

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-SIXTH SESSION

Official Records



**1960th  
PLENARY MEETING**

Monday, 11 October 1971,  
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

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*President: Mr. Adam MALIK (Indonesia).*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. MAGHRIBI (Libyan Arab Republic): Mr. President, may I first extend to you the sincere congratulations of the delegation of the Libyan Arab Republic on your election to the presidency of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. We are certain that your guidance will lend immeasurably to the success of this session.

2. May I also pay a tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Hambro of Norway, on the manner in which he conducted our deliberations during his term of office.

3. I should like to take this opportunity to express to our Secretary-General our admiration and high esteem for his selfless devotion to the cause of peace and justice. His record of great integrity and his exceptional capabilities will always remain an honour to this high office.

4. My delegation welcomes to membership in this Organization the States of Bhutan, Bahrain, Qatar and Oman. We are convinced that they will contribute immensely to our common efforts.

5. We believe that increasing and more effective participation of countries in the membership and work of the Organization is the best guarantee for its evolution in the direction of reflecting and embodying the aspirations of mankind.

6. We associate ourselves with the sincere attempts being made to solve the grave problems that face humanity, whether they be the immediate questions involved in solving monetary crises or the long-term problems of disarmament, preserving the environment and stimulating economic and social development in different regions of the world. It is our belief that the deprivation of several peoples of their right to self-determination, the imposition of racism and other forms of social discrimination upon countries under colonial rule and the persisting dominance

of certain developed countries over the resources of the developing countries constitute the most pervasive cause of insecurity and conflict in the world today. We urge accelerating efforts to bring to a final end the colonial age as well as to eliminate the dark consequences it has left in the developing regions. Support for the liberation struggles being waged against colonialism and neo-colonialism in all forms must be intensified. Condemnation of and opposition to those Governments suppressing these struggles must advance into the realm of practical and effective measures.

7. The Libyan Arab Republic, having succeeded in eliminating a foreign military presence from our country, is now proceeding to consolidate its co-operation with all sister States seeking to advance the cause of co-operation, peace and justice. This is especially true of the larger Arab homeland, with which we share not only a common language and culture, but also the other innumerable bonds which history has forged between us. The yearning of the Arab nation towards unity has long been the central focus of its attention. It is in this spirit that we came together with the Arab Republic of Egypt and the Syrian Arab Republic to form the Federation of Arab Republics. This Federation constitutes a positive force capable of strengthening our co-operation and friendship with peaceful nations and of sustaining our defence capacities against aggression and its proponents.

8. Our region today has been forced to endure tragic events whose ramifications extend far beyond its boundaries. These events have become a major focus of world attention. The United Nations has been involved in this matter since the very beginning when, in 1947, it recommended the partition of Palestine [*resolution 181 (II)*] arbitrarily and against the avowed will of the majority of its population and in violation of the principle of self-determination embodied in its Charter. Since then, the gravity of the problem has escalated to dimensions whose monstrous ramifications threaten the very existence of the Arab inhabitants of our region and, consequently, the security of the whole world. The Middle East problem, or more specifically the Zionist problem which sustains it, remains, as it has always been, the single most crucial test of the ability of the international community to respond to, and cope with, the responsibilities resting on its shoulders by virtue of its allegiance to the Charter and the principles of the United Nations.

9. The task of eliminating the consequences of the 1967 Israeli aggression against the Arab States is inextricably bound to the task of restoring the rights of the Palestinian people. Both are a direct outcome of the implantation of the Zionist expansionist settler entity in the Arab land of Palestine. Zionism had demonstrated its expansionism and racist exclusivism in the words and statements of its leaders long before it achieved statehood in 1948.

10. Invoking illusory and mythological interpretations of the history of ancient times, zionism, as an alien European colonial movement, has sought to impose its domination on Palestine and the countries neighbouring it. It has called for, and continues to call for, the ingathering of all Jews into the land of Palestine and other parts of the Arab homeland. With every wave of immigration it has effected, it has sown the seeds for another aggression and another expansion. The violation of the rights of the indigenous population, their exclusion and expulsion have been the outcome of the racist ideology of this movement. The State of Israel today, in all its practices, is the embodiment of this movement. Since 1948, it has achieved through military conquest a scheme of expansion by stages, of which the 1967 aggression was only the most recent. And still there is by no means any assurance that this was the last along the dangerous road of aggression and expansion.

11. Numerous resolutions have been adopted by both the General Assembly and the Security Council during the four years since the 1967 aggression. Yet Israel persists in its occupation of Arab lands in complete disregard of the United Nations, its resolutions and its principles. Moreover, in complete defiance of all declarations calling for its withdrawal, Israel has proceeded to enforce, through measures brutally disrespectful of human rights, its policy of imposing its designs for the actual annexation of occupied territories, notably in the city of Jerusalem.

12. Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which calls for the withdrawal of Israel's occupying forces from the occupied Arab territories, remains for Israel a matter of eloquent but evasive academic declarations. All efforts expended to reach a peaceful settlement on the basis of implementing this resolution have been in vain, since Israel persists in its arrogance, which United States sponsorship enables it to maintain. Indeed, since 1967, and throughout the years during which Israel has been in occupation of the territories of three States Members of the United Nations, the United States Government has actually stepped up its military and financial aid to Israel. The extensive offensive weaponry, including Phantom and Sky Hawk jets, coming to Israel from the United States leads us to the inevitable conclusion that the United States Government is collaborating in the occupation and sharing the guilt of the oppression it entails.

13. Israel has been defiant of the collective will of the international community. It holds this Organization in utter contempt. The most recent illustration of this attitude took place on 25 September, when the Security Council, at its 1582nd meeting, adopted its resolution 298 (1971), which urgently called on Israel to rescind all measures and actions designed to change the status of Jerusalem. The Israeli representative immediately rejected the resolution; he alleged, in effect, that the views expressed in it were deserving of no esteem, and he proclaimed that his Government's view would prevail. At the same time, the Israeli Government issued a statement which rejected the resolution and made clear its opposition to any United Nations representative or mission on the matter, and reiterated its intention to annex the occupied city of Jerusalem. Disregard for the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by military conquest is paramount in the thinking of Israel's rulers; for every single

inch of Palestine was forcibly occupied. This is evident also from the statement of Mr. Abba Eban addressed on 30 September to this august body [1946th meeting]. In it he completely disregarded this principle to justify Israel's expansionist designs.

14. In his statement, moreover, he completely negated whatever role the United Nations might have when he mocked what he described as its "parliamentary role" [*ibid.*, para. 65], claiming that the triumph of the majority has no moral value. Indeed, when he called on the United Nations organs to disregard its resolutions in favour of seeking a "consensus which would include the interested parties" [*ibid.*], he was essentially limiting the capacities of the United Nations to those policies and decisions that Israel would consent to. If the United Nations is to restrict itself to decisions reached on the basis of consensus, then a State facing aggression would have little guarantee that its rights would be upheld against the will of the aggressor. If the United Nations is to restrict itself to decisions reached on the basis of a consensus, then there would be no role left for the United Nations in such matters as the Portuguese domination imposed on African Territories as long as Portugal did not consent to this role. In a sense, Mr. Eban was demanding veto power for Israel, not only in the Security Council, whose role and functions during the past years he rejected, but also in the General Assembly and all other United Nations organs. When he called for abandonment of the old documents, formulas and texts, it was only those documents and resolutions, like the recent resolution on Jerusalem, which are incompatible with Israel's aims that he wished to see abandoned. Likewise, when he spoke of the need for building new arrangements and conditions after wars, it was the conditions imposed by the victor that he wished to see enforced. Fortunately, very few Member States share Mr. Eban's conception of this role of the United Nations.

15. Amidst all this, we are still confronted with deceptive assertions from Israel and its sponsors as to its peace-loving nature and its willingness to carry out the obligations stipulated by the Charter. But whatever credibility this double-talk might have gained in the past is all but vanishing. The reality of Israel's practices can no longer be obscured by rhetoric.

16. The conditions imposed by Israel on the occupied territories should be apparent from the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories [A/8389 and Corr.1 and 2 and Add.1 and Add.1/Corr.1 and 2]. The refusal of Israel to facilitate the task of that Committee is testimony to its abrogation of its obligations under the Geneva Convention and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is also betrays the double-faced policy that Israel pursues here as a cover-up for its brutal practices over there. Accounts of Israel's practices of mass punishment, repression of civilians, torture of prisoners, deportation and expulsion of the inhabitants, destruction and demolition of residential homes, confiscation of property, violation of religious monuments and beliefs are too well documented to need elaboration.

