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*President:* Miss Angie E. BROOKS (Liberia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. CARRILLO FLORES (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): Madam President, allow me to congratulate you most cordially on behalf of the Mexican Government and delegation. The General Assembly has wisely entrusted the direction of its work to an experienced diplomatist who knows the potentialities and limitations of the United Nations through and through, a woman representing a country whose history and very name recall the centuries-old struggle for freedom. Our choice shows that within the United Nations, respect for human rights is already an everyday reality.

2. I should like at the same time to pay a heartfelt tribute to the memory of Mr. Emilio Arenales, whose premature death was a loss mourned not only by his own country, the Republic of Guatemala, but by all Latin America and especially Mexico. To the very end he discharged the heavy duties of the presidency of the General Assembly's last session, which we had entrusted to him, not only with ability but also with exemplary devotion and enthusiasm.

3. The United Nations, which will soon be celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary, is the international political organization which has had the longest continuous life, and the only one which we may reasonably hope will succeed in bringing together all mankind. Our President and the Secretary-General have rightly referred to the very grave questions facing us at this moment; but we should be encouraged by one thing: no one has even thought that the United Nations should disappear. The fact is that the United Nations is more—much more—than these solemn meetings of the General Assembly, or the meetings of the Security Council, or the meetings of its many component specialized agencies and regional bodies. It was created by a generation which had learnt that wars could no longer replace policy or diplomacy, and is a setting for many opportunities, much the most important of which are the sessions of the General Assembly, where the representatives of 126 countries—enormous, large, middle-sized, small and

minute—meet to consider, to discuss and often to negotiate on the innumerable questions raised by the coexistence of peoples.

4. The agenda for this session, as for all the sessions that have gone before, reflects better than any other document the present fears and hopes of mankind; for the next three months the most experienced diplomats of these 126 countries will be dealing with those hopes and fears and with the problems they entail. As far as Mexico is concerned, I will confine myself in this statement to a few subjects that seem to me of primary importance and appropriate to this general debate.

5. It is hardly necessary to say that the first subject is peace. Our first duty is that we should all go on co-operating, each to the measure of his ability and his responsibility, to lift the menace which, though fortunately much remoter today than it was a few years ago, still casts a shadow over our planet: a major confrontation, inevitably nuclear, between the super-Powers.

6. This leads me to speak of disarmament. About the middle of last year, disarmament negotiations seemed to have taken a promising turn. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*] was opened for signature. This treaty aimed not only at limiting the number of States to possess nuclear weapons, but also by its article VI, proposed by Mexico, obliged the Powers which now suffer the sad privilege of possessing them to begin negotiations on nuclear disarmament in the near future. Almost at the same time the United States and Soviet Governments announced their agreement to discuss the limitation and reduction of nuclear-weapon launching systems.

7. Unfortunately, more than a year later these intentions have not yet been translated into facts. Those conversations have not begun; and, partly in consequence, negotiation on the other aspects of nuclear disarmament is virtually at a standstill. This situation may explain why, in the fifteen months during which the non-proliferation Treaty has been open for signature, only eighteen States have ratified it. The delay in opening negotiations on nuclear disarmament may endanger the very existence of the Treaty. I say this as the representative of a country which has already ratified it.

8. Of course we understand the grave problems and difficulties faced by the nuclear Powers in agreeing on measures of disarmament which might vitally affect their security; we recognize as a hard, inescapable reality that no measure which might upset the balance that seems at present to exist would be practicable.

9. In line with this way of thinking, Mexico expressed its view on the urgent need for the two chief nuclear Powers to

start negotiations as soon as possible for the ultimate abolition of systems for launching nuclear weapons, and pointed out the grave risk of missing an historic opportunity which might never recur. We also proposed that the General Assembly should address an urgent appeal to both parties to start negotiations for a moratorium, which could be renewable, on all testing and deployment of new launching systems for offensive and defensive nuclear weapons not yet operational. Allow me from this rostrum to stress how overwhelmingly important it is that the General Assembly, the most fully representative body of the world community, should urge a halt to such tests before it is too late.

10. We feel that the problem of underground nuclear tests is not quite the same today as when the Moscow Treaty was signed in 1963. There has been such an advance in the techniques of long-distance detection and identification of underground explosions and seismic phenomena that an agreement to prohibit them would no longer have to depend on complicated systems of international inspection. The studies and proposals by Sweden, Japan and Canada show that it might not be impossible to overcome the problem of on-site inspection which has always held up agreement. True, it is still theoretically possible that the one observation may be confused with the other below a certain magnitude; but international relations must be based on actual possibilities, not on absolute data. Perfection does not belong to the world of politics. The risk of detection would be so great that it is hardly conceivable that either party would take the foolhardy decision to violate the treaty. We therefore believe that the time has come for the Disarmament Committee to intensify its efforts to reach an agreement to prohibit underground nuclear testing, which today is the major incentive in the nuclear race.

11. There is a well-justified world-wide outcry against chemical and biological weapons. The provisions of the Geneva Protocol of 1925,<sup>1</sup> which only prohibits their use, are not enough. A treaty prohibiting their production and stockpiling should be drafted as soon as possible. At the same time it seems urgent that those States which have not yet done so should accede to the Geneva Protocol. In regard to the scope of that Protocol, we are in favour of its widest possible interpretation.

12. The Government of the United Kingdom submitted a draft convention<sup>2</sup> banning the production, stockpiling and use of biological but not of chemical weapons. Two points in that draft treaty seem to us both valuable and useful: its ingenious system of control in the form of a "complaints procedure" to deal with suspicious events, similar to that already adopted in the Treaty of Tlatelolco,<sup>3</sup> and secondly its application both to production and to stockpiling. Mexico hopes that in the coming year the Disarmament Committee will complete the preparation of a draft treaty to prohibit the manufacture, stockpiling and use of both these types of weapon.

<sup>1</sup> Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925.

<sup>2</sup> Document ENDC/255/Rev.1.

<sup>3</sup> Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, signed at Mexico City on 14 February 1967.

13. We think that the prevention of an armaments race on the sea-bed is another item on the agenda of the Disarmament Committee for which the time is already ripe for the conclusion of a treaty. The present negotiations in the Committee itself should therefore lead to the transmission to this Assembly of a draft which will enable the Members of the United Nations to state their views on this matter, which in differing degree is important to all. Whatever the content of the draft might be it seems to us essential that it should faithfully reflect the general feeling already expressed in the General Assembly's debates that the exploration, use and exploitation of the sea-bed and ocean floor should be reserved exclusively for peaceful purposes.

14. My country's capital has recently witnessed an event which we are sure will be significant in the history of international efforts to achieve peace and disarmament. From 2 to 9 September there took place in Mexico City the first meeting of the General Conference of the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, the culmination of nearly five years' effort pursued jointly by the Latin American countries. The Agency's object is to supervise the observance of the Treaty of Tlatelolco and compliance with its two fundamental aims: to ensure the total exclusion of nuclear weapons from the territories to which it applies; and to promote equitably the peaceful use of the atom in the region. At the inaugural session we had the honour of having with us U Thant, who said something for which we are deeply grateful: "In a world that is too often seems dark and foreboding, the Treaty of Tlatelolco will shine as a beacon light."

15. The first of the objectives we are pursuing is itself twofold: to relieve the countries of Latin America which are present on future parties to the Treaty of the risk that they might become targets of nuclear attacks; and to prevent their resources—so scanty compared with the region's tremendous needs—from being squandered on the manufacture of nuclear weapons.

16. It should be stressed that the Treaty of Tlatelolco, which created the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, was conceived to protect a whole sub-continent, with an area of more than 20 million square kilometres and a population of some 260 million human beings. It is equally worth pointing out that what has already been achieved is truly impressive, for the territories of the fourteen members of OPANAL—the Agency's Spanish acronym—where the régime of total exclusion of nuclear weapons is fully in force cover more than 5.5 million square kilometres and have a population of about 100 million.

17. Besides the military denuclearization of Latin America, the Treaty aims at encouraging the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, to speed up the economic and social development of the Latin-American nations. We therefore hope that OPANAL will foster that international co-operation which will give the Latin-American countries fuller access to nuclear technology, especially to those aspects most in keeping with their needs.

18. The peoples and Governments that have striven so hard for the success of this generous undertaking now hope that the countries of the region that have not yet acceded

to the Treaty will do so, in order that what has been achieved may be made still more effective. According to the best opinions we have been able to obtain, we have reason to say that, on account of both the cost and the risks of contamination which their use entails in the present state of technology, a country which renounces the carrying out of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes with its own resources will be sacrificing none of its true opportunities for economic development; especially if we bear in mind that the benefits to be derived from such explosions will be available to it through an appropriate international body.

19. We States Parties to the Treaty of Tlatelolco also hope that the nuclear Powers will heed the appeals of this General Assembly and make their valuable contribution by signing and ratifying Additional Protocol II, by which they would undertake to respect the military denuclearization status of Latin America.

20. One basic feature of our times, of special interest to the middle-sized and smaller countries, is the apparent tendency to dissociate local conflicts from direct confrontation between the major Powers. This must reassure us as human beings but at the same time oblige us to recognize another fact: that relief of tension and an agreement between the nuclear Powers on disarmament would not necessarily mean that wars would no longer break out anywhere in the world. Since the chief function of the United Nations, the very reason justifying its creation and its continuing existence, is to defend peace, it is vital for us to concern ourselves with the measures that the United Nations itself or its regional bodies might be able to adopt to divert the instinct for aggression that modern studies have shown to be inherent in the human species into channels other than armed conflict. I would therefore repeat a suggestion that I had the honour to submit to the General Assembly in 1965: the possibility of initiating, preferably in a regional context, serious efforts to examine and ultimately to agree on measures of disarmament between the non-nuclear Powers, most of which are developing countries.

