to bring new attitudes to bear and to set practical objectives for the Organization.

51. The Canadian delegation believes that in this year of anniversary we should seek practical ways of improving the United Nations capacity for converting common purpose into common action. It is ever more difficult for this Assembly to cope with the number and complexity of international programmes and projects it has set in motion. Important work is often postponed or left incomplete. This compounds organizational and administrative problems and imposes additional expenses, burdens and obligations.

52. This is the time, in our opinion, to follow up the improvements in the Second Committee last year and, rather than proceeding piecemeal, to take a comprehensive look at the General Assembly's procedures and organization. This is neither an original nor a new idea, but at this quarter-century mark in United Nations history we in this Assembly face again the task of self-improvement.

53. It was this belief that led my Government, with the support of twelve countries, to request the inclusion in the agenda of an item for consideration by the Assembly entitled "Rationalization of the procedures and organization of the General Assembly". This proposal [A/7992 and Corr.1], which will have a number of additional co-sponsors from various regions, envisages the establishment of a committee with equitable representation from all groups.

54. The committee would report its findings and recommendations to the General Assembly at its next session, thus allowing the committee time to give thorough study to the problems before it. My delegation has in mind that any reforms to be effective, must attract the widest possible support and be based on a consensus to be endorsed by the Assembly, hopefully at the next session.

55. In terms of the material and operations to be studied, the committee's mandate should be wide. This study would take into account the nature of the Assembly's work, its priorities and organization and the effectiveness of its machinery. At the same time, the committee's mandate should be narrow in that it would restrict its recommendations to the procedure and organization of the Assembly as envisaged within the limits of the Charter.

56. Our proposal is a modest one, but I believe that even limited changes could have a very beneficial effect on our working methods and on the results achieved. Areas to be studied would obviously include documentation, rules of procedure and related questions. The proposed committee would also study the ways in which items are allocated to the main committees of the Assembly. Recommendations would take into account the need to ensure that all important political items were properly placed and adequately considered in future Assemblies.

57. The effectiveness of the General Assembly and the United Nations will always depend upon the will and determination of the Member States. Changes in procedure and organization cannot of themselves improve the quality of the General Assembly's performance. They can enable the will of the Assembly to be translated into action more swiftly, accurately and effectively. We should not under-rate such improvements, and the Canadian delegation does not.

58. There is no need to call into question the basic structure of the Organization. But the fact that we do not wish to rebuild the house does not mean that we should delay essential repairs to the plumbing and the wiring. For this reason I call upon Member States to give urgent and continuing attention to the essential detailed work that is required, without losing sight of the fundamental need for all of us to re-examine our own attitudes to our responsibilities under the Charter.

59. The relevance and the competence of the United Nations are being called into question all over the world. The world community needs the United Nations. It needs a United Nations that has renewed itself, that has transformed itself from an arena in which Governments jostle for transient political advantage into a place of action where issues are faced, solutions are found and problems resolved. Such a United Nations would do more than serve the ambitions of member Governments, it would begin to meet the needs of the peoples of the world in whose name the Charter was proclaimed. Canada's faith in the United Nations ideal is unimpaired, and we will continue to work with others to strengthen and renew this great body upon which so many of man's hopes are fixed.

60. Mr. MWANAKATWE (Zambia): Mr. President, I wish, first of all, to associate my delegation with the sentiments expressed by those who have already congratulated you on your election to the high office of President of this crucial and historic session of the General Assembly. Your credentials and personal attributes leave my delegation in no doubt that you are eminently qualified to guide the proceedings of this important session of the General Assembly. Mr. President, you can count on the unstinting support and co-operation of my delegation to make your tenure of office a success.

61. Allow me also to pay tribute to your predecessor, Her Excellency Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph of Liberia, who presided over the proceedings of the last session. The success which attended our last session is attributable, in no small measure, to her able and wise leadership. This illustrious daughter of Africa has set to rest the myth that statesmanship is the monopoly of men.

62. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, as always, deserves our gratitude, support and encouragement. We are indebted to him for his tireless efforts in the cause of peace and justice. His is a continuing service to mankind and we wish him well.