17. Most atrocious and inhumane is Israel's behaviour in the Gaza Strip, where its brutalities are singularly sympto-

matic of its contempt for human rights. Under the pretext of taking security measures, Israel has currently been implementing its military policy of breaking up and dispersing the population of the Gaza Strip even when that deprives that population of the minimum relief and welfare facilities afforded them by the United Nations. The special report by Sir John Rennie, Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, has attested to the recent demolition operation which has resulted in the forcible displacement of about 15,000 Palestinian refugees and the demolition of their homes by the Israeli military authorities [A/8413]. The Secretary-General has expressed concern over the effect of this operation on the Palestinian refugees, and on 18 August he urgently requested Israel to "ensure the immediate cessation of the destruction of refugee homes in the Gaza Strip and halt the removal of the refugee occupants" [A/8401/Add.1, para. 226]. Once more, Israel has ignored this request. According to a report which appeared on 31 August in the Israeli newspaper *Maariv*, the displacement of these 15,000 refugees is only the first phase of an over-all scheme, the second phase of which aims at the removal of 60,000 to 70,000 refugees from their homes in the Gaza Strip. This calculated policy of mass displacement, coupled with the practice of imposing mass terror on the inhabitants is designed as a prelude to annexation.

18. The Israeli Government has handed over the life and destiny of the inhabitants of the Strip to the Border Police, a special force also referred to as the "Green Berets", whose brutalities against the Arabs under occupation are not incomparable to the atrocities committed by the United States Green Berets in Viet-Nam. The reputation of this special force has been well known since the massacre of Kafr Kassem in 1956, when 49 Arab subjects of Israel were murdered in cold blood in one day. This special force was ordered to shoot on sight, to shoot into crowds, to commit deliberate killings and to beat and brutalize the inhabitants. Its actions during the past year have elicited indignant cries from people all over the world. The refusal of the inhabitants to submit to Israel, despite these brutalities, has commanded world-wide support, sympathy and admiration.

19. In the occupied Syrian Golan Heights, Israel has virtually evacuated the area of its Arab inhabitants, replacing them with immigrant settlers to serve Israel in its future aggressions. This behaviour of Israel throughout the occupied territories during these past years is only an extension of the old Zionist scheme of excluding the native Arab population and expelling it to make way for the immigrant settler population. This scheme remains, to this day, the ideology on the basis of which all of Israel's existence, its laws—like the so-called "law of return"—and its essence feed and perpetuate themselves. Expansionism is an organic part of Zionism, contingent on its self-glorification as the instrument for the ingathering of all the Jews of the world in Palestine and in the other Arab countries on which it has designs.

20. The Arab people of Palestine, who were leading a normal life tilling their land and seeking their livelihood in peace, were looking to a better future when their country fell under British colonialism which was committed to the establishment of a Jewish settler State in their ancestral

homeland. In 30 years of British rule in Palestine, Zionist colonial machinations had transformed a myth into reality through force and violence. As a result of this, more than a million and a half Palestinian Arabs have been uprooted from their homeland, dispossessed and displaced. Another million and a half are suffering under the worst military occupation known in modern history. For two decades the international community failed to undo the injustice that had been inflicted upon the people of Palestine. It is in defence of their usurped rights and for the restoration of their usurped homeland that they consequently opted for the only alternative left open to them, namely, that of armed struggle. The recent emergence of the Palestinian revolution has demonstrated to the world the determination of the Palestinian people to regain their rights. Their struggle has gained support from all the freedom-loving peoples.

21. The United Nations, during recent years, has responded in part to its responsibilities in this connexion. Though modest, the resolutions passed during the last two sessions can constitute a springboard for the efforts of the United Nations to deal with a matter that it has long failed to meet. Resolution 2535 B (XXIV) of 10 December 1969 reaffirmed "the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine". This was followed at the twenty-fifth session by other resolutions which went further in putting the problem in its proper context.

22. Resolution 2672 C (XXV) of the past session, which was adopted on 8 December 1970, "Recognizes that the people of Palestine are entitled to equal rights and self-determination, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations". In principle, a resolution recognizing a people's right to self-determination may not be a novelty. All peoples are entitled to the right of self-determination. But in view of the past disregard for the rights of the people of Palestine in the United Nations itself, this resolution constitutes a step forward. This is all the more true since it reiterated that "full respect for the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine is an indispensable element in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East".

23. Resolution 2649 (XXV), adopted during the last session on 30 November 1970, which "Condemns those Governments that deny the right to self-determination of peoples recognized as being entitled to it, especially of the peoples of southern Africa and Palestine", is equally important. In viewing the Palestinians simply as refugees, the United Nations had been evading the central fact of the problem. The Palestinians have become refugees by virtue of the denial of their right to self-determination. Like the peoples of southern Africa, they are victims of the colonial age, which deprived them of their country under British imperialism and which reduced them to an inferior status under the racist Zionism of the State of Israel.

24. Israeli Zionism, like South Africa's *apartheid*, perpetuates itself through the imposition of a system of racial discrimination against the indigenous population. The outcome of the Zionist scheme during the past half-century has been the creation in the land of Palestine of a social system which, like *apartheid* in South Africa, is based on racial discrimination and hatred and which is designed to

reduce the Arab inhabitants to third-rate status and the Oriental Jews to second-rate status, with the European settler minority occupying the dominant positions. The atrocities which the Zionists have committed during the last half-century in order to impose this shameful system have always borne close resemblance to the methods employed by the Nazis.

25. Since 1960, when the United Nations adopted the policy of combating racism and *apartheid* by sanctions against the South African Government, the commercial exchanges and the military links between Israel and South Africa have increased incredibly. Judging by available figures, Israel's exports to South Africa have multiplied tenfold since that time. South Africa is Israel's chief trading partner in Africa. The extensive contributions which the South African régime has allowed Zionist groups to channel to Israel, like the sum of \$18 million reported soon after the Israeli aggression in June 1967, are testimony to the close links existing between these two racist States.

26. If the United Nations has committed itself to the task of combating racism, it is imperative that it deal with racism wherever it exists. The system of religious-racial intolerance imposed by Zionism and the State of Israel on the people of Palestine must be exposed and opposed. The role that Israel plays in Africa, in collaboration with the South African régime and its other racist and colonialist allies, must be condemned.

27. The African continent is witnessing today the combined aggressions of the South African Government, the Portuguese colonialists and the Rhodesian minority régime. These vicious entities are unifying their forces to enslave the African populations under their combined control. In this endeavour, they would achieve little if it were not for the covert co-operation they receive from several other States.

28. The South African racist rulers seem to have lost all their humanity when they proceeded to impose their systematic violence on millions of people in South Africa. The repression, the mass murders, the imprisonments and torture carried out by the Government of South Africa constitute a crime against all of humanity. The behaviour of that State makes clear its unwillingness to accommodate the rights of the majority of the country's inhabitants. Accordingly, it must be expelled from all international functions and its legitimacy must be denied. The South African Government has refused to comply with the Assembly's decision to terminate the mandate over Namibia [resolution 2145 (XXI)]. Furthermore, it has defied all pleas from the international community and proceeded to introduce into that country the evil racist system of *apartheid* that it had imposed on the populations under its own rule. The ruling of the International Court of Justice on the illegality of South Africa's occupation of the Namibian territory<sup>1</sup> offers no alternative but to enforce sanctions against South Africa. Having already called upon Member States to terminate all relations with this racist

Government, the United Nations must now take those measures necessary to ensure the strict implementation of this call on the part of all States. We cannot entertain any illusions as to South Africa's willingness to comply with the least requirements of human decency.

29. We condemn the oppression and inhumanity practised against the peoples of the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). The Portuguese colonialists have also extended their aggression to the sovereign States of Guinea, Senegal and Zambia. Portugal's wars of repression and extermination in the colonies, as well as its aggression against neighbouring States, could not have been sustained by a poor country such as Portugal if it were not for the support of its NATO allies. My Government declares its complete support for the struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) to recover their inalienable rights to freedom and independence.

30. The same is true of the peoples of Zimbabwe, who are being subjected to the inhumane repression of the illegal white settler minority régime of Ian Smith. This oligarchy of hatred has been imposing a system of racial discrimination designed to deny the majority of the inhabitants their human rights and their rights to self-determination and independence. The international community has to bear its responsibilities and to ensure that the rights of the majority in that country are supported and upheld.

31. My Government is deeply concerned at the continued United States military intervention in Indo-China. The war is still raging at a great cost of destruction and suffering to the people of that region. We support the heroic struggle of the Viet-Nameese people and demand the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops so that those people can freely exercise their right of self-determination. We feel that the seven-point programme submitted by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam constitutes a sound basis for peace and for the achievement of the national aspirations of the Viet-Nameese people.

32. The painful events which overtook Pakistan last spring are a cause of humanitarian concern to all of us. The Libyan Government has, along with other Governments, contributed to the cause of alleviating the suffering of the millions of refugees. The Government of India has borne a large share of the effort of the international community. It is our hope that the vital needs of the refugees are being met and that all efforts will be combined to facilitate their return to their homes.

33. The question of the representation of China should have been solved in 1949, when the Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China informed the United Nations of the establishment of the new régime and repudiated the legal status of the delegation representing the overthrown Government.

