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

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Alvarado (Peru),  
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)\***

1. Mr. BHAGAT (India): I should like at the outset to add my own tribute to that of the Prime Minister of India and offer Mr. Arenales my felicitations on his election to the high office of President of the United Nations General Assembly at its twenty-third session. This Assembly is meeting once again in regular session in a continuing effort to deal with issues that trouble mankind and try to overcome forces which frustrate the achievement of the noble objectives enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. It seems appropriate that the deliberations of the Assembly this year should be presided over by a distinguished statesman from Latin America. I am deeply aware of the important contribution which the countries of Latin America have made to the development of the United Nations as an effective instrument for the preservation of peace and the promotion of international co-operation. I have no doubt that under our President's wise leadership and guidance this Assembly will take significant decisions aimed at strengthening peace and security and the further development of international co-operation and friendly relations among nations and peoples.

2. I should also like to pay my own warm tribute to our distinguished Secretary-General. It has been a matter of great satisfaction to us that in these trying times we have been fortunate enough to have U Thant as the Secretary-General of the United Nations. I am sure I speak for all when I say that his total dedication to the furtherance of the objectives of the world Organization, his sensitive and impartial handling of the various problems with which it has been faced and his high sense of integrity and devotion to duty have amply justified the confidence Member States have reposed in him.

3. It was over two decades ago that the United Nations came into being as an abiding expression of man's deter-

mination to rid the world of war and want. The optimism and hope of the founders of the United Nations have unfortunately not been borne out in the quarter of a century that has elapsed since the Charter was adopted in San Francisco. The obligations then assumed by Member States had led us to hope that the high standards of international behaviour implicit in the Charter would be maintained and there would follow an era of co-operation and dedication to peace. But the expectation that disputes and conflicts would be resolved exclusively by peaceful means has proved to be wrong. Nations and peoples have failed to subordinate the attainment of narrow national ends to the larger interests of orderly relations between States and peace and security for all. In the process, the new world order we have struggled to establish has been undermined and the prospects of peace remain uncertain.

4. The reason for this sharp deterioration in the climate for peace and progress is not far to seek. It lies in the deliberate and callous disregard for the principle of the inadmissibility of the use of force in relations between States. It has been our view, as indeed that of many others, that only the practical application of the principles of peaceful coexistence would enable the hopes of the post-war world to be realized. The non-aligned nations of the world which have struggled hard to promote the principles of peaceful coexistence have always intended that the concept should represent something more positive and constructive than the old strategem for maintaining peace between opposing armed camps. The peoples of the world had begun to hope that peaceful coexistence would become a meaningful way of international life and would facilitate the elimination of the causes of conflicts and disputes, so that conditions could be created for genuine peace, freedom and justice. Nations and peoples had shown an increasing willingness to understand and co-operate with one another and this had resulted in a noticeable reduction in international tension. But this trend has unhappily received a severe setback.

5. The reason for this retrograde development has been that nations have not hesitated to use force to secure national interests in violation of all objective standards of international morality. Wars have been waged or pressures have been exercised ostensibly in the name of freedom, in the name of security, in the name of ideology or in the name of religion. The consequences of this state of affairs are serious. Relations between States are being increasingly based on respect for the power they wield, or can be expected to wield, rather than on their adherence to established rules of international behaviour. As a result, the faith of the weak is dwindling in the protection afforded by the Charter of the United Nations. Tragically, it is those of us who seek to order our actions in strict conformity with the code of international conduct and eschew the use of force that pay the price.

\* Resumed from 1698th meeting.

6. Advances in military technology have brought about an intricate interplay between military and political actions calculated to maintain the so-called balance of power. These actions are unfortunately based less on considerations of ensuring security than on the urge to consolidate and extend political and economic control beyond the limits of national sovereignty. Reversion to the concept of spheres of influence would be the natural result of this development.

7. Persistent and irresponsible efforts are also being made by some to disturb peace and stability in pursuit of their ambitions, ideological or religious. This particular phenomenon manifests itself in insidious attempts to foster local wars and to undermine established political authority in States struggling to protect their freedom and independence.

8. The aggravation of these tendencies is bound to undermine any established international machinery for ordering relations between States. However, the moral imperatives of this very situation have produced a state of uncertainty in international relationships which are undergoing transformation. The compulsions of technological advance and the inevitable movement towards one world have given the interdependence of States a new urgency. Therefore, the situation calls for more determined efforts to evolve relations between States based on mutual respect and sovereign equality. It also calls for mutual accommodation and endeavour in seeking peaceful solutions to international disputes and conflicts. The United Nations still represents the only means by which nations, large or small, can ensure their security and live together in peace and friendship. We hope that this Organization will not accept as permanent its present inability to apply the established code of conduct for nations.

9. Among the issues before this Assembly, the unresolved situation in West Asia is of grave concern to us. Twenty years and three wars after the partition of Palestine there is no light at the end of the tunnel. Is it possible that even after this harrowing experience the belief persists that peace can be imposed by the use of force or that aspirations of vast masses of people can be set aside? The core of the problem is the rehabilitation of people uprooted from their homes and separated from their children. Unless the international community which continues to share the blame and the responsibility comes up with a viable solution taking into account the fundamental rights of these people, the precarious nature of their existence will continue to impinge on the situation in West Asia.

10. Almost a year ago, the Security Council unanimously adopted a resolution [242 (1967)] to provide ways and means for bringing peace to West Asia within the framework of certain fundamental principles. My Government fully supports that resolution in all its parts. It is our belief that lasting peace can be brought about in that region only on the basis of the recognition of the just rights of all the States in the area. However, I should like to underline again what my Prime Minister said to this Assembly on 14 October 1968:

“Essential for a peaceful settlement is the withdrawal of foreign forces from all Arab territories occupied in June last year. The process of the restoration of peace can

begin and Ambassador Jarring's mission be fruitful only with the clear affirmation of this.” [1693rd meeting, para. 159.]

11. South-East Asia is another neighbouring region which still continues to be tormented by strife and thus causes serious concern to us. Since my Prime Minister's address to the General Assembly we have been encouraged by the efforts that are being made to find the way to start a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the conflict in Viet-Nam. We fervently hope that those efforts will succeed and lead to the fulfilment of the Geneva Agreements. In this context it is relevant to refer to the anxiety that has been expressed that the possible peaceful settlement of the Viet-Nam conflict and the withdrawal of extra-regional forces from that area would create a vacuum which must be filled by one Power or another. It is true that that area has been the cockpit of international rivalry. But any solution for the problems of the region can be based only on the clear recognition of nationalist urges and the political and economic viability of the States of South-East Asia. In short, the so-called vacuum has to be filled by those nations themselves, whose sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence should be respected by all. This can be made possible by bringing about intense and durable regional co-operation in both the political and economic fields. In our view, the answer does not lie in inviting extra-regional Powers to become protectors. This is not to say that extra-regional assistance is not welcome. But it does mean that such assistance should be for the purpose of augmenting the resources of the region and not supplanting them.