21. To refer only to the region of which Mexico is a part: when the Heads of State of Latin America met at Punta del Este in April 1967 they expressed their intention to limit military expenditure in proportion to the real needs of national security and in accordance with each country's constitutional rules, avoiding any such expenditure that was not necessary for performance of the specific duties of the armed forces and of any international agreements binding governments—some of which, like Mexico, have no such obligations.

22. One of the lessons we learned from the conflict, which so distressed us, between the two sister Republics of El Salvador and Honduras is the urgent need to recognize the grave danger for peace, not of the world but of some of its peoples, in the failure of the competent authorities of the international community to make a greater effort to slow down the arms race among medium-sized and small States

23. Since international law is still barely in its infancy, having with very few exceptions no central authority to state it nor any effective machinery to enforce it, inevitably on many of the world's frontiers (though fortunately not

on Mexico's, for obvious geopolitical reasons) there will be a search for balance of power. Any realistic effort to slow down arms races must start from this fact and not try to ignore it. Thus, even in Latin America, a region with so many historical affinities, it is essential to tackle this problem, as our Presidents have already urged. The most suitable way, in Mexico's opinion, would be through negotiated subregional agreements, covering specific situations and not presuming to enact general solutions which, however noble and generous their motives, are most unlikely to work.

24. Another lesson of that distressing conflict, which we Mexicans hope with all our hearts will never flare up again, is the effectiveness of regional organizations when they can act without being involved in the controversies which divide the super-Powers, as indeed the Organization of American States could when its one great-Power Member, the United States, left the Latin Americans alone to look for formulas of solution, while offering them its support within limits which it quite frankly and clearly made known to us.

25. Lastly, without going into details for which this forum would not be the proper place, I would say that the Central American conflict highlights certain problems that affect various other regions and in some are tending to grow worse: overpopulation, archaic patterns of land tenure, the need for more efficient machinery to safeguard human rights, and one which we had hardly been aware of: the risk that the economic integration of several countries, though undoubtedly valuable in creating larger areas where industry can develop on an adequate scale, may also create grave tensions which paradoxically inflame nationalist feelings even between States which are really part of one nation, as the constitutions of many Central American countries proclaim.

26. During the past year the organizations of the United Nations family have been working very hard to prepare for the Second United Nations Development Decade. It is important for this international effort to be more successful than the First, since it is steadily becoming more obvious that economic and social development is indispensable for the maintenance of world peace.

27. We are all aware of the great progress that has been made over the years in clarifying the nature of the problems of subdevelopment; and it is obvious that we have the necessary technology but not sufficient resources, though they are undoubtedly greater than those hitherto mobilized for international co-operation. What marvels could not be achieved if the \$185,000 million which the world devoted to military expenditure in 1968 were used to promote life and not death?

28. What the Second United Nations Development Decade will have to do more than anything else is to strengthen the will towards international co-operation and a reassessment of policies and objectives to constitute what has been called a global development strategy.

29. The economic desire of the developing countries is still essentially to obtain remunerative and stable prices for their primary products, freer access to the domestic markets of the developed countries, more financing on easier terms,



and greater opportunity to benefit from modern technology.

30. In a global development strategy there is much that the industrialized countries can do to help the developing countries to solve these tremendous problems. Apart from maintaining their own economic growth in order to increase imports from the developing countries, the industrial nations would do well to check the protectionist trends that have appeared in some of them and the proposals to place restrictions both on the agricultural products which are the chief exports of the poor countries and on their manufactures and semi-manufactures. In this connexion I should like to reiterate Mexico's support for the early implementation of the generalized non-reciprocal, non-discriminatory system of preferences unanimously approved in resolution 21 (II) at the New Delhi session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development,<sup>4</sup> if possible by 1970 in accordance with the approved timetable.

31. With regard to financing for development purposes—more than 80 per cent of which has to come from each country's own resources—I want to stress once again the absolute necessity for the nations of the third world to obtain foreign exchanges to import the capital goods and industrial raw materials which they do not produce.

32. If the industrial countries allowed easier access for exports from the developing countries, this would considerably lessen the problem of external financing with which they are faced. For even if our peoples save more, internal savings do not generate foreign exchange if the product cannot be sold abroad; in which case internal savings would be immobilized in the form of accumulated stocks of unsaleable products.

33. The forecasts of the trade deficit of the developing countries during the Second Development Decade made by United Nations experts—\$30,000 million by 1980—clearly show the gap between them and the industrial nations, and the scale of the efforts that must be made to enable the majority of mankind to enjoy a modest degree of well-being.

34. In these matters of international trade and finance and for many other aspects of economic and social subdevelopment, Members of the United Nations have already set targets and worked out measures for execution during the Second United Nations Development Decade. All these goals are important, but some can perhaps be picked out as having a better chance of being accepted and achieved; and to these the concentrated efforts of the whole world might be devoted.

35. Chapter IX of the Charter makes the United Nations a great centre for promoting and encouraging international co-operation for the purposes of development. The Economic and Social Council was conceived as the body to carry out this wise policy; but with the passage of time it has lost this role. My Government believes that the time has come to make the Economic and Social Council the major

organ of co-ordination, but of a type of co-ordination that will not restrict the opportunities of the new bodies (such as the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, the United Nations Development Programme and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) to act for the benefit of all the nations of the third world. An annual meeting at the highest level, of members of the Council and of representatives of the specialized agencies, which have recently been appointing spokesmen of distinctly lower standing, might infuse new life into a Council on which we still set our hopes.

36. Obviously an effective international strategy for development has far-reaching political repercussions. Many developing countries will have to carry out profound institutional changes and necessary social reforms to create a climate conducive to economic progress; and those changes, I must repeat, depend above all on the national policies adopted in each country to mobilize its own economic and social forces. It is my country's long-standing conviction that foreign aid, however ample, can only play a complementary role.

37. This Assembly meets in a year which history will record as that in which men for the first time stepped on a soil not of their planet. For this reason I should like above everything to reiterate the hope expressed at the time by the President of my country on behalf of all the Mexican people that this exploit of man will redound to the benefit of man and lead all the peoples of the earth to participate in full awareness of their common destiny.

38. Furthermore, this achievement which fortune has allotted to the people of the United States, together with the parallel efforts of the Soviet people, will throw light on a fact which though suspected has never before been fully proved: the uniqueness of man and of life as we know it, if not in the entire universe, at least in the solar system.

39. This privilege, which we men have done nothing to gain, creates for us a grave responsibility: to know better, to use better, to love better our earth, the sea upon it and the air around it, so that those who come after us may go on building for good and not for evil, on the prodigious legacy of this contradictory century in which so many of the best things and some of the worst of all time have come about. May it be so!

40. Mr. SCHUMANN (France) (*translated from French*): The last time, a long time ago, that I had the honour of speaking from this rostrum [445th meeting], it was a distinguished woman, Mrs. Pandit, who gave me the floor. It is a privilege to be here again and to tell you, Madam President, while paying a tribute to your great predecessor, Emilio Arenales, how delighted the French delegation is to see you elected to the high office of the presidency by the almost unanimous trust of the members of this Assembly. The emancipation of women, the emancipation of Africa—France believes it had done good service to both these causes which you, Madam, symbolize in the eyes of the world.

41. As we consider together the problems with which our Organization has been concerned since the twenty-third session, I should like to express to the Secretary-General,

<sup>4</sup> United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, second session, New Delhi, 1 February-29 March 1968, vol. I, Report and annexes.

who is responsible for the continuity of our work, the friendly confidence that my Government and my fellow-countrymen place in his action,

42. We have recently had occasion to appreciate his judgement and his attitude in political affairs. But we have also been appreciative of his efforts to solve certain problems of an administrative nature, in particular that of the use of languages in the Secretariat.

43. It is true that there is still a great deal of progress to be made if the management of our Organization is to be based on more modern and more efficient methods and if its structure is to be adapted to the priorities of the modern world. We are therefore following with great interest the work of your new Joint Inspection Unit, which will facilitate the essential task of co-ordination among the agencies of the United Nations.

44. Before reviewing with you the particularly serious events of the year that has just elapsed, I should like to summarize for you the main outlines of France's basic policy.

45. France has an overwhelming desire for peace, and this desire has led it for many years, and continues to lead it, to pursue three basic aims: first, we think that the balance of world power must be consolidated, and this rules out the development of new power structures, confrontations between blocs and all manifestations of the spirit of conquest, domination or intolerance. Secondly, reconciliation between peoples must be sought tirelessly; it is this aim which has led us to seek our rapprochement with Germany and which in our view demands that East and West should continue to draw closer to one another without allowing themselves to be embroiled in local conflicts. Finally, justice and the general interest demand, in our opinion, that aid from the most developed countries to the less developed, far from dwindling as it seems to be doing, should be continued, diversified and reinforced, and we believe that we have always set an example in this matter. These three aims are exemplified in the policy that France is pursuing with regard to the building of Europe.

46. The slow process of European reconstruction was not, as you know, achieved without difficulty or effort.

47. First, countries which had been dreadfully weakened and in some cases ruined, physically and morally, by five years of fratricidal war had to be put back on their feet.

48. Their independence and their individuality had to be preserved at a time when the world was dividing into two blocs which seemed irrevocably opposed to one another.

49. A climate of peace had to be restored between nations which for generations had viewed each other as enemies, reconciliation effected, ties of esteem and friendship established and the younger generations drawn closer together. Was there any more constructive step in this direction than the Franco-German Treaty of Co-operation,<sup>5</sup> of which General de Gaulle and Chancellor Adenauer were the architects?

<sup>5</sup> Treaty of Co-operation between the Republic of France and the Federal Republic of Germany, signed on 22 January 1963.

50. Legislation and economic and social systems forged by centuries of different customs and traditions had, and still have, to be brought into harmony.