63. The United Nations is charged with the grave responsibility of maintaining international peace and security. To that end, the Organization is expected to take effective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustments or settlement of international disputes or situations likely to lead to a breach of the peace. The Organization is also charged with the responsibility for fostering the development of friendly relations among nations, based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. Yet another function of this Organization has to do with the promotion of international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural and humanitarian character, and encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

64. These are the lofty aims and objectives of the United Nations and all of us, whose countries are represented here today, have resolved to combine our efforts to make these noble objectives a living and tangible reality.

65. Yet it is a fact that many of us, for reasons best known to ourselves, have chosen to make a mockery of our obligations under the Charter. More often than not, we have adhered to the aims and purposes of the Organization more in the breach than in the observance. The tension, the injustice and the exploitation of man by man which characterize the age we live in are, in large measure, a function of the refusal of Member States to live up to their Charter obligations. So long as this attitude of mind on the part of Member States remains unchanged, monstrous crimes against humanity will continue to be the order of the day in many parts of the world. The principle of self-determination of countries and peoples—a principle which this august body has reaffirmed time and again—will continue to be flouted with impunity in some of the countries represented here today.

66. The enemies of peace, freedom and justice will stop at nothing to achieve their sinister objectives. They are everywhere on the offensive and are determined, as never before, to undermine the efforts of this Organization to build a world order in which respect for the rights of man becomes a concrete reality.

67. The denial of human rights to which I have alluded, exists in its crudest and ugliest forms and manifestations, as I hope to show, in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, Namibia, Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau).

68. Southern Rhodesia continues to be Africa's wounding sore. The year under review has yielded no evidence that we are to any significant extent nearer to the resolution of the deadlock in that rebel colony. The measures which the international community has

taken against Southern Rhodesia have so far proved hopelessly ineffective. Even Ian Smith himself and his cohorts have openly stated that the sanctions policy is nothing more than a mere inconvenience. The declaration of a so-called republic in Southern Rhodesia early this year is further evidence that the rebels intend to stick to their defiant posture.

69. As we assemble here today, the rebels are redoubling their efforts to turn back the clock of history. The course they have embarked upon promises nothing but continued enslavement of the black man in Zimbabwe. The most disturbing feature of the situation is that Britain, the Administering Authority, is doing next to nothing to bring the rebels to their knees.

70. The time has now come for us to admit that the measures we have so far taken against rebel Rhodesia have not produced the desired results.

71. In the face of rebel intransigence, the United Nations logical course of action lies in the application of the relevant provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter. Half-hearted measures like the ones the Organization has so far sponsored will continue to prove futile.

72. The situation in South Africa continues to be a grave threat to international peace and security. In that country, the high priests of racial bigotry have given no indication that they intend, even in the far-distant future, to allow the 16 million oppressed and dispossessed people of both that country and Namibia to have a say in the affairs of their fatherlands. Countless resolutions have been passed by this Assembly and other organs of the United Nations but there is still no evidence of a change of heart on the part of the descendants of the *Voortrekkers* in South Africa. World public opinion is ignored with impunity and every day that passes sees the tightening up of the fascist grip on every facet of South African life to ensure that the oppressed millions have no chance of effectively challenging the immoral and inhuman system under which they are forced to live. The pass laws, the Terrorism Act and related pieces of fascist legislation continue to be applied with a severity beyond description.

73. The country's over-all defence expenditure continues to maintain an upward trend. The implications of this development are very clear. It is to ensure that the frontiers of injustice are secure—secure, that is, from the possibility of the ideas of freedom and human equality ever taking root in South Africa. One expects a Government to increase its expenditure to defend the frontiers of freedom and justice but in South Africa the reverse is true. Vast sums of money are spent each year to defend and consolidate injustice and oppression.