12. The acceleration of the arms race in the post-war period has been one of the principal contributory factors to the aggravation of international tensions. The growing dimension of the nuclear weapons system has come to be accepted as a fact of life. This is a matter which must be of grave concern to all of us. The spiralling arms race has undermined the concept of peaceful co-existence. The great Powers continue to augment their overkill capacity for nuclear destruction. There is a certain evil dynamism in this competition, since its logical conclusion is that peace can be maintained only through a balance of terror.

13. The question of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons has attracted world-wide attention in the recent past. Unfortunately, there is a continuing refusal to deal with the heart of this problem. My Government has repeatedly urged that problems of insecurity cannot be solved only by the arbitrary imposition of restrictions on those who do not possess nuclear weapons, without any corresponding steps to limit and reduce the stockpiles of these weapons of mass destruction in the hands of a few Powers. We realize that that is a difficult task. Progress towards disarmament has necessarily to be a slow and at times a painful process. However, that process can be set in motion if the States which possess nuclear weapons are prepared to undertake serious negotiations on the limitation, reduction and eventual elimination of nuclear armaments. As far as India is concerned we have repeatedly declared our intention to use nuclear energy exclusively for peaceful purposes. We will continue to develop our knowledge and capacity for the utilization of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes because it is essential to our economic development. Without the development of this

and other branches of modern science and technology we could not hope to fulfil the aspirations of our people in a relatively short period.

14. The adoption of the Charter of the United Nations reflected the determination of mankind to shift its attention from war, and preparations for war, to the promotion of better standards of life for all. In the promotion of this objective there has been increasing awareness of the community of interest among countries at different stages of economic growth and having different socio-economic systems. This has pointed to the conclusion that prosperity, like peace, is indivisible and that the only way of fulfilling the objectives of the Charter is to reduce disparities among nations and peoples by mutual co-operation.

15. Despite general acceptance of these principles, it is an unfortunate fact that the vast majority of the human race is still haunted by want and poverty. It is ironical that such a state of affairs should exist during a period of unprecedented scientific and technological advance which has furnished unlimited possibilities for accelerating growth and eliminating social and economic disabilities. Events have in fact moved in the opposite direction. Technological advance has only further widened the gulf separating the rich and the poor nations of the world.

16. It is generally realized that development must be based primarily on self-reliance. There is, in fact, no other choice if the developing countries are to preserve their hard-won independence. However, if development is to take place solely on the basis of national efforts, it will require the mobilization of domestic resources on a more rigorous basis. The consequent severe restrictions on the already low consumption standards are not only socially undesirable but politically impracticable in a democratic society. Development becomes the common responsibility of the world community because it is only within this framework that the inequality and injustice which have characterized the world trading system and the international economic relationship since the colonial days can be eliminated.

17. The prevailing climate in the field of development appears to be one of fatigue and frustration. Much was expected from the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development,<sup>1</sup> to which my Government had the honour to play host. The somewhat limited results of the Conference failed to measure up to the expectations of the world community. Various explanations have been offered for the failure of that Conference. We are asked, for example, to wait for a more favourable international economic climate. There will always be difficulties and problems, but the lot of the developing countries is such that they cannot afford to wait upon better times in affluent countries. The only way to overcome present frustration is to rekindle hope; the only remedy for disenchantment is the reaffirmation of our faith in more purposeful and effective international co-operation. As in the political field, so also in the economic field international co-operation involves a deliberate process of accommodation and adjustment. It is only by a collective effort to shoulder these responsibilities that lasting foundations for a secure peace can be laid.

18. As evidence of our determination to discharge these responsibilities, we should agree on at least the following objectives to be fulfilled during the current and next United Nations Development Decade.

19. First, we should agree on a target for the economic growth of developing countries which will enable them to bring about a perceptible change in the living conditions of their peoples.

20. Second, to impart a practical meaning to that target, a firm commitment should be given by all developed countries to accept and implement the target of flow of financial assistance equivalent to one per cent net of gross national product to developing countries.

21. Third, continuity of aid flow should be ensured and a time dimension should be imparted to the aid target by all developed countries, emulating the commendable initiatives taken by some of them.

22. Fourth, the confidence in the ability of international institutions to discharge their basic minimum responsibilities towards developing countries should be restored by fulfilling before 1970 the resources targets set for those organizations.

23. Fifth, a more determined effort should be made to prevent the erosion of the real value of aid by giving up the practice of aid being tied to sources of procurement and to specific projects.

24. Sixth, ways and means should be found to alleviate the mounting and oppressive debt-servicing burdens of the developing countries.

25. Seventh, as an important element of international development policy, we should agree on a package of trade measures which will enable the developing countries to cover a substantial part of their resources gap by an increase in their export earnings.

26. Eighth, correspondingly, the developing countries should redouble their efforts for the mobilization of domestic resources, by increasing agricultural productivity, implementing appropriate population programmes, developing indigenous technology, and intensifying economic co-operation among themselves.

27. Preoccupation with issues of war and peace, and the persistence of conflict and injustice in the world, have inevitably led to a lowering of values and to diminishing respect for the dignity and worth of the human person. In many parts of the world, practices of racial discrimination prevail and serious economic imbalances inhibit the enjoyment of economic and social rights, with adverse repercussions on the exercise of civic and political freedoms. Despite all the valiant efforts of the United Nations, it is unfortunate that these deplorable situations have not been remedied. This cannot but be a matter of general concern, since the implications of this state of affairs are far wider than may appear at first sight.

28. Respect for the dignity of man is not a narrow sociological concept. Recognition and faithful application

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

of this principle constitutes the very foundation not only of the international order we seek to establish, but of world peace itself. The problem we face cannot be solved by pious declarations, however sincere they may be. They call for urgent and resolute action. The urgent and important problem in this field is the elimination of racial discrimination, and, in particular, the abandonment of the pernicious policy of *apartheid*, which represents the most flagrant violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The danger of the outbreak of massive racial conflict is both real and imminent. Unless its root causes are eradicated firmly and soon, we shall be faced with a holocaust of far wider dimensions than the religious and ideological conflicts which have disturbed the peace of the world in the past. We have a serious responsibility to avert that catastrophe.