51. We are now at the end of what has been called the "transitional phase" of the Common Market. The stage to be completed by 31 December 1969 is, basically, the one which Aristide Briand, one of the most distinguished of my predecessors, already considered 40 years ago to be "the most pressing need": the economic stage.

52. But it is obvious that the achievement of the Common Market is a phenomenon which has not only economic but political significance. Europe's economic strength should enable it to regain its proper place in the world, and the impulse which has led the nations to unite in a search for economic progress could then lead them to seek together the conditions of a new political balance.

53. It seems to me that the whole world needs this new political balance and that it will help to promote peace and to relax tension between nations.

54. "France", President Pompidou declared recently, "is resolutely opposed to the policy of blocs and sees its national independence, and what will one day, I hope, be a European Europe—in other words an independent Europe—as an essential condition for the security of this part of the world."

55. This close-knit community constructed by six countries creates a pole of attraction for the other countries of Western Europe, whose traditions as well as interests compel them to draw closer to it.

56. There are numerous applications for associate and even full membership, and it is not only conceivable but eminently desirable that they may succeed.

57. Moreover, it is not impossible that this community, which is free to determine its future, will enter into ever closer contact with the countries of Eastern Europe—for each of which we feel the same interest and the same regard—and gradually overcome the distressing gulf that separates one part of Europe from the other, in defiance of 20 centuries of history.

58. I should like on this point to recall the words spoken by my predecessor, Michel Debré, from this same rostrum a year ago:

"Europe is in need of *détente*, of deep and lasting *détente*, which is the straight but necessary gate to co-operation and understanding. We hope that each European country which is aware of the responsibilities it shares will help to build our common future. I repeat, the task is not to alter social structures or principles of economic organization; those are matters for each nation to decide for itself. Nor is there any question of altering, in the absence of a freely contracted general agreement, the political balance set up after the war. What must be done is to establish the conditions necessary for that peace to which the men and women of the old world, in the East and in the West, thinking first of the tragedies their fathers and they themselves have experienced and

then of the different future they want for their sons and daughters, believe they are fully entitled. France, for one, has done a great deal in that direction in recent years and is determined to continue along the same path." [1683rd meeting, para. 86.]

59. I shall add a few words to what Mr. Debré said last year. It is not only on a continental scale but on a world scale that the community which is being created is destined to play a major role. For, amidst the ambitions and rivalries that set the great territorial Powers against one another, a group true to its alliances but conceived without any ulterior motives, above all without any motives of domination, can do useful service to the cause of peace.

60. Furthermore, in the great struggle, which should be that of the entire human race, against poverty and underdevelopment, where better can our eyes turn than to this new, prosperous and independent Europe?

61. Truly, the stakes in the enterprise are such that no man of feeling and intelligence could resign himself to seeing it fail.

62. In fact, it is the economic unity of Europe that is being established today which will determine the political unity of the Europe of tomorrow.

63. As the Assembly is aware, the Heads of State and Government of the six European countries, realizing the seriousness of the choices confronting them, have decided to meet at The Hague in November for discussions. It is my firm hope that they will clear this hurdle, the last which separates the Common Market from passage to the "final period" for the greater good not only of Europe but of the international community.

64. I will add that Europe is not the only part of the world in which an effort of co-operation and understanding among the nations can develop successfully. The United Nations can only hope for the creation of regional groups inspired by the same spirit of co-operation. France, for its part, having welcomed and encouraged the efforts of some African States, is interested in what may be attempted in the same direction by the States of Latin America, to which France is, moreover, attached by so many bonds of friendship. Listening to Mr. Carrillo Flores a few minutes ago, I remembered the desire recently expressed in Latin America, at Viña del Mar, that the countries which are members of the Special Commission on Latin American Co-ordination should affirm their economic and political independence.<sup>6</sup>

65. But, however encouraging these attempts may be, they are only a small consolation in the face of the international situation of this autumn of 1969. Everything that the Charter was intended to eliminate remains, be it war or incitement to violence, refusal to enter into discussion, contempt for human rights, or the fundamental injustice that we call underdevelopment.

66. Faced with this state of affairs, nations which, like mine and many others represented in this hall, are the

trustees of a long peaceful and civilizing tradition are conscious of a special responsibility.

67. France has always done its utmost to discharge this responsibility, and during the past 11 years it has had the good fortune to have in the person of General de Gaulle a President whose actions, views of history, ideals of national independence, co-operation, international *détente*, equality of all peoples and of understanding between all nations, have found, notably in this Assembly, a warm response. You may be assured that General de Gaulle's voluntary departure does not change the line of policy that France has followed in the international field and, in particular, its devotion to the rules that govern our Organization and to the great principles of which it is the defender.

68. More than ever, France is determined to support the efforts that the United Nations, in the name of these principles, could or should deploy in the world.

69. Having willingly renounced all forms of domination, having established and developed for many years relations of friendship and co-operation with the peoples formerly belonging to its empire, in absolute respect for the sovereignty of all, France is eager to see the disappearance everywhere of all traces of policies of supremacy, always based on force or manipulation, masked with false ideals, and in reality profoundly anachronistic.

70. It is this form of political hegemony which today is still causing discouragement and anxiety, the more so since the nations that are still tempted to practise it are endowed, through the unbelievable progress of science and technology, with means of destruction and repression that cannot be compared with those of preceding centuries. While witnessing, thanks to television, man's first steps on the moon—the first steps of the American cosmonauts whom my country is preparing to welcome—how much we should like to hope that the immense admiration and exaltation that we, like millions of others, felt will not be darkened by the disturbing shadow of our earthly conflicts!

71. In Biafra, on African soil, where everything points to the urgent need for cease-fire followed by talks without prior conditions, the massacres are continuing, as is the martyrdom of a population whose heroic spirit has been affirmed by two years of suffering and whose annihilation could only tarnish the image of Africa as well as the image which, throughout the world, man has of man.

72. In southern Africa the régime of *apartheid*, so rightly denounced in this Assembly, is being perpetuated and even extended to a territory of international status.

73. In Southern Rhodesia, the policy of sanctions adopted by the United Nations and scrupulously applied by my Government has not led to the recognition of the rights of the majority.

74. Even dear Ireland—towards which European civilization owes a debt that is more than a thousand years old—is being rent by new and cruel factions.

75. In Asia, our vigilant and active hope—albeit a slight one—is still that of seeing the tragedy of the Viet-Nam war

<sup>6</sup> Latin American Consensus of Viña del Mar, approved by the Special Commission on Latin American Co-ordination, meeting at Viña del Mar (Chile) from 15 to 17 May 1969.



brought to an end and we are, you may be sure, on the watch for everything we can do to further that objective. The friendship that has bound us for so long to these peoples, on whom history has imposed such terrible sufferings, the friendship which binds us to the United States and which in a sense goes back to before its birth as a nation, gives us the right to deplore all the delays and complications which are postponing the time when the rising toll of death and ruin will finally cease and the immense task of reconstruction can begin, in independence and in the guaranteed neutrality of all the peoples of the peninsula.

76. In Czechoslovakia our disappointment and anxiety would be profound if the hopes of liberalization—bold indeed in their expression but so reasonable in their substance, so consistent with the essential needs of man—were stifled once and for all. Here too the best hopes still lie in repudiation of the policy of blocs and in a determined effort to attain mutual understanding.

77. However, it is especially in the Middle East that the establishment of a just and lasting peace, taking account of the legitimate interests of all parties, would appear beyond our reach if we were not determined to overcome our fears and despondency.

78. France's policy there, as elsewhere, is based on the principles that my predecessors have already affirmed from this rostrum: the right of peoples to self-determination; respect for international law; balance of power; and maintenance or restoration of peace. The strict application of these principles is the only way to end the rapid worsening of the situation in the area.

79. Nearly two years have elapsed since the adoption of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, which is our law.

80. My Government, having learnt from events that only through concerted international action can a satisfactory solution be formulated and implemented, proposed last January that the four permanent members of the Security Council, in view of their special responsibilities, should meet to study ways of facilitating the implementation of resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, and should examine at the same time the measures necessary to prevent the situation from deteriorating.

81. When that proposal was accepted by our three partners, we became able to examine together in detail the different aspects of the conflict and the possibilities of settlement consistent with the spirit of the Charter and the resolutions adopted by the United Nations.

82. I thank the Secretary-General for the recent valuable lead which has enabled the four to resume their task. This must now be pursued unrelentingly; to dispute or hinder it would be to assume the heavy responsibility of obstructing the only means of reaching a general, equitable and lasting settlement respecting "the inalienable right to exist as independent and sovereign States" of all the States of the Middle East, in the words of our joint communiqué of last Saturday, 20 September. Need I add that this settlement must include international measures for the preservation

and protection of all the holy places and for free access to them by all? All mankind is awaiting this essential prelude to a new era of reconciliation and co-operation.

83. Once again, in this field as in all others that concern peace and progress we expect the most successful results from consultation between the leaders of the major Powers, itself the consequence of a policy of *détente* and dialogue. We recalled a short while ago that it was encouraging to note how far the European nations had gone in that direction after centuries of fierce conflict. Could not a similar trend influence much larger nations, which still prefer reciprocal denunciation to co-operation and peaceful competition? I am thinking, of course, of China, shut out of our Organization, and of the two great space Powers, whose willingness to enter into dialogue we welcome though it perhaps still shrinks from that exercise on equal terms with their other partners which we should like to see.

84. However, are not all efforts for peace condemned to remain incomplete and illusory until we tackle that most important and difficult of world problems—disarmament?

