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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. WICKMAN (Sweden): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to extend to you, on behalf of the Swedish Government, our warmest congratulations upon your election to the high office of President of this session of the General Assembly. Your election constitutes a tribute to you as a representative of a leading nation in Asia. We are convinced that under your presidency of this session of the General Assembly we will be able to achieve important results, and we pledge our full co-operation.

2. At the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, Edvard Hambro of Norway presided over our deliberations. He guided us skilfully and efficiently, with authority and firmness, and we want to thank him for his significant contribution to the work of the United Nations as President of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

3. On behalf of the people of Sweden and of my Government, I want to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General. For ten years U Thant has served the United Nations and the world community with unselfish devotion and great wisdom, with vision, courage and integrity. His departure from his high office will be a loss for this Organization and will be deeply regretted in my country. The United Nations and all the Member States owe him a great debt of gratitude, and I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to express the sincere and warm thanks of the Swedish people to U Thant and to extend to him our heartfelt good wishes for the future.

4. This year the General Assembly meets against the background of important changes in the international political structure. These changes may soon be reflected in the work of the United Nations. They give rise to hope that the ability of this Organization to fulfil its goals may be increased.

5. We have very good reasons to believe that during this session the People's Republic of China will take its

legitimate place in all organs of the United Nations. Finally it has become generally accepted that this people of 800 million must be represented in the United Nations. Sweden has persistently supported the efforts to render possible the participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

6. The progress achieved with regard to the German problems gives cause for expectations that both the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic will soon be seated as full Members, thus closing another of the most unfortunate gaps in the ranks of United Nations Members.

7. The Swedish Government shares the hope expressed by the Secretary-General that other divided countries also will be admitted to the world Organization [A/8401/Add.1, para. 104], conscious of the fact that universality creates better possibilities of achieving realistic solutions. The trends towards universality are a consequence of the conviction that international problems cannot be solved by excluding some nations from the international community. Universality reduces tensions and promotes peaceful co-operation. At the same time it is a manifestation of the *détente* which characterizes the international political situation of today.

8. Solutions of global problems are, however, frequently found within the regional context. Since nations of one region often are at approximately the same stage of development—in a political, economic and social sense—regional co-operation constitutes a framework for collaboration which does not bestow special favours or disfavour on one nation or another. Of course this does not imply that global co-operation is less important than regional co-operation. On the contrary, strong trends in technological and economic development illustrate the growing interdependence of all nations. We must find a way to global coexistence and see to it that regional co-operation should be an integral link in a universal order of peace.

9. The European scene is now marked by efforts aimed at a *détente* between East and West and by the integration process in Western Europe. Renewed endeavours to expand economic relations between Eastern and Western Europe are also under way.

10. The treaties concluded last year between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union¹ and between the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland,² as well as the recent Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin,³ offer new

¹ Signed at Moscow on 12 August 1970.

² Treaty on the Bases for the Normalization of Relations, signed at Warsaw on 7 December 1970.

³ Signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

ways for improved relations between East and West in Europe. At the same time this development in East-West relations in Europe will improve international relations in general. It is of vital importance that the agreement on Berlin be accompanied, as soon as possible, by an agreement between East and West Germany. All these events create favourable conditions for a regional security conference in Europe with the participation of the United States and Canada. The preparations for the conference should benefit from this and now enter into a more active phase.

11. Sweden is contributing, in its measure, to bridging the existing gaps between East and West in Europe. We support present efforts to reach a *détente* in Europe. We intend to take an active part in the proposed security conference.

12. The integration process in Europe renders possible an end to the existing market split. The expanding economic integration of Western Europe creates possibilities for substantially increased prosperity. The creation of this large market also puts the participating nations in a better position to further international trade and co-operation. Sweden will make its contribution to this process, in forms consistent with its policy of neutrality.

13. The rapid development towards prosperity and increasingly higher standards of living in the industrialized nations is not exclusively beneficial. We now experience a wastage of resources unparalleled in our history. This is not only a question of pollution and wear in the industrialized countries. Scarce natural resources are exploited at an accelerated pace in both developed and developing countries. But to an overwhelming degree it is the developed countries which are benefiting from and consuming these scarce resources. Thus, the problem of the distribution of resources is added to the problem of the wastage. Both these aspects must be considered when we formulate a future environmental policy on a world-wide scale. Sweden, like other United Nations Members, sets great hopes upon the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, to be held in Stockholm in June of next year. In order for the Conference to have a bearing on future work in the environmental field, it must be held at the governmental level. A change of this character of the Conference is not acceptable to the Swedish Government.

14. The uneven distribution of resources between developed and developing countries brings me to the situation in the third world. The developing countries are excluded from the process of integration and from the development of modern technology which are the basis for the rapid expansion in the developed part of the world. An ever-widening gap thus emerges between developed and developing countries. If this trend is permitted to continue, it may constitute a threat to peace.

15. Many of today's open conflicts and risks of conflict are found in the third world and their causes are related to the demands inherent in the process of development. Economic emancipation has often been considered as incompatible with strong political and commercial interests within the developed world. The far-reaching changes in the socio-economic structures of the developing countries bring about risks of conflict, just as does every process of redistribution of political and economic power. Only by

accepting the demands of change can these risks be reduced.

16. All United Nations Member States, last year, in approving the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*], thus agreed on the necessity of social change. The economic collaboration between developed and developing countries must be founded on a basis which strikes a fair balance between the different interests involved.

17. Solidarity and unity among the developing countries should be welcomed since it strengthens their bargaining position. Until the developing countries have achieved full economic independence, the developed countries should fashion their policies towards the developing countries in a manner which facilitates the economic independence of these countries.

18. The United Nations has a vital mission to fulfil in the developing process of the third world. It is true that the assistance extended by the United Nations system is still fairly limited in scope. United Nations assistance is, however, of particular importance to the developing countries as it is adapted to their own interests and in accordance with the principles of national sovereignty. The capacity of the United Nations to render assistance must be substantially increased, as outlined in the Development Strategy, to enable this Organization to live up to the great responsibility set forth in its Charter.

19. Within the United Nations, the Economic and Social Council is the supreme body for all questions related to development. It is essential that the Economic and Social Council should be given a composition suited to its task, and therefore we support the expansion of the membership of the Council.

20. In the future, the United Nations should increasingly promote co-operation between developing countries on a regional basis, since regional co-operation constitutes one of the most effective instruments for stimulating development. It must therefore be of high priority to increase the resources of the regional organs of the United Nations. The regional organs reach their full effect only when the developing countries themselves can exert a decisive influence on their work.

21. In many parts of the world the drive for liberation is still being met with violence. No solution has been found for the conflict in Viet-Nam. The war has this year spread to Laos and has turned into a second Indo-China war. The Swedish Government has persistently expressed its support for a political solution to the Viet-Nam tragedy. What is true for Viet-Nam is equally true for Laos and Cambodia. A political solution in Indo-China must take into account the sovereign rights of the Indo-Chinese peoples, their right to choose their own path, their own way of life and their own institutions without outside interference. Only then can we hope for conditions which will permit economic and social development in Indo-China and peaceful co-operation between these countries, as well as between them and the outside world.

22. The start of the negotiations in Paris in 1969 was made possible by the cessation of the bombing of North Viet-Nam. It is therefore with grave concern that we have to note that bombings on a large scale have taken place again.

23. The conflict in East Pakistan has led to the collapse of social order in the region. Famine and epidemic diseases are spreading among the population. More than 8 million people have fled into India. The Indian people has, with great sacrifices, made an impressive effort to alleviate the plight of the refugees. The strain on India is unreasonably heavy.

24. This conflict has generated problems which, to quote the Secretary-General, necessarily are of concern to the international community [A/8401/Add.1, para. 177]. Among the refugees in India, the United Nations has initiated activities which are in line with the best traditions of the Organization in the field of refugee relief. In the efforts to bring humanitarian assistance to the affected people in East Pakistan as well, the United Nations can play an important role also in providing international co-ordination and control of the humanitarian assistance received from abroad.

25. The Swedish Government supports the initiative of the Secretary-General to assist both the suffering people in East Pakistan and the refugees in India and has taken financial measures to this end.

26. Even if none of the States in the region desires a conflict we cannot overlook the risk that the severe human suffering and the serious tensions might lead to a widening of the crisis. The Swedish Government joins those who appeal to the Government of Pakistan to show moderation and restraint in order to bring an end to the violence in East Pakistan. Only a political solution, based on respect for human rights and on the will of the people as expressed through the ballot, can solve the problem of East Pakistan.

27. We note with deep regret that no solution of the crisis in the Middle East is yet in view. The Swedish Government firmly believes that a political solution must be sought on the basis of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). It has for us always been a matter of course to support the Secretary-General and his personal representative in their efforts to achieve the realization of the decision of the Security Council, and I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to express again our hope that their endeavours will meet with success.

28. In southern Africa, the policies and repressive measures of *apartheid* have been intensified over the last decade. But, so also has the struggle for freedom in all southern Africa. It is of paramount importance for the international community to assist in appropriate ways the efforts undertaken by the oppressed people of southern Africa to liberate themselves from oppressors and to reach a higher social and educational standard of living.

29. It is not only in the areas of acute crisis that political solutions to conflicts must be sought. We must strive to "demilitarize" relations between nations. International *détente* is a prerequisite for disarmament. Progress in the

field of disarmament will in its turn lead to further *détente*. The partial test-ban treaty⁴ was a first important step in the disarmament efforts. But so far no comprehensive test ban has been achieved. To our disappointment no agreement to ban underground nuclear tests has materialized. The super-Powers continue the qualitative development of their nuclear weapons at their will.

30. Sweden has consistently advocated a ban on all chemical and biological weapons. We must work with all our strength to reach agreement to ban the production and use not only of biological but also of chemical weapons.

31. The comprehensive 'disarmament programme submitted in 1970⁵ must be fulfilled. The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva should, on the basis of this programme, be given a renewed mandate to negotiate measures leading to general and complete disarmament.