29. There are also, unfortunately, other fields in which a refusal to recognize and respect the dignity of the human person still persists. Though the frontiers of freedom are gradually being extended and newly independent countries are taking their rightful place in the community of nations, the cancer of colonial subjugation eats into the vitals of the world community. Despite the concerted efforts of the United Nations and the pressure of world public opinion, the pace of decolonization has slackened and in many areas is depressingly slow. This problem is most acute in southern Africa. The peoples of that area have been victims of the most flagrant mass violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The efforts of the United Nations to mitigate these problems have met with the strongest resistance.

30. South Africa continues to maintain its illegal control over Namibia. The people of that Territory continue to be subjected to blatant indignities and to the application of pernicious forms of the policy of *apartheid*. The situation in Zimbabwe is no better. None of the steps adopted by the United Nations has led to progress towards majority rule and a just society free from discrimination. The illegal Smith régime becomes more intransigent as each day passes. Atrocities are committed; freedom fighters are repressed; executions are carried out without any legal authority whatsoever. As far as the Portuguese colonies are concerned, Portugal has persistently refused to decolonize the territories under its administration and has, in fact, been resorting to brutal military operations against the people of those territories. Those are but a few examples of the rule of force being applied with scant respect for the just aspirations of the peoples to whom those territories rightfully belong. Obdurate refusal to accept peaceful solutions will inevitably breed violence.

31. My Prime Minister surveyed the prospects of peace against a broad perspective and set out the basic approach of my Government in dealing with the many intricate problems and issues that face the world community. The conclusion which emerges is that a fresh and serious effort has to be made to lay firmer foundations for peace and to eradicate the root causes of tension and conflict. This would involve a reaffirmation of faith in the principles of coexistence and non-use of force, the sovereignty, integrity and independence of States, the elimination of glaring economic disparities, and full respect for the dignity of man and for fundamental human rights and freedoms. The most appropriate machinery available to us for the achievement

of those objectives is the United Nations itself. It is only by stricter and more dedicated adherence to the purposes and principles of the Charter that we can lay the foundations for peace. It is not beyond our collective capacity to join together in a dedicated co-operative effort to build a new world order calculated to stabilize peace and to promote prosperity. As my Prime Minister indicated in her statement, we shall begin the second United Nations Development Decade two years hence, in 1970. We have another year in which to suspend the hostilities of today and lay the foundations of peace for tomorrow. Let 1970, as suggested by my Prime Minister, be the "starting point of a united endeavour to give mankind the blessings of a durable peace" [1693rd meeting, para. 177].

32. Mr. NKO'O ETOUNGOU (Cameroon) (*translated from French*): For several sessions now, the United Nations General Assembly has met during a particularly difficult and disturbing international situation. The twenty-third session is no exception to that custom; it too opened in the midst of all sorts of crises, some old, the others more recent.

33. Before entering into a consideration of the international situation that is overshadowed by these crises, I should like to associate the delegation of the Federal Republic of the Cameroon with all those who have from this platform duly congratulated Mr. Arenales on his election to the Presidency of the present session of the General Assembly. My delegation's congratulations are directed first to him, in his capacity as an outstanding diplomatist, and next to his country, Guatemala, a part of that Latin America that is geographically so remote from Africa, but in other respects so close to it. Under our President's wise leadership, I am convinced that our work will proceed with an efficiency appropriate to his skill and to the trust that has been placed in him.

34. I should also like to take this opportunity to extend to the Romanian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Manescu, the congratulations of the Cameroon delegation, which highly appreciated the manner in which he guided the work of the twenty-second session.

35. Finally, I should like to congratulate Swaziland on its admission to the United Nations. I am especially pleased that Africa, through its increased participation in international affairs, is bringing new life to our Organization, and making an original and positive contribution compounded of that tolerance, respect for others and sense of human solidarity that are typical of its particular genius.

36. I have said that the international situation is difficult and disturbing. Whether we consider the search for peace in Viet-Nam and the Middle East, the pursuit of the objectives of the Charter concerning human rights, the rights of peoples and the rights of States, or the general move of mankind towards the creation of a favourable atmosphere for its full development, we are bound to admit that a sober examination of the international situation offers no ground for great optimism.

37. In Viet-Nam, a deadly war that has swallowed up an incalculable amount of resources and efforts has already been raging for far too long. Yet the 1954 Geneva



Agreements had provided machinery and a procedure for Viet-Nam which it was hoped would finally bring to that country the peace for which its people yearn. Unfortunately, little more importance is now attached to those agreements than to an instrument of propaganda. My Government deplores this state of affairs and is sincerely anxious to see the Paris talks, that opened some time ago at the unanimous wish of all mankind, culminate in a lasting settlement of the over-all situation in Viet-Nam, and more generally in South-East Asia.

38. An equally distressing war goes on for ever in the Middle East. My Government is of the opinion that the return to peace in the Middle East must be sought on the basis of Security Council resolution [242 (1967)] of 22 November last. That resolution constitutes a sound basis for action for the establishment of a lasting peace in that area of the world. The United Nations, particularly the great Powers that are members of the Security Council, have a special responsibility in the search for that peace.

39. One of the sources of international tension is undoubtedly the continuance of the scourge of colonialism in Africa, with its despicable by-product of *apartheid*, racism and oppression in the southern part of the continent. Whereas the greater part of the African continent has already been freed, southern Africa continues to be the stronghold of colonialism and slavery, where the usurping and minority Governments of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, joined in unholy alliance with Portugal, are like that country insatiably making inhuman and immoral exactions that the United Nations has condemned on so many occasions.

40. Of course, it is not always easy for someone who is temporarily deranged, even less so for a madman, to return to reason and wisdom. But the international community must not shirk the responsibilities that ensue from commitments freely entered into under the Charter. It must act to put an end to the obduracy of South Africa which, thanks to the support which we are continually denouncing here, is establishing *apartheid*, that crime against humanity, as State policy. It must also act so as to make the virtues of decolonization evident to Portugal, that small, underdeveloped European State which has every interest to economize, for development purposes, the resources that have been granted to it and the energies it persists in devoting to the maintenance of an army for fruitless colonial conquest.

41. As for the situation in Southern Rhodesia, the responsibility of the United Kingdom remains entire. The international community is in duty bound to see to it that the equivocations of the British Government are not allowed to impair the inalienable rights of the Zimbabwe people. It must remind that Government that the world conscience will not falter in the slightest before the fait accompli that it seems willing to countenance and that consequently it must take the effective measures of coercion that it alleges it rejects on practical grounds.