85. My country has for many years attempted to define the true conditions for solution of this problem.

86. We do not consider that world security can or should be confused with the fragile equilibrium between a few nuclear States. Hence disarmament cannot, in our view, be limited to certain partial measures which only strengthen the monopoly of the nuclear Powers. Nor can it be limited to bilateral agreements, which, though useful in relaxing tension, aim essentially at slowing the growth of the armaments of already over-armed Powers.

87. The security of mankind—that is, the safeguard against any form of war, and first of all, quite obviously, against the worst form of annihilation, atomic war—depends on a set of strict conditions which have for a long time determined the shape that we wish to give to disarmament.

88. We want disarmament to begin with the Powers possessing nuclear weapons; and we want it to lead, under strict and effective control, to elimination of these weapons' vehicles and arsenals.

89. We want nuclear disarmament to be accompanied by disarmament in conventional weapons, in such a way that no imbalance of power may result from the completion of its successive stages.

90. We want these measures of prohibition and control to be extended to biological and chemical weapons, whose fearsome effects were recently described by the group of experts appointed by the Secretary-General of our Organization. France, which, it should be remembered, is the depositary of the Geneva Protocol which prohibits this type of weapon, would like to see this instrument applied universally.

91. Lastly, we must also prevent the militarization of a new field open to human activity: the sea-bed and the ocean floor.

92. These are the conditions for a genuine disarmament. To embark on this undertaking with the desire to bring it to

a successful conclusion requires that the nuclear Powers should first agree and co-operate; and that implies a determined search for a lasting *détente*. France wishes to be among the first to reaffirm that it is ready for this test of its co-operation and sincerity.

93. The coming decade will only deserve the fine title that our Organization is bestowing on it for the second time if all the Member nations learn to esteem one another more highly, to aid one another more effectively, and to cease denouncing and fighting one another.

94. Allow me to express first of all the hope that this Second Development Decade may be marked by a real effort of imagination and concerted action. The difficulties to be combated are better known than they were ten years ago; the measures to be taken are already clearer.

95. For its part France, to which many African States and the Malagasy Republic have given proof of their confidence and friendship by instituting and maintaining with it a system of relations of a kind that is new and fruitful because based on free choice, has had experience of every form of aid and co-operation: the bilateral form, the regional form—of which the recent renewal of the Yaoundé Convention<sup>7</sup> is an interesting example—and the multilateral form, by its contribution to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and to the United Nations Development Programme.

96. The network of institutions which the Organization has created and which now needs to be made to function more effectively rather than to be extended, the experience accumulated by thousands of experts, by tens of thousands of young people associated with these programmes, and particularly by all those whom France sends as technical assistants—these are encouraging factors, or at any rate factors that should prevent discouragement.

97. It is, however, obvious that in this field also immense efforts have still to be exerted. The points that my predecessor made before the Assembly last year are still timely. The percentage of the gross national product that the developed countries have agreed to devote to development aid remains insufficient. How many of them respect, as France does, the minimum of 1 per cent that we have allocated ourselves? After all, what is 1 per cent in view of the ever-growing disparity between the poverty of some and the prosperity of others? Moreover, what progress has been made with the project of organizing the markets of the main primary products, of which I spoke here many years ago and to which Mr. Debré drew the Assembly's attention last year at the 1683rd meeting? That is one specific and highly important instance in which our Organization could have given better proof of its practical effectiveness. France is ready to support any move in this direction.

98. Yet, just as I am not unaware of the extent of the efforts being made to promote development, I should not like to remain silent about the major role played by the United Nations in promoting human rights; and on this encouraging note I should like to conclude.

<sup>7</sup> Adopted by the Conference of Twelve French-speaking African and Malagasy States held at Yaoundé (Cameroon) from 27 to 30 March 1961; renewed on 28 June 1969.

99. Since the Charter signed in San Francisco and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly in Paris in 1948, the United Nations has been progressively erecting a monumental work, to which France—predictably, since it is faithful to the traditions of 1789—attaches particular importance.

100. Our representatives are still participating actively in this work of codification; and I am happy to announce to the Assembly that the French Government has decided to request Parliament to authorize France's accession to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [*resolution 2106 A (XX)*] an instrument which should be one of the pillars of the new international law. For many years we have striven to respect both its letter and its spirit.

101. We consider that this gesture by France manifests the importance that we attach to the studies and efforts undertaken by the United Nations. We know full well, however, that in the promotion of human rights and the fundamental freedoms, in the struggle against intolerance and discrimination, to create the appropriate international instruments is not enough. We must still be, at all times, determined to apply them to their fullest extent.

102. If we celebrate principles and anniversaries too much without clear evidence of progress, we risk disappointing a generation which is not content with words but expects our Organization to help to mobilize the century's resources on behalf of more liberty for each and more justice for all.

103. The resources at our disposal are far from negligible: immense progress in the exact and natural sciences, in technology, in communications; less spectacular but no less important progress in the sciences of man and society. There is a growing awareness—shown excellently in the recent African Festival at Algiers<sup>8</sup>—of the great human communities' spiritual resources which will restore the ideal of a peaceful and creative society. There is a vast movement among the young people of all countries who are noisy and sometimes provoking but essentially generous and impatient to give mankind a new page, a new chapter, to write.

104. Why do men and women come from all over the world to New York, to this annual Assembly? Because, despite all the tragic events that have occurred—and perhaps because of them—they remain deeply convinced that true solidarity can be created and strengthened.

105. In this speech, my first from this rostrum as Foreign Minister of France, I have desired to tell the Assembly that France will use all its energy and its faith to promote that solidarity.

106. Mr. TEPAVAC (Yugoslavia) (*translated from French*): Madam President, on behalf of the Yugoslav Government and delegation I am very happy to extend to you our warm and sincere congratulations on your election to the Presidency of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly. I am delighted to note that it expresses our appreciation of Liberia and of Africa, whose constructive influence upon world developments and upon the

<sup>8</sup> Panafrican Cultural Festival, held from 21 July to 1 August 1969.



promotion of international co-operation to secure equal rights is constantly growing.

107. The past year has not given the world any greater reason than its predecessors to feel tranquil and secure. It is true that no danger of general catastrophe hovers over us every day as it did in the recent past. We are still, however, far from the day when fear and uncertainty will have been banished and the whole world will no longer live in danger of being speedily and irrevocably engulfed in the flames of war which are already devastating certain parts of the world, or in some new conflagration.

108. The division of the world into blocs and antagonistic military and political alliances is not the only rift of our times. Behind the opposing blocs lie deeper and more lasting sources of division.

109. Claims for national freedom and independence have not discouraged policies of conquest, domination and interference in the domestic affairs of other countries.

110. Immense scientific and technological progress has not reduced the gap between wealth and poverty. On the contrary, this continues to widen.

111. The increase in the number of newly liberated countries and their ever more obvious readiness to participate in world affairs have not made international relations more democratic, or given the small and medium countries an effective influence on the agreements or disputes between the great and strong.

112. World stability is inconceivable without valid answers to these questions that have been for so long posed to us by humanity itself, by a humanity less and less willing to reconcile itself to a passive acceptance of incomplete or false answers. The division into blocs is not, of course, the only source of all the evils in this imperfect world, but neither does it provide the best formula for removing them. We are aware that existing blocs cannot simply be abolished nor the emergence of new blocs prevented. It is precisely for that reason that we are endeavouring to establish such international co-operation as will reduce the grounds for the predominance of military and political blocs and their antagonisms.

113. Opposition between strictly-delineated military and political alliances, which has for years been identified with opposition between different social and political systems, is only one of the manifestations of those deeper divisions which cannot be disguised for any length of time by traditional political doctrines and deep-rooted ideological prejudices.

114. I do not think I am mistaken when I say that the emergence of the policy of non-alignment and its growing prestige are not the only evidence of the crisis created by the division of the world into blocs. The political philosophy of non-alignment first took shape in an active endeavour to lay a new groundwork for international co-operation. Today it is no longer sufficient to answer the question how to avoid war—paramount though that question remains. Today it is essential to know how to achieve a peace that will guarantee equality of rights, economic progress and human freedom.

115. Peace is not endangered by differences in social systems. Experience has refuted the theory that countries with identical systems are natural allies while those with different systems are natural adversaries. Today disagreements and conflicts among countries with similar systems, and co-operation and friendship among countries with different systems, are so many arguments invalidating the numerous political dogmas upon which anti-communism, iron curtains and unconditional bloc disciplines have thriven for so many years. My country, which out of its deepest conviction opted for socialism, is successfully co-operating on all continents with many countries having different social and political systems. Where no positive result could be attained in this direction, the reasons were entirely different.

116. Does all this not indicate that the search for new grounds of international co-operation between all countries and peoples of east and west, north and south, between developed and developing, large and small countries, is an imperative need engendered by the times in which we live.

117. In the prevailing circumstances major world problems obviously cannot be solved without the participation of the Great Powers. It is, however, equally true that lasting solutions can only be based on the active and equal participation of all countries and States, and on application of the principles of active and peaceful coexistence, irrespective of social systems and bloc membership.

118. My delegation notes with regret that efforts to solve most of the acute international issues have come to a dead stop.

119. We are seriously disturbed by the persistent deterioration of the situation in the Middle East, which is still made explosive by the intransigence of Israel. I do not feel that I am over dramatizing the situation if I point out that the conflict in this area could easily escape the control of the Great Powers and the United Nations unless energetic and effective steps are taken urgently. Israel has not even now accepted Security Council resolution 242 (1967), has not ceased to insist upon the annexation of occupied Arab territories, and continues to treat the Palestinian population with extreme severity. Should the United Nations fail to prevent the aggressor from keeping the territories it has acquired by force, there is a serious danger that in the future our Organization will be even less capable of taking any action in a similar case. By supporting—while this is still possible—every action aimed at a political solution, my delegation will insist categorically on the need to enforce the Security Council's resolution of 1967.