32. Sweden will support all proposals which could lead to results in the field of disarmament. Thus, it may, for instance, be justified to study and to develop further proposed plans for nuclear-free zones advanced during previous years. The prospects for reaching limitations of conventional weapons on a regional basis should be examined.

33. As I said in the beginning of my statement, Governments now appear prepared to draw the practical conclusions from the principle of universality. But the right to participate in international co-operation is not a final goal. True universality presupposes a genuine ability to participate. All nations must participate in global development and in this process arrive at a more equitable distribution among nations of the fruits of our joint endeavours. That will constitute true universality.

34. Mr. SCHUMANN (France) (*interpretation from French*): It is toward Asia where all the problems of the world are in ferment, but whose ancient wisdom never shuts out the possibility of dialogue, that our thoughts turn, Mr. President, in welcoming your election. The example given by your country strengthens our hopes. The age-old nature and quality of the relations which unite Indonesia and Europe and which the recent visit to your islands by the Queen of the Netherlands again illustrates, cause us to welcome even more the choice the Assembly made in naming you to succeed a great European, Mr. Hambro, that great President of the twenty-fifth session.

35. However, I do not wish to mention the eminent role played by the President of our Assembly during the twenty-fifth anniversary session without also paying the same tribute to a man who has preserved and guided our Organization for 10 years with patient and serene energy. May U Thant accept our gratitude. It is yet too early to bid him farewell.

⁴ Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space, and under Water, signed at Moscow on 5 August 1963 (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 488 (1963), No. 6964).

⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Annexes*, agenda items 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 93 and 94; document A/8191.

36. A former French diplomat recently wrote: "One cannot say that politics, the realm of means, is identical to ethics, the realm of ends. But a policy which did not have ethical ends and a certain conception of good and evil, would have no sense. It would be, literally, senseless." I did not mention these three short sentences to proclaim the superiority of one "certain conception" over another, or to give myself the right to trace the boundary between the realm of ends and the realm of means. More modestly, I shall have attained my goal if I succeed in showing members the meaning France wishes to give its policy.

37. We believe—as everyone here knows—that the affirmation of national independence of nations, far from being the expression of nationalism, that is, egotism, is on the contrary the manifestation of a profound solidarity: solidarity which brings people together—regardless of distances or differences—people whose sole ambition is not to part with the choice of their own destiny. We believe—as everyone here knows—that refusing to accept any kind of hegemony is the best contribution a country can make to the birth of a truly international community. We must, however, to justify this conviction, assume the consequences and the risks it entails.

38. Let me take as the first example monetary relations between nations. We are, in fact, here to increase the chances for peace. Now, no one questions the fact that one of the best ways to achieve this is to bring about, for all world economies, the set of conditions needed for truly balanced growth. In the face of this immense task—and the poorest peoples feel this urgency most deeply—the major countries have a special responsibility. How can they and how should they undertake it? Recent history gives us the beginnings of an answer.

39. The Bretton Woods Agreement, the Marshall Plan, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade: one would be pushing forgetfulness or ingratitude very far indeed in failing to mention the benefits and farsightedness of the initiatives which substituted equality of rights, stability, freely endorsed rules of truly international codes for the evils of compartmentalization, that is, shortsighted egocentricity and unchecked competition, which is anarchy. Once and for all, history has given a large part of the credit to the United States. But two cracks have successively threatened the order of this magnificent structure.

40. First, it has always been obvious that world equilibrium presupposed—even demanded—the participation of the countries of Eastern Europe, and foremost that of the Soviet Union, in the main currents of exchange. This is one of the goals and this is already, to a certain degree, one of the results of the *détente* whose political advantages it is superfluous to stress. A great Power or group of Powers could no more be kept on the sidelines by an outside agency than they themselves could remain aloof from circuits of communication, whether technical or scientific, economic or cultural.

41. However, the other crack is more disturbing, because it is threatening the structure from within: respect for the international rules which were accepted by common agreement by all countries, large and small, led the West to make an unprecedented leap forward. These rules are called free

trade and fixed exchange rates. They are irreplaceable. No one has the power, however strong he may be, to substitute other rules for them. To violate them is therefore to replace them by the absence of rules.

42. So, if the industrialized States reached a point of preferring anarchy or—and this amounts to the same—the unstable law of the strongest to a set of agreed conditions for harmonious development, who, in the long run, would benefit? The betting—dangerous, like all betting—is open. But, while it is difficult to be a winner in this game, it is easy to pick out the first loser. It would undoubtedly be all the victims of under-development. Let us reread the text relating to the International Development Strategy which was solemnly adopted on 24 October 1970 by the General Assembly [resolution 2626 (XXV)] and which should in principle determine—let us not forget—the relations between industrialized and developing countries throughout the present decade. It rests entirely on the idea that the drive against under-development must be a concerted action, undertaken jointly and in close co-operation by the two groups of nations. What will remain of this fine plan if one of the two groups on which the major responsibilities fall begins by dividing against itself and in some way denying or destroying itself?

43. In those conditions one can imagine the anxiety in the third world caused by the recent announcement of certain trade restrictions. Because they strike indiscriminately at all States, it is in fact the weakest among them which may be hurt the most.

44. My country, guided by the experience it has been able to acquire in its relations with the African countries to which it is attached by ever-closer ties of friendship, has made itself and will continue to make itself the untiring advocate of a real organization of markets for basic commodities, where the essential goal is to seek stable, just and remunerative prices. As I have once said:

"The problem is not to throw a few provisions into the abyss of hunger, but to throw a lifeline to enable millions of human beings to climb out through their own effort."

We are here—why not say so?—on the level of principles. We put ourselves on this level as early as 1964, when we suggested that a system of preferences such as the one which had been set up between the associated African States and the European Economic Community should become generalized. We are striving to stay on that level when we insert into our own plan the goal proposed by the United Nations, in other words, when we set our rate of participation in development at 1 per cent of the gross national product.

45. What are we trying to say? Simply that the responsibility of the industrialized States is committed and cannot be denied.

46. On several occasions during this analysis we have mentioned the European Economic Community. We have observed that its very structure keeps it from becoming inward-looking. That will be even more true the day it brings together 250 million men and women to whom several million others will be joined through more or less close ties.

47. Latin America can bear witness to this. I had the honour of presiding over the Council of Ministers of the Community when a colloquium—which should not be the last—both reminded us of our affinities, to which France attaches such importance, and encouraged us to continue increasing our exchanges on all levels.

48. Nevertheless, how can one talk today of Europe before the nations which comprise it, and also before those which observe it, without being struck by the parallel progression of two phenomena which is its present day characteristic?

49. On the one hand, the European Economic Community is being enlarged, which means that it has an ever-stronger attraction, that it will henceforth be considered irreversible and that its internal difficulties are the manifestation of growing pains. On the other hand, the progress and consolidation of *détente* justify this reference to “the whole of Europe” that the six countries meeting in The Hague nearly two years ago took care—on France’s initiative—to include in the final communiqué of their summit conference. This I repeat, is parallelism, not coincidence.

50. Western Europe was for a long time a community of suffering and anxiety. Through economic integration and political co-operation it is becoming a community of hope. By setting the example, it has shown first that the decisions and rivalries which seemed so persistent could be overcome, then that the refusal to accept any kind of hegemony was, for peoples too long torn by divisions, the best justification and the most effective stimulus for a necessary rapprochement. In learning that Berlin had become the place and the symbol of agreement, everyone said to himself that the time had come for “the whole of Europe” to keep its appointment with destiny.

51. What name will history give this conference for which preparation must now enter the decisive stage? “East-West Conference”? Certainly not that. Our plan is certainly not to endorse or even to organize a confrontation of the two camps, but on the contrary to reduce it enough to make it fall into disuse. “European Conference”? That title would be incorrect; everyone agrees—and has agreed for some time now—that the two great North American countries should have a place in it. I hope, then, that we would try to live up to the title which summarizes a great design: “Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe”. “Security”, “co-operation”—it is important that those two words remain linked together, because the concepts they encompass are complementary and indivisible.

52. To reinforce existing ties between all the countries of Europe on the level of economy, culture, science or technology; to open new paths for their co-operation; to lower the barriers which here and there still prevent or hinder the movement of people, the exchange of information, the movement of ideas; to bring about a genuine mutual interpretation, without impairing State Sovereignty, which would by drawing the peoples closer together, enable them to improve their intellectual and material living standards: is not all this contributing at the same time to increasing the security of the continent? Yes, and we think that mistrust, lack of understanding, and even glaring inequalities in development, are also factors of instability;

we note that these still exist in Europe, and not only between what is still called the East and the West. We consider that the multiple development of co-operation extended to everyone in order to reduce those factors is imperative if one intends to deal with the problem of European security in depth.

53. But this problem is also, of course, political and military. France, in so far as disarmament is concerned, neither can nor will be content with words or appearances. Disarmament must be the elimination of existing arms under effective international control, and the prohibition of any new manufacture of them. And yet, the result of all the efforts made in New York, Geneva and elsewhere since the end of the Second World War is that no arms have in fact been destroyed. On the contrary, we are witnessing the most fantastic arms race the world has ever known. Several bans, whose effectiveness remains to be demonstrated, have been declared on the proliferation of nuclear arms or on their deployment in areas which were up to now inaccessible to man.

54. Those bans, whatever their individual merits, are unfortunately misleading and can give rise to the belief that disarmament has begun, while the existing arsenals and their power to destroy never stop growing. A “disarmament” carried out in this way can only promote the development of hegemonies and would tend to divide the world by installing an order in which only the super-Powers would retain the ability to exercise their sovereignty.

55. France has obviously not acquiesced in such a prospect. That is why it has insisted on keeping the possibility of providing itself with the necessary means to secure its defence and maintain its independence. But it remains nonetheless highly in favour of any undertaking for true disarmament, which in an age of nuclear armaments demands, first of all, settlement of the problem of those armaments. How can that be achieved, if not by consensus between the States which possess them? That is why France just recently again recalled that it favoured a conference of the five nuclear Powers. It hopes that the requirements for such a conference will one day be met.