74. That is the story of a country doing its utmost to cling stubbornly to antiquated and totally unacceptable norms of conduct in this latter part of the twentieth century. Zambia's posture vis-à-vis South Africa reflects our well-known concern for the welfare of man. We have condemned and we shall continue to condemn

the perpetrators of the evil policy of *apartheid* and racial arrogance. We condemn, in the strongest of terms, the collusion of Western countries with the fascist régime of South Africa. The sale or intended sale of arms to South Africa by reactionary forces in Western Europe is a source of great concern to us. We therefore call on France, West Germany and Britain to refrain from this criminal act. The wider interests of freedom and justice in South Africa should take precedence over reasons of economic self-interest which currently dominate thinking in Western capitals.

75. As a faithful Member of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, Zambia has supported and continues to support resolutions passed by the organs of those two bodies calling on Member States to render moral and material support to the victims of *apartheid*. We are firmly committed to the just cause of the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia.

76. The cost to Zambia of our opposition to *apartheid* is enormous, but we are determined to follow the course we have chosen because we believe it is the right course. Coexistence with the forces of evil in South Africa or anywhere is totally unacceptable to us. *Apartheid* is the very antithesis of what Zambia stands for both at home and abroad. We intend to remain true to our convictions.

77. In Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) the exploitation of man by man, as is the case in rebel Rhodesia, South Africa and Namibia, is the order of the day. The victim, as always, is the innocent black man whose only crime—if it can be called a crime—is that he wants to have an unfettered enjoyment of his birthright.

78. In an attempt to justify their atrocities in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau), the ruling circles in Lisbon have advanced a number of preposterous claims and arguments. One such strange argument is that the Territories they now control in Africa are overseas provinces of Portugal and form an integral part of one unitary State. As we have emphasized time and again, no act of a Portuguese dictator can make any part of Africa an integral part of Europe. Nor do we accept the contention that fascist Portugal has a civilizing and preordained mission in Africa. That is an insult to the dignity of the African continent, an insult we are not prepared to stomach.

79. The people of Portuguese-ruled Territories in Africa and all freedom-loving people the world over do not subscribe to Lisbon's spurious arguments. It is therefore not surprising that the oppressed masses in those Territories have sought, since the early sixties, to liberate themselves from the yoke of Portuguese colonialism by every means possible. Nationalist organizations in all those Territories are waging a heroic and relentless struggle to achieve their freedom and independence.

80. Portugal, as is well known, has reacted to the nationalist challenge by increasing the striking power

of its military machine. It is, with the overt support of its NATO allies, waging what can only be described as a brutal war to defend the fiction that Africa is part of the Iberian peninsula. Through Portugal's colonial wars and unholy crusades in Africa, Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) have become more blood-drenched than the Roman Colosseum in the days of the Emperor Trajan.

81. The Government and people of the Republic of Zambia have refused to adopt an ostrich-like attitude on the question of Portuguese colonialism. At the time of our independence in 1964, my President, Dr. Kenneth D. Kaunda, stated that Zambia's independence would be meaningless, so long as any part of the African continent remained under foreign domination. We have not deviated from this stand. Both here and at the Organization of African Unity, we have made it a point to sponsor and vote for resolutions calling on Portugal to grant independence to Territories still under its barbaric rule.

82. The system of government prevailing in Territories under Portuguese administration runs counter to the values we cherish in Zambia. The alien practice of the exploitation of man by man is completely unacceptable to independent Zambia. Zambia's role will continue to be one of firm and consistent opposition to Portugal until the Territories of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) are free and independent.

83. One of the most heartening developments in the past year has been the appearance of the OAU Manifesto on Southern Africa. This historic document was adopted by the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Western spokesmen praised the document as "constructive", "thoughtful", "promising", "wise" and "humane". I should like to observe with deep regret that there has been a tendency to leave it there. This attitude is obviously not conducive to the peaceful settlement of the southern Africa situation which we all desire. The response of the Western Powers to the Manifesto should not be to heave a sigh of relief and slip back comfortably into inaction.

84. It is vital for all of us to recognize that the Manifesto provides us with our last slim chance of preventing a racial holocaust in southern Africa. Moreover, whether this opportunity is seized will depend more on the West than on Africa. The African States have done their part in extending the hand of friendship. It is up to the West now to grasp it eagerly and energetically.