42. Nevertheless, in various parts of Africa the decolonization process has had a successful outcome, followed by relations of lasting friendship and fruitful co-operation.

43. Near my country, the Republic of Equatorial Guinea has just acceded to national sovereignty. That gives me the

opportunity to congratulate the leaders of that young brother State and to express once again the Cameroon Government's heartfelt wishes for their prosperity and happiness and that of the entire Guinean nation. I should also like to pay a tribute to Spain for its successful accomplishment of the task of decolonization in that part of Africa in an atmosphere of harmony and friendship. All who contributed to the success of that task deserve our thanks, with a special mention for the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations. Such examples of decolonization augur well for future sound and fruitful co-operation.

44. Colonization is doomed to extinction, condemned as it is by the universal conscience and by all mankind. The wheel of history will continue to turn in the direction of the progress of peoples and self-determination. The Organization of African Unity will naturally see to that in Africa.

45. All peoples have the right to develop. Therefore I should be loth to leave this platform without laying particular stress on the arduous nature of the struggle of the developing countries against poverty in all its forms and for a greater share in the fruits of modern scientific and technological advances. In the present international economic situation, which inflicts so much harm on the poor countries, the outcome of that struggle appears somewhat uncertain.

46. In that connexion, I should like to recall that a year ago the entire world was looking to New Delhi, where the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) was being held. Everyone expected that it would be possible to open negotiations there for building fresh structures for international finance and economy in the new world, in which the needs of the third world, as set forth in the Charter of Algiers,<sup>2</sup> would henceforth constitute an essential element in the thoughts and lives of all mankind.

47. Alas, as we all know, the New Delhi conference yielded such meagre results that not without reason have some described it as a failure. Indeed, those results are a long way short of answering the hopes of the developing countries, for even if it can be said that the second session of UNCTAD resulted in some agreements, it must also be recognized that they were vague agreements on principle which in fact conceal serious disagreements both on substance and on practical methods of implementation.

48. As proof of that I need mention only the failure of the recent negotiations for the conclusion of agreements on cocoa and sugar, notwithstanding the hopes that were raised by the UNCTAD recommendation on that subject.<sup>3</sup> In other words, we are back at the starting point, or, at any rate, we are far from having achieved the results expected by the third world. In other words also, the second session

<sup>2</sup> Charter adopted by the ministerial meeting of the group of seventy-seven developing countries, held from 10 to 25 October 1967.

<sup>3</sup> *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Second Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.68.II.D.14), annex I, resolutions 16A (II) and 16B (II).

of UNCTAD, the adjournment of which had been requested several times even during the course of its work, is not really over, and most of its conclusions are nothing but a preface.

49. Under-development remains a serious obstacle in the path the poor countries must follow to achieve complete emancipation. Each of those countries has to devote enormous sustained efforts to the struggle against under-development, pending the receipt of foreign assistance which is, unfortunately, dependent upon the hazards of the international situation.

50. And yet today, the rich countries are bursting with far greater wealth than they have had in the past, and have reached an unprecedented level of development. At the same time, unfortunately, the gap that divides them from the poor countries grows wider and wider. Now that the international community has suddenly become aware of the development problem, those States which possess the necessary resources and income must demonstrate the requisite political will and determination to solve this problem in the clear interests of all.

51. For my country, at any rate, the struggle against poverty—in other words, the race towards progress and development—takes priority. Since our independence, we have launched a bold development plan which is being carried out continually. The first fruits of that plan are already appearing and the foreign observer travelling through my country now can see for himself the efforts my Government is making to secure a general improvement in the condition of the Cameroon people. From this platform I would like to thank very sincerely all those who, in co-operation with my country, have given proof of their friendship and solidarity in this priority task of our emancipation.

52. The majority of the crises I have just mentioned are due to an evil that has deeply undermined international society, namely, the use of force as an instrument of policy. And it is here that the need for disarmament appears, not only to free substantial resources for development, but especially to create a climate of real mutual trust, understanding, co-operation and peaceful co-existence.

53. That is why my Government welcomes our Assembly's approval of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*]. Of course, it has been said, sometimes rightly, that it contains serious omissions and imperfections; but it is none the less true that that first achievement of the Eighteen Nation Committee on Disarmament represents an agreement of wills and a body of effort whose continuation must be encouraged. In itself, the Treaty cannot be considered as a pledge for the achievement of general and complete disarmament, which remains one of our essential aims. None the less, since it constitutes a further step on the necessarily long and arduous road towards that goal, after the Moscow Treaty of 1963 and the denuclearization of the African continent [*see resolution 2033 (XXI)*] and other areas of the world, it deserves our unanimous support. What will give it its true meaning for peace, however, is not just the massive accession of States; that is a mere preliminary. Non-nuclear States might see their legitimate anxieties justified and

come to the conclusion that the nuclear Powers have induced them to forgo the supreme weapon so that they themselves, having disarmed the practically unarmed, can set up a sort of nuclear club. If that happened our goal would be a long way from being attained. On the contrary, the Treaty will achieve its full purpose when the great Powers too give concrete proof of their will to disarm themselves. Such proof must necessarily come through an extension of the Moscow Treaty to all nuclear tests, through the cessation of all manufacture of nuclear weapons, through the destruction of existing stocks and through the renunciation of the use and possession of such weapons. Furthermore, what will give real content and lasting scope to this treaty and any other disarmament measure depends essentially on the political will of States; for in an international order in which we wish to establish respect for human rights and to promote the integral development of all, it is absolutely essential to create and maintain the best possible conditions of mutual trust and co-operation.

54. Consequently, our Governments must follow an international line of conduct that strictly respects the principles of the Charter, whether the principle of the sovereignty of States or the principle of their right to political and economic independence.

55. I have spoken of force as the evil that has undermined international society. Obviously then, countries that possess more force than other countries, that is to say the great Powers, bear a special responsibility for the survival of that evil. Indeed, they still employ the argument based on force as an instrument of national policy in inter-State relations. It is not surprising, therefore, that they decline to act in conformity with the principles of our Organization, whose very existence represents the international community's condemnation of such an attitude. In short, international society is being threatened with the prospect of the perpetuation of the rule of force, in other words, the law of the jungle, that force comes first and might is right. Is that not the utter negation of the aims our Organization has set for itself in its endeavours to promote better living conditions for mankind?