56. Is this to say that for the moment nothing can be done to reduce the threats which weigh on humanity? The United States and the USSR have, for their part, begun talks to lessen the risk of nuclear confrontation between them. To that end, in Vienna and in Helsinki, they are planning to set mutual limits on the development of their strategic arms. But the balance they hope to reach that way is not the only thing which could be called upon to avert the risk of nuclear war. In the absence of a true disarmament agreement between the five, but in the hope of opening ways towards it, would it not be possible as of now also to plan nuclear-Power co-operation to prevent accidental, mistaken or surprise release of the terrible weapons at their disposal? Establishing such a security system will surely provide a practical means of moving toward a world where the risks accompanying the existence of nuclear arms, while not yet eliminated, could at least be reduced. France, for its part—and I confirm and announce this formally—is ready to contribute to that.

57. For it is only to avoid submission to any system of blocs and—I deliberately repeat myself—of hegemony that

we have had to provide ourselves with the means of deterrence, after having asked in vain for an internationally controlled ban on nuclear arms. In this field as in others, the desire for independence is a contribution to world equilibrium and, consequently, to peace. However, our experiments—I voluntarily refrain from mentioning experiments for which other countries are responsible—would, in our view, cease to be legitimate if they were to endanger life—first of all, of course, the life of man, but also the life of the flora or fauna on land and in the sea.

58. Have we set ourselves up as the sole judges of the adequacy of the precautions taken, and first of all the remoteness of the test sites? Not at all. We have not been satisfied with the installation of a system, now five years old, to survey the development of radio-activity at various points of the globe on our own.

59. We have invited scientists and researchers from the countries concerned to take part in our observation and surveillance work. This is a unique and unprecedented effort of international scientific co-operation. Each year we report the results of these observations to all the Members of the Organization, without concealment or hindrance.

60. We have duly reported to the United Nations committee qualified, as its name indicates,⁶ to evaluate the harmfulness or harmlessness of atomic radiation. Consequently, those who would charge us, not only without proof but against all proof, with risking pollution which our experiments, and ours alone, might entail would be taking to task not us, but the indisputable and indeed undisputed authority and the conscience of a scientific committee of the United Nations.

61. Let me add that those explosions—by the very fact that they take place in the atmosphere—are not registered by even the most sensitive seismographs on the American continent, which respond to all variations, however weak, in the earth's crust; consequently, they cannot have any relation to any seismic shock. You will then understand that we trust good faith and common sense to do justice to the simple truth.

62. But the accumulation of forces in the European theatre is the consequence, not the cause, of political tensions there. What chance is there of dealing with the effects without troubling to go to the roots?

63. It is not too early to look beyond the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin,⁷ which is sure to be supplemented soon by the necessary arrangements between the German authorities—a must for its entry into force. A larger settlement will then appear, since the Treaties of Moscow⁸ and Warsaw,⁹ which convey an equal desire to surmount the obstacles built up in the path of reconciliation between

⁶ United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation.

⁷ Signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

⁸ Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics signed at Moscow on 12 August 1970.

⁹ Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland on the Bases for the Normalization of Relations, signed at Warsaw on 7 December 1970.

peoples by the horrors of war, are going to take effect in their turn. May we not hope that those three elements of a true political reconstruction in the very centre of Europe—the Berlin accord, the necessary arrangements between the German authorities, and the entry into force of the Treaties of Moscow and Warsaw—will culminate in a lasting agreement between the two German States? Nothing would contribute more effectively to guaranteeing the stability of the continent as a whole. France, which bears a part of the responsibility regarding this problem, and which as I said right here last year [*1842nd meeting*], is anxious to see the Organization become universal, will not spare its encouragement and support for the efforts the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany intends to make in order to come to such an agreement soon, with all the consequences that this would, I believe, entail for the United Nations.

64. From then it will only be a matter of organizing the relations between European States in such a way that the alliances, as long as they are held necessary, do not take the form of blocs turned in upon themselves, that for each country the right to belong to one alliance or to belong to none will be respected, as well as the right to territorial integrity, the right to sovereignty with all the accompanying prerogatives, the right to be exempt from all forms of pressure, from wherever it comes, from all interference or external attempt at interference. One of the tasks of the conference on security and co-operation in Europe will be to define these rules with the greatest precision and to ensure that their binding force is clearly understood. At stake is the confirmation of a *détente* which—I purposely repeat myself—is based on respect for and development of national independence, through free co-operation, a *détente* which, in a continent so rich in possibilities—for the best and for the worst—means both progress and peace.

65. In bringing up the universality of our Organization a moment ago, I was thinking of Asia, for I see there something which causes great hope, great fear and great impatience.

66. The hope springs from the awareness that, as France has always hoped, the People's Republic of China and the United States of America have entered into a necessary and difficult undertaking whose effects, we strongly feel, will have repercussions on international relations in their entirety. Doubtless the process will be long. But if, as I am convinced, it is not directed against anyone, it will not fail to serve the cause of *détente* and peace in that area as well as beyond. Will we then finally see the completion, this year, of the debate on the question of China which our Assembly has continued for too long? Logic and realism would point this way, for although it is said that all roads lead to Rome, there is only one, as far as I have been informed, that leads from Peking to New York. No stratagem can change this, any more than it is possible to make our Charter say something it does not say.

67. Great fear also. How can one not feel it in the face of the horrible drama which has already caused one of the most tragic exoduses in modern times and which anyone feels is perhaps only the prelude to more terrible sufferings still to come? Of course, the response the international community gave to the appeal launched by the Secretary-

General for those unfortunate people of East Pakistan shows that the voice of U Thant was not sounded in vain. But if the wrong is not righted at the root, will the flow of people stop? And will it be possible to reverse the flow? We must hope that the wisdom and generosity of some people will respond to the moderation of others and that a political and constitutional solution based on the consent of the Pakistani people will make it possible to come out of the crisis; for, if the tension is not relieved soon, we shall have to expect tragic consequences for peace in Pakistan and in the subcontinent as a whole.

68. Lastly, great impatience. Impatience caused by the absence of any progress in settling the Indo-Chinese conflict. However, new proposals have recently been advanced. Could they not be discussed? This question, as the Assembly has surely understood, is actually a wish. I have three reasons for making it: my Government is the host for the Paris Conference; it has, for the people of Indo-China, a friendship which it is always ready to express: it believes, lastly, as we all do, that the only lasting solution to this long-drawn-out tragedy is one which will ensure the independence of each State in South-East Asia, a zone which, after so much suffering is yearning at last for peace and neutrality, sheltered from the competition of all the major Powers.

69. The same moral—if not the same formula—is applicable to the Middle East, with one basic difference however. Here the responsibility of the United Nations is directly committed. Security Council resolution 242 (1967) will be four years old in a few weeks. Will we spend this anniversary in silence? Will it be for us a time to draw up a report of our lack of success? We are not about to be limited to this alternative! Once again, faithful to our maxim, we will not confuse the means with the end. There is, on the one hand, the cease-fire, for which we can never be thankful enough, if only out of horror for the bloodshed though we see how inevitably precarious it is. There is, on the other hand, the object of the cease-fire, which can and must be only the mutually accepted implementation of the resolution, that is, evacuation of the occupied territories in exchange for guarantees of real peace. Also, we must be grateful to the United Kingdom and its Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, for having warned us against a certain thinking pattern from which we may soon be painfully awakened. We have two good reasons for fearing and refusing to let time run out: elementary prudence and, above all, the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Observing our impasse, Africa responded. I wish here to pay tribute to its decision. To the four Heads of State who will make contact with the parties concerned—Presidents Senghor, Ahidjo, Mobutu and Gowan—France offers its warmest wishes.

70. However, the fears and the hopes of the international community as well as the latter's determination for a peaceful settlement must all be expressed, and this can only be done here. Our appeal last year was heeded. Mr. Jarring was able to resume his mission within the desired time-limit. Our hopes, alas, were quickly dashed. Without the required answer, dialogue could not begin. Without unanimous determination, the permanent members of the Security Council has so far not been able to formulate their recommendations for a settlement or make known as

agreement whose persuasive effect could be decisive. So here we are again faced with the same alternative: either the Assembly speaks out or the international community is doomed to silence. We should lose our *raison d'être* if we did not opt for the first choice. The voice of the General Assembly is thus to be heard: with moderation, equity and firmness. May its appeal inspire in all those who carry more direct responsibilities in this sad affair, the desire to act together so that peace can be established—a peace whose durability is guaranteed by respect for justice.

71. Is it futile to hope that 12 months after having celebrated the foundation of the United Nations we might, on the occasion of this session of the General Assembly, make a new start in some way? Actually, everything prompts us to do this, above all this striking but necessary observation: we have entered a new era. When we compare the world of 1971 with the post-war world or with what was called the "cold-war" era, we see clearly that the dissimilarities far outweigh the similarities: no continent is invulnerable any more; no ideology is sufficient any more to guarantee the monolithism of all the countries which adhere to it; no nation can be subjected to dependence any more.

72. These changes point to simple and fruitful guidelines: on the one hand, the world community lives and prospers only through national entities—that is, organized, sovereign and ultimately equal nations. On the other hand, national independence is meaningful and final only through its contributions to the community task. The conference of the non-aligned countries in Lusaka¹⁰ was correct in taking this principle as its motto: "Unity in diversity." General de Gaulle was no less far-sighted almost 30 years ago when he said to us in a voice we shall never hear again:

"Henceforth there cannot be even the slightest connexion between independence and isolation; no State can maintain itself or, still less, develop without support and help."

73. Given those two rules, is it possible to construct a world where there would be more solidarity and more security? Europe—torn asunder for so long—has now the best chance of proving the reverse. As we have seen, the union of Western Europe and *détente* in international relations in Europe as a whole have gone hand in hand. The year 1972 should see both the summit conference, which was proposed by Georges Pompidou on behalf of France and which will strengthen the solidarity of 250 million Europeans, and also the first conference on the security and co-operation of all Europeans.