120. The cessation of the bombing of North Viet-Nam, the beginning of the talks in Paris and the withdrawal of the first contingents from South Viet-Nam raised hope that the sufferings of the Viet-Nameese people might be nearing an end. However, the decisive turning-point towards peace in Viet-Nam has evidently not yet been reached. Obviously there are still illusions that the prolongation of the war will make it possible to impose solutions that favour certain narrow interests, though certainly not the interests of the people of South Viet-Nam. Such mistaken thinking is the main reason for the failure of the Paris negotiations so far.

121. The situation in Europe is not yet stable, although there are signs of growing readiness to solve the outstanding

problems of that continent by co-operation and negotiation. The most recent steps taken and proposals made by some European countries will, we hope, create a more favourable climate for resumption of the process of furthering general European co-operation, the only course conducive to security. It is common knowledge that bloc divisions are the most pronounced in Europe, where bloc policy has been most negative in both the distant and the recent past. Therefore the development of European co-operation based on respect for independence and sovereignty, and the strengthening of European security on those foundations, would be an effective contribution to settlement of the problems of co-operation and security in other parts of the world also.

122. In view of the enormous economic, scientific and technological potential of the European continent, the removal of obstacles to a more extensive development of European co-operation would in our opinion enable Europe to work even more effectively for the political and economic progress of other regions of the world, primarily the less developed. It gives me great pleasure to point out that the most recent initiatives of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe are being directed towards that end and therefore merit our full support.

123. I should like particularly to draw attention to the increased role of the policy of non-alignment in international relations. No one could regard this policy today as an undefined political attitude amounting to passive neutralism, or as a tactic against bloc alignments. The continuing increase in the number of countries adopting the policy of non-alignment confirms the growing need to lay down new foundations for international co-operation, and proves that the division of the world into blocs has no future. The policy of non-alignment has far transcended the limits of mere pronouncements against bloc policies. It has become a positive political idea and act aimed at universal application of the principles of active peaceful coexistence among and of their similarities or differences.

124. The non-aligned countries are not directed merely towards each other. They are turned towards the entire world and exert an ever-growing moral and political force in the struggle for a world based on equality of rights, independence and accelerated development, and, by the same token, for a world of peace.

125. Yugoslavia, for its part, as one of the participants in the Consultative Meeting of the 51 non-aligned countries held last July in Belgrade,<sup>9</sup> wishes to point out that at that meeting also the non-aligned countries emphasized that their objectives were directly linked to the principles and work of the United Nations.

126. No one can deny that during the period that has expired the United Nations has acted to promote peace and encourage international co-operation. It has, however, failed to exercise any decisive influence towards resolution of the most acute international crises or lasting stabilization of international relations. A few of the larger and stronger States mean to subordinate it to their own concerns and conflicts. This greatly restricts the contribution of most of

the other Member States, which could otherwise be more substantial and fruitful.

127. One of the frequently-cited weaknesses of our Organization is its lack of universality. The absence of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations increasingly hampers the settlement of major international problems and conflicts in which China, simply because of its importance and influence, is becoming more and more involved.

128. At the current session the General Assembly has once again before it a long list of unsolved problems, the most important being undoubtedly disarmament and collective security. Without denying that in this area too the great Powers have special responsibilities and obligations, I would nevertheless emphasize that the entire international community ought to be involved in the search for a solution to this vital question. A system of collective security would be meaningless unless it contained truly effective guarantees against attack and aggression in every form, and unless it not only prohibited the production and utilization of nuclear weapons but also required reduction of conventional armaments, with which thousands of people throughout the world are killed every day in "local" wars.

129. In the opinion of my delegation the General Assembly should assign specific tasks to the Committee on Disarmament. We believe that the Committee could direct most of its activity towards the complete prohibition of underground nuclear tests for military purposes, the demilitarization of the sea-bed and the ocean floor, and the prohibition of chemical and bacteriological weapons. Yugoslavia fully supports the draft agreement on the prohibition of underground nuclear-weapon tests submitted by Sweden to the Committee on Disarmament;<sup>10</sup> for it is firmly convinced that the acceptance of that treaty would greatly encourage all other efforts towards disarmament. We also stress the need for a moratorium on the deployment of missile systems and the production of new weapons of mass destruction, as a specific measure to slow the arms race.

130. I shall not be saying anything new if I repeat that the enormous expenditure on armaments is retarding economic and social progress throughout the world and greatly diminishing the prospects for the economic development of the developing countries. Similarly, I am not revealing an unknown truth in pointing out that, in existing international economic relations, the new technological expansion of the developed countries has not yet made it possible to reduce economic and social differences in the world. The reason is, regrettably, that the most developed section of the international community is unwilling to contribute towards the solution of this problem, which threatens to become one of the most serious contradictions of our times.

*Mr. Mbekeani (Malawi), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

131. The process of abolishing colonialism has come almost to a standstill. The remaining strongholds of colonialism and racism, particularly in southern Africa, are also tending to consolidate and perpetuate themselves, thus

<sup>9</sup> Consultative Meeting of the Representatives of the Governments of Non-Aligned Countries, held from 8 to 12 July 1969.

<sup>10</sup> Document ENDC/242.

threatening not only the colonial peoples but also the independence and territorial integrity of many African countries. I agree with those who have repeatedly insisted that the eradication of colonialism does not concern only the peoples suffering under the colonial yoke, but is a duty of the whole international community. Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, so called Portuguese Guinea and Namibia cannot be decolonized without decisive action by our Organization and a change in the attitude of those countries that maintain close political and economic relations with the colonial régimes. Ten years ago we adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, thereby making an essential contribution to the important process of decolonization which succeeded it. Could we not now act decisively to remove colonialism from the face of the earth without delay, seeing that so few support and so very many condemn it?

132. Next year the United Nations will celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of its foundation. That anniversary could well be marked by increased endeavours to reaffirm the principles of the Charter and to strengthen the action of the United Nations in the present-day world. In our opinion it will be essential, at the present session and in the period preceding the anniversary session, to settle at least some of the more urgent questions that this Organization has been discussing for so many years. I have in mind first of all the drafting of a declaration on the principles governing friendly relations between States, the formulation of an international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, and the preparation of a programme of action for the abolition of colonialism. This would be a way of giving our twenty-fifth anniversary its proper significance. In addition to the problem of disarmament, which remains as important and urgent as it is complex, the problems I have just mentioned could be the targets for our concerted action during the anniversary period. The Yugoslav Government is ready to take a very active part in those efforts.

133. The crucial questions of our time—peace or war, enslavement or independence, backwardness or development—are problems not only of governments and States but of all mankind.

134. May I remind you that 20 years ago, in the first lines of the Charter of this Organization—the most famed of all world organizations—we undertook “to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom”, and reaffirmed our “faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small”.

135. Need I say that I have chosen to quote the first lines of the Charter on the eve of our twenty-fifth anniversary in order to point out, not all that we have failed to achieve but how much we still have to accomplish.

136. Mr. MHANDO (United Republic of Tanzania): I take this opportunity, on behalf of my Government and my delegation, of congratulating the President on her election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at this session, and to wish her great success in guiding its deliberations. We are confident that the experience she has gained in the

service of her own country and the sense of duty and selflessness manifested in her record of performance will bring the needed leadership to this Assembly, and enable it to accomplish the difficult tasks it has before it.

137. Let me say that the entire family of African people is proud of the recognition given to one of its most respected and beloved daughters by her election to the Presidency of this General Assembly. The whole continent shares with her country, Liberia, a feeling of pride and happiness that one of its citizens has been honoured by the international community, and given the heavy responsibility of her present position. We are confident that her sense of justice and fair dealing will be evident throughout the work of this Assembly, and that the reputation of Africa will be further enhanced by her activities here.

138. I also take this opportunity of expressing our profound sorrow at the untimely death of her predecessor, the late and distinguished Foreign Minister of Guatemala, Mr. Emilio Arenales, whose patience, wisdom and tolerance won the admiration and respect of this Assembly at its twenty-third session. His tireless efforts to make that session a success were appreciated by all, and its accomplishments up to the time of his death were, in no small measure, a result of his dedication and the inspiration we all drew from his many qualities. My delegation asks the delegation of the Republic of Guatemala to accept our most sincere condolences on the loss of that great man, and to transmit them to the family, the Government and the people of Guatemala.

139. It is inevitable that during the general debate each Member State speaks first on those problems which engage its efforts and resources day by day, and which directly affect the well-being of its people. For us in Tanzania, and for the members of the Organization of African Unity, the continued presence in Africa of colonialism, exploitation and racism is the most pressing international problem. The consequences of those evil systems have not only brought untold misery and death to our brothers in neighbouring territories, but have also caused our Governments and peoples grave anxiety by threatening our own safety and the integrity of our countries. For that reason, our primary duty at this session of the General Assembly is to focus attention on the explosive situation brought about by a continuation of racism and colonialism on our continent.

140. For long periods of recent history, Africa has been exploited and its people humiliated. Even today, in the latter half of the twentieth century, large numbers of African people are still deliberately and brutally denied that human equality and those human rights which have been proclaimed by the United Nations. Our people in Mozambique, in Angola, in Guinea (Bissau), in so-called French Somaliland, and in the Comoro Islands, are still suffering under colonialism—often in its most brutal forms. And the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe are still struggling under ruthless economic exploitation and vicious racism.

141. Independent Africa has a duty to ask: “How long must this go on?” Tanzania, and all those countries and peoples who share our opposition to tyranny, slavery and the abuse of human dignity, are asking now: “How long



will this situation be tolerated? How long will the United Nations allow this to be camouflaged by clouds of legality and myth?" This Assembly, embodying as it does nations' highest aspirations for peace, justice and human dignity, should be ashamed to convene year after year and allow the perpetrators of those crimes to sit as honoured Members of the United Nations. For it is a big and dangerous illusion to imagine that colonialism, exploitation and racism are far away and do not endanger international peace and security. Peace and justice are indivisible. While they do not exist in Africa, they do not exist in the world.