56. We therefore feel obliged to launch an appeal to everyone, and especially to the great Powers, that all their acts should be brought within the framework of the United Nations, which remains the best and the only instrument we possess for achieving the goals of mankind and to which I must reaffirm Cameroon's steadfast and total devotion, and that the United Nations principles we have freely accepted should provide the basis for our conduct in our relations between States.

57. In this way we shall be able to live in a better world, especially if, in the words of my Chief of State, President El Hadj Ahmadou Ahidjo at the Organization of African Unity meetings at Algiers,<sup>4</sup> we set ourselves the goal of "providing international society with a humane and peaceful foundation and of transforming relations among men by replacing the law of force by the force of law."

58. Mr. Ousma BA (Mali) (*translated from French*): The election of Mr. Aïenales to the Presidency of our Assembly

<sup>4</sup> Fifth session of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held from 13 to 16 September 1968.

shows in what high esteem he is held by the entire international community. The Government of Mali is sincerely pleased at his election, and I am glad to associate myself with the tributes paid to our President by the delegations that have preceded me at this rostrum.

59. May I also pay a deserved tribute to his predecessor, His Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Romania, Mr. Manescu, whose skill, authority and outstanding personal qualities endowed his presidency of the deliberations of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly with so much distinction and efficacy.

60. Lastly, I should like to congratulate Swaziland on its accession to independence and on its admission to our Organization. We also welcome the independence of Equatorial Guinea. In addressing our best wishes for success and prosperity to the peoples of these two brother countries, we have no doubt that they will add strength to the campaign of the African peoples in the international community.

61. I must also make special mention of the understanding shown by Spain in its happy achievement of the decolonization of Equatorial Guinea, and express the hope that its example may inspire its neighbour, Portugal, to change its backward and short-sighted policy over decolonization and cease to be a fossil in the community of civilized nations.

62. The delegation of Mali chose to wait until today to take part in the general debate before this Assembly because it wanted to find out from the many statements made over the past weeks by the representatives of countries we consider to be principally responsible for the worsening of the world situation whether there was any ray of light that might suggest the beginning of a settlement of the crucial, even explosive, situations that confront the world and have only got worse in the year that has just passed.

63. At a time when our Secretary-General, U Thant, is raising a fresh cry of alarm, at a time when certain statesmen are already talking of the possibility of a third world war, at a time when Governments and peoples are giving way to discouragement and weariness and questioning the ability of the United Nations to solve the problems of peace, are we not entitled to expect those who are really responsible for the daily widening abyss between us and the realization of the aims set forth in the United Nations Charter to act before it is too late? Have we not a duty to an anxious and tormented mankind to restore its trust and faith in our determination to safeguard the world from the horrors of a new, universal holocaust? Was it an illusion that those who seem to be becoming the gravediggers of our Organization appeared to be ready to put an end to that habit so frequently denounced and condemned, of shedding crocodile tears over such events by invoking violation of the Charter, when for nearly twenty-three years the record of their policy has been steeped in aggressions against the rights, the sovereignty and the freedom of peoples?

64. We are forced to acknowledge that the hopes of mankind have been disappointed. Nothing we have heard so far from this platform, especially from those Powers and their allies, justifies even a shred of optimism; quite the

contrary. A general feeling of frustration hangs over this Assembly. Never has the United Nations seemed so powerless to solve the problems of peace and war. The great Powers, concerned only with the protection of their sordid interests, their hegemony, their spheres of influence, their determination to impose on the majority of us their ready-made solutions worked out away from this body, bear more responsibility for this situation than do the small, weak and unstable nations.

65. The time has perhaps come to speak bluntly, to state certain truths which will no doubt fall harshly on some ears, but which none the less reflect the sincere desire of the Republic of Mali, its Government and its people, to make a modest contribution towards clearing the air, the only way in our opinion to waken our Organization from its torpor and impotence so that it may become the true instrument for peace and security that its founders hoped it would be.

66. It is beyond question that it is in the third world, and especially in Africa, the Middle East and Asia, that we are witnessing the most savage wars, the most treacherous aggressions, the most horrible domination and oppression. It is there that imperialism and colonialism stand revealed in their most brutal strength. There, peoples are subjected to foreign occupation, to monstrous bombings, to suffering, misery and death. Whether we take the Viet-Nameese people or the Palestinian people, the African peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Namibia and Guinea (Bissau) or the peoples of the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan, it is the law of the jungle that prevails and is upheld by the imperialist aggressors and their cohorts.

67. And if we go back to the period following the Second World War, then too the United Nations Charter was violated many times and by the same Powers, both in Asia and in Africa, in the Middle East and in Latin America, from the day the first signatures were affixed, on 26 June 1945 at San Francisco. It is those continents that were the scene of the colonial war of Indo-China in 1945 and of Algeria in 1954. It is there too that the aggressions against the people of Palestine were perpetrated in 1948, against Egypt and the Arab countries in 1956 and 1967, against the People's Republic of China and Korea in 1950, against the Congo, against Cuba, against the Dominican Republic in 1965, and some ten years earlier against Guatemala.

68. And how many other dramas, intrigues, plots and coups d'état have there been, fomented and manipulated from outside? How many wars of national liberation nearly everywhere in these areas of the third world where the imperialist and colonialist Powers have continually denied and flouted the United Nations Charter, practising policies dictated solely by their selfish interests in order to maintain their political, military and economic domination?

69. The war of national liberation in Viet-Nam has lasted for nearly twenty-five years, twenty-five years during which those who are trying to force their bankrupt and bogus democracy on the peoples of the third world through the medium of renegades and puppets, a democracy of bombs and napalm, of torture and misery, seem to have learnt nothing. Yet the years during which the Viet-Nameese

people resisted its aggressors were proud and glorious years for those who died as martyrs on the battlefield and for all those who still hold high the banner of freedom and dignity so that Viet-Nam may be for the Viet-Nameese and the aggressor and his flunkys in Saigon may be thrown out.

70. Despite our scepticism we had hoped and wished that the Paris talks that have been going on since last April might succeed in opening the way for genuine negotiations to end the war on the basis of the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

71. But neither the unpopularity of Washington's policy with world and American public opinion, nor the serious division of the American people themselves, perhaps unprecedented in modern United States history, nor the considerable pressures applied by the leaders of most of the world's countries, nor even the serious disorders in American domestic life which the war has at last provoked, have succeeded in altering the bases of a policy that is discredited and condemned by the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world. By refusing to halt unconditionally the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, by demanding in return some sort of reciprocity from the Viet-Nameese fighters, America's leaders are putting the aggressor and the victim of aggression on the same footing of equality and responsibility, just as though they wanted to tie the hands of the Viet-Nameese fighters in case the negotiations, once begun, should lead to nothing as a result of the artificial obstacles set up to hamper the negotiations.