74. Yet co-operation, the guarantee of security, can neither stop at the frontiers of Europe, nor do without justice. Recently, before the Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the President of the French Republic termed racism—of which *apartheid* is only one manifestation—the "scourge of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the most distressing form of man's scorn for man". But the threats and the violence which cause millions of human beings to flee their homes, extreme poverty and

¹⁰ Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka from 8 to 10 September 1970.

hunger, are no less incompatible with the dignity, and indeed the very mission, of man.

75. May I add that those men whose magnificent life's work is to keep the collective conscience alerted by the pen or by the word have never been more necessary; never, consequently, has the protection of journalists on dangerous missions been more pressing or more urgent. Of course, there are countries where industrial civilization has developed in such a way that the public wonders about the effects and about the very goals of this civilization, awed as it is by the scope of the resulting difficulties and disorders: destruction of the natural environment, pollution, moral and social crises chiefly affecting the young. In these countries the idea of economic growth is sometimes called into question.

76. This obviously does not apply to the majority. The countries of the world, for the most part, strive to ensure that their populations have the basic requirements and that the opportunities for what is too often difficult and precarious progress are preserved.

77. Before concluding it would be well to re-emphasize the obligations of the industrialized nations for in our hearts we know that the success of our efforts does not depend on any arrangement or mechanical adjustment of our institutions—even though improvements in means and procedures are welcome. We must above all imbue our undertakings with more soul and more action.

78. Today, new and inspiring horizons are being spread before our weary, burdened nations and the impatient youth of the world, who are astonished at our quarrels and are already tempted to break rank. Away with hegemonies, therefore and the thirst for power and super-power.

79. The world has grown. It offers our ambitions immense, still little-explored and under-exploited fields, such as space, the sea, and the sea-bed, which science technology are continually opening up.

80. May these new prospects help us liquidate the sequels of past conflicts and overcome the crises which some day will seem quite petty.

81. May this "shock of the future" urge us to move on towards tomorrow together—all together.

82. Mr. GROMYKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): First of all, Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly of the United Nations and to wish you success in carrying out the responsible tasks which lie before you.

83. The international situation in which the twenty-sixth session of the United Nations General Assembly has been convened is complex and variegated. There is undeniably much in it which is new and which meets the aspirations of the peoples; but the opposite trends are strong and the world is not free from danger. The situation is shaped by the policies of States and is by no means simple.

84. In analysing the foreign policy of any State, what we have to determine above all else is whether that State

regards the task of strengthening world peace as the focal point of its policy, or whether it gives preference to other objectives which may not correspond to the interests of peace and may even run counter to those interests.

85. The position of principle of our socialist State on questions of foreign policy was already determined at the time of its inception. Since then, for over half a century, it has never deviated from that policy. It has always done everything in its power to consolidate the security of the peoples and to ensure respect for their rights. It has condemned wars of aggression and annexation and holds the banner of peace firmly in its hands. The Soviet Union will continue to use all its authority, all its resources, its policy and its ideology to influence the course of international events in the direction of peace among the nations.

86. A policy aimed at worsening the situation and leading to tension, conflicts and international crises is organically alien to us and is rejected by the very nature of the socialist order. At the same time, we shall continue to resist all attempts to pursue such a policy against our country and against our allies and friends.

87. The general line of the foreign policy of the USSR, which was evolved and bequeathed to us by Lenin, was confirmed and adapted to the circumstances of today by the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Congress carefully weighed and appraised the most important directions and trends of world developments and advanced a broad programme of peace and peaceful co-operation.

88. This programme covers all the main aspects of the task of maintaining peace, from the elimination of existing hotbeds of war and the prevention of new conflicts between States to the implementation of the principle of collective security, from measures to ensure a military *détente* in the areas of the most dangerous confrontations to the prohibition of all types of weapons of mass destruction, and from the final elimination of colonialism and racism to the development of mutually advantageous co-operation between States in solving major economic, scientific and technological problems.

89. We make no secret of our feelings of satisfaction at the world-wide acclaim given to the programme of peace and co-operation advanced by the Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. All those who show concern for peace, irrespective of their class and ideological outlook, consider this programme to be constructive and realistic and to meet the interests of all peoples. The Soviet Union's efforts in the sphere of foreign affairs are being concentrated on the preparation and execution of measures to give effect to the proposals contained in the programme.

90. Our country is acting in concert with the other socialist States in solving the problem of building a more stable world. Our alliance with them is firm, and the policy of its members is directed towards securing the most advantageous conditions for building up socialism and communism in their countries, a task for which the main prerequisite is peace.

91. The foreign policy objectives of the socialist alliance coincide with the interests of all peoples and with the

purposes solemnly proclaimed in the United Nations Charter. No one is more concerned than we are to ensure that the lofty principles of the United Nations are brought into effect through peaceful relations between States and peoples, irrespective of their social systems and political structures.

92. But the socialist countries neither claim nor want to monopolize the policy of peace. On the contrary, the wider the circle of States defending the cause of peace and actively helping to find solutions for acute international problems, the more opportunities there will be to forge ahead and the greater will be the confidence in success, however difficult the road to stable security may be and whatever obstacles may have to be overcome.

93. This circle of States has now widened, because the facts of our times are forcing all States into the realization that in spite of the social, political, economic or cultural differences between them, it is in their common interest to ensure that people can live in peace.

94. The ways in which States express this realization may vary, but its meaning is always the same. It underlies the foreign policies of the socialist States. It is the main guideline of the policy of countries which call themselves non-aligned. It is manifested in the trends towards realism which have recently become more evident in the policy of a considerable number of other States which only a short time ago automatically adjusted their attitudes to the positions of the military blocs into which they had been drawn in the past. That is why in recent years the alienation and even antagonism between States belonging to different social systems has in a number of cases given way to relations based on mutual understanding.

95. None of this can in any way eliminate the historic confrontation between socialism and imperialism or make less acute the struggle between the two opposing directions in world politics to which we have often referred from this important world platform. But the strengthening of the principle of peaceful coexistence as a real force of international development and the further redeployment of political forces on the international scene in favour of peace can shape to a large extent the relations between States.

96. If the development of the situation in different parts of the world is compared from this point of view, then it is Europe that attracts most attention. On that continent, where both world wars began, where in the post-war years a dangerous and prolonged confrontation took place between two opposing political systems and two armed camps emerged, there are now signs of developments and trends towards a relaxation of tension.

97. The recently signed Quadripartite Agreement¹¹ on problems concerning West Berlin will serve to eliminate one of the most dangerous sources of tension and friction and to improve the atmosphere in an unhealthy area of European politics. The Soviet Union has long and consistently pursued this objective.

98. As we know, neither of the German States participated directly in the negotiations between the four Powers,

but they were constantly consulted and much depended on them. It is now for the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to complete the negotiations between them which are provided for in the four-Power agreement. We should like to express the hope that this stage of the settlement of the question of West Berlin will also be successful.

99. Mutual understanding and agreement between two continental European Powers, the Soviet Union and France, has become one of the main pillars of peace in Europe. These relations were given considerable impetus by the Soviet-French Protocol on Consultations, which was signed a year ago¹² and which during this short time has proved to be an effective instrument of political co-operation. We are in favour of raising the relations between the two Powers to an even higher level, in the interests of European peace and international security.

100. In the Federal Republic of Germany, the forces which evaluate the situation more soberly and have declared themselves in favour of a policy of peace and a peaceful future are showing more confidence than in the past and gaining the upper hand. The objectives consistently pursued by the socialist States of Europe in their relations with the Federal Republic of Germany have thus become attainable.

101. The treaties concluded with the Federal Republic of Germany by the USSR¹³ and the Polish People's Republic,¹⁴ which are based on recognition of European realities, especially on the inviolability of frontiers, meet the interests of all European States. We expect them to be ratified and to enter into force in the near future.

102. Next on the list is the settlement of relations between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, based on the recognition of the invalidity *ab initio* of the Munich agreement, and on the normalization of relations between the two countries on the basis of respect for the principles of sovereignty and equal rights in their relations among themselves and with other States.

103. If the Federal Republic of Germany makes a final break with the disastrous legacy of its past in favour of a peaceful future, no one can cast doubt on the place it should occupy in Europe and in European policy. Another reason why this should be mentioned is the unceasing activity in the Federal Republic of Germany of those forces which look to the past instead of to the future and desire above all to turn West German foreign policy back to its former course of hostility against other countries and peoples, a course which endangers peace and holds out no prospects for the Federal Republic of Germany itself.

104. We must dwell on yet another aspect of the question, one that has a direct bearing on the United Nations. The fact that the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany are still not Members of the United Nations is a political anomaly. The reason for this does not

¹² Signed at Moscow on 13 October 1970.

¹³ Signed at Moscow on 12 August 1970.

¹⁴ Treaty on the Bases for the Normalization of Relations, signed at Warsaw on 7 December 1970.

¹¹ Signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

lie in any objective difficulty in solving this problem, but in the unrealistic, discriminatory attitude of certain Powers towards the German Democratic Republic. But the time is definitely past when some people pretended that this State did not exist and that they did not know what its correct name was.

105. The German Democratic Republic has firmly established itself as a real and active component of the European system of States. To be more precise, it is no longer possible to imagine modern Europe without it. But since that is the case, it is time to remove the artificial obstacles which lie in the way of the admission of the German Democratic Republic to the United Nations. We are also in favour of the simultaneous admission of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations.

106. As we know, in the communiqué on the recent meeting between Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Mr. W. Brandt, Federal Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic declared their intention to promote that very solution of the problem.

107. What has been and is being done in Europe is significant, but by no means exhausts all the outstanding problems. There are questions which all the European States must settle together, and that is the underlying idea of the well-known proposal of the socialist countries on the convening of an all-European conference on problems of security and co-operation, in which the United States of America and Canada could also take part.

