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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. PRADO VALLEJO (Ecuador) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, your unanimous election to the office of President of the General Assembly offers great promise that at this session, which is being held at a time when world peace is endangered, the United Nations will adopt resolutions that will strengthen the spirit of international co-operation and restore tranquillity to the peoples. I should like to join in the congratulations that you are receiving on your election.

2. May I also point out that the *raison d'être* of the United Nations is no other than peace. It was established for the purpose of saving mankind from the scourge of war and its Members resolved to combine their efforts to that end on the basis of the principles of mutual respect and of justice. Our peoples thought that this generation must live in a world of peace and security through the work of the United Nations and the co-operation of all States in the common purposes set forth in the Charter. We accordingly set up machinery for action for the preservation of international peace and security, and the States reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the equality of nations, in the principles of justice and law and in the firm determination to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedoms.

3. The creation of the United Nations meant at that time the dawn of a new era for tormented mankind. But today, considering it objectively, we wonder whether those purposes have been fulfilled, whether peace and security are guaranteed, whether international conduct is firmly based on justice and law, whether social well-being is today an undeniable reality and whether freedom and human rights fully prevail in our community of nations.

4. You all know the answer well. Our conscience tells us that much of what we proclaimed has never got beyond the written word. Men and peoples, who deserve to live in peace and to enjoy the benefits of civilization, free from fear, are fighting with unparalleled passion

and are dying on the battle-field, the victims of bombardments or of weapons of mass destruction.

5. Hatred reigns on every side. The States are preparing for war and an unstable balance of arms is only just holding back the threatening shadow of a third world conflagration which any slight incident may unleash. There are regions where Governments and peoples are threatened with destruction. And although the tension between the two great opposing blocs seems to have been somewhat relaxed in recent times, uncertainty prevails.

6. We may therefore ask ourselves what we have done to ensure that the United Nations fulfils its purposes of peace and security. As the representative of a nation that has placed its faith in the peaceful settlement of disputes, I must state, in all objectivity and calmness, that much of the responsibility for this alarming situation undoubtedly lies, in the first place, with the great Powers, which are acting on the basis of their own economic and political interests and the unjust exploitation of the resources of the world. This alone explains why the incomprehensible war in Vietnam is continuing, against the wise judgement of the nations; why a serious and dangerous confrontation is taking place in the Middle East in which it is possible to perceive the operation of the opposing economic and political interests which the Great Powers maintain in that part of the world; and why in America a communist Government which from the Caribbean, beyond the shadow of a doubt, is inciting to subversion and fomenting guerrilla warfare dares to defy the democratic conscience and our free institutions, because it knows that it can count on the armed support of a great Power.

7. The United Nations has just passed through one of the most critical periods since the Second World War. The use of armed force has given rise to a confrontation in a particularly vulnerable region like the Middle East which could easily degenerate into a conflagration of great and unpredictable consequences, for the acts of June 1967 constituted a serious breakdown of international peace and security.

8. With this in mind, Ecuador, together with other Latin American countries, submitted a draft resolution^{1/} to the fifth emergency special session of the General Assembly proclaiming respect for the fundamental principles of international law and proposing a just and balanced solution to the Arab-Israel problem designed to produce stable and lasting peace in the Near East. I venture to draw attention to the essential points in that draft resolution, because through their implementation it would be possible to find a solution

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Emergency Special Session, Annexes, agenda item 5, document A/L.523/Rev.1.

to the problem; (a) the withdrawal of the Israeli troops to the *status quo* as in June 1967; (b) the termination of the state of belligerency in the region, which implies the full recognition of the personality and rights of the State of Israel, as also of the Arab States, and a recourse to the peaceful procedures for the settlement of disputes laid down in the Charter; (c) action by the Security Council to supervise the withdrawal of the troops, to guarantee free transit for Israel in the international waterways of the region and to achieve a suitable and complete solution of the problem of the refugees, as also to guarantee the inviolability of the territory and the political independence of the States in the region; and (d) the establishment of an international régime for the city of Jerusalem.

9. It is true that no unanimously acceptable formula was found which would solve the Arab-Israel problem, but it is laid down in a resolution of the General Assembly [2254 (ES-V)] that the measures taken by Israel to change the status of the city of Jerusalem are invalid and that the Assembly's decision that Israel must desist from taking any action which would alter that status still holds good. Similarly, the discussions in the United Nations confirmed the validity of fundamental principles of law, among which the following should be mentioned:

(1) No stable international order can be based on the threat or use of force. There were an overwhelming number of statements rejecting territorial conquest and the retention of occupied territories as a means of pressure for subsequent peace treaties or negotiations. In this respect, there was no doubt about the recognition that the principle of the prohibition of the threat or use of force had been converted into a mandatory rule of international law—*jus cogens*—when the Briand-Kellogg Pact was signed in 1928, a rule that had subsequently been confirmed in America in the Anti-War Treaty of Non-Aggression and Conciliation known as the Saavedra Lamas,^{2/} the Charter of the United Nations and the Charter of the Organization of American States.

(2) The condemnation of the use of force and the invalidity of territorial conquest. Hence, the return of territories occupied by force.

(3) Recognition of the right of navigation in international waterways, allowance being made for the right of coastal States to establish the breadth of their territorial sea in conformity with practical criteria and with the need to defend and protect maritime resources.

(4) The mandatory nature of resort to peaceful means for the settlement of international disputes, a principle to which Ecuador added the suggestion for the establishment of a permanent mediation commission, which in the Arab-Israel case would be a valuable instrument to help in finding a just and satisfactory settlement, and

(5) Recognition of the full competence of the General Assembly, in accordance with Articles 10, 11 and 14 of the Charter, to consider any situation that may endanger peace and to recommend appropriate measures for its settlement.