85. The Middle East is one of the hotbeds of tension in the world today. In that part of the world, peace is a strange bedfellow. Since 1948—over twenty years ago—the region has been the scene of repeated military clashes between Israel and its neighbouring Arab States. The last major encounter between the two sides took place in June 1967. Since then, sporadic fighting has been a characteristic feature of the region. The possibility of yet another major conflagration cannot be ruled out, notwithstanding the recent peace initiatives.

86. The involvement of the two super-Powers in the conflict, though somewhat indirect, raises the ominous possibility of a nuclear exchange between the two giants over the issue. Such an exchange would have incalculable consequences for mankind as a whole. A nuclear war could very well result in the extinction of all forms of life on our planet. This is more than a theoretical possibility.

87. Zambia's stand on the tragedy—that is, the Middle East—has reflected our well-known desire for peace and justice in the world. We have condemned recourse to violence and have called on both sides to show restraint and to scrupulously observe Security Council resolutions on the issue. Cease-fire violations can only increase tension in the area and thus jeopardize the prospects of peace which we all desire.

88. It is the view of my delegation that there will be no lasting peace in the region, so long as the basic causes of the bickering between the two sides are not given serious attention. The injustice the Palestinian refugees have suffered is the main source of friction in the region. It is, therefore, our considered opinion that in any search for a lasting solution to the conflict, this fact should be taken into account.

89. For its part, Zambia will continue, as it has done in the past, to press for a negotiated settlement in accordance with the provisions of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967. We reiterate our firm opposition to the acquisition of territories by military conquest. We once again call on Israel to withdraw immediately from all Arab territories occupied after 5 June 1967.

90. The current situation does not augur well for peace and security in the area, and we can only hope that the parties to the dispute will appreciate the need to co-operate to the full with Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, the Secretary-General's Special Representative, in his tireless efforts to restore peace to that troubled part of the world. It is not in the interest of peace for either side to refuse to be associated with current attempts to find a lasting solution to the conflict.

91. The intransigence and cynicism of those who have adopted a holier-than-thou attitude is the main stumbling block to the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in this Organization. The most disturbing part of it all is that those same countries whose representatives have energetically resisted any move to have the People's Republic of China in this Organization have chosen to remain silent on the need to get racist South Africa and fascist Portugal to honour their Charter obligations.

92. My delegation has never been impressed by the facile arguments employed by the opponents of the admission of the People's Republic of China to membership of the United Nations. So long as they support forces of evil in this Organization we shall continue to question their right to block attempts to restore Peking's lawful rights. It is self-deception to cling to the notion that the People's Republic of China does not

exist. China is a living reality, and there can be no doubt about that. Nor is it a wise policy to exclude that country from the dialogue of man. The fact of the matter is that, so long as we treat the People's Republic of China as an international outcast, we cannot expect that country to be of any great help in the solution of many of the problems confronting this Organization today.

93. If we are really serious about peace, disarmament and related issues, we must take into account the need to enlist the support and co-operation of the People's Republic of China. My delegation will, as always, spare no effort to ensure that justice is done to the People's Republic of China, because it is bound to play an important role in the international scene.

94. One of the two super-Powers—the United States of America—is fighting one of the smallest and poorest nations in South-East Asia. Viet-Nam, which is currently the subject of the inconclusive Paris peace talks, has never known peace since the turn of the last century.

95. The United States is in Viet-Nam, we are told, to prove to the enemy that aggression—whatever that means—does not pay. South Viet-Nam, it is emphasized by the self-appointed world policemen, must be saved from communist aggression, planned and directed, so the argument runs, from Hanoi and Peking. The ruling circles in Washington would have us believe that the Viet-Cong and their allies threaten the security of the United States. This, as everyone knows, is a pretext to justify their illegal presence in South-East Asia.

96. The conflict in Viet-Nam is basically a civil strife and my delegation feels very strongly that external forces have no right whatsoever to internationalize and complicate local conflict such as this one. The people of Viet-Nam should be left alone to fashion their destiny in the manner they deem fit.

97. We renew our call to the Government of the United States of America to withdraw all its troops from Viet-Nam and to enable the people of that beleaguered country to determine their future free from foreign interference.