108. On meeting together, the participants in such a conference could achieve a great deal in the interests of consolidating peace in Europe. Renunciation of the use of force in relations between European States and the expansion of economic, trade, scientific and technical and cultural ties between all these States are requirements dictated by our times, and the solution of these problems should be within the capacity of the conference. This is now recognized by everyone, or nearly everyone, in Europe.

109. The problem of convening an all-European conference is ripe for solution; this is now obvious, no one questions it, and the problem now is to move from the preparatory to the practical stage of the work.

110. The problem of relaxing military tension in Europe also insistently demands solution. This is one of the most important problems. The military potential of the opposing sides in Europe has been growing for many years, and though neither the Soviet Union nor the socialist countries were responsible for this, they have been obliged to participate in the race. The existing political tension has been adduced as the reason, but we have always regarded this argument as dubious. Now that a certain relaxation may be observed in Europe, there is no longer any room for such assertions, if we wish to face the truth rather than try to base our policy on deception of the peoples.

111. Reactions to the Soviet Union's proposal to begin negotiations on the reduction of armaments and armed

forces in Europe show that many are in favour of this proposal. Accordingly, what we must do is set to work.

112. The convening of an all-European conference and the progress made towards a military *détente* in Europe should bring us closer to the solution of the problem of eliminating military blocs in Europe. This would lead to a thorough and comprehensive improvement of the situation. Let the fervent advocates of the policy of military blocs not faint at the thought of such a proposal. While such blocs continue to exist, the danger of a military confrontation between States will also continue to exist.

113. It may be difficult to achieve this goal at once, although the socialist countries have stated on more than one occasion that they would be prepared to agree forthwith to the elimination of military blocs, or, to begin with, of their military organizations. But even if we have to proceed step by step in this direction, the elimination of military blocs in Europe now seems to be attainable in principle, and this too is something new on the horizon of European politics.

114. Of course, the task of improving the international situation is not limited to Europe. For all the importance of the relations between States in Europe and for all the influence of European events on the general world situation, the prevention of a new world war depends not only on them, but also on relations in general between States in all regions. When the United Nations Charter speaks of the obligation "to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples", it does not distinguish between European and Asian nations or between American and African nations. Universal peace can be based only on peaceful relations between all nations.

115. The settlement and development of friendly relations between any countries calls for good will, mutual interest and common peaceful intentions on their part. When these conditions are present and when countries entering into closer relations with each other do so in the context of a common concern for the strengthening of international peace, it is possible to achieve results which benefit not only the countries in question, but the world as a whole.

116. The treaties of friendship and co-operation which the Soviet Union recently concluded with the Arab Republic of Egypt¹⁵ and with the Republic of India¹⁶ may serve as examples. Both instruments are widely regarded as important stages in the development of friendly Soviet-Egyptian and Soviet-Indian relations, as well as significant factors in the general construction of a more stable peace. We are convinced that this is a correct appraisal.

117. We attach great importance to the development of our relations with Italy, Canada, with which we have concluded a Protocol on Consultations, Algeria, Iran, Afghanistan and Finland, with such an important Asian Power as Japan and with other countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania. We make no exceptions

¹⁵ Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation, signed at Cairo on 27 May 1971.

¹⁶ Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation, signed at New Delhi on 9 August 1971.

for anyone and our attitude towards the development of contacts and ties between other countries is the same: the closer these are, the more purposefully they are integrated in the general system of efforts to strengthen peace, the more the forces of aggression will be held in check and the greater will be the benefit to the peoples.

118. Much has been said recently about the intended normalization of relations between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China. In principle we regard this as a natural development. Normal relations should exist between all States. So far as the position of the Soviet Union is concerned, we have always consistently opposed any unlawful action in respect of the Chinese island of Taiwan, any deprivation of the People's Republic of China of its legitimate rights in the United Nations, the concept of "two Chinas" and any notion of a "dual representation of China". This is our position of principle, and we shall uphold it at this session of the General Assembly.

119. But the Soviet Union opposes now as before any policy which is directed against the legitimate interests and security of other States, including the Soviet Union, however such a policy may be camouflaged. In the past, States combined into many antagonistic groups, which led to international complications and sometimes even to wars. Yet in the end such actions always backfired against those States which had initiated and participated in them, whether they were large States or small. The generation of people who saw such combinations has not yet died out.

120. The Soviet Union's approach to its relations with the United States of America is also based on the strengthening of peace. We attach due importance to these relations, being aware that they affect international affairs as a whole. The Soviet Union is willing to develop its political contacts and economic, trade, scientific and technical and cultural ties with the United States of America, just as it is with any other State. We are prepared to seek mutually acceptable solutions. But in doing so we are not prepared to adapt our principles in international matters, our firm policy of peace, to any considerations of the moment. The steps we take in our relations with the United States of America are always in keeping with our general line of action in the interests of peace. Speaking at the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev laid special emphasis on the following:

"We proceed from the premise that it is possible to improve relations between the USSR and the United States. Our position of principle with regard to the capitalist countries, including the United States of America, lies in the consistent and comprehensive practical implementation of the principles of peaceful co-existence, the development of mutually advantageous relations and, in the case of States which are prepared for this, co-operation towards the strengthening of peace, by making our relations with them as stable as possible. But we have to consider whether we are confronted by a sincere wish to solve problems at the negotiating table or by attempts to pursue a policy from a 'position of strength'."

121. However great the power of the Soviet Union may be, we have never used it and never will use it to place our

country above others. Nor do we generally accept the division of States into categories according to their size or military might. The Charter of the United Nations is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of its Members and we fully subscribe to this principle.

122. Violation of the principles of equal rights, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and non-interference in their internal affairs and attempts by more powerful States to impose their will on those which they consider to be weaker inevitably lead to critical situations and conflicts. This is the course which is always followed by aggressors.

123. Is this not essentially what is going on in Indo-China and the Middle East, which have been hotbeds of war for many years?

124. Statements have been made recently in Washington concerning the intention to withdraw American troops from Indo-China. Information is published practically every week about the number of thousands by which the American forces have been reduced. But the war in Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia is continuing, and the scope of military operations even expands from time to time. The United States of America and its hirelings are continuing the war.

125. The point is not the percentage of American soldiers in the area, but the number of local troops, and whether they are being trained, armed and sent into battle under orders from Washington. The point is that the United States of America should cease its military and political interference in the affairs of Indo-China and its efforts to impose an order of its own choosing in that area by force of arms.

126. The world now understands full well that from the very outset, right was on the side of the patriots of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia. Now that information which was formerly carefully concealed has become known, there is simply no more room for discussion about who unleashed the war in Indo-China and with what ends in view. It is also obvious whose fault it is that the Paris negotiations were brought to a deadlock.

127. In these circumstances, the new proposals for the establishment of peace which have been advanced by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and have been supported by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam acquire even greater importance. These proposals are imbued with a constructive spirit and are directed towards finding a rational solution for the practical problems which arise.

128. Not only the friends of the Viet-Nameese people, but all those who can assess the situation objectively see these proposals as a realistic way out of the prevailing situation. But what is it about them that the United States of America does not like? Why does the United States of America continue the war when all the conditions for peace are there? Why is the bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam continuing and being intensified of late, although as we know the cessation of this bombing in 1968 was a prerequisite for the beginning

of the Paris negotiations for a political settlement? These are questions which arise from the logic of events, and they require an answer.

129. Where the Soviet Union is concerned, our country, resolutely supporting the proposals for a peaceful settlement and pursuing its international duty, will continue to provide all the necessary support to the fraternal Viet-Nameese people and to the peoples of Laos and Cambodia in their legitimate struggle for their rights.

130. Events in the Middle East centre round the same problem: will the legitimate rights of the Arab States which have suffered aggression be respected, will the territories annexed by force be returned, or will the policy of aggression be allowed to triumph?

131. Israel and its protectors are obviously counting on the latter alternative. That is why they have paralysed the mission of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who was entrusted with the task of promoting a political settlement in accordance with the well-known decision of the Security Council. That is why the consultations between the four Powers which are permanent members of the Security Council are just marking time, since to be effective they require the co-operation of all the participants.

132. But Israel has miscalculated. The policy-makers of that country have made their expansionist schemes too evident to receive any support on the international scene. Now no one can believe the claim that Israel is defending its "existence". One by one, the false arguments with which Israel's rulers have tried to cover up the real objective of their policy have fallen to the ground.

133. Israel has refused to relinquish the occupied territories until the Arab countries agree to put an end to the state of war, yet the Arabs are prepared to agree to this.

134. Israel has insisted that a treaty of peace should be concluded—and the Arab States do not object to this either, provided, of course, that all the occupied territories are returned to them.

135. Israel has expressed anxiety about its security. It is now clear that, as part of a political settlement in the Middle East, the appropriate guarantees, including those of the Security Council, can be given. These are the firmest guarantees that can be imagined in the modern world.

136. No one can now have any doubts: Israel does not want peace, or if it does, then it must be an annexationist peace. But this is contrary to the United Nations Charter and to the most elementary principles of international law, and must therefore be rejected.

137. Israel's rulers apparently believe that since they have been able to hold on to the occupied territories for four years, that situation can be maintained indefinitely. But they must be aware of the alternative to a political settlement in the Middle East.

138. Is the United Nations capable of contributing to the solution of the problem of a Middle Eastern settlement?

Yes, it will be capable of this if it does not limit itself to adopting yet another resolution expressing pious hopes unsupported by practical measures and if it makes use of all the possibilities afforded it by the United Nations Charter.

139. The Soviet Union wants to see peace in the Middle East. It will continue to support the Arab States which have suffered aggression and their efforts to liberate their territories. The just cause of the Arab peoples, including the people of Palestine, must prevail.