72. Symptomatic of that, and paradoxical too, is the statement made a few days ago—on 12 October 1968—by one of the most determined supporters of the continuation of the Viet-Nam war when, speaking at De Pauw University in Indiana, he unequivocally stated that escalation of the war would not work and that the American people would not agree to the continuation of a war that was costing it 30,000 million dollars and 10,000 American lives every year. He said:

“The war cannot be won by the United States. There is no prospect of a military victory over North Viet-Nam, no matter what the level of military force, whether acceptable or desirable in our interest or in the interest of world peace. . . . There are more Americans than are needed in Viet-Nam and what they cannot do cannot be done even by doubling their number. . . .”

It took five years for that distinguished person to face the facts, but at the price of how many tens of thousands of victims, how much devastation and what needless suffering?

73. Be that as it may, we know that, for the Vietnamese people who have risen to defend their homeland and their dignity, victory is at the end of the road. And from this platform we salute the heroic struggle of the people of North Viet-Nam and of the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam. We are sure that, faced with imperialist aggression, they will find that all peace-loving, justice-loving and freedom-loving peoples are solidly behind them.

74. Seventeen years of discussion have brought us no closer to the conditions that are indispensable for the

unification of Korea, still less to a lasting peace in that part of Asia. The United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, which was, as we know, established illegally, encourages the stationing of interventionist forces in South Korea under the United Nations flag. Furthermore, that Commission, which has become a tool serving the imperialists' policy of aggression, is endeavouring to establish permanent United States domination in Korea in contempt of the purposes and principles of the Charter and in flagrant violation of the provisions of the Korean Armistice Convention (1953).

75. As you know, my country long since showed the only way to restore peace in that part of the world: withdrawal of foreign troops; dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea; freedom for the Korean people to choose for themselves, without outside interference, the ways and means of reunifying their country. For an objective consideration of the question, on which discussions have already begun in the First Committee, our Assembly should invite representatives from both parts of Korea to take part in the discussions.

76. A lot has been talked in this hall about peace and disarmament and a lot about universality. Is universality conceivable if a third of mankind is ignored, in other words, the 700 million Chinese who are still kept out of the United Nations by the ostracism and fanatical obduracy of certain great Powers? An immense people, nearly an entire continent, with untold possibilities and what is more, now a nuclear Power?

77. Since its admission to the Organization my delegation has supported the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Its position has not changed, on the contrary. Restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China is more than ever an absolute necessity. The great country of Mao Tse-tung, a civilization thousands of years old, which has just victoriously carried through its great proletarian cultural revolution—except in Taiwan province—the greatest cultural revolution of all time, must have the special place amongst us worthy of its human, economic, cultural and scientific scale, and of its creative genius.

78. All right-thinking men are deeply convinced of the necessity and the inevitability of ejecting the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek.

79. Nevertheless, some representatives with Machiavellian guile have advocated double representation, the People's Republic of China and the puppets of Formosa. What would happen if we proposed to those whose countries have undergone revolutionary changes, that they should be represented by people who had lost the peoples' confidence and been driven out of their country? Since when and by virtue of what provision of the Charter can one and the same State enjoy double representation?

80. In the Middle East, sixteen months after the Israeli aggression of 5 June 1967, the resolution [242 (1967)] unanimously adopted on 22 November last by the Security Council remains a dead letter. Israeli troops still occupy vast territories of independent sovereign States, and all the



praiseworthy attempts made by U Thant's Special Representative in the Middle East, Mr. Jarring, have not succeeded in opening the way to a just settlement, all the elements for which are contained in that resolution.

81. It is not hard to detect the motives behind the intransigence of Israel's. They are similar, in fact, to those which have always dictated the attitude of the imperialist and colonialist Powers who—in Viet-Nam today as in Africa and Latin America—have never understood the realities of the revolutionary struggle of our age, nor the factors that inspire and guide peoples subjected to the foreign yoke. They are greatly deluded if they think that time is on the side of the aggressor, that each day that goes by strengthens their own and weakens their victims' position, and that the day will come when the victims will "resign themselves" to their state of subjection and lose all will to defend their inalienable rights by agreeing to submit to the *diktat* imposed on them.

82. It is obvious to us that the present situation in the Middle East cannot last indefinitely. Let there be no mistake about the determination of the Arab peoples as a whole and of the Palestinian people in particular, to continue their struggle until all relics of the aggression have been eliminated and their national rights recognized and attained. They have many powerful allies and friends throughout the world, on every continent, and the dream cherished by those who think that in time the Arab peoples will bow to the will of the aggressor and his supporters is being every day rudely disturbed by the resistance movement as it becomes even better organized and more effective.

83. Even if the cease-fire, though precarious enough, has so far been maintained, how long do you think the Arab peoples will continue to stand by and see their towns and villages occupied by enemy forces, their men, women and children suffering in body and spirit beneath the humiliation of the foreign jackboot? How much longer can they tolerate the intolerable, whatever the sacrifices and the consequences may be? Those who, like us in Africa, have been subjected to occupation, domination, oppression and persecution, remember all too clearly their emotions at the time and their impatience, but also their unwavering determination to face any risk for the victory of the sacred cause of freedom and independence.

84. Every day brings us news of the exploits of resistance militants in the occupied areas, a resistance that neither the most savage reprisals nor threats and blackmail will ever break. On 9 June 1968, on the occasion of a series of strikes on the Israeli-occupied west bank of the Jordan, *The New York Times*, a newspaper that no one can accuse of Arab sympathies, in an article entitled "No peace in Jerusalem," wrote:

"The new mood of independence and militancy among the Arabs surprised the Israelis and left them wondering what caused it. . . .

"The Arabs of Jerusalem and the West Bank appear to have another purpose in mind. They seem to want to demonstrate to the world their opposition to the Israeli annexation of Jerusalem and the occupation of the West Bank.

"As one leader of the Jerusalem Arab Community put it last week, 'We want to make sure that the world, and

particularly the United Nations, is aware that Jerusalem is not as Peaceful as the Israelis say it is'."

How strange, and yet how touching and significant, is this trust of the people of Palestine in the United Nations whereas the United Nations has given them nothing but disappointment and disillusion.