34. For more than two decades, various measures have deliberately and consistently been taken to deny nearly one fourth of the world's population its lawful rights in this Organization, which aspires to be universal. This has been unwise and contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter. These measures have from the very outset had an adverse effect upon the role and the work of the Organiza-

<sup>1</sup> *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970)*, Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.

tion. The United Nations has suffered in effectiveness, authority and reputation. My delegation will not support any measure which has the effect of depriving the People's Republic of China of its lawful rights in the United Nations. The presence of the People's Republic of China in this Organization will greatly contribute to the effectiveness of the United Nations, enhance its role and prestige and have a salutary effect on international peace and co-operation.

35. Finally, I wish to assert that the attitude of the Libyan Arab Republic is based on its commitment to the high principles of the Charter of the United Nations. These principles must of necessity lead us to condemn foreign domination, discrimination and aggression, whether they are practised in southern Africa, Indo-China or the Middle East. They also require us to support the right of all peoples struggling for self-determination and freedom.

36. In the Middle East, the complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied Arab territories is a prerequisite for reducing the explosive situation in the region. The return of the people of Palestine to their homeland and the restoration of their legitimate right to self-determination constitute an inevitable necessity if a just and lasting peace is to be achieved.

37. Mr. RAJARATNAM (Singapore): First of all, Mr. President, permit me, on behalf of my Government and the delegation of Singapore, to congratulate you on your election to the important office of President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Your election to this high office is all the more gratifying to us not only because we both come from the same region but also because Indonesia is our next-door neighbour. My country therefore derives some vicarious pleasure from being able to bask in reflected glory. As for your qualities of leadership and statesmanship, these have been amply demonstrated in the many years you have devoted towards the creation of an independent and progressive Indonesia. Equally notable has been the single-mindedness with which you have espoused the cause of regional co-operation by helping to establish the Association of South-East Asian Nations—or ASEAN. It is therefore fitting that you should have been chosen to preside over one of the most important sessions in the history of our Organization.

38. Permit me also, Sir, to pay a tribute to our distinguished Secretary-General, who has for 10 years been performing what has been described as the most impossible job in the world. His integrity, his dedication to the Charter and his techniques of quiet and patient diplomacy have added new dimensions to the office of Secretary-General. We are grateful to him for a decade of impeccable service to the United Nations, which we would have liked to see continue if it were possible.

39. A depressing feature of our Organization has been the steady accumulation over the years of problems designated as unsolvable. We have consequently developed rigid conventions as to their treatment. Year in and year out these questions are solemnly unwrapped before this Assembly, given an airing and returned to the catacombs more or less undamaged.

40. The China question was one such unsolvable problem. For over two decades it was a "must" on our agenda.

Though no solution was expected, it was nevertheless debated, if only to justify our expensive trips to New York. The speeches on the China question have over the years acquired the irrelevant abstruseness of debates by mediaeval European theologians wrangling over the number of angels who could dance on the point of a needle.

41. Now, after 21 years, the log-jam has been broken. We are now very close to demonstrating that the unsolvable is solvable. This is a momentous discovery, and one of great significance to an Organization only too ready to be convinced that difficult problems are unsolvable. This happy outcome to the China problem would, I hope, at least shake our faith in the existence of unsolvable problems. Problems may be difficult, complex and delicate, but they are not unsolvable. This is because all the problems that come before this Assembly are wholly man-made and therefore well within the capacity of men to resolve.

42. If the China question, long accepted as unsolvable, can be solved, then so can the many other allegedly unsolvable problems which are now permanent fixtures of our agenda.

43. There is, for example, the war in Viet-Nam. It is a war that has continued more or less uninterrupted for some 30 years—involving first the Japanese, then the French, and now the United States. But even here there is, at last, sound reason for optimism. The desultory talks in Paris and the United States decision to disengage as soon as possible from the war in Viet-Nam are indications that the Viet-Nam problem is not unsolvable. It is senseless to persist in a war where clearly one side cannot defeat the other. It is an outrageous fact that more than half of the population now living in Viet-Nam was born in war and has never experienced peace.

44. The other apparently unsolvable problem is the tragic war in the Middle East. Here, too, there are grounds for at least qualified optimism. The area of agreement between the parties concerned has now been hopefully widened. My Government is well aware that there still exists a gap of suspicion and fear. But we believe that renewed war will not narrow the gap, and will most certainly erode the area of agreement so painfully and patiently broadened through peaceful negotiations.

45. My Government would like to reiterate that the Middle East conflict should be resolved through negotiations and on the basis of Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

46. A more intractable problem which comes regularly before this Assembly is that of white racialism in South Africa and Rhodesia. The ritualistic condemnation of white racialism, though necessary, will not, it is now clear, by itself bring that evil to an end. Black Africa must first manifest a unity and strength sufficiently credible to compel white Africa to come to honourable terms with the Coloured majority.

47. However, the problem of white racialism must be understood and attacked within the wider context of racialism in general. It is a depressing fact that manifestations of racialism are no longer a simple conflict between

the white and black races. Racism is increasingly becoming a world-wide plague. It afflicts not only the underdeveloped world but the developed world as well. We all know that there is oppression of blacks by whites. But there is also oppression of blacks by browns, of browns by blacks, of yellows by browns, of whites by whites, of browns by browns, and any other chromatic combination we care to think of.

48. So we of the third world cannot successfully fight white racism if we ourselves indulge in that indefensible vice. Racial oppression cannot be fought on the basis of discrimination, as regards colour struggles.

49. I do not wish to go through the list of many other allegedly unsolvable problems before us which we have accumulated over the years. The point I want to make is that the China problem demonstrates that, given the will, the irresistible can give way and the immovable can move. There are really no unsolvable human problems.

50. The participation of the People's Republic of China in the work of our Organization will at last make it truly representative of nearly all of humanity. The exclusion of some 700-800 million people—a quarter of mankind—from the community of world nations has not only made the United Nations that less representative of mankind but has also threatened international stability by compelling a quarter of mankind to work outside the framework of the United Nations. The danger becomes more compelling now that Communist China has emerged as a nuclear Power as well.

51. I am well aware that the debate on the China issue at this session will not be all plain sailing. It was cold war considerations which had for so long kept Communist China out of this Organization. One should therefore not be unduly dismayed if, at its final stages, this question should still betray old fears and ancient animosities.

52. But we should not allow what is undoubtedly a triumph of common sense and wise diplomacy to be marred by efforts to present the final outcome as a triumph for one side or a capitulation by the other. Therefore I should like at this juncture to state my country's position in regard to the issue of China.

53. We have always maintained the view that the seat allocated to China should properly be occupied by the People's Republic of China. We also subscribe to the view that there is only one China and that Taiwan is a part of it. We can hold no other view, since the Governments of Peking and Taiwan themselves have consistently maintained this view. That being so, the status of Taiwan is a domestic matter to be settled by the people of China, including those of Taiwan.

54. Having said that, I should like to add that my delegation has no intention of joining in any denigration of a Government that has for 26 years represented China in this Organization. We may disagree as to whether it should have continued to represent mainland China after it lost control over it. But we cannot deny that during those 26 years it has discharged its responsibilities towards this Organization constructively, responsibly and judiciously.

55. It is for that reason that we regret very much that the Albanian draft resolution [*A/L.630 and Add.1*], with whose essential points we whole-heartedly agree, should contain elaborations that are unduly harsh and unnecessary.

56. The entry of the People's Republic of China into this Organization will make for a different kind of United Nations from the one we have known for the past 26 years. For the first time in 26 years the United Nations will feel the impact of new approaches and new attitudes to world problems. That will impose new strains on the Organization. New problems will emerge. But, most important of all, the politics of the United Nations will be dominated, not by two, but by three major nuclear Powers. That has great implications for the small nations, in particular those of the third world. Hitherto we have had to contend only with the ambitions and rivalries of two nuclear Powers. It was a difficult enough task for small nations not to be caught in the cross-fire. There were moments of great danger for us, and even a few casualties, as we learned through trial and error how to cope with the cold war of an essentially bipolar world. But over the years the small nations have learned how to deal with two Powers, just as the two great Powers have developed their own expertise in the art of coping with small nations.

57. But with the entry of China into the United Nations arena the familiar bipolar world comes to an end and with it the equilibrium-of-sorts that world has established. In other words, the cold war involving only two great Powers has come to an end. We now see looming ahead prospects of a new tripolar cold war. Looking a little further ahead, it is more than possible that two other dominant Powers—Japan and a united Western Europe—will enter the arena of great-Power struggle. They too will, as is natural to great Powers, seek to shape the world in the light of their own particular ambitions and national interests. In other words, in the 1970s the small nations must learn to live and survive in a multipolar world of power politics. The shift from a bipolar to a multipolar world has, it is true, ended the danger of the carving-up of the world by only two great Powers. To a great extent, that offers the small nations greater room for manoeuvre, a greater range of choice. But it also carries with it new dangers. Where before we, the small nations, were subjected to pressures by two Powers, we are in future going to be exposed to the blandishments of three or more great Powers.