140. Indo-China and the Middle East are not the only sources of military danger. In some other parts of Asia tension is not only not declining, but is even increasing. The situation in the area of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent is becoming increasingly complex. It must be admitted that India has cause for concern at the turn which events have taken in East Pakistan. The flow of refugees into India has given rise to serious difficulties and problems which are not only economic. We are convinced that a political settlement of the problems which have arisen in East Pakistan is the only means of achieving a general relaxation of tension in that region. Moreover, all the States of the region must be associated with such a settlement. The refugees must be returned to East Pakistan, and this will become possible only when their safety there is ensured. The present situation in the area is acute, and this is not merely a domestic problem. The Soviet Government would like to express the hope that this situation will not lead to a military conflict between the States of the region and that restraint and reason will prevail.

141. The peoples of Asia need lasting peace and a situation in which their resources and efforts are not dissipated in conflict, but are directed towards the solution of social and economic problems on which the raising of their standard of living, of their economy and culture, primarily depends.

142. It will be recalled that the Soviet Union put forward the idea of establishing a system of collective security in Asia which would ensure a state of stability on that continent. Time and effort may be needed to put that idea into practice, but the situation which has arisen in Asia requires that such efforts should be made and should be pursued consistently.

143. Another essential condition for normalizing the situation in Asia is to put an end to interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people. The United Nations, for its part, should stop serving as a screen concealing the foreign occupation of South Korea. That is the purpose of the proposals submitted to the General Assembly by a number of socialist and non-aligned States concerning the withdrawal of United States and all other foreign troops from South Korea and the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. We can only regret that the consideration of these questions, which require immediate solution, has been deferred until the next session of the General Assembly. Such an approach in no way helps to reduce tension in the Korean area. On the other hand, we note with satisfaction that during the discussion of the question whether the items concerning Korea should be included in the agenda of the current session of the General

Assembly, some 30 countries spoke against the clumsy manoeuvres of those who are afraid of a broad consideration at this session of the topical questions of the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea and of the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission.

144. If we are to choose an area of international relations in which the interests of all States coincide and in which an impulse by the United Nations is particularly necessary to speed up progress, such an area is that of questions relating to the cessation of the arms race and to disarmament.

145. The arms race is fraught with new and unknown dangers and its adverse effects on the life of our society are now more profound and more dangerous than ever before. During the post-war years, the money spent on armaments has been several times greater than the total annual national income of all the developing countries in the world. This waste of material and intellectual resources is taking place at a time when many millions of people have no bread to satisfy their hunger and no roofs over their heads to shelter them from rain and cold and when over one third of the population of our planet are illiterate.

146. It would be wrong to say that nothing has been done to check the arms race. Nuclear weapons tests in the air, in outer space and under water have been prohibited, the proliferation of these weapons among States has been stopped, and the siting of weapons of mass destruction in outer space, on celestial bodies and on the sea-bed and the ocean floor has been prevented. The conviction is growing that the solution of the problem of banning underground nuclear tests can no longer be postponed. The ideas of the creation of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world and of the elimination of foreign military bases in the territories of others are gaining increasing support.

147. Efforts for the prohibition and destruction of bacteriological weapons are proceeding in the right direction. Negotiations for an appropriate convention are nearing conclusion. This should be an important practical step not only in limiting the arms race, but also in actual disarmament. We are dealing here with the elimination of one specific type of weapon and, moreover, a weapon of mass destruction. The task of also prohibiting and eliminating chemical weapons lies ahead.

148. There has been growing awareness recently of the need to take measures to prevent the accidental occurrence or deliberate provocation of incidents involving the use of nuclear weapons. This purpose is served by the agreement reached recently between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America.

149. The talks between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on the limitation of strategic arms are continuing and are now concentrated on the preparation of an agreement on anti-missile systems. Unless the expansion of anti-missile defence is halted now, a chain reaction of competition between offensive and defensive weapons will inevitably take place, as it did in the past between naval armour and the artillery shell, the difference being that this competition would be immeasurably more dangerous and more costly.

150. The successful outcome of these talks would serve the interests of the peoples of both the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, as well as the cause of strengthening universal peace. In view of the increasing importance of the talks, the Soviet side is intensifying its efforts to reach agreement, which must of course be based on the principle of equal security. But the success of the talks also depends to the same extent on the other side.

151. Achievements in limiting the arms race are only the first steps towards disarmament. However important they may be, to stop there would be to shirk the solution of the basic problem. And we are convinced that, from the point of view of what is possible, it can be solved. The whole question is whether there is a desire for such a solution.

152. The Soviet Union recently advanced a proposal to convene a conference of the five Powers possessing nuclear weapons—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America, the People's Republic of China, France and the United Kingdom—with a view to examining questions of nuclear disarmament. One of the nuclear Powers we approached, France, supported this Soviet initiative. But then another announced its opposition, whereupon the remaining two hastened to declare that in the existing circumstances the convening of a conference of the five nuclear Powers had become an "academic" question.

153. The Soviet Union does not consider that the other nuclear Powers have said the last word. All those who view matters realistically understand that nuclear disarmament can be achieved only with the participation and agreement of all five nuclear Powers and that they cannot absolve themselves of this responsibility.

154. A radical solution of disarmament problems will, of course, call for the united efforts of all States, irrespective of the size of their territories and populations, the level of their military might and their economic potential. The Soviet Government believes that further intensification of efforts to achieve disarmament would be promoted by the convening of a world disarmament conference in which all the States in the world would participate, and that this question should be examined at the current session of the General Assembly. The relevant item has been included in the Assembly's agenda at our proposal [A/8491].

155. In the not-too-distant past, States have already approached the question of convening a world disarmament conference, but for various reasons it has so far proved impossible to hold such a conference. The general political situation is now more conducive to this.

156. It is essential to make the most of these developments, bearing in mind the fact that, although during the post-war years disarmament talks have been conducted in the widest variety of places, all States have never yet gathered together to discuss disarmament questions. Yet this problem affects them all without exception.

157. The universality of the world conference and the participation of all States might contribute to its success.

158. The tasks before the world disarmament conference would of course be enormous. That is why it should perhaps become a permanent forum, or rather one operating over a long period. Its sessions might be convened periodically, say, once every two or three years. In view of the fact that the nuclear arms race arouses the greatest concern among the peoples, first priority should be given, if the majority of the participants in the conference express this wish, to questions of the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons, the use of which cannot be tolerated by the conscience of mankind.

159. The world conference should be convened outside the United Nations, so that it can be attended by all States, irrespective of whether or not they are Members of the United Nations. It is self-evident that its convening should in no way detract from the significance of those forms of, and channels for, disarmament talks which are now being used, including the Committee on Disarmament. On the contrary, the Committee on Disarmament should intensify its work.

160. Both the existing channels for negotiations and any which may be created in the future would contribute to preparations for the convening of the world disarmament conference, and later to the actual drafting of specific agreements on disarmament in pursuance of the decisions of the world conference.

161. States must obviously be given some time to conduct the necessary consultations on questions relating to the convening of the world disarmament conference. In this connexion, we consider that the General Assembly might address an appeal to States to agree not later than 1972 on the date of the conference and on its agenda.

162. In view of the above considerations, the Soviet delegation hereby submits the following draft resolution for the consideration of the General Assembly:

[The speaker then read out the text of a draft resolution which was subsequently circulated as document A/L.631. For the text, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth session, Annexes, agenda item 97.]

163. We believe that this draft speaks for itself. We call upon all delegations to give it due attention.

164. In considering all these questions, within the United Nations or outside it, no one should forget that disarmament negotiations are being conducted in circumstances where the arms race is not only continuing, but is being accelerated. This may appear to be a vicious circle, but it can and must be broken. This is demanded by the most vital interests of mankind.

165. Disarmament is the most reliable means of strengthening international security and ensuring peace. This is clearly expressed in the United Nations Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security which was adopted at the twenty-fifth, anniversary session of the General Assembly [resolution 2734 (XXV)], at the initiative of the Soviet Union.

166. The Declaration has been correctly assessed as a programme of specific measures which, taken together, can

radically change the international situation for the better. Some of its particularly significant features are that it reaffirms the principle of the inadmissibility of acquiring territories through the use of force and strongly emphasizes the obligation of all States Members of the United Nations to carry out the decisions of the Security Council and to do everything in their power to enhance the authority and effectiveness of this organ, on which the Charter confers the main responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

167. In this connexion, we should like to state frankly that the Security Council is by no means carrying out its functions as it should under the Charter of our Organization. The founders of the United Nations envisaged the situation rather differently. They envisaged it in such a way that no one should paralyse the Council's activities and that all the States which have been trusted to become members of that organ, especially its permanent members, should carry out their obligations with a sense of responsibility, so that no violator of peace should go unpunished and so that the activities of the Security Council should be based on the agreement reached during the Second World War, when the foundations of the United Nations were laid and its structure was elaborated. We believe, however, that this situation can be remedied, if the policies of States particularly of the great Powers, are directed to the pursuit of genuinely peaceful goals.

168. The twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly will have to consider the question of how the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is being implemented [item 34]. It is not enough to adopt even the best possible declaration: every effort should be made to ensure that it does not become a dead letter.

169. Yet such a danger exists, because not all States Members of the United Nations are in practice acting in accordance with the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security for which they voted. Many of the considerations I expressed earlier can serve as examples of this.

170. There are yet other facts of the same kind. For example, let us take the clause of the Declaration which calls upon all States to desist from any forcible or other actions against peoples still under colonial rule and to render them assistance in their just struggle. This requirement is not being fulfilled by those very States to which it is primarily addressed.

171. There are different forms of colonialism and racism, but none of them is better than any other, be it the Portuguese kind, supported and sustained by the NATO military bloc, the South African kind, with its policy of hatred—*apartheid*, or any other kind.

172. And now, when the great torrent of national liberation movements has destroyed nearly all the strongholds of colonial empires, there are still people and even governments which vaunt the pseudo-civilizing action of the colonialists and are trying—in one form or another and on some pretext or other—to maintain their rule over the last colonial territories. If they think that the peoples have forgotten how much blood and sweat the policy of certain

States has cost the peoples of Africa, Asia and other parts of the world and if they think that they will be allowed further to oppress and exploit those who still remain under their domination, they are mistaken, and history does not forgive such mistakes. The United Nations has done a good deal to help peoples in their struggle for freedom and independence. It must do even more. Colonialism must be finally eradicated.