85. No, strong in their rights and confident in their future, the victims of the aggression of 5 June 1967 will not stand idly by while their enemies consolidate their positions and augment their war potential. If peace is one day to return to the area, a peace based on the resolution of 22 November 1967, there will have to be a radical change in the mentality, in the attitude and in the policy of the Israeli leaders, who must know that military victories are often ephemeral, that yesterday's vanquished may become tomorrow's victors, and that peace among peoples and nations is not forged by brute force and the might of arms, but by recognition of and respect for the legitimate rights of others, in justice and equity. In our view, and we have already proclaimed it from this platform, the only way in which peace can be restored in that part of the world is through total and complete withdrawal by Israel from all the Arab territories it has occupied and the recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people who have been expelled from their homeland.

86. And yet nothing has been said here by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel, or by the Powers that support that country, not one word, not one sentence that might suggest some prospect of progress towards a settlement of the conflict.

87. The last summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity, held at Algiers during the month of September, gave its unanimous support to the United Arab Republic, the African victim of Israeli aggression, as well as to the other occupied Arab countries. It clearly stated that the restoration of peace in the Middle East depends on the strict implementation of the resolution of 22 November 1967, the essence of which is the evacuation of the territories occupied by Israel.

88. I speak for Mali in addressing a fraternal salute to the Palestinian freedom fighters and in hailing the struggle of the brother Arab peoples against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

89. Furthermore, nothing that we have heard from the Powers directly responsible for the perpetuation of colonialism in Africa inspires us with the slightest hope for the inauguration of a new policy that would put an end to the domination and oppression of tens of millions of Africans now beneath the yoke of the Portuguese, Rhodesian and South African racists. To be sure, we have heard some spokesmen for those Powers condemning racism and denouncing *apartheid* and oppression. But what have they ever done to translate their pious sermons into concrete acts? Have they stopped their military support to the Pretoria racists? Have they cut off their economic and military assistance to the Lisbon Fascists? Have they taken steps in accordance with their international obligations to wipe out by force the rebellion of the Smith clique in Salisbury? Have they curtailed or liquidated their investments in southern Africa amounting to billions of dollars

that enable the régimes in that region to strengthen and maintain themselves and to threaten the independence of neighbouring African countries? What good then is the Security Council resolution [233 (1968)] of 29 May 1968 imposing mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, when we all know that the oil Salisbury needs will still be supplied by Pretoria and that its military forces will be equipped and reinforced by Portugal and South Africa, both of which are getting all the assistance they want, without restriction or limitation, from the Western capitals? We toss a bone, as it were, to world public opinion by voting mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, but at the same time economic and military relations with the two colonialist Powers that are the financial backers and protectors of the Salisbury régime are expanded.

90. What a piece of hypocrisy is this policy of making pious statements disapproving and disowning racism and oppression in southern Africa while actively supporting the architects and the authors of that racism and oppression!

91. However, as in Viet-Nam and the Middle East, the resistance of the African peoples subject to colonial and racist domination is increasing and intensifying daily. The nationalist movements have already begun a real war of national liberation, and patriots by the thousands are struggling and sacrificing themselves, weapons in hand, against the Rhodesian, Portuguese and South African régimes. And neither the unholy alliance between Salisbury, Pretoria and Lisbon, collaborating for the protection of their sordid interests, nor the strategies drawn up by the racists Vorster and Smith during the latter's visit to Johannesburg last July, strategies that involve plans for aggression against Zambia, can alter the unshakable determination of the African patriots to struggle on to the total liberation of their nations.

92. Neither by discussions with the racist régime in Salisbury, nor by resolutions providing for partial or total, optional or mandatory, sanctions, can the United Kingdom or the United Nations help to solve this problem. If the crisis is to be settled through peaceful means, the British Government must fully accept its complete and exclusive responsibility; and the only way open to London is recourse to force to crush the domination of the Zimbabwe people by the 200,000 Salisbury racists. In our opinion, there is no other solution.

93. But the root of the evil lies in Pretoria and in Lisbon. That is the root that must be torn out, and the primary responsibility for that lies with the industrial Western Powers, particularly certain NATO countries, whose policy towards South Africa and Portugal allows a stronger and bolder challenge to be hurled at us by those two countries, which are creating in Africa a standing threat to our security and our stability.

94. The war of secession in Nigeria, about which a great deal of ink has been spilt, and, we are told, a lot of tears have been shed in capitalist countries, has started a lot of log-rolling in the imperialist press stimulated by hot-beds of subversion. We still consider that that is a strictly domestic problem for the Federal State of Nigeria. The jeremiads of some and the srivelling of tawdry philanthropists cannot alter that juridical reality in the slightest. We can speak at

length about the sufferings and hardships created by the civil war, which fill us especially with sorrow, although we know of no war that has been a humane one.

95. After a thorough analysis of the question, based on the report of the Advisory Committee for Nigeria, composed of Heads of State, all clear-headed men of integrity, the recent Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity adopted by an overwhelming majority a noble resolution [AHE/RES.54 (V)] which, while unequivocally condemning secession, set out specifically the ways and means by which hostilities might be ended and Nigerians enabled, through a general amnesty, to be reunited in the great federal family of 50 million people that is the pride of all Africans because of its rich human and economic possibilities.

96. Some who for hidden motives support the secession of so-called Biafra in the name of the sacrosanct principle of self-determination have contested the validity of the position adopted by nearly all African Heads of State, capping their plea for the universality of humanitarian principles, which they allege as the ground for their support of the secessionist region, with the crushing argument that Africa is no more qualified to deal with the matter than anyone else. We agree with those sanctimonious miscreants that there should be no private preserves anywhere. We African leaders shall remember that when we read about separatist or autonomist movements, Flemish or Walloon disputes, or calls for "Free Quebec! ". For we know that tribalism in its pure state is not confined to Africa. What is more, the problem of the Ibos, who live alongside millions of people of other ethnic origins, has a strong smell of oil, with a good dose of holy water to dispense it.

97. Nevertheless, we are appealing to the sense of responsibility of certain Powers for them to cease their support for a lost cause. The secession has been condemned for objective reasons by the Africans directly concerned. Far from serving the interests of Nigeria and of Africa, any contrary position constitutes direct support for the interests of the imperialist monopolies and the centrifugal forces hostile to the unity and independence of the African States.

98. As was only to have been expected, in addition to the unprecedented deterioration of the international political situation, the twenty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly will have been marked by no less burning problems of economic and social development. How could it be otherwise, on the threshold of the next United Nations Development Decade and after the recent work of the Economic and Social Council, the discussions of the annual Assembly of the Bretton Woods organizations, and particularly after the resounding failure of the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development?