58. I do not foresee the great Powers abandoning power politics in the near future. That is because the great Powers believe they have evolved techniques for conducting power politics safely, without danger. I do not believe that in the long run that technique is really safe. But it is enough for our purposes that the great Powers believe it to be so. That is because the development of nuclear weapons has forced a tacit agreement among the nuclear Powers that there should be no direct confrontation between them because in nuclear terms that would mean the mutual annihilation of the great Powers. But they know that conflicts between big Powers are inevitable so long as the drive for power and dominance remains the overriding consideration in international relations. But they will be waged by means other than direct confrontation.

59. And the means are the small nations. Big wars can be and have been fought through small nations. The idea is not

really new. In the past, small nations have been pitted against one another to further the interests of great Powers. But today the technique of wars with small nations as proxies has been more systematically developed. Small wars have in the nuclear age become the only safe method of conducting big-Power conflicts. That is why today and for the past decade small wars are and have been gradually increasing; that is why the third world is the scene of growing violence and conflict and civil wars. Textbooks on military strategy refer to this as the strategy of fighting limited wars. They have developed a strategy; textbooks refer to it as the strategy of fighting limited wars. It also includes the promotion of wars of national liberation, support for guerrilla uprisings, subversion and the engineering of coups in small countries.

60. So long as power politics persist, small nations will, I am afraid, increasingly be made the battlegrounds for resolving big-Power conflicts. A multipolar world will possibly increase the risk of small wars breaking out. The small nations are more than ever before necessary instruments for big-Power conflicts—the only available instruments for big-Power conflicts.

61. I personally do not believe that small wars or limited wars are all that safe. They may be so in the short run, and in a bipolar world. But in the long run, in a multipolar world, limited wars must escalate into unlimited wars. Small Powers can acquire a significance and involve considerations of big-Power prestige which may make it impossible for a major Power to accept defeat even in limited wars. But there is little evidence at the present time to show that the big Powers are convinced of that. For the immediate future, small countries would increasingly be made the battlegrounds for big-Power conflicts because great Powers believe small wars to be safe wars.

62. This will be all the more so because we, the small nations, are either unable to resist being made pawns in the power game or because we unwittingly provide ample opportunities for big-Power intervention and manipulation. We, the small nations, are rent by internal dissension, civil wars, crushing economic problems and often inter-State conflicts, degenerating into endemic wars. These are all irresistible opportunities for successful big-Power intervention, often disguised as sympathy and aid for our respective causes.

63. But once local conflicts are meshed in with big-Power conflicts, then these wars cease to be small wars to further the ends of small nations. These small wars pass into the hands of competing big Powers. Once that happens, these wars can be ended only by the leave and licence of the big Powers and only when they have attained their somewhat different objectives.

64. So if the small nations are to prevent their becoming expendable pawns in the big-Power game, they must first put their own houses in order. As long as we are internally weak, we are easy prey for big Powers. A major source of internal weakness is our failure to promote rapid economic development. The only successful revolution that the third world has so far waged is the anti-colonial revolution. It was by any standard a great revolution. But we have been far less successful in bringing about the economic revolution so

necessary to build strong modern States. We cannot build immunity against manipulation by great and wealthy States so long as we remain economically weak and are beset by all the ills of under-development. We will remain weak and easy prey for big-Power manipulation so long as we persist in promoting what has been described as ineffective under-developed revolutions.

65. According to the Secretary-General's report on children, there are more sick and more undernourished children in the under-developed world today than was the case 10 years ago.<sup>2</sup> Human misery is progressively increasing in the third world; more people starve and more die of preventable diseases because the reproductive capacity of the peoples of the third world is increasing faster than their economic productivity.

66. There can be no unity, stability or modernization in the third world unless there is an economic breakthrough. Clearly, all the remedies and policies attempted during the past 25 years to promote rapid economic development have fundamentally been in error. That is why we still remain under-developed, in fact more under-developed with every passing year, because while we grow poorer, the wealthy nations are growing richer and more powerful every day, every year. The gap between the rich and the poor nations is widening at such a rate that if it is kept up for another two or three decades, the under-developed countries may be doomed to live in permanent bondage to the advanced nations.

67. Time, therefore, is not on the side of the third world. That is why it is vital for the small nations of the third world to approach the problems of economic development with a new sense of realism and with the utmost urgency. Past policies in regard to economic development must be abandoned simply because they have clearly failed to provide results after a period of 25 years.

68. So, for a start, we should develop an obsession about economic development. True, there is more to life than economic development. But the time to think of these higher and nobler aspects of existence is when elementary decencies of life have been assured to a majority of the peoples of the third world. Only then can we think of the more spiritual aspects of our lives. True, man does not live by bread alone, but without it he does not live at all. So an obsession with economic development is necessary for our survival as small nations.

69. When this happy condition has been reached, then small nations stand a better chance of resisting attempts to convert them into pawns in the game of great Powers. Most important of all, without the co-operation of small nations, the great Powers, confronted with the awful alternative of direct confrontation in pursuit of power politics, may finally be forced to abandon power politics as a method of conducting international relations.

70. So in a way, we, the small nations, can bring power politics to an end by first concentrating on internal development and by steadfastly refusing, like the Trojan women in the Greek play, to enter into any cold-war liaison

<sup>2</sup> See E/CN.5/448, p. 3.

with the major Powers. This is the only practical strategy for the survival of small nations in the multipolar world that is now emerging.

71. Mr. HUNLEDE (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, by your leave, the delegation of Togo to the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations associates itself with all those who have preceded us at this rostrum to extend to you the warm congratulations of our Government on the occasion of your brilliant election to the presidency of our Assembly. Our work, under the guidance of a man of your competence, having such vast experience in international affairs, will, we are sure, be carried out in an atmosphere of serenity and effectiveness.

72. We also wish to say to your illustrious predecessor, Mr. Edvard Hambro, how much the delegation of Togo appreciated the tact, authority and patience with which he guided the work of the twenty-fifth session.

73. We would certainly be failing in our duty were we not to express to the Secretary-General, U Thant, our great admiration for his indefatigable devotion to the cause of all nations. We are not unaware of the many difficulties in his endeavours, but we know, too, that he gives the best of himself in facing them. We wish him much courage and excellent health so that he may, for some time still, be in charge of our Organization, because, more than ever, it needs his long experience and his great wisdom. We are convinced that with his acute awareness of his heavy responsibilities, he would not hesitate for a second to continue his lofty mission unless absolutely imperative reasons prevent him from doing so.

*Mr. Longerstaeey (Belgium), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

74. Exactly a year ago our Organization celebrated its 25 years of existence. Speaking from this same rostrum [*1849th meeting*], I recalled the problems to which the Government of Togo devotes special attention: in particular, decolonization, *apartheid*, disarmament, China, Viet-Nam, the Middle East, the economic problems of the developing countries and so on.

75. The same subjects remain the major concerns of our Organization at its present session, because on their solutions will largely depend peace and security in the world.

76. The international political situation, which until lately was not very promising, today has aroused some hopes, particularly as a result of the measures taken since the month of April 1971 by the Government of the United States to normalize Sino-American relations. Furthermore, the decision of President Nixon to go to Peking before May 1972 constitutes definite proof of a policy of *détente*. It is difficult for us to imagine how there could be peace of any kind in Asia without the participation of the People's Republic of China, a nation of 750 million people. It is with relief that we welcome the realism of the United States policy towards Peking.

77. The problem of the admission of the People's Republic of China to our Organization seems now to have been

taken up in a more realistic manner, and my delegation can not but rejoice at this. Indeed, for several years my Government has unceasingly advocated its admission, and, what is more, as a result of a clear and unequivocal position taken recently by the Central Committee of the Rassemblement du peuple togolais, it has pronounced itself in favour of the recognition of Peking. The realism which led my country to take account of the existence of 750 million people should also prompt us to be mindful of the fate of the other 14 million people who have so far been represented in our Organization.

78. Accordingly, the delegation of Togo whole-heartedly hopes that the question of China will finally find a definite and equitable solution, because it is quite obvious that a certain number of problems—among them those of disarmament and Viet-Nam—cannot be solved if that great country is kept away from the talks where these questions are discussed.

79. Indeed, the problem of disarmament is one of those which requires that China be closely associated with a solution. China's admission to the family of the United Nations would assuredly make it become more conscious of its legitimate responsibilities by giving it the feeling that the international community wishes to see it finally play the part conferred on it by its position in the world.

80. The solution of the Viet-Nam tragedy also depends on the happy outcome of the Chinese problem. No one is unaware that peace in Viet-Nam presupposes an understanding with North Viet-Nam and co-operation with the People's Republic of China. It must be hoped that with this happy outcome the Paris talks will have some possibility of reaching a positive result.