173. The Soviet Union is in favour of the full and unconditional implementation of United Nations decisions on the elimination of remaining colonial and racist régimes. We shall continue to provide material and political assistance and support to all the peoples striving towards that goal.

174. The United Nations must of course take vigorous action in all the areas provided for in its Charter. We can only welcome the fact that a number of questions arising from developments in the scientific and technical revolution will be considered during this session of the General Assembly. The Soviet Union introduced one such item into the agenda of the session, the question of the preparation of a treaty concerning the moon [A/8327].

175. The time has come to reach agreement on universally mandatory rules which would be binding on all States and which would ensure the study and utilization of the moon in the interests of the present and future generations for peaceful purposes only. We hope that our proposal on the conclusion of a treaty concerning the moon will receive the support of all States Members of the United Nations.

176. Preparations are being made for two important international conferences, one on problems of the human environment and the other on the law of the sea. The United Nations must make its contribution to these conferences, since they will be discussing questions which in modern times are closely linked with conditions of human life and the further progress of civilization.

177. These are new problems, arising from life itself. The United Nations is also faced with not a few old problems, which have not, however, lost their urgency for its Members, especially for the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The problems of international economic co-operation have been discussed in the United Nations for many years, but this has not led to any improvement in the economic situation of most developing countries. That situation remains serious.

178. The struggle of the developing countries against one-sided agreements and other forms of neo-colonialist oppression and lawlessness is constantly expanding. It is being conducted both by the young States which have recently gained political independence and by developing countries which ceased to be colonies long ago. The United Nations cannot stand aside from this struggle. It is in duty bound to support those who are defending their legitimate rights to liberation from economic oppression, to free national development and to labour for the well-being of their peoples, not for the profit of foreign monopolies.

179. More than a quarter of a century has passed since the United Nations was founded. This is a considerable period.

During this time the Organization has experienced some failures. It has not always acted with sufficient resolution in cases where it should have shown firmness and energy. But on the whole it has proved that it can serve as a useful instrument of peace and development of international co-operation if it follows the right course and strictly observes the United Nations Charter.

180. Nevertheless, even now the question sometimes arises of the priority that should be given to certain United Nations activities. The answer was given in the days when the foundations of this Organization were established, when the Charter of the United Nations was signed. The principal task of the United Nations, the basis of all its activities, is the maintenance and strengthening of peace and the prevention of a new war. The United Nations was established for that purpose and that is its very first priority in its work. The peoples of the world evaluate the results of every session of the General Assembly and of every meeting of the Security Council by considering whether effective steps were taken towards the attainment of that essential goal. The Soviet Union, for its part, will do everything in its power to ensure the success of this session of the United Nations General Assembly.

181. Mr. CARDOSO (Democratic Republic of the Congo) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to associate myself with the speakers who preceded me in extending on behalf of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo my warmest congratulations upon your election to the office of President of the twenty-sixth regular session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

182. This choice was not accidental. Your outstanding qualities as a man and a diplomat, your extensive experience with international problems, your faith in the United Nations and the value you attach to the sacred principles contained in the Charter are the factors which have singled you out to exercise the heavy task that has been entrusted to you. We are therefore confident that the work of the present session will be crowned with great success.

183. But for the Congolese delegation that election also constitutes happiness for another reason: you represent a country which is friendly to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The Republic of Indonesia has been one of the foremost countries in the line of fire of the peoples of the third world against poverty, injustice and exploitation. Indeed, it was in your country, more specifically at Bandung, that the first African-Asian Conference was held in 1955, thus marking the awakening of all the colonized peoples in the fight for their emancipation. But Bandung also rings in our ears as the source of "non-alignment", a doctrine which since then has become an abiding principle of the countries of the third world in their international policies, of which they are quite proud.

184. I should like to address the most heartfelt congratulations of the Congolese delegation to the three new Member States which have joined us, thus enlarging this international family—I refer to Bahrain, Bhutan and Qatar. The accession of those three States to international sovereignty brought about great joy in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and from this rostrum we transmit to them the

friendly greetings of the people of the Congo, of its party, the Popular Movement of the Revolution and of its Government.

185. Last 18 September the Democratic Republic of the Congo marked the tenth anniversary of the death of the former Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjöld, who died for the cause of peace, for the cause of the United Nations and for the cause of the unity of my country. I should like here to pay to him the tribute of all the Congolese people. With your permission, Mr. President, I should like to request those present to observe a minute of silence to honour his memory.

The members of the General Assembly observed a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of Dag Hammarskjöld.

186. Last year we celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. The twenty-fifth session was therefore a jubilee session and a session for stocktaking.

187. The twenty-sixth session marks a new start for the United Nations. That is why, in the opinion of my delegation, the work of this session must be a landmark in the history of the Organization. This work must represent the new will of States to remake the United Nations into a genuine Organization in the service of peace, understanding and co-operation between all men, in the spirit of the Charter which governs it. Only then can the United Nations fully play the role assigned to it, and mankind be in a position to expect of it the answers to the agonizing questions which arise in the world.

Mr. Terence (Burundi), Vice-President, took the Chair.

188. Once again we are gathered to discuss crucial problems, such as those of peace and security throughout the world; decolonization, particularly in Africa; and international co-operation.

189. Independently of any procedural considerations or legal subtleties as to which State must or must not sit in the Security Council or in the General Assembly, I should like to recall that what is essential for the safeguarding of peace by our Organization is adherence to the Charter and a scrupulous application of its principles. The criteria of the number of inhabitants, of nuclear power and of economic development, however important, remain inadequate. From an analysis of the present international situation, it clearly appears to the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo that a certain Power, the People's Republic of China, has never adhered to the Charter. That country, which has nearly one-third of mankind within its borders, has never explicitly recognized the Declaration of Human Rights.

190. It is surprising that a country which increasingly asserts its own sovereignty has so little respect for the sovereignty and the independence of other States, particularly in Africa, carrying out a policy of subversion and interference in internal affairs to the point of financially and materially supporting both secessions and rebellions.

191. In the case of the Congo, that policy of aggression and subversion followed by the People's Republic of China

has seriously undermined the great task accomplished by the United Nations in my country. Since we have no assurance that that policy has been abandoned, we are unable to support any draft resolution whatsoever to admit the People's Republic of China to our Organization. A Power—large because of its population and because of the possession of nuclear weapons—which is to sit in the Security Council, must formally adhere to the Charter of our Organization. Are we to believe—and the draft resolution on the restoration of the lawful rights of China [A/L.630] implies as much—that the People's Republic of China recognizes that the signature of Chiang Kai-shek ratifying the United Nations Charter is binding upon itself? Are we to believe that the commitments assumed by Chiang Kai-shek on behalf of the whole of China in 1945 will be respected by Mao Tse-tung? How many commitments of the former have been repudiated by the latter?

192. In any other circumstances, the continuity of States implies that international commitments of any given régime will be respected by another régime that replaces it. In the case of China, we must recognize that there is quite a special situation.

193. It is necessary—I repeat this—for the Peking régime to adhere formally to the Charter. Otherwise, we might admit here representatives who would have only rights and absolutely no obligations because they had never committed themselves to any. A blanket endorsement of all those contradictions would bode ill for our Organization.

194. When one speaks of international security, we Africans think quite naturally of protecting our countries against subversion. But we think also of the two world wars into which Africa was drawn and in which it sacrificed the flower of its youth for a cause external to Africa. We do not wish to fight any more wars for others nor to die for foreign causes.

195. Africa indeed deserves to have a permanent seat in the Security Council in order to exercise its veto each time an attempt is made to draw it into conflicts that do not involve its own interests in any way. A large African country, which has suffered from war and which therefore knows the price of peace—I am referring to Nigeria—might well occupy that post and carry out this heavy responsibility to the satisfaction of all. Moreover, if one thinks dispassionately or without rancour about the very structure of the Security Council, one is bound to admit that that Council, where the right of veto is granted only to the victorious nations of the 1939-1945 war, no longer meets the needs of contemporary peace. Do the vanquished of yesterday—which have been accused of all kinds of wrongdoing—not have any responsibility for the maintenance of peace within the Security Council? I am of course referring to Germany and Japan. Those nations, whose economic recovery is familiar to all, must devote the largest part of their resources to the maintenance of peace. That is why their responsibilities must be recognized.

196. In this chapter of international security, I should like to emphasize the full gravity of the conflict in the Middle East. On 22 November 1967 the Security Council adopted resolution 242 (1967) on the situation in the Middle East. My delegation continues to consider that that resolution is

the proper framework within which peace in that part of the world should be sought. Unfortunately, much has been said about that resolution but it has not led to any concrete solution. That is why we place great hope in the committee of wise men of the Organization of African Unity whose Sub-Committee, consisting of four African Heads of State, is to go in the near future to Israel and the Egyptian Arab Republic. Never before has such an important Committee been established to look into this problem. Now that Africa wishes to make a modest contribution, it should be trusted and given every opportunity.

197. The pursuit of open or veiled colonization in Africa is also a serious threat to the security of our States. Open colonization is the kind that Portugal continues shamelessly to practice in the Territories of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). Veiled colonization—which deceives no one—is the kind practised by the régime of Ian Smith in Rhodesia and the régime of Vorster in South Africa itself and in Namibia.

198. The criminal obstinacy and the repulsive insolence displayed by Portugal, a colonial Power which wishes to maintain under its yoke populations having mentalities and cultures different from its own, need no further proof.

199. The wind of decolonization, which was released among other things by the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and more recently by the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], has blown over the continents that were formerly subjugated by colonialist Powers.

200. Heedless of this general movement of emancipation, Portugal refuses to recognize for Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) a destiny different from its own. And in order to demonstrate its irrevocable attitude on this point, it has undertaken to strengthen its arsenal, with the complicity of certain Powers. As a counterpart for the assistance it receives from those Powers, Portugal has placed at their disposal what it complacently calls its African "possessions".