98. The crushing burden of armaments is one of the unresolved issues of our times. The world today is saturated with weapons of mass destruction. History has shown that stockpiles of weapons of war are not a sure guarantee for peace and security in the world. Weapons of war in the arsenals of nations can only serve to aggravate the already tense situation in the world.

99. It is the view of my delegation that the road to international peace and sanity calls for the adoption of measures designed to rid mankind of weapons of mass destruction. There can be no lasting peace in the world as long as the nuclear giants refuse to accede to our just demands to dismantle their deadly weapons. Our goal is general and complete disarmament. Half-

hearted measures like the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*] do not offer man a genuine sigh of relief.

100. One of the principal aims and objectives of the United Nations and its specialized agencies is, in the language of the Charter, "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom". That noble objective, however, has not been achieved by the United Nations. It is an indisputable fact that the gap between the rich and poor nations has been widening with the passage of time. The material condition of the majority of the people of this earth has not greatly improved since the signing of the Charter in San Francisco in 1945. If anything, their condition has deteriorated.

101. The failure of many international initiatives, including the First United Nations Development Decade, to achieve the goals of economic development is a matter of great concern to my delegation. As we prepare to launch the Second United Nations Development Decade, we should do well to ensure that we avoid the pitfalls of the first.

102. One of the obstacles to economic prosperity in many of our developing countries stems from existing discriminatory practices in international trade. We have drawn the attention of developed countries to the continued existence of discriminatory tariff arrangements, such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which entrench and institutionalize unfair trade practices. We have called for the liberalization and restructuring of international trade agreements, but all our appeals have fallen on deaf ears.

103. The world cannot indefinitely remain half rich and half poor. Bold and imaginative steps should be taken to improve the lot of our people. Let me emphasize in no uncertain terms that, since the founding of the United Nations in San Francisco twenty-five years ago, the more developed nations have pursued a self-destructive policy of economic exploitation of the poor nations of the world; and yet, in the final analysis, their own interests and those of poor nations are closely interdependent. In the interests of the whole of humanity, in the interests of peace and security, we solemnly call on the more developed nations to adopt a positive and realistic approach to the problem of formulating practical guidelines for the Second United Nations Development Decade. Stable peace is not attainable so long as uneven distribution of the wealth of this earth continues to characterize relations among nations.

104. Finally, I wish to refer briefly to the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which my country had the great honour and privilege of hosting in Lusaka from 8 to 10 September.

105. That Conference made very important decisions on the current international situation. The Lusaka Declaration on Peace, Independence, Development, Co-operation and Democratization of International Rela-

tions, which the Conference issued, is an appeal to sanity, and we commend it to all those who share with us the view that peace is one and indivisible. The Declaration defines the position of non-aligned countries on crucial issues such as *apartheid*, colonialism, disarmament and economic development and co-operation.

106. The fact that that important Conference has taken place has proved that the non-aligned movement is not a spent force as our detractors would have the world believe. The Conference has demonstrated beyond doubt that non-alignment is now a firmly established and permanent feature of international relations. My Head of State will, in the course of this session, come to New York to give the United Nations a full report on the decisions of that historic and epoch-making Conference.

107. As we celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, we should take stock of the critical issues which continue to bedevil our efforts to achieve the aims and objectives enshrined in the Charter of our Organization.

108. The world of the twentieth century is sadly fearful and divided against itself. It is, therefore, incumbent upon us all to ensure that we remove the basic causes of the mutual suspicions and distrust which have placed humanity into hostile and apparently irreconcilable camps.

109. My delegation believes that the greatest challenge to all peace-loving men and women today in every part of the world is the task of providing international harmony, eliminating strife between man and man caused by religious differences, racial antagonism or ideological conflict. This, then, is the task that my delegation is committed to fulfil as we deliberate on various items on the agenda of this historic twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. We humbly and earnestly invite all the Members to share with us this spirit of purposeful determination to make this session a turning point in man's quest for peace on earth and goodwill among men.