81. Now, everybody knows that at the present time the monetary crisis in the Western world and in the countries which are tied to it by trade is caused largely by the ruinous expenditures incurred by the Viet-Nam war and which daily create a greater imbalance in the balance of payments of the United States. It is, therefore, time for that country to make a gesture, which would be rewarded. We must all sincerely hope that Washington, which so courageously has embarked on a new approach to the Chinese problem, will find in the international community the necessary encouragement and in itself the necessary resources to pursue the policy newly embarked on, which is so promising.

82. The entire world continues to be concerned with the tragedy of the Middle East. Since the last session of the General Assembly no serious evolution has been observed. The cease-fire has expired, and war can, therefore, break out at any time, thus creating a grave danger to international peace and security. Today, like yesterday, we cannot but give our support to the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and to the United States peace proposal known as the Rogers plan, despite some shortcomings due to the fact that the Palestinian problem has not been expressly mentioned. Once again we call on the two parties concerned to overcome their divergencies. We believe that, in this regard, the mission of the Organization of African Unity, with Presidents Senghor, Ahidjo, Mobutu and Gowon, which will shortly go to Israel and Egypt, may be of great usefulness in the quest for a



solution to this grave crisis, and it is to be hoped that the goodwill of the two parties concerned will contribute to the success of these meetings.

83. Another threat to world peace is the problem of decolonization. Here too, since the last session of the General Assembly no progress has been recorded. On the contrary, Portugal unceasingly and inexorably pursues, but also with a certain risk of a burning failure, its anachronistic war of reconquest, sowing destruction and death everywhere, in Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique, and carrying criminal effrontery to the extent of attacking brotherly countries such as Senegal, Guinea and Zambia, encouraged because of the powerlessness of our Organization to apply the sanctions provided for under the Charter. My delegation wishes to reiterate from this same rostrum our position of the twenty-fifth session, in particular, that military aid and economic support of the countries friendly to Portugal must cease, and that international organizations, and the United Nations in particular, should resolutely decide to isolate Portugal as long as it scorns the elementary rules of human rights and the fundamental principle of the freedom of peoples to self-determination as provided for in the Charter.

84. Another humiliation inflicted on Africa is the odious practice of *apartheid*, an abject racism erected by the authorities of Pretoria into a system of government and extended to Namibia in total defiance of resolutions of the international Organization. South Africa continues to occupy with impunity the Territory of Namibia, in spite of the relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, and persists in refusing admission to that Territory to envoys of the United Nations.

85. Another example of a racist régime that is equally dismal is that of Salisbury, which also continues to defy international opinion and seems to become more entrenched as time goes by. How could it be otherwise, since the countries which alone can give a minimum of effectiveness to the United Nations resolutions are the very ones violating these rules, despite the lofty moral declarations of intent, although it is touch and go whether they are Pharisees or cynics. It is high time for the international community to follow a minimum ethical standard; otherwise it will wither away.

86. In this connexion the problem of South Africa remains one of the concerns of our Organization and its Member States. This is why we have for some time been witnesses to heated debates on the question of determining whether, in order to induce the *apartheid* country to revise its policy, force has to be used, particularly by giving assistance to the liberation movements, or whether we should have a dialogue with Pretoria. On this point the position of my Government is perfectly clear: a dialogue with South Africa is only possible if the white minority previously agrees to a dialogue with the black majority.

87. One may indeed wonder what would be the use of a dialogue with Pretoria if the latter continues to flaunt its utter contempt for the black population for which it does not recognize even the most elementary human dignity. But no one would have the temerity to claim that he possesses a

monopoly of truth in this area, and all opinions without exception, provided they are sincere, should be heard and respected. It is only in this way that an equitable solution can be found to this tragedy of inequity.

88. I would not wish to close this chapter without expressing the feeling of my delegation with regard to the German problem, which is of the greatest concern to my country because of the ancient bonds of affection woven by history. These bonds mean that the legitimate concerns of the German people are also ours. This is why we most sincerely hope that the relations of trust which are beginning to be established between the Federal Republic of Germany and the countries of Eastern Europe—particularly because of the recent German-Soviet treaty and the German-Polish treaty—will create the best psychological conditions for a rapprochement between all Germans.

89. To go on now to the crucial problem of underdevelopment, I cannot forget that the delegation of Togo last year stressed that we were disappointed with the insignificant results obtained in the First United Nations Development Decade—and this despite all the resolutions and recommendations adopted by our Assembly since 1960.

90. On the eve of the Second Development Decade, allow me to express once again the concern of my Government at the increasingly pronounced deterioration of the economic situation in the world: deterioration in terms of trade, an international monetary crisis, a substantial reduction in the aid of the "have" countries to the developing countries, etc.

91. The present economic situation creates enormous problems for the developing countries.

92. The international monetary crisis, for example, by introducing the most total confusion in the exchange market, gravely jeopardizes the already meagre chances of the developing countries, which are struggling to narrow the ever widening gap between their economies and those of the rich countries.

93. The decisions taken in the last months by the rich countries—floating currencies, protectionist measures of all kinds—were taken without much regard for the economies of the developing countries; purely national interests have guided the promoters of these policies. But the developing countries are aware that they will be the first victims of such measures. They fear that the world has once again entered the era of protectionism, of trade and monetary war, of restrictive practices which characterized the 1930s and led to a considerable contraction in international trade.

94. Who would stand to suffer most from a decline in international trade, if not our countries which by nature are destined to export their primary goods on the world market?

95. Thus we are faced with new and serious difficulties at a time when international public aid, instead of rising to attain the targets set by the highest international authorities, is constantly reduced. Faced with this situation, characterized essentially by a toning down in international solidarity, our countries cannot remain indifferent for long.

96. The re-establishment of an international monetary order based on the principles of justice and equity must be sought as a matter of extreme urgency and with the full and complete participation of the poor countries. The quest for a solution in this field cannot be the exclusive domain of the great Powers because the international monetary order concerns us all.

97. Furthermore, the problem regarding the stabilization of prices for raw materials must cease resembling a sea serpent to become a meticulously studied reality, one likely to lead to a speedy solution acceptable to the developing countries.

98. Finally, international assistance must no longer be considered by the rich countries as a privilege which may lightly be renounced in case of need; it must become a pressing obligation for all, in the name of human solidarity and dignity.

99. Despite our faith in real international co-operation, all of this does not allow us to augur a better future for us, the poor countries, at least for the 1970s.

100. And yet, the new International Development Strategy, adopted last year [resolution 2626 (XXV)], should make it possible for the poor countries, through economic and social development and progress, to ensure for their populations a minimum standard of living compatible with human dignity.

101. In fact, this Strategy provides *inter alia* that these countries will energetically mobilize their resources and financial means with a view to their development during the 1970s; that the developed countries will endeavour to carry out by 1972 a net annual transfer of resources of at least 1 per cent of their gross national product, so as to enable the under-developed countries to attain an average annual growth rate of their gross national product of 6 per cent; and that international agreements on the most important commodities will be concluded.

102. Unfortunately, this Strategy, like those which are to come, will remain a dead letter; it will at most constitute a declaration of intent whereby the industrialized countries will continue to widen a little more the gap which divides them from the young non-industrialized States.

103. The caution and reservations contained in resolution 2626 (XXV) on the new Strategy, as well as the evolution of the world economic situation in 1971, are in themselves sufficient to allow us to see clearly that the third world has once again been taken in.

104. Furthermore, the concerted action advocated in the new Strategy has political implications; it would accordingly be difficult to determine the attitude of each Government taken separately.

105. Some will think that we want to see the first results of the Second Development Decade in no time at all. To them we would reply that we really are in a hurry to lead our countries out of their economic slump.

106. Now we bitterly note that the assistance of the wealthy countries to Africa remained stagnant from 1960 to 1967, and then declined from 1968 to the present.

107. Parallel to this, we are anguished at the decline in the prices of our basic commodities while the prices of manufactured products from the rich countries continue to rise, and we agree with the view that the deterioration in the terms of trade is the greatest economic scandal of the century. Nevertheless, our disenchantment with all these accumulated injustices and the persistence of the systematic exploitation of the poor by the rich fail to plunge us into despair. On the contrary, we are more than ever resolved to continue the struggle against under-development so as to create the basis for our genuine economic independence.

108. Since 1967, the year in which political stability was restored in Togo, some remarkable achievements have placed our country genuinely on the road to progress, thanks to the tireless efforts of our young and dynamic Head of State, General Etienne Eyadéma, and to the valuable assistance of friendly countries.

109. From 1966 to 1971, the total budget of Togo rose by almost 70 per cent. Our balance of payments in 1968 showed a surplus of 795 million CFA francs; that of 1969, a surplus of 3,700 million CFA francs. During the same period, the rate of coverage of our imports by our exports rose from 60 per cent in 1965 to 85 per cent in 1970.

110. Tied in with this, Togolese national production, in the course of our first five-year plan, achieved remarkable growth, thanks to State intervention which, by itself and through public organizations, invested close to 10,000 million CFA francs. Agricultural production, the basic strength of our economy since it represents 44.5 per cent of our gross national product, is constantly on the rise. This key sector has an average annual growth rate of 9 per cent.