142. Portugal and South Africa have refused to accept the principles of human equality and self-determination. Those administrations have denied the ideals on which the United Nations was founded, and which all Members are supposed to accept. It is not that they are inefficient or incompetent in implementing the principles of the United Nations; they proudly declare their opposition to those principles, even while they continue to claim their seats in this Assembly.

143. It has been pointed out that States which are not directly affected by those inhuman and unjust systems will be involved in the African struggle only in so far as they are really committed to the principles embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the Charter of the United Nations. It is to the extent that Member States of the United Nations are committed to the ideals of this Organization that they will decide to act in support of them.

144. Up to now it has been easy to gauge the extent of that commitment. The divergence between the pronouncements which are made here and elsewhere, and the lack of that concerted action needed to put an end to those oppressive systems, is too evident to need comment. As actions speak so much louder than words, so we must judge a nation's commitment by what it does—or does not—do. No one should expect Africa to be fooled by phrases now. The United Nations itself can surely no longer excuse those who, in words, commiserate with the misery now being experienced by the peoples of southern Africa, and at the same time strengthen the oppressors with economic and even military support.

145. Neither Portuguese fascism nor the brutal suppression and exploitation of the African people by South Africa and Rhodesia could alone have checked the African march to freedom. Had they been forced to rely solely on their own strength, those States would have been forced to heed the cry for freedom, justice and progress among the African people. But those oppressors are not alone; they are strengthened by many of the same States whose representatives come to this rostrum and express their detestation of *apartheid* and their devotion to the principles of national self-determination. For how could a State as poor and decadent as Portugal fight three vicious wars, thousands of miles away, in territories unfamiliar and hostile to its hordes. It could not do so if it were acting without support. But its soldiers use the most modern weapons and aeroplanes, such as the Fiat 91, the B-26 and the P-2V to bomb and strafe the African peoples. Those weapons are not manufactured in Portugal. It is also relevant that Portugal is able to send hundreds of thousands of men to fight its colonial wars without having to worry about its

own defence because of the fact that some of its allies station their troops in Portugal itself.

146. Portugal could never manage to maintain its hold over the Territories of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) without massive support from the members of NATO, a fact well known to every inquiring Member of this Assembly. Portugal could not survive for one year without loans and capital injections into its economy from the Western imperialist countries. The explanation that this aid does not go into the Portuguese war effort is an obvious attempt at deceit. Investments in either Portugal or Portuguese-dominated Territories have the effect—and I believe the intention—of strengthening Portugal as a State. They also release for the colonial wars resources which would otherwise have to be devoted to unavoidable domestic, administrative or economic activities. Indeed, as has been well and pointedly said, Portuguese imperialism is imperialism on credit.

147. South Africa and Rhodesia also maintain their oppressive régimes because of the backing they receive from the imperialist countries' exploitation of Africa's wealth. Without the connivance of its allies, South Africa's minority régime would be unable to maintain the economic prosperity it has built with the forced labour of the African people. Rhodesia's defiance of the British Government's authority is also due to that same hidden support. Britain can hardly expect this Assembly to believe that it would be unable to enforce its will if it desired to do so. In fact, examples of the support the Pretoria-Salisbury-Lisbon axis receives from Western bloc countries have been given to this Assembly on numerous occasions, and most recently to the United Nations Committee on Decolonization<sup>11</sup> last May in Kinshasa, Lusaka, and Dar-es-Salaam.

148. The support given the Portuguese fascists has either been through direct military assistance or through loans ostensibly for the development of Portugal. Some countries have not even hidden their moral and material support for Portuguese colonialism. For example, following important visits of influential people from one of those countries, the German newspaper *Süddeutsche Zeitung* of 25 October 1968 had this to say:

"... The Lisbon talks will deal not merely with the future development of the mother country, but also with the consolidation of the Portuguese presence in Africa."

149. In fact, those visits merely confirmed what had been done as early as 1962, when 10,000 automatic pistols were sent to Portugal for use in the Territories of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau). Jet bombers, radio communication sets, Mercedes-Benz lorries, ammunition, and other military hardware were again sent to Portugal in 1966 to be used by its soldiers in the bloody wars against our African peoples. The value of those weapons was in terms of millions of dollars.

150. It is known, and it can be proved before this Assembly, that the imperialist countries are equipping the Portuguese army partly in return for the use of military and

<sup>11</sup> Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

so-called communication satellite tracking stations at Beja and Alverca, and the Lajes base in the Azores Islands. The other purpose of that equipment is to strengthen Portugal's defence of the imperialists' investments in the Portuguese colonial Territories. It is unnecessary for me to explain from where Portugal gets the P-2V, P-2V5, the Lockheed and the North American F-84 and F-86 planes. Nor do I have to enlarge upon the origin of other military aircraft such as the Allouette helicopters and the Fiat 91. But all those weapons are being used by Portugal in its colonial wars. It is also true that the Portuguese navy is equipped with ships and submarines from the same NATO countries. Whom Portugal is fighting, except the freedom-fighters of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau), however, remains unclear to us. Perhaps the suppliers of Portugal would care to enlighten this Assembly about that unknown enemy, because of whom they are prepared to finance and supply fascist Portugal's war against the African people.

151. It is also true that support of Portugal's wars is an indirect result of the involvement of Western countries in the trade and economy of South Africa. The most recent examples of the role of international monopolies in the struggle for southern Africa are in connexion with the Cabora Bassa hydro-electric dam in Mozambique, and the River Cunene project in Angola. These two projects will have far-reaching effects on the southern part of Africa. They will greatly strengthen the doctrine of *apartheid* and the economic exploitation of the African peoples in the entire region. Indeed, a writer for *Le Monde* of Paris said of the Cabora Bassa dam project: "It could be . . . a trump card in the achievement of a South African Common Market", and also that it "... could become the axis along which European settlement in southern Africa may be regrouped and consolidated. We may thus be witnessing the crystallization of an economic network, both very powerful and potentially very profitable, capable of giving the rulers of South Africa the practical and financial means of riveting their dominant influence, and perhaps their racist policies upon a whole range of African peoples far to the north of South Africa."

152. Thus a complex connexion is discernible between the sufferings of the African people and the firms, companies, banks and individual capitalists from the Western imperialist countries—all backed by the Governments of those nations. American, British, Belgian, South African, and Japanese companies have been awarded rights to extract minerals from Angola and Namibia, so that the struggle of the African people in those countries has inevitably turned into a struggle against all the forces of exploitation in southern Africa. This sudden onslaught of imperialism in that region was facilitated by the realization of Portugal that alone it could not be effective in holding down the struggle of the people; it therefore had to involve the other Powers through Decree No. 46,312 of 28 April 1965, which opened the door for penetration by the big Western monopolies into Portugal and its territories.

153. The Western countries also continue to provide the racist Government of South Africa with the economic support it needs. Exploitation and oppression within that country have been given the necessary facilities for extending their tentacles into Namibia, Angola and Mozambique. It is also obvious, and well known, that Rhodesia's

illegal régime is confidently able to execute its diabolical policies because of that same international support; for while Rhodesia has South Africa behind it, it has the support of all Western countries, and United Nations resolutions have no concrete effect on the *status quo*.

154. One particular example of international involvement in southern Africa is the financial and contracting institutions involved in building the Cabora Bassa Dam. The three largest consortia of firms which tendered bids for the first contract were: the Cabora Bassa Construction Consortium, which is an Anglo-Swiss group based in London; the Cabora Bassa Builders, which is a Franco-American group, including Swiss, South African and Portuguese firms; and ZAMCO, which actually won the contract.

155. This company, ZAMCO, which is to be a Portuguese company, was organized by the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, and constitutes twelve groups of companies from West Germany, France, South Africa, and some other countries. No wonder *O Seculo* could state, as it did on 1 July 1968, that:

"... from the simple fact that three important international groups have been assembled to compete in the Cahorabassa project, the major conclusion can be drawn that Portugal enjoys unusual credit overseas".

156. The list of companies from the imperialist countries which are involved in the exploitation of the economic wealth in southern Africa is, in fact, so long that it is impossible to expose them all. From 1967 alone, a number of American, Japanese, British, South African and West German companies have entered into partnerships for the joint exploitation of the wealth in the Territories held and controlled by the Portuguese fascists. Some of the most important contracts include the exploitation of the Uige copper deposits of the Nippon Mining Company of Japan; small processing factories in Luanda, in Angola, with the financial and technical assistance of big international monopolies such as Nestlé, of Switzerland, Coca Cola of the United States, and Hitachi of Japan; the \$64 million agreement between South Africa and Portugal for the construction of dams on the River Cunene; the agreement between Angola and Texaco, on the one hand, and Petrangol, on the other, for the exploitation of the Zaire Petroleum deposits; and the granting of \$22 million by two German and United States banks—one of which was the Bankers Trust Company—to the Lobito Mining Company. This list is not exhaustive, but it does indicate the kind and degree of involvement by countries which assure this General Assembly of their sympathy for the people of Africa and of their desire to see freedom and justice in our continent.

157. The same forces are in operation in Rhodesia. Smith's rebellion and defiance of world public opinion has been possible because the British Government has refused to take the measures necessary to topple that régime. The story of sanctions is well known to this Assembly. The countries which have disregarded the numerous resolutions of the United Nations are known; they are the same ones that have never hidden their trade with, and practical support for, the fascist régimes in southern Africa. We all know this to be true. The report of the Security Council's

Committee, established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) of 29 May 1968 shows for how long—up to the middle of 1968—West Germany, Portugal, Switzerland, the United States, Belgium, France, Italy and the Netherlands have sneered at the United Nations.