110. Sir Alec DOUGLAS-HOME (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I should like first to say how glad I am to sit under you as President in this anniversary year. It is particularly appropriate, as we pass the quarter-century mark, that our President should be the representative of a State which has contributed so much to the United Nations and to the League of Nations before it; that he should have been a delegate at San Francisco; and that he should be one who has made so great a personal contribution to the analysis of that international law of which this Organization was intended to be the prime instrument.

111. I should also like to say what a personal pleasure it is to me, after an absence of seven years from the United Nations, to find our Secretary-General still at his post. Politicians come and go; the Secretary-General remains. I am bound to say that that is the right way round.

112. In what I have to say this morning, I start again where I left off seven years ago, talking about the rule of law.

113. The commemorative session will be the right occasion for a general review, as we look back over our achievements and our failures since 1945. Two weeks ago I did not think that I would trouble this Assembly with an assessment, in view of the fact that my Prime Minister is coming here later on. But since then the attention of the world has been captured by a horrifying series of events.

114. They began with a week of incidents which were properly described by our Secretary-General as a "return to the law of the jungle". He was right. In the jungle there is fear; the law men know does not exist. In the same way, all people in the world have been frightened and lawful Governments have been almost helpless in the face of violence and threats of violence which are alien to the civilized world.

115. If they had been isolated criminal acts, these events would not have deserved our attention here. But as it is, they have come as a portent to us—a glimpse of the forces of lawlessness and anarchy that still exist—a reminder of how very thin is the veneer of civilization on which we rely. These events therefore demand attention here in this General Assembly, above all, because they epitomize a danger which threatens the aim of every State, the aim of the United Nations—and that is that law should rule both men and nations.

116. This Organization was created to maintain the peace of the world by collective measures, and to provide for the peaceful settlement of disputes between States. The authors of the Charter of our United Nations did foresee one of the dangers ahead. That danger was the interference by force in the internal affairs of one country by another. But one development which the authors of the Charter did not anticipate was that the peace should be threatened by armed forces outside their Government's control. The anarchy produced by force in that guise can be just as wrecking to peace as direct aggression.

117. When I last spoke to the Assembly, I felt optimistic. It seemed to me that the cold war might be drawing to an end. I recalled a television broadcast which I had made in Moscow at Mr. Gromyko's invitation to the people of the Soviet Union, when I said that a renunciation by the Soviet Government of the use of war and force to impose a political doctrine was the key which would open the way to genuine coexistence.

118. Looking back over those seven years, we can note that there have been some very serious setbacks to that optimism, but nevertheless it seems partially to have been justified. The new willingness to negotiate which we had then begun to perceive has continued, and through negotiation some of the darkest of the clouds which used to menace us have started to lift.

If the United States and the Soviet Union can reach agreement on limitations to their nuclear arsenals, that will be a long step forward. I say that, even as a European on whom the missiles will still be concentrated. But we hope for the success of the strategic arms limitation talks. It will not free us from the recurring nightmare of global destruction. That possibility will remain as long as States have access to the ultimate weapons. But such an agreement could slow down the growth of the means of destruction, and so give new life to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, which has up to now been almost totally frustrated. On its ability to achieve positive results much of the happiness and, it may be, the survival of man hangs.

119. Other negotiations are taking place on issues which have threatened peace in Europe since 1945. There is the recent treaty between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany⁶, and the Federal Republic's negotiations with its other neighbours to the East. They hold the key to constructive coexistence in Europe.

120. The test, of course, as always, is not in words but deeds, and in that area Berlin is still the key to real coexistence. If we cannot agree to take the humanitarian step of lowering the barriers between two halves of a city, what hope is there for two halves of the European continent to live in peace? Berlin therefore will be the touchstone of the will of the peoples of Europe to achieve *détente* between East and West. It was in Berlin that the ordeal of 1939 to 1945 ended for Europe; and it is in Berlin that Europe is still waiting for a release from the aftermath of war and the beginning of a peace which is real.

121. No one should underestimate the importance of such a release. Europe cannot throw stones at others. It was in wars which spread from Europe over the whole world that this Organization and its predecessor were both conceived. But a new Western Europe is emerging now, and as Mr. Schumann said here last Friday [1842nd meeting], this Europe will inevitably be more outward-looking—a more powerful centre of economic growth—carrying a fertilizing process far outside the borders of that particular continent. That is why our negotiations in Europe have a significance for every country represented here.