^{2/} Anti-War Treaty of Non-Aggression and Conciliation, concluded at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, on 10 October 1933.

10. On the basis of those principles, my delegation still thinks that the United Nations will have to continue its efforts until a lasting solution is found. Ecuador is ready to participate fully in those efforts.

11. The Viet-Nam war continues to defy man's common sense and aspirations. This war must be brought to an end. The conscience of the world demands it. While in other parts of the world men are dying of hunger and poverty, there they are investing enormous sums of money in order to kill each other with the most modern means of destruction. It is incomprehensible that the parties in conflict do not sit down and discuss their differences like reasonable people and there is no justification for their refusal to do so. The United Nations cannot go on merely observing a tragedy that disturbs mankind and endangers international peace and security.

12. Ecuador consequently supports the steps taken by His Holiness Paul VI and the Secretary-General of the United Nations to bring the war in Viet-Nam to an end. My delegation paid particular attention to the exchange of messages which took place between the Secretary-General and the Permanent Representative of the United States at the end of last year. It wishes to reaffirm its view that the continuation of this war means an imminent danger for the peace of the world, in addition to the terrible loss of human lives, property and resources. Ecuador is ready to contribute as far as it can, by its vote and its discussions, to the attainment of a stable and just peace in Viet-Nam, whose people have endured and are enduring indescribable sufferings.

13. Disarmament is a problem of fundamental concern of mankind. Despite the efforts being made by the United Nations, little has been achieved so far. It is therefore necessary to redouble those efforts, on the understanding that the achievement of disarmament is an essential objective of mankind, not only because the progressive increase in weapons means an imminent danger for peace but also because it militates against the improvement of the living conditions of peoples.

14. The arms race has continued in various parts of the world and unfortunately it seems to have started in Latin America too. Ecuador has denounced, denounces once again and will continue to denounce the dangers that a race of this type entails, especially for the countries of the region, since it means diverting vast financial resources which should preferably be spent on supplying the needs of the great masses of the people who are sunk in poverty and hunger. It is imperative that the General Assembly should reiterate its pronouncements against the arms race as a threat to peace and security and to the economic and social development of peoples.

15. I must express my deepest satisfaction regarding the agreement announced between the United States and the Soviet Union in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, leading, perhaps, to the conclusion of a treaty to prevent the proliferation of nuclear armaments. I recall the enormous efforts made by the United Nations and by that Committee to arrive at such an agreement. Hence the prompt conclusion of this treaty would be a ray of light encouraging man's hopes for general and complete disarmament. I am

sure that those two Powers, realizing the extent of their responsibility in this matter, will soon be able to overcome any obstacle there may still be to the conclusion of this instrument.

16. Nineteen countries of Latin America, among them Ecuador, have proposed to this Assembly the inclusion in its agenda of an item concerning the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America [A/6676 and Add.1 to 4]. In so doing they have complied with resolution 22 (IV) adopted in Mexico by the Preparatory Commission for the Denuclearization of Latin America. The object of the inclusion of this item is to enable representatives of the signatory States to explain in the world Organization the significance and scope of this instrument.

17. Without prejudice to the statement that the appropriate Ecuadorian representative will make on the matter, I must point out that the production, use, installation, receipt and stockpiling of nuclear weapons must be prohibited in Latin America. The work of the Preparatory Commission, which held four sessions in the hospitable city of Mexico, finally culminated in the signing of the Treaty of Tlatelolco on 14 February 1967. It has taken five years of discussion, five years of intensive activity, five years of tireless efforts, to achieve the result that the countries of Latin America are now presenting to the world.

18. As the representative of Ecuador rightly said at the ceremony of the signing of the Treaty, this Treaty bars the possibility of any nuclear bases existing in Latin America. It is the first instrument in which a region which is not only geographically but also culturally homogeneous affirms its determination to keep itself free from the dramatic threat that the possession of nuclear arms signifies. It is an effective complement to the Treaty of Moscow,^{3/} for it establishes means of preventing tests prior to the production of nuclear weapons in the only environment—underground—which that Treaty allows. As is natural, the Treaty of Tlatelolco allows peaceful explosions, through possible agreements with nuclear Powers or international bodies, designed to achieve the great works that the Latin American countries need in order to rise from their under-development.

19. As representatives are aware, the aim of the Treaty is to contribute to general and complete disarmament. I am therefore confident that this Latin American effort will be duly appreciated by the General Assembly as one more proof of what those countries are doing to promote universal peace.

20. On 19 December 1966 the General Assembly adopted the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies [resolution 2222 (XXI)], and requested the Depositary Governments, i.e. the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union, to open it for signature and ratification at the earliest possible date. The Treaty was signed in Moscow, London and Washington on 27 January. Ecuador proceeded to sign it immediately. On this subject, I must recall the words of the Secretary-General: "... this Treaty will not only

greatly reduce the danger of conflict in space, but also improve international co-operation and the prospects of peace on our own planet... and the present Treaty are true landmarks in man's march towards international peace and security".

21. I should be failing in my duty, however, if, to the opinion expressed by that high official, I did not add the Ecuadorian opinion that this Treaty has not closed the door to military activities in outer space, since spatial activities unfortunately form part of the arms race. This makes it all the more urgent to achieve agreement on general and complete disarmament, which will embrace this essential aspect that I have mentioned.

22. My delegation has nothing but praise for the work carried out by the International Law Commission. We are on the eve of an international conference to study the law of treaties, an unsurpassable legal achievement that will enable mankind to have specific rules on this important matter, so that it will be possible to ensure peaceful coexistence on the basis of law, for which there can be no substitute. It would be impossible for me to refer here to all the provisions that the Commission has adopted concerning the law of treaties, but I