111. As will be observed, the Togolese economy has succeeded in crossing the difficult shoals of balances: we are at present at the cross-roads and in search of the indispensable ways and means for our economic take-off. But that take-off cannot be achieved under favourable conditions unless the wealthy countries give up their arbitrary fixing of prices for our raw materials and for their manufactured products; unless they stop their unbridled competition with our commodities by means of reprehensible trade practices; unless they realize that international peace must of necessity proceed from a fair distribution of goods and an equitable remuneration for our efforts. For after all, as Secretary-General U Thant emphasized during the United Nations Day celebration in 1969, "we all belong to the same human race".

112. It would be unfair to end my statement on an unduly pessimistic note. My Government therefore wishes to pay a tribute to the countries of the European Economic Community, particularly to France and the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as the United Nations Development Programme and the specialized agencies of the United Nations, especially the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and others, all of which have been unsparing in their

efforts to assist us in overcoming hunger, poverty and ignorance.

113. We sincerely hope that many other countries will follow suit and help us to become real "developing" countries not, as an eminent economist rightly but humorously remarked, "under-developing" countries. This cannot be achieved unless, in our so-called consumer society of intemperate selfishness, development is regarded as an instrument in the service of man and of all men. Man is ever at the centre of the systems of philosophy prevailing in all parts of the world. It would be reassuring if, in their daily activities, in the day-to-day exercise of their heavy responsibilities, statesmen were to keep in mind what Albert Camus rightly and most aptly observed, namely that "unless men can refer to a common set of values, recognized by all and every one, then man will become incomprehensible to man". Let us meditate on that thought.

114. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Both the course and the content of the general debate at the twenty-sixth session of the United Nations General Assembly have provided new evidence and new proof that the fighting alliance of the basic revolutionary forces of today—the world socialist system, and the international workers' and national liberation movements—is gaining strength in the joint struggle against imperialism, while the forces of war, aggression, and the exploitation and oppression of other peoples have been compelled to retreat, using every possible means to camouflage policies which are contrary to the interests of peace and co-operation.

115. During the past year, as a result of the efforts of the Soviet Union and other socialist States, which consistently and openly pursue a peace-loving foreign policy, and with the support of all progressive forces, positive results have been achieved in the improvement of the international situation.

116. We have all witnessed a further decrease in tension in Europe, a *détente* which has been assisted by the treaties concluded between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany<sup>3</sup> and between the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany,<sup>4</sup> both of which we hope will soon enter into force, by the four-Power agreement on West Berlin,<sup>5</sup> and by increasing support for the proposal put forward by the member States of the Warsaw Pact for a conference on problems of European security and co-operation.

117. The process of developing and strengthening relations between the Soviet Union and other countries throughout the world is actively continuing. The Treaty on Friendship and Co-operation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Arab Republic of Egypt, signed at Cairo on 27 May 1971; the Treaty on Peace, Friendship and Co-operation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Repub-

lics and the Republic of India, signed at New Delhi on 9 August 1971; protocols on consultation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and France and between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Canada, and numerous treaties and agreements on the development of economic, commercial, scientific and technical co-operation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and other countries which have been concluded are having a positive effect on mutual relations between States. It would be difficult to overestimate the positive impact upon the development of international relations and the general improvement of the international situation resulting from the meetings held by Comrades L. I. Brezhnev, N. V. Podgorny and A. N. Kosygin with the leaders of a number of countries, from the reciprocal visits to and from the Soviet Union of party, Government and parliamentary delegations, and from meetings and contacts at other levels.

118. All the activities of the Soviet Union in the sphere of foreign policy are based on the principle of proletarian internationalism in relationships with the socialist States and peaceful coexistence in relations with all other countries bequeathed by V. I. Lenin.

119. The aims of Soviet foreign policy are to work with the other socialist countries to create favourable international conditions for the building of socialism and communism; to strengthen unity, solidarity, friendship and fraternity between the socialist countries; to support the national liberation movement and co-operate in every way with the young, developing countries; to uphold consistently the principle of peaceful coexistence between States with different social systems; and to offer a decisive rebuff to the aggressive forces of imperialism, and save humanity from a new world war.

120. The Twenty-Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union confirmed the consistency of the Soviet Union's peace-loving Leninist foreign policy and adopted a specific programme for the struggle for peace and international co-operation.

121. That well-known peace programme, for which the Byelorussian SSR expressed full support in its reply to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the subject of the strengthening of international security [A/8431], has been widely acclaimed and supported by those to whom the ideals of peace, social justice and progress are dear.

122. Unfortunately, however, not all countries have maintained a peace-loving course in their foreign policy activities, a course aimed at ensuring a decrease in international tension and the solution of controversial problems by peaceful means without the threat or use of force and in the interests of furthering good-neighbourly relations between all countries.

123. The United States of America is continuing its aggressive war against the peoples of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia. With its assistance and protection, Israel is continuing its aggression against the Arab States and is frustrating a settlement in the Middle East. The colonialists and racists, relying on assistance from the major NATO Powers, are waging a war against the national liberator.

<sup>3</sup> Signed at Moscow on 12 August 1970.

<sup>4</sup> Treaty on the Bases for the Normalization of Relations, signed at Warsaw on 7 December 1970.

<sup>5</sup> Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

fighters in southern Africa and other parts of the world and continue to hold millions of people under the yoke of colonial and racist domination. The United States of America, caught in a monetary and financial crisis, is trying to extricate itself at the expense of the interests of other States, and primarily of the developing countries.

124. Everyone understands that such policies and actions perpetrated by the forces of imperialism and their accomplices are contrary to the interests of peace and co-operation between nations and are a gross violation of the United Nations Charter and of the most important decisions adopted by the United Nations, including the progressive decisions adopted last year during the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the General Assembly. We refer in particular to the failure of a number of States Members of the United Nations to observe the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], the Declaration on the Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations [*resolution 2627 (XXV)*], the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV)*], the special Programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 2621 (XXV)*], decisions on questions relating to the Middle East and to economic co-operation, and a number of other decisions whose implementation by all States, without any exception, would contribute to the achievement of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and, above all, of the main task of the United Nations—the maintenance of international peace and security.

125. Faced with diametrically opposed approaches by States to the basic international problems under discussion at the United Nations, the many Foreign Ministers and heads of delegations who have already spoken have tried to elucidate the reasons why certain problems remain unresolved. We note with satisfaction that the majority of speakers have pointed clearly and unequivocally to the guilt of the forces of imperialism for acts of aggression, colonial wars, racial discrimination, and the economic exploitation of other peoples. In those statements concrete suggestions for settling outstanding problems have been made, suggestions which are completely in line with, or coincide with, the position of the socialist countries. The ranks of those fighting for peace and co-operation have swelled, inspiring the hope that the joint efforts of all the anti-imperialist forces will lead to the adoption of effective decisions within the United Nations.

126. Our attitude to the statements in which emphasis has been placed on the particular role and responsibility of the great Powers as defined by the Charter of the United Nations is one of understanding. Strangely enough, however, certain speakers—albeit not many—in referring to the great Powers and their responsibility, have directed their criticism at all the great Powers, without differentiating between their positions. As a result, demands to end the aggression in South-East Asia and the Middle East, to put an end to colonial wars, to eradicate racial discrimination from human society and to abandon the economic enslavement of the developing countries have been addressed, not

to the real culprits, but to all the great Powers. Such an approach does not help matters; it distorts the true picture and can only make it easier for the aggressor and the oppressor to find new subterfuges to evade the fulfilment of their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. What is needed here is a definite and precise position and absolute clarity as to who supports what and who is guilty of what. Lumping the great Powers together serves as a convenient cover for the forces of imperialism and for their acts of aggression in Indo-China, the Middle East and other parts of the world.

127. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR has followed attentively the general debate in the Assembly and cannot let pass those individual statements which postulate the totally unfounded idea that there are “two super-Powers”, that their positions are identical, and that conflict with them is inevitable. Those speakers are obviously prisoners of a concept invented by imperialist ideologists, who have devised the term “super-Powers” to defend the basic principles of capitalism, to justify the aggressive nature of the course of United States foreign policy and to destroy the unity of effort of all the anti-imperialist forces in their struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and social justice. Those who use the “super-Powers” concept are either promoting their own selfish interests or are attempting, on someone else’s orders, to conceal the conflict that exists between the two world systems of socialism and capitalism. They are thus undermining the true struggle against imperialism and fail to understand the elementary truth that the foreign policy of any State is determined, not by the size of the State or by its economic or military potential, but by the class which is in power in that country and by whether the Government pursues policies which are in line with the interests of the working people or whether it defends the interests of the exploiters and oppressors, and by whether that State is a stronghold of peace and a bulwark in the struggle of all progressive and revolutionary forces against imperialism or whether it is acting as policeman to the world and by its policies and actions is bringing destruction, death and suffering to other peoples.