122. We must note with honesty that all these negotiations are going on outside the framework of the United Nations. Nevertheless, their importance is fundamental to us here. When our predecessors at San Francisco framed the Charter, they based their hopes of peace on the collective determination of what were then the major Powers, and there are two ways in which these hopes have since been undermined.

123. The first, which has already been mentioned by one or two speakers this morning, is that not all the major Powers are represented in the United Nations. This has made it undoubtedly more difficult for us to tackle effectively in this forum some of the most pressing and dangerous problems that trouble the

world. I am thinking—as have others, and as did Mr. Schumann—of China. The Chinese are increasingly involved in those very situations around the world which engage our attention here.

124. If the representatives of Peking were seated here their influence would be greatly felt. I cannot forecast what it would mean. They could well, by the rigidity of their political doctrine, make our tasks more difficult. But they have more than many to gain from expanding trade, from prosperity and from interdependence. They could add immensely if they chose, along with the rest of us, to real coexistence. Their intentions, in the opinion of the British Government, should be put to the proof in this assembly of nations.

125. The second disappointment for the hopes of 1945 has, very simply, been that it has so seldom been possible for the major Powers to reach a collective view on any important issue of world politics. Until now, our collective postures have at best been negative. That is why the negotiations in Helsinki, in Vienna and in Berlin are so important for us here in the United Nations. Because if the 1960s saw the beginning of an era of negotiation, the 1970s could see at last the beginning of an era of collective action for the maintenance of peace—collective action based on the common desire of the most powerful nations in the world to work together for political stability and for the settlement of disputes. That opportunity is there.

126. The authors of the Charter assumed harmony between the leading Powers. But, of course, the ink was scarcely dry on the signatures of the Charter before that hope and trust were falsified. The lesson of the years since then is unmistakable, and it is that there can be no collective action without a collective aim and a common interest. If there does begin to emerge at last, out of all the negotiations now in progress, a common interest in peace and stability, it will transform our work in the next twenty-five years, both in the Security Council and in the Assembly of this Organization, and that transformation would immediately be reflected in the relationship between countries in many parts of the world.

127. There is one challenge, above all, which such determination would help us to meet. Provided a balance of strength—a balance of terror, if you like—is kept, the old-fashioned war of the Charter is a receding threat. States are less inclined today to pursue their political objectives through alliance and ultimatum, through mobilization and declared belligerency. To this extent, one of the ideals of San Francisco is being realized, even though this has been due in part—and the admission is shameful in a civilized world at this time—to the fearsome growth in the destructiveness of total war.

128. Nevertheless, in many parts of the world today men are fighting. Victims are falling to the bullet, the shell and the grenade. All too often those victims are innocent civilian bystanders, and it is not much comfort to the widow or the orphan that no war has been declared. It is time for us in this Assembly squarely to face the fundamental, unacceptable dangers of con-

⁶ Signed in Moscow on 12 August 1970.

doing those who take the law into their own hands. We must call on those who have taken up arms to lay them down and once again to submit themselves to the rule of law.

129. There is—and it will be readily perceived by this Assembly and it has been touched upon by several speakers—a cruel dilemma here. For force is so dreadful a weapon in modern terms that one has to add: "... lay down their arms, even though they claim to be carrying them in the name of justice".

130. The Charter of the United Nations visualized this dilemma. Our predecessors insisted on the proclamation of human rights consistent with the dignity of man, of which the representatives of Gambia and Zambia both spoke just now. And it is undoubtedly our duty to do all we can by example to secure that countries practise social justice. There are today, and we have heard them mentioned, political systems where social injustice rules, and it is right that they should be exposed, whether it is suffering under communism, or suffering under *apartheid*, or suffering under any other of the creeds which do not square with the practices of true democracy.