99. The majority of the representatives who have preceded me on this platform have amply described the sombre background of the under-developed world. I have no wish to add my contribution, it would only make the picture blacker. Whether "absolute" or "relative", the facts of poverty are well known: approximately 50 per cent of the world's population contributes only one eighth of the

world's production of goods and services; gross product per capita in most of the industrialized countries is eleven times higher than in the under-developed countries; half the population of the under-developed world lives in countries whose growth rate is less than 3.5 per cent; and finally, two thirds of the world's population lives in countries where the per capita production is less than 100 dollars a year.

100. From Geneva to Algiers, from New Delhi to New York, this deplorable situation has been frequently described and analysed from every angle; but for all that, no remedy worth the name has been found, despite the accuracy of the diagnosis. In these circumstances, how can the poor countries be enthusiastic about the results of the Decade that is ending and not help wondering with some concern about the fate of the next Decade, even though during its preparation they continually hear encouraging noises like "development charter", "global strategy", "decisive breakthrough", and so on?

101. My delegation has no desire to indulge in sterile criticism and facile condemnation. Although it may be true that economic and social development is a complex phenomenon that requires concerted action within a system of clearly defined objectives, although it may also be true that the United Nations Development Programme and the specialized agencies have achieved some noteworthy results in the third world, it must nevertheless be recorded that the current Decade will unquestionably have been distinguished by the fact that over this same period the developed countries have enjoyed a hitherto unparalleled rate of growth, whereas the poor countries are still waiting not for manna, but for real assistance corresponding to their real needs under a genuine policy of universal human solidarity in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

102. If the Republic of Mali was disappointed by the New Delhi Conference, it was not surprised at its failure, since we are not in the habit of dreaming empty dreams. In this field too, our political thinking is based on a scientific analysis of the international situation, which is characterized by the international class struggle—that is not just theory—and our examination of it leads to the conclusion that in the present state of capitalist society, euphemistically called the consumer society, it is inconceivable that what are called the rich nations should permit any real and rapid development of the "proletarian nations", since capitalism has no intention of digging its own grave. The failure of the New Delhi Conference will at least have done one good service if it has taught the third world countries to draw the necessary conclusions.

103. Those are the realities of the world situation as we understand them. Those are the basic and essential reasons for the worsening of the international climate that is arousing the legitimate and justified apprehensions of all mankind. In this hall, as elsewhere in the various United Nations bodies, Mali has always spoken out against any violation of the United Nations Charter by States, whether great or small; but no one can deny that most of these violations are committed by the imperialist and colonialist Powers and their adherents.

104. Again, Mali has always opposed the division of the world into blocs or spheres of influence, just as it has

opposed any attempt to reserve to the great Powers the exclusive responsibility for settling serious international problems. If we have been a faithful Member of the United Nations, if we signed the Charter in all good faith, if we have never violated its principles and its provisions, it is because our people believed and want to go on believing in the mission and in the goals of the United Nations, whatever its failures and whatever our disillusion. It is also because we believed that the age of the domination and use of force in settling international disputes had passed, that peace was not the business of two, four or five Powers, but of all the countries of the world, and finally, that coexistence and *détente* were not the special preserve of blocs or power groups. For neither coexistence, nor *détente* nor world peace can develop and prevail on our planet so long as certain great Powers speak and act as imperialists and colonialists. We have heard an important person say from this platform that the road to *détente* is the road set out in the United Nations Charter. We are the first to share that opinion, but we would ask him simply whether he honestly thinks that that is the road that his country and the majority of its allies have followed since the United Nations was founded, particularly with regard to the third world.

105. Some of the "moralists" whose jeremiads and sarcasms on the subject of the recent events in Czechoslovakia we have listened to over the last few weeks should have the courage to ask themselves, conscientiously, what their attitude has been during these past twenty-three years when planes were dropping thousands of tons of bombs on the cities and peoples of Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America. Where were they when napalm was scorching the bodies of innocent people on our continents? Why were not their consciences revolted then?

106. As a remedy for the growing impotence of the United Nations to solve the problems of coexistence, peace and war, some have advocated a sort of international third force to occupy the middle ground between the two opposing blocs, but without defining either its composition or its structure. This seems to us a completely utopian and mistaken idea, because it fails to take into account the reality of the international class struggle. One is either for or against imperialism and colonialism; one is either for or against peace. The balance of opposing forces cannot be assessed in terms of a horizontal combination of such forces. On the contrary, an objective analysis of the international situation shows that there is a vertical combination of democratic and anti-imperialist forces, in the sense that in the capitalist and imperialist countries there are powerful revolutionary and popular forces following the same course of action as the anti-imperialist countries of the socialist camp, the peace camp. So that on the one side we have governmental minorities working for the monopolies and the forces of war, and on the other side the vast majority of the progressive socialist countries and all peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples. There can be no intermediate front in the struggle against the forces of reaction and war. The choice is clear. It certainly could not be the non-aligned countries, which have never agreed to be a third force between the two opposing blocs. The non-aligned countries which drew up a peace programme at Cairo undertook to fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and to support the liberation move-

ments in Africa, Asia and Latin America. President Modibo Keita, leader of the Mali people, has always stated that non-alignment is not a "tight-rope act".

107. So that, in order to combat continual and systematic violations of the Charter, to resist the growing impotence of the United Nations, the representatives of peace-loving and justice-loving countries, countries determined to fight imperialism and colonialism, must organize themselves for concerted, coherent and decisive action against those nations, large or small, which have violated or may violate the Charter. The countries representing the forces of peace and progress are obviously in the majority. In order for that majority to become an effective force, the third world countries in particular must accept their responsibilities, all their responsibilities, agree to sacrifice if need be the interests of their immediate policies, resist aggression, learn to rely first on themselves and to treat outside assistance as just supplementary, and to embark at all costs on the construction of independent national economies. That is

how, in the vast confrontation between the only two great forces possible into which the world is divided—the imperialist forces and the anti-imperialist forces—the real tangible majority in the international community will win the day, because the peoples and popular forces are with them.

108. At the recent summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity at Algiers, President Modibo Keita, referring to the speech of a great statesman, said: "Nothing can be done with supine peoples". The third world, the peoples of the three continents, must rise up and fight against imperialist aggression on the political, economic, social and military planes, must fight resolutely against monopoly imperialism and put an end to its expansionist aims. The day when the majority of the small nations like us begin to understand and decide to fight for this categorical imperative, the United Nations will be saved and the peoples will have triumphed.

*The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.*