128. This is the heart of the matter, as I intend to show by analysing the approach of various States or groups of States to the solution of a number of unsolved and pressing problems which are being discussed within the United Nations, including some which are being discussed in the general debate today.

129. Firstly, however, we should like to state categorically that the Byelorussian SSR, like the other socialist States, upholds the principle that every country and all States should, in the words of the Charter of the United Nations, be determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, to unite their strength to maintain international peace and security, to settle their international disputes by peaceful means, to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force, to assist in the complete elimination of colonialism and its evil consequences and to promote the economic and social advancement of all peoples.

130. Consequently, we welcome any bilateral or multi-lateral agreement between States on any subject provided

such agreement is consistent with the objectives of the United Nations. This cannot be said for those who use the "super-Powers" concept. In this connexion, we have only to recall that almost any agreement on disarmament matters has been rejected precisely by those who like to talk about "super-Powers". Such was the case when the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex], the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and the Subsoil Thereof [resolution 2660 (XXV), annex] were being prepared, and in many other instances.

131. But let us return to matters raised by delegations at the current session of the United Nations General Assembly.

132. For over 10 years an aggressive war has been waged in South-East Asia, where the United States and its accomplices have killed more than a million Viet-Nameese, Laotians and Cambodians, mutilated millions of human beings, destroyed thousands of towns and villages in the Indo-Chinese peninsula, and, by their use of toxic chemical substances, have transformed vast areas into deserts. To the chain of crimes committed by the Hitlerites during the Second World War, an ample reminder of which are such villages as Katyn in Byelorussia, Lidice in Czechoslovakia or Oradour in France, which were destroyed with all their inhabitants, a new and terrible link has been added — Song-My in Viet-Nam. It is not only the United States that is waging this aggressive war, but also a number of countries which call themselves developing States. Instead of occupying themselves with matters related to their own development, however, they expend enormous sums for military purposes or sell their soldiers to a rich great Power and send them to fight in defence of foreign interests, causing untold suffering to the peoples of other developing countries. How do the propagandists of the "super-Powers" concept reply to this? They know very well that the Soviet Union is working indefatigably towards the elimination of the military hotbed in South-East Asia. The Twenty-Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union adopted a special address on freedom and peace to the peoples of Indo-China. The Soviet Union and other socialist and peace-loving States actively support the just demands of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, and of the National United Front of Cambodia and the Patriotic Front of Laos. The overwhelming majority of States see in the recent seven-point proposals put forward by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam a constructive programme for a political settlement of the war in South-East Asia. The other side avoids even discussing these proposals. Here in the Assembly there are certain people who are trying to put us off our guard by their talk of decreasing the conflict in South-East Asia, despite the fact that the beginning of this session of the United Nations General Assembly was marked by a resumption of the bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and by a renewal of military operations by United States forces in Cambodia and Laos.

133. The Byelorussian SSR, like many other countries, decisively condemns the aggression in South-East Asia and

demands the immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of United States troops and of the troops of their allies from that area, and the abandonment of the policy of forcing Asians to fight against Asians. We affirm our support of the struggle of the peoples of Indo-China for independence and freedom, and demand that they should be given the right to be the masters on their own soil and to decide their own future without foreign interference.

134. Let us now turn to the situation in the Middle East which has resulted from the Israeli aggression against the Arab States which was prepared, encouraged and directed by the forces of imperialism. After more than four years the consequences of that criminal aggression have still not been eliminated. What is the reason? Can anyone here see any collusion between the great Powers, or any identity in their positions? One would have to be quite bereft of reason to assert this. The whole world knows that the Soviet Union, the other socialist States and the overwhelming majority of other peace-loving States decisively and unconditionally condemn Israeli aggression and are doing everything possible to implement Security Council resolution 242 (1967). The socialist States and many Afro-Asian countries support the struggle of the Arab peoples, who are the victims of aggression, for the restoration of their violated rights, for a just political settlement in the Middle East and for the protection of the lawful rights of the people of Palestine. This was also stressed in the statement of the Twenty-Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union calling for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

135. One great Power, France, has adopted a constructive position on the Middle East question. At one time, the United Kingdom was a sponsor of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), although now it has almost entirely adopted the position of another great Power. The Arab countries are ready to implement fully that decision of the Security Council with reference to both the withdrawal of Israeli troops and to the establishment of a lasting peace in that area. In the summer of this year, the Arab Republic of Egypt responded immediately and positively to the proposal of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Ambassador Jarring. It stated that it was ready to conclude a peace treaty with Israel on condition that Israeli troops would be withdrawn from the occupied Arab territories. Its patience and sincere desire for peace have guaranteed the lengthy cease-fire in order to achieve the objectives contained in the Security Council resolution. Everyone is aware of the initiative of the Arab Republic of Egypt which proposed measures for the resumption of navigation in the Suez Canal in the near future on condition that the Israeli forces were withdrawn from the Canal Zone, and subsequently from all the occupied territories. Mr. Riad, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt, has mentioned this point again here [1954th meeting]. In point of fact every argument advanced in the past by Israel in support of its claim that it is only trying to ensure its own security, has received a positive and constructive response from the Arab States. Nevertheless, Israel is stubbornly evading a solution to the question of the withdrawal of its forces from the Arab territories it has seized. And in pursuing these villainous policies it relies on the support of the United States and certain of its allies. With their assistance,

moreover, Israel is building up its military potential and sabotaging a settlement; it has submitted new claims one after another with one sole end in view, namely to retain possession of the Arab territories it has seized. We recently witnessed how, with this same end in view, proposals whose hidden purpose was simply to reward Israel for its aggression were put forward from this lofty rostrum as "new ideas". Quite naturally, those sugared proposals were rejected by the Arab States because they do not and cannot ensure a final political settlement in the Middle East based on the implementation of the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of foreign territory by force, a principle which has been approved by the United Nations. And from this specific historical example everyone can see how diametrically opposed are the policies and positions of the two great Powers or, as some people call them, the two "super-Powers".

136. Mr. Khaddam, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Syrian Arab Republic, who spoke here [1952nd meeting], was right when he stated that the attempt of Zionist-Israeli propaganda to present Israeli aggression against the Arab countries as a conflict between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the Middle East was intended to establish an absolute link between United States interests and Israeli aggression; this attempt reflects the desire of the expansionist Israeli State to continue its occupation of the Arab territories. We can only regret that some of those who have spoken from this rostrum have been taken in by this deceitful trick of the Israeli aggressors.

137. I have already referred to certain positive trends in the development of the situation in Europe, which are the result of the foreign policy initiatives taken by the Soviet Union and other socialist States. But there, too, there are many pressing problems which require urgent solution. The treaties and agreements which have been concluded have not as yet been implemented, no final decision has yet been taken on the convening of a conference on questions of security and co-operation, and practical work on arms limitation in Europe has not yet begun.

138. It is a well-known fact that all the proposals to transform Europe into a continent of peace and co-operation have been introduced by the Soviet Union in close co-operation with other socialist States. Such proposals are actively supported by the majority of Western European countries.

139. What, then, is impeding their rapid and effective implementation? Once again, it is the reluctance, not of all, but of certain of the great Powers and some of their more zealous allies inside NATO to move rapidly and unconditionally towards a total *détente* in Europe.

140. Everyone knows who it is that has set, and continues to set, every kind of obstacle and more and more prior conditions to the convening of an all-European conference and who it is that asks questions that can only be answered by the conference itself and by negotiations on the limitation of armaments. The question most frequently raised is what will happen if an all-European conference takes place or if negotiations begin on the limitation of armaments. The answer to that question depends on the

position adopted by the participants in such meetings. But it is clear that if everyone is as resolute and as consistent as the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in seeking ways of reaching agreement, Europe will no longer be a focal point for world-wide conflict. This will be to the advantage of all nations of the world, large and small, both in Europe and in other countries. The States of the socialist community will make resolute and consistent efforts to attain this end, in full awareness of their great duty and responsibility to all humanity.

141. All representatives are familiar with the agenda of the General Assembly. But permit me to draw attention to a small but important detail. There are 98 items on the agenda. Among them are quite a few items of an organizational nature that stem from the Charter of the United Nations or relate to elections and the accountability of organs working between sessions. Let us try to select the most important items and remember on whose initiative they were included in the agenda. It will then become clear that the Soviet Union and the other socialist States, including the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, have had placed on the agenda items on the strengthening of international security, the convening of a world disarmament conference and a number of other disarmament questions, including a proposal for the elimination of chemical and bacteriological weapons, nuclear disarmament, and so on. These countries have also had placed on the agenda items connected with the peaceful uses of outer space, the preparation of an international treaty concerning the moon, the question of the universality of the United Nations, decolonization, and economic co-operation. The socialist States have raised matters concerning the struggle against nazism and racism, the punishment of war criminals, the definition of aggression and many other important items on the agenda of the General Assembly, which determine the political character of our Organization.