131. But the authors of the Charter perceived another and an equal truth; that if the nations tried to impose upon each other their own notions of justice and to do it by force, that would be the finish of international order. That is why an appeal to arms, except for defence against external aggression, was expressly forbidden under our rules. If that was right then, it is a hundred times more so now. For if the end can justify the means, then more and more groups of unknown men will take up arms; they will put themselves above and beyond the law and, what is more, they will put themselves above the legal Governments of countries represented here.

132. Kidnapping and hijacking make that lesson plain—and the nations must deal with them. In the case of the hijackers, the duty of individual Governments is clear. We should all ratify the Tokyo Convention⁷ and support the new Convention at the forthcoming Hague Conference. We should all make hijacking a crime in our own countries, and allow it to be punished by any Government in whose territory a hijacked aircraft lands. If we could agree on these and other measures which may result from the international conference now to be held, perhaps this new and dreadful illegality could be brought under control. It is, however, a most vivid and contemporary example of how force used on a small scale can spread its repercussions far and wide, and when that happens in this modern world it is almost always the innocent who are the victims.

133. But the dangers of the overspill of force go far beyond hijacking. This week we have an example before us of how people, who act sincerely in the name of justice as they see it and take to arms, can start a bloody widespread war beyond the control of legal Governments.

⁷ Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft signed at Tokyo on 14 September 1963.

134. After twenty years of intolerance and bloodshed in the Middle East, the hopes of coexistence in place of belligerency began to grow. We took a British initiative, and as a result of it we have now a Security Council resolution which sets out the essential terms of a settlement. A Special Representative for the Middle East has been appointed in whom we all have full confidence. In that forum, the four Powers in New York, we in Britain are ready to play a full part. Mr. Maurice Schumann last week [*ibid.*] gave a most penetrating analysis of this work, which was started by his Government, and so I need not repeat what he said. The world began to breathe again when, on the United States initiative which the rest of us support, a ceasefire was agreed upon.

135. But there has been a breakdown, which could be fatal. Violations of the conditions for an end to the fighting have been alleged. I am not judging that issue today, except to say this, that the minimum basis of trust has, for the moment, been destroyed and ways must be found to repair it. Otherwise we shall get back into the situation where we were a few weeks ago, with the danger of the Middle Eastern conflict always spreading to something much wider than a battle or confrontation between Israel and Egypt.

136. But all this ambition for the greater peace and security of the area has been overlaid by the civil war in Jordan and it is a doubly tragic development. These refugees in whose interest this Organization has worked so hard now find themselves not only in conflict with the Government of a country which has given them refuge; they are also in declared and violent opposition to a settlement whose basic elements have been endorsed by the Security Council of the United Nations.

137. The degree of desperation to which these people have been driven is, in some way, a measure of the failure of our Organization over the years to solve this problem in which it has been so deeply engaged. But the use of force to try and solve it has already left a deep scar on Arabia.

138. The immediate priority must be to make an end to the tragic strife in Jordan—and in that context we can welcome the apparent withdrawal of foreign intervention yesterday from Jordanian soil—and to ensure humanitarian treatment for all those who have been wounded or made homeless by the conflict. We are relying on the Arab Governments to achieve these minimum objectives.

139. The larger task, though, is still before us, and the events of the past two weeks have only added to its dimensions and complexity. The surest basis for any hope of settlement in the end must still be this; that all those concerned will support our efforts here in the United Nations to achieve and guarantee a peace that will bring security and justice to those concerned.

140. It was that consensus which so recently seemed to be bringing a settlement within our reach; it is that consensus alone which can enable the United Nations

to reach any major achievement; and it is that consensus alone which can resolve the tragic history of the last generation for all the people who live in that area of violence, intolerance and hate.

141. But there is another condition which is even more fundamental and which has also been underlined this month in Jordan. The truth is, and this must be understood by the legally established Governments of the world, whether we live in Europe, or Africa, or the Americas, or Asia, that force to achieve political

ends can never pay, in the modern world, a dividend in terms of justice and peace.

142. Our theme for the next twenty-five years is fundamentally the same as the last. It is to outlaw force; it is to sustain law. And because in recent weeks we have got somewhere near to looking into the abyss of what international anarchy can mean, we must give a new sense of urgency to our counsels in the United Nations and in this Assembly.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.