158. Tanzania cannot be silent on this matter. We cannot watch all this double-dealing, with the British Government saying that sanctions will eventually "bite" while it is itself at the same time a trading partner of Rhodesia through South Africa. Tanzania will continue to call for drastic measures, including the use of force, to oust the settler régime; and it pledges itself to support the struggle to recapture their independence that is being carried on in that country by the African people. Let it be said now that the consequences of the system now existing in Rhodesia will be blamed on none other than the British Government. That Government has had the legal duty and the ability to stop the minority rebellion; it has chosen instead to comfort and aid the rebel leaders in practice, while in words it pretends sympathy with the African majority.

159. On 12 August of this year the Security Council adopted one of its many resolutions [269 (1969)] on the subject of Namibia. Among other things, this resolution called on all States to "refrain from all dealings with the Government of South Africa purporting to act on behalf of the territory of Namibia". Unfortunately several members of the Security Council abstained from voting on this resolution, thus giving notice that they intended to ignore it. That so mild a resolution should have failed to receive unanimous support is indicative of the real policies of the abstaining countries. The fate of the people of Namibia, as indeed that of the people of the other territories under colonial domination does not touch them at all. They will oppose any measures which might have any effect of reducing the value, or the monetary return, of imperialist and exploitative investments in South Africa. It is easy to see, therefore, why the people in those areas are coming to the conclusion that only by armed struggle can they entertain any hope of liberation. It is for this same reason that Tanzania, among other countries, must now pledge itself to talking less and doing more to support the just struggle of Namibians against exploitation and *apartheid*.

160. There will doubtless be explanations for increased economic and trade relations between southern Africa and some Member countries of the United Nations. This Assembly will, in addition, hear proclamations of the indignation which these countries claim to feel against the barbaric and oppressive systems in southern Africa; and the Assembly will pass new resolutions. Then these Member countries will forget the whole question until next year. Meanwhile, Portugal will increase its criminal activities in Africa; South Africa and Rhodesia will tighten their grip on the people who are already suffocating from the present yoke of *apartheid*. And the peoples' wars for freedom will go on, with increasing numbers of dead and more people maimed and burned.

161. The ideals this Assembly so cherishes must not be so compromised. They should not be so easily bartered for profit. But if the investment and trade policies of the imperialistic countries continue to make a mockery of the United Nations commitment to peace and justice, then

other nations must consider whether they should acquiesce in this inactivity. For the issues will not be settled here. If the United Nations cannot act in support of justice with peace, the people themselves will act in support of justice at the cost of peace. Let those whose commitment to the ideals of human equality allows no compromise now join hands with the freedom fighters, and let the absence of peace not be blamed on the patriots. For there can be no peace without justice.

162. Another problem on the African continent is the continuing war between Nigeria and Biafra. Loss of life through injury and starvation has already taken a toll unparalleled in recent history. The United Nations has no excuse for standing idly by. There is no excuse for ignoring the plight of millions of Biafrans, who for two years have defended themselves courageously in the face of almost certain extinction. Yet many people are still calling the Nigerian-Biafran problem purely an African one.

163. It is not true that the Nigeria-Biafra conflict is a purely African problem. Nigeria and Biafra do not manufacture arms. They do not manufacture planes. They do not get these things from Africa. Nigeria and Biafra have been getting these weapons from other Member nations of this Assembly. A war fought on African soil in which super-Powers from outside Africa are involved physically in the form of their arms deliveries cannot be termed a purely African war. But if we were to close our eyes to logic and call the Nigerian conflict an African problem, is an African problem not a human problem? Is a human problem not one for the United Nations? Without such supplies the war would never have reached the peak of suffering and destruction that we are now witnessing.

164. Yet while this arms supply continues, it is difficult to see any end to that conflict. The Biafran people believe that they are fighting for their very survival. Therefore, in the absence of any Nigerian show of willingness to end the conflict by non-military means, the Government of Tanzania cannot foresee a solution in the near future. The Nigerians should make up their minds about one thing: sit round the table with the Biafrans and convince them of their security in a future unified Nigeria—whatever form that unified Nigeria may take—or just conquer the Biafrans completely—rule them against their will, and thus introduce black colonialism and black fascism in Africa.

165. It is quite clear that a military solution to the genuine problem which exists is out of the question. It will not be obtained so long as those supplying arms to the two sides continue to do so, on one or another pretext. For certainly an abundance of arms on one side will not create a desire for peace, nor will the lack of them on the other side deter the people from defending themselves against what they believe to be extermination. What will continue to happen to an even greater extent than now—an extent which is already alarming—is that more Biafran women and children will be killed, either by bullets, by bombs or by starvation. Already over 100 children per day are dying of hunger in these areas. The United Nations must not wait for further increases in the death toll. Even now it has been calculated that the number of dead in Biafra, since the war began two years ago, has surpassed the number of victims of the Viet-Nam war during the last 10 years. This holocaust must be brought to an end.



166. The individual nations supplying arms, planes or pilots for this war cannot justify continuing the supply by arguing that if they stop, others will not do so. This war must not be used as a stepping-stone to neo-colonial gains in trade and economic relations with one or the other side. It is the duty of the United Nations to intervene and to put an end to the situation where Africans are used as pawns in the hands of contending outside interests and where Africans between themselves fight a war for outside Powers by proxy. Britain and the Soviet Union especially must not be allowed to fool the world by talk of defending the integrity of an African nation. One is tempted to ask: since when have Britain and the Soviet Union been genuinely interested in the unity of an African State? That is not their purpose and will not be the effect of their actions. Tanzania earnestly urges the United Nations not to watch the annihilation of millions of Biafrans while using the easy and comfortable words: "This is an African problem which must be solved by Africans alone." This is not an African problem. It is a human problem. It is a problem in which very many nations represented in this Assembly here are directly involved through the supply of the instruments of mass slaughter.

167. Starvation is now the major instrument by which the Nigerian Government expects to achieve victory. But this would be a victory over the dead. It must not be countenanced. Reports from the International Red Cross authorities and other relief organizations have pointed out the desperate situation that now exists in Biafra. In the interests of humanity, the United Nations must discard its legalistic inhibitions and call on the Nigerian Government to facilitate without hindrance immediate and adequate relief operations. Food and medicines must be sent to the helpless victims of this war.

168. While the immediate question of relief supplies is being dealt with, new efforts must also be made to achieve peace in this area. To this end, Tanzania strongly urges both parties to accept a cease-fire and to open immediate and unconditional peace talks. The good offices of the Organization of African Unity, comprising the family of African States, can then facilitate the search for a long-lasting and permanent settlement of the agonizing situation. If such talks were supported by the goodwill and real interest in peace of parties now involved in arms delivery to both sides, a solution could be found which would meet the demands and wishes of both sides. But the progress towards peace must start now. Let this Assembly go down in history as the one which initiated peace in that area. We believe this can be done, if all Members of this gathering think in terms of people rather than in terms of legalities.

169. Before I conclude the survey of those African problems which are the day-to-day preoccupation of my Government, may I now turn to the situation in the Middle East? A little over two years have now passed since the June war of 1967. During that period the world as a whole, and the United Nations in particular, must have seen the danger which results from the continued occupation by Israel of Arab territories occupied in that war. The uneasy peace in that area has been getting closer and closer to another conflagration—and one which will almost certainly be greater and more disastrous than that of 1967. Yet Israel, in spite of the Security Council's November 1967

resolution [242 (1967)], has not only maintained its occupation of Arab areas, but has also acted to strengthen its hold on them. Israel has ignored the United Nations, and also the appeals of nations, like my own, which support its right to exist in peace and security within its own borders. Its leaders have said openly that there is no question of its returning to the boundaries which existed on 4 June 1967.

170. This intransigent attitude and the incessant violations of the cease-fire agreement by bomb and commando attacks must be deplored. The Israeli authorities must be seriously discouraged by this Assembly from intensifying their aggression. Tanzania has made its position very clear on this issue. The United Nations must not be flouted; its peace force must not be subjected to injury and death. The November 1967 resolution must be respected by both sides, and the search for a permanent peace must go on. Only when the Arab peoples are relieved of this humiliating occupation of their territory, and the conquerors are deprived of their ill-gotten gains, can there be hope of any lasting peace in the Middle East, in which the needs of Israel can be accommodated by peaceful means. First, therefore, Israel must stop its expansionist designs and return the Arab territories it presently controls. Only then can it be expected that its own right to sovereignty, and to peace and security—rights which Tanzania has consistently supported—will be respected by the Arab States.

171. In the rest of the world a number of conflicts exist in which the powerful nations are exercising their might in violations of the fundamental rights of all peoples to independence and human dignity. Just as we in Africa experience colossal and outmoded systems of oppression, so the Asian continent daily sees the effects of that delirium of power which has, throughout history, characterized the behaviour of powerful nations. In Viet-Nam, in particular, United States imperialism has continued to commit wanton crimes against the innocent Viet-Nameese people.

172. It has now been over one year since the Paris peace talks began. Unfortunately, the talks do not appear to have made much progress, if any. In fact, it has become more and more evident that they are not likely to result in a peaceful settlement of the war. President Nixon's withdrawal of 25,000 American soldiers from Viet-Nam was welcome, but it has not had, and cannot be expected to have, a lasting impression on the situation, given the number of American troops who remain.

173. The United States claims that it has to remain in Viet-Nam to "honour its commitments". But the truth is that the United States has a commitment to the United Nations, and that overriding commitment demands that it respect the right of the Viet-Nameese people to settle their own problems without outside, even American, interference. American involvement in what is a Viet-Nameese issue is nothing else but aggression and interference.