142. This year, the United States, with the support of certain other Western countries, even went so far as to make it impossible for the United Nations to erase a shameful blot on its escutcheon, by preventing discussions of questions raised by a large group of socialist and Afro-Asian States on the withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations and the dissolution of the illegally created Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.

143. In connexion with this unjustified decision which was forced upon the General Assembly, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, as a sponsor of the aforementioned proposals [A/8443 and Add.1, A/8444 and Add.1] states that it will continue to strive actively to secure the departure of the occupying forces from Korean soil, so that the flag of the United Nations will not be used as a cover for imperialist adventures, and the Korean people will be given the opportunity to decide their own destiny.

144. The position of certain Western countries regarding even such an important political matter as the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security also deserves attention. A study of the Secretary-General's report on this question [A/8431 and Add.1-5] shows that the United States did not reply to the

United Nations questionnaire on the subject, while the United Kingdom contented itself with a formal reply referring to its previous year's report. How are we to understand the position of these two great Powers which, together with the other permanent members of the Security Council, bear the main responsibility for the peace and security of all nations.

145. Certain Western countries have remained silent on the question of convening a world disarmament conference, and the United States has clearly said that it views this proposal with scepticism. We support the proposal for the convening of a world disarmament conference [A/L.631] and note with satisfaction that many States approve the initiative of the USSR, support it and have decided to discuss the problem directly at plenary meetings, thereby stressing its extreme importance in the present situation of an unrestrained arms race encouraged by the military and industrial complex of the imperialist Powers.

146. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR intends to speak on another occasion on the questions of the strengthening of international security and disarmament. At this point we merely wish to appeal to all States, large and small, to pay the most serious attention, in discussing these questions, to the fact that certain Powers are not adhering to the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, are not assisting the peaceful settlement of military conflicts and are slowing down the process of disarmament. Joint efforts are needed on the part of all Members of the United Nations to eliminate the hotbeds of war and to strengthen the peace and security of all nations.

147. Our policy with regard to the struggle against colonialism is well known. One of the points in the programme of peace approved by the Twenty-Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union states that the decisions of the United Nations concerning the elimination of the remaining colonial régimes must be fully implemented, and any manifestations of racism and *apartheid* must be universally condemned and boycotted. The resolution of the Twenty-Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the report of the Central Committee of the CPSU states that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union "is invariably true to the Leninist principle of solidarity with the peoples fighting for national liberation and social emancipation. As in the past, the fighters against the remaining colonial régimes can count on our full support".<sup>6</sup>

148. Such is the position of the Soviet Union, and such is the position of the other socialist States. This policy, as is well known, is backed by practical deeds. It was on the initiative of the Soviet Union in 1960 that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was adopted and important decisions, proposed and supported by the socialist States, have been taken with the aim of eliminating colonialism and its consequences. Those decisions have played an important role in the achievement of independence by many countries that have since become Members of the United Nations.

149. The position taken by the present and former colonial Powers is quite the opposite. They continue to support colonial régimes; they grant military and economic assistance to the South African and Southern Rhodesian racists and to the Portuguese colonialists; they commit acts of aggression against sovereign States Members of the United Nations, impose the dangerous idea of a so-called dialogue with the South African racists on the African States, and refuse to co-operate within the United Nations in order to complete the process of decolonization. With that purpose in view, some of them have even gone so far as to use the veto in the Security Council and to withdraw from United Nations organs dealing with decolonization.

150. During the course of the general debate, Ministers for Foreign Affairs and heads of delegations of African and many other countries have justly rebuked the colonialists and the racists for their actions. We proclaim our full solidarity with them and will do everything possible to speed the complete elimination of the remaining colonial régimes.

151. It is not enough to eliminate the colonialists' political domination. That must be followed by a process of independent economic development in the interests of the peoples of the young sovereign States. As a result of the efforts of the Soviet Union and the other socialist States and with the support of the developing countries, it has been possible, despite resistance from the forces of oppression and exploitation, to secure the adoption of a number of decisions which have promoted the economic and social advancement of nations. It is sufficient to recall in this connexion the decisions of the United Nations which establish the inadmissibility of setting political conditions when granting economic assistance and recognize the inalienable sovereignty of every nation over its natural resources and riches, decisions which call for measures to be worked out within the United Nations to reduce considerably the export of capital in various forms from the developing countries and to increase their share of the profits of foreign monopolies, decisions which recognize the need for State control on the part of developing countries over the activities of foreign capital and call for the regulation and improvement of tax systems in the developing countries with respect to both local and foreign capital, in order to achieve greater equity in the distribution of income and the utilization of national resources for development purposes. We have demanded and continue to demand that the former colonial Powers, and also the capitalist countries which still continue their predatory exploitation of the resources of others, compensate the developing countries for the material losses that they have suffered.

152. It would be possible to continue this list and give specific examples, but it is already clear that in matters of economic co-operation, too, our position is radically different from the policies and practices of the United States and its associates in the exploitation of the riches of the developing countries, and in attempts to solve their own economic problems to the detriment of, or at the expense of, the legitimate interests of other States, a matter on which many representatives of the developing countries and even of certain Western countries have spoken convincingly. Almost all Members of the United Nations recognize the

<sup>6</sup> *Materialy XXIV Sezda KPSS* (Moscow, Politizdat, 1971), p. 194.

need to implement the principle of the universality of the organization. Thanks to our consistent position on the question of universality, the membership of the United Nations has been increased by 80 States in the 26 years of its existence. We now advocate the admission of the German Democratic Republic to the United Nations and the simultaneous admission of the Federal Republic of Germany, the restoration of the lawful rights of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations and the expulsion from all organs of the United Nations of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek who illegally occupy its place.

153. We do not intend to go into details concerning those who are impeding implementation of the principle of the universality of the United Nations. However, we cannot let pass the references which have been made to the membership of the Byelorussian SSR in the United Nations by the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Rogers, [*1950th meeting*] references which are unworthy of the representative of a great Power.

154. The Byelorussian SSR is a founding Member of the United Nations, and made a considerable contribution to the preparation of the Charter of the United Nations and to the adoption of decisions aimed at ensuring its implementation. We earned the right to become a founding Member of the United Nations in the cruel and deadly struggle against the grim forces of fascism during the Second World War. More than 1,100,000 citizens of the Byelorussian SSR fought at the front during the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people against the Hitlerite invaders, and on the temporarily occupied territory of Byelorussia more than 440,000 partisans and underground fighters carried on a heroic struggle in the ranks of the fearless avengers of the people and were supported in that struggle by the entire Byelorussian people.

155. Perhaps Mr. Rogers is not aware of the fact that up to the time when the fascist occupiers were driven from Byelorussian soil, the Byelorussian partisans and underground fighters alone had killed or put out of action over half a million of Hitler's soldiers and officers, that is to say considerably more than the British and American armies put together had done by the middle of 1944. These facts are known to many Americans. The heroic role of the Byelorussian people in achieving the aims of the United Nations and the right of the Byelorussian SSR to be a founding Member of the United Nations were recognized by one of Mr. Rogers' predecessors, the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Stettinius, in a statement at a press conference in Washington on 3 April 1945.

156. We would remind Mr. Rogers of this and tell him not to use such impermissible methods in his efforts to defend the unjust cause of keeping the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek in the United Nations.

157. During the discussion of items on the agenda in plenary meetings and in the Committees, the Byelorussian delegation will state in greater detail its position both on questions raised this morning and on questions that we have not been able to refer to because of lack of time. We have deemed it desirable to go into more detail in revealing the false concept of the so-called "super-Powers", not in order to defend our own position or to conceal the strength and capability of socialist co-operation in actively influencing the course of international events, but simply in order to unmask those who proclaim this anti-scientific concept in an attempt to prevent any consolidation of the forces of peace, progress and democracy and to cover up aggression and the seizure of foreign lands.

158. We should like once again to remind distinguished representatives that the Soviet Union and the other socialist States are guided in their foreign policies by the interests of international security, the principle of the equality of all nations, respect for the sovereignty of each country, and the inadmissibility of interference in the internal affairs of States. The socialist States have never developed relations with any countries at the expense of, or to the detriment of, the interests of others and have done everything possible to ensure that multilateral co-operation between States was built and developed on the basis of the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

159. In our century of struggle between two opposing trends in foreign-policy matters, that is to say between the policies of the forces of socialism and of the forces of imperialism, no country which is truly interested in peace and co-operation between nations can remain on the sidelines; it must join the anti-imperialist front and wage an active struggle against policies of aggression and war. Only in this way is it possible to ensure truly independent political and economic development. This is the political course of the future and the affairs of those nations that pursue it will undoubtedly flourish.

160. Our foreign policy is one of peace and international security, the strengthening of fraternal relations between socialist countries and of their alliance with the anti-imperialist forces fighting for freedom throughout the world. It can already be said that the programme for the struggle for peace, freedom and national independence, put forward by the Twenty-Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has evoked a wide response in every continent of the world.

161. The general political debate at the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly now drawing to a close confirms this absolutely.

*The meeting rose at 1 p.m.*