201. In spite of numerous resolutions and declarations of the United Nations, Portugal is unremittently pursuing its repression of the populations of these Territories, which it wantonly considers as an integral part of its metropolitan territory but which in fact constitute the last bastions of colonialism and exploitation.

202. Supported and encouraged by that conspiracy of its allies, Portugal is no longer content to practise repression against the populations in the Territories under its domination, and is now turning against the independent African States neighbouring on Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau).

203. Portuguese aircraft are daily violating our air space; Portuguese troops are committing all sorts of acts against our sovereignty; our villages are pillaged and sacked and our inhabitants massacred. Our determination to see Angola free itself from the colonial yoke is irrevocable.

204. Nevertheless we must point out that it is for the people of Angola, once it is liberated, to choose freely its

own political philosophy or ideology. Attempts are being made to gain credence for the thesis that so-called socialist liberation movements are good movements, whereas the others are bad. As far as we are concerned, what is important first and foremost is liberation and not the ideological hue of the movements. Having said that, I should like to point out that it is inconceivable to liberate Angola without the assistance of the Congo, and it is even more inconceivable to liberate it against the Congo.

205. That leads us to speak of South Africa.

206. While the United Nations is proclaiming the equality of all men, the white minority in South Africa is resuscitating the outmoded and mistaken theory of superior races; while the United Nations is affirming the right of all peoples to self-determination, the racist régime in South Africa is depriving the majority African population of all of its most legitimate rights and is maintaining it in subjugation unworthy of human beings, considering those people as inferior beings.

207. The same blind and ludicrous obstinacy which characterizes South Africa's methods of government applies equally to the situation in Namibia. While the General Assembly has divested South Africa of its Mandate over Namibia, the Pretoria racist régime, in turning a deaf ear, continues to administer Namibia as it pleases, despite the fact that that Territory is under the direct authority of the United Nations. A United Nations Council on Namibia, responsible for the administration of the Territory until its independence, has even been set up [*resolution 2248 (S-V)*], but has never been able to go to that Territory as a result of the South African Government's fierce opposition.

208. Thus it is that the South African Government, assured of that support and complicity, continues shamelessly to flout the United Nations and to trample underfoot all of its resolutions and principles, particularly the principle of the self-determination of peoples and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Democratic Republic of the Congo vigorously condemns that attitude of the Pretoria authorities. In these circumstances we cannot consider any dialogue whatsoever with the South African racist régime, as has been advocated by certain States. The position of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in this respect has been reaffirmed on numerous occasions: if there is to be a dialogue, it must begin first in South Africa itself between the African majority and the white minority. In any event, that dialogue must begin first between the whites and blacks in South Africa before being entered into with other, independent States of Africa.

209. The Bantu chiefs in South Africa are calling for the right to have a dialogue with the white minority. Well, let them be given the right and that freedom. In that way shall be able to judge the true intentions of the South African régime.

210. But there is in Africa another cause for our resentment, and that is Rhodesia, where the African majority has also lost all of its rights and where democracy has been buried and a second *apartheid* régime installed. What outrages and revolts us even more is the hypocrisy of

successive London Governments, which, while claiming to be repositories of democracy, have been unwilling to intervene in Rhodesia to restore to the people of Zimbabwe the rights of which they have been deprived.

211. To sum up, the situation in southern Africa remains both disturbing and alarming, be it the case of the régime of *apartheid* and racial discrimination in the Republic of South Africa and the acts of oppression committed by that régime in Namibia, or the case of the usurpation of the rights of the Zimbabwe people by the rebel minority in Rhodesia or of the tortured and martyred populations in the Territory under Portuguese domination.

212. I come now to the urgent problem of under-development.

213. Can one really speak of international peace when more than two thirds of mankind are grovelling in extreme poverty? At the same time, the gulf which separates the economies of the developed countries from those of the developing countries is growing day by day.

214. All States Members of the United Nations are aware of this agonizing problem. That is why they proclaimed the years 1960-1970 as the first United Nations Development Decade. A glimmer of hope had appeared for suffering humanity, but unfortunately the means devoted to the achievement of the goals of that first Decade were so limited that the results were equally scanty. The failure of the first Development Decade is attributable, first of all, to the behaviour of the affluent countries, which in our opinion limited the material and human assistance necessary for the success of the programme of that Decade. As a result of that inadequacy of aid, the prospects for healthy and sincere international co-operation have been seriously darkened.

215. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt whatsoever that development is an essential condition for peace and social justice. The Democratic Republic of the Congo believes that the gap separating the developed from the developing countries can and must be bridged by means of a system of international co-operation based upon the sincere will of partners to succeed. That will presupposes, first and foremost, a genuine spirit of sacrifice on both sides: the developed countries must be prepared to lose a little of their wealth by placing it at the service of the less developed countries, while the latter must endeavour to spend less, while taking account, within their local context, of the technical requirements of development.

216. The developing countries are not asking the wealthy countries for alms: the assistance to be given us is only just reparation for the exploitation of our riches, both material and human. It is our right to receive assistance, because the peace and security of the world require that we emerge from our under-development.

217. The Democratic Republic of the Congo hopes that the Second United Nations Development Decade will open in a climate of better prepared and informed good will towards better international co-operation, designed to achieve this time all of the objectives assigned for 1980. That of course means a substantial increase in the resources destined for the less fortunate countries.

218. It seems to us, therefore, that the so-called developed world has the urgent duty of contributing to the rehabilitation of the economies of the third world by trying to remove the obstacles encountered by the developing countries, especially by inspiring confidence in them and by granting them the unconditional assistance they require for the improvement of their standards of living. It is only thus that the Second United Nations Development Decade will have any greater chance of success than the first.

219. More specifically and within the context of multi-lateral co-operation, the Democratic Republic of the Congo attaches importance to the assistance provided by the United Nations specialized agencies, as well as to that of other international technical organs. We hope that efforts will be made towards the conclusion of economic and trade agreements similar to those already in force—in particular, on coffee, tin and other similar products. We wish to warn against the trend in international gatherings not to go beyond mere idle and theoretical discussions in regard to development.

220. In order to counteract the deterioration of the terms of trade, we believe it extremely urgent for an agreement to be concluded on the stabilization of the prices of basic commodities and raw materials coming from developing countries. Indeed, how could it be otherwise? How are the economies of those countries to be developed if the national budgets out of which the development programmes of those economies are financed are as unstable as the prices of the raw materials and basic goods on which the quasi-totality of those budgets depend? Is it not pure hypocrisy to be willing, on the one hand, to encourage the development of the economies of the developing countries while, on the other hand, turning one's back on the conclusion of agreements on the stabilization of the prices which determine their development?

221. In the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development all the member countries, especially the industrialized countries, must once and for all attack the problem of the stabilization of prices for raw materials and basic commodities.

222. It is in that context that my delegation expresses its deep concern vis-à-vis the present monetary crisis. In spite of all the assurances we have been given, the developing countries—and there is no doubt about this—are very likely to be the ones that will have to pay for this crisis.

223. Moreover, the United Nations Development Programme should be buttressed. Its services are highly appreciated in our countries, but we must stress that its total yield is still insufficient.

224. Some theoreticians have spoken of the restructuring of the United Nations specialized agencies in such a way as to make them more functional as regards the goals of the Second Development Decade. As far as we are concerned, I must point out that any change in the structures should be aimed at converting the specialized agencies into organizations in which it will become increasingly possible to achieve concrete agreements on specific problems concerning development. We believe that that is the only way to avoid having the Second Development Decade, within

multilateral relations, follow the same fate as the first Decade.

225. It has turned out, especially in the industrialized countries, that development brings with it certain inherent evils. I am speaking particularly of the mayhem produced by the physical pollution of the human environment and the dwindling of the vital resources available to man, that is to say, the pollution of the air and water by gases and industrial wastes. Of course, these problems are the subject of great preoccupation on the part of the industrialized countries. The Democratic Republic of the Congo fully associates itself with such preoccupation, because it is a country with a great industrial future.

226. There is another problem which should engage the attention of countries in the near future, and that is the problem of the sea-bed and ocean floor and their exploitation for peaceful purposes. Our lengthy discussions on this question since the twenty-second session have sufficiently displayed its importance in economic, scientific and other terms. However, there remains the important unresolved problem of the exploitation of these resources, which must be regarded as belonging to the whole world and not to any particular country.

227. Faithful to the spirit of the declaration of principles adopted at the twenty-fifth session [*resolution 2749 (XXV)*], my delegation will support any draft agreement opposing any idea of militarization of the sea-bed beyond territorial limits, and safeguarding the waters of the sea, which are the heritage of the entire world, against the dangers of pollution from chemical and industrial wastes, or from nuclear or other tests.

228. The development of the immense resources of the sea and of the sea-bed must lead to international economic equilibrium, avoiding an increase in the gap separating the developed countries from the developing countries.

229. As I have already pointed out, the United Nations remains the best instrument that the world possesses at this moment for guaranteeing international peace and security. However, if the United Nations does not achieve its goals and does not fulfil its mission fully, if today it is not able to bring peace to Asia and the Middle East, if it is powerless to put an end to colonialism in Africa, if it is incapable of stopping poverty and injustice in the world and thus ensuring progress for all nations, the responsibility for such failure, whether partial or total, rests upon its constituents, that is to say, the Member States.

230. For its part the Democratic Republic of Congo is aware of this situation. That is why it appeals to the universal conscience for common action to be undertaken to hold back all these scourges afflicting mankind.

231. Before I conclude, it is my duty, speaking here on behalf of my delegation and on behalf of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, to pay a ringing tribute to our Secretary-General, U Thant, for the self-denial with which for 10 years he has devoted himself body and soul to the cause of our Organization. The only way to show him our gratitude is to ask him to continue to be available to the United Nations so that the Second Development Decade which we have now begun may benefit from his experience and may succeed.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.