174. Tanzania, therefore, once again calls on the United States and its allies to withdraw all their troops. The Paris peace talks must be made to succeed on the basis of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, under which the Viet-Nameese people can hammer out their own solution to a problem which is first and foremost a Viet-Nameese domestic

problem—a solution which is consistent with their aspirations for national peace, freedom and development.

175. We must in this connexion emphasize again that there must be proper respect for the sanctity of international treaties, particularly those concerning territorial boundaries. There can be no wanton departure from this principle. Similarly, the ancient and well-known principle of international law, which states that treaty obligations must be respected and executed, should also be emphasized here. Treaties freely entered into by contracting States are intended to survive and to be respected by States. This is the standard of conduct to be expected in a well-ordered community of nations and civilized States—assuming that the United Nations is composed of such States.

176. Also in Asia, the United States, which has appropriated to itself the role of international policeman, continues to make it impossible for the Korean people to realize their aspirations towards national unification. The numerous aggressive acts perpetrated by the United States against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and the suppression of progressive workers, students, peasants and intellectuals of South Korea, all illustrate the dangers which are inherent in the exercise of United States might in the world.

177. The United Republic of Tanzania therefore calls upon the United States to withdraw its occupying forces from Korea, to leave the Korean people to decide its fate, and to honour its decision when it is made. It is our belief that only in this way will the question of Korea be solved in peace. Only by such actions will the United States demonstrate that it has accepted its responsibility as a great Power which respects the obligations of membership of this Assembly of nations. The world has seen enough proof of the military prowess of the United States; we have seen enough proof of its technological advancement and financial strength. The world is waiting to see proof that the United States can also demonstrate to us its moral prowess.

178. While surveying the problems which have been forced on the Asian continent, I should like to express the disappointment of the people and Government of Tanzania at the continued attempt to isolate the People's Republic of China and to prevent it from taking its proper place as a Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council. We have been aware for a long time of the pressure and blackmail that have been used by China's enemies to confuse and cloud the issue at the sessions of this Assembly. We can only deplore these actions and point out that attempts to isolate a great nation of over 800 million people are, in the long run, not only absurd but dangerous as well.

179. The reasons advanced for the exclusion of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations have been flimsy and unconvincing. Who represents the Chinese people and which Government exercises legitimate and actual power in that country cannot be a subject for serious discussion. To pretend otherwise and to prevent the People's Republic of China from contributing to the effectiveness of this Assembly is an absurdity. To talk about China's belligerent attitude is to close one's eyes to the truth about which countries have been involved in wars of aggression since 1945.

180. The People's Republic of China is the unquestionable and only representative of the Chinese people. There is no other. Taiwan is a colony which is used by United States imperialism as a launching pad for aggression in the Far East. There is no justification for the opposition to China's representation in the United Nations. It is Tanzania's hope that the futility of that attitude will be recognized in the near future and that China will soon take its rightful place amongst the nations here.

181. At every session of this Assembly great anxiety has been expressed about the rate at which certain Powers are developing and stocking their arsenals with nuclear weapons. This anxiety still exists and is justified. We are rightly demanding that those nuclear Powers pledge themselves not to use, or threaten to use, nuclear weapons against the non-nuclear States. Further, we demand that they progressively and rapidly reduce their stockpiles of these weapons and stop further development in this field. Too little has been achieved so far; for, while the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*] demands that non-nuclear States undertake not to develop nuclear weapons, the nuclear Powers themselves have not renounced the use of these weapons. The implications are very clear. One can only conclude that nuclear blackmail is the next phase of neo-colonialism. In the light of the lessons abundant in history, it is clear that the possession of nuclear weapons by only a few States can neither inspire confidence in world peace nor bring hope for future justice.

182. South Africa, which has been condemned by all peace-loving people of the world, has time and again boasted that it will soon be able to include nuclear weapons in its armoury. These statements were not made without a purpose. They are aimed at terrorizing those who have committed themselves to opposing the inhuman policies of *apartheid* and exploitation in southern Africa. With the help of a number of countries, notably West Germany, South Africa is preparing to become a base for future nuclear aggression against the rest of Africa. How can we trust the Western Powers, for example, to guarantee the security of our States from such aggression when they have consistently abstained from supporting serious action designed to alter the present situation in South Africa? Indeed, how can we trust them when they go out of their way positively to help South Africa? Yet these very countries are the quickest to join us in condemning South Africa.

183. If the nuclear Powers had an untainted history of peace and non-intervention, it might have been easier for non-nuclear States to accept the views of the nuclear Powers on this matter if these latter had consistently shown a concern for the universal development of peace based on justice. But this is not so. In any case, does it make sense to call for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons when an existing nuclear Power is excluded from all United Nations forums where this and other questions are debated?

184. No nation wishes to have its existence dependent upon the decisions, the goodwill and indeed the grace of another country. The United Republic of Tanzania has said at all forums dealing with this question that we deplore the development of nuclear technology for war purposes. We



support the reduction of these evil weapons which threaten the very existence of mankind, and we support all efforts to stop their further stockpiling. We have called for a gradual but steady move towards general disarmament and we will continue to do so. We hope that all States share our fears and will join us in moving towards that objective. But these matters cannot be left to the nuclear club alone. Only law, strictly adhered to, can change the present situation and cause nuclear technology to be used exclusively for the benefit of mankind, instead of terrorizing it.

185. I cannot end my statement without commenting on another situation which threatens peace and harmonious relations in the present world; for, while the present centres of conflict are alarming, in the long run the almost certain confrontation between the rich and the poor nations promises to be even more frightening. Whatever reasons and theories are advanced to explain the growing gap between the rich and the poor, it would be naïve, and indeed self-deceiving, to ignore the essential character of economic, social and political relations between the developed and the developing nations. International terms of trade which adversely affect the economies of the poor nations, investments and loans that have usually been more burdensome than helpful, the unwillingness of the rich nations to advance to the developing countries even the equivalent of 1 per cent of their gross national products—all these and many other things have conspired, and not accidentally, to keep the poor countries poor, and make them poorer, while the rich countries become richer.

186. Tanzania's basic position has been that there must be established an automatic relationship between the prices of primary products, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the prices and shipping costs of manufactured goods essential for development. Problems relating to the balance of payments and terms of trade are intimately bound up with general development problems of developing countries: none of these things can be considered in isolation. As long as the exploitative gap is maintained between the prices of our products and those of the products essential for the transformation of our economies, the future for international co-operation in the economic field will remain dark. We must be honest with ourselves. The institutions and attitudes prevailing in international economic relations today have been built up, and are deliberately supported, for the benefit of those who already have wealth. Only when the poor nations face up to this fact will they start to tackle the real causes of their slow growth, if not economic stagnation. Only when these facts of international economic relations are acknowledged will the poor nations really be able to begin to harness their own material and human resources for the benefit of their own people.

187. The recurring tendency of the General Assembly has been to attempt reforms of precisely the same institutions and attitudes which have been created to serve the capitalist interests of the developed countries. It is not surprising, therefore, that the United Nations has not been able to develop a solution to the problem of world poverty. The second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in New Delhi,<sup>12</sup> at which the developing nations attempted to reform the economic patterns responsible for their poverty, proves our point. The developed

countries, which derive from Africa, Asia and Latin America inestimable wealth every year, made no move of substance from the positions they had previously taken up. In fact, what that session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development really demonstrated to those who are willing to learn was that the developed world could not be looked upon as party to the aspirations of the greater segment of the world's population.

188. In Tanzania we have realized that self-reliance, coupled with vigorous moves to wrest the means of production from foreign hands and to control them in the interest of our people, is the only way by which an effective attack on poverty can be mounted. Nevertheless, we feel it is our duty to point out the discrepancy between the developed nations' proclaimed commitment to the war on world poverty and the simultaneous exploitation by international monopolies of the labour of our people and the riches of our lands.

189. African Member States of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, meeting in Addis Ababa to commemorate the tenth anniversary of that Commission in February this year, observed the distance existing between its work and their needs. One after another, the delegations pointed out that it was time for the Economic Commission for Africa to stop merely making surveys of economic development in Africa and to start taking practical steps to bring about concrete results. Yet it was realized that the financial and technical means available to the Economic Commission for Africa were inadequate. Not only that, but the terms of reference of that Commission are such that no important impact can be made by it in Africa as a whole or in any one country of Africa. We wonder whether the other Commissions for Europe, Asia and Latin America are equally handicapped. The observations of the Joint Inspection Unit appointed by the Secretary-General, which visited the Economic Commission for Africa, may help to make the Commission of more practical value to us all. Certainly we believe that the United Nations as a whole should study the problems facing the Economic Commission for Africa and the other continental Commissions and that their work and the resources they can use should be more clearly defined.

190. The basic purpose of the United Nations is to create and maintain international peace, but it has long been realized that this is possible only if the United Nations is successful in the promotion of international justice. In all the matters I have referred to—from the situation in southern Africa to the economic conflict between the rich and the poor nations—justice simply does not exist, and therefore peace is not assured.

191. Yet, year after year the members of this Assembly gather and explain the different problems and policies of their Governments. It sometimes seems that nothing ever changes, and certainly the same subjects recur again and again. But we must not give up the attempt to get world attention focused on world problems. For we do have the resources, and I believe the ability, to tackle the most pressing of the challenges before us. When man can achieve the magnificent feat of reaching the moon, man can also reach down to the villages and the town slums. Our problem is a question of will, not of ability. Mankind must

<sup>12</sup> Held from 1 February to 29 March 1968.



find that will. We, the representatives of nations, have a responsibility in this matter. We must speak for the world's governments as well as for the world's peoples. For the United Nations is an organization of mankind; it will succeed in its objectives in so far as it seeks to serve mankind.

192. Tanzania is pledged to support the United Nations in its practical actions for peace and justice. My delegation therefore undertakes to make every effort within its power to contribute to the success of the work of this Assembly.

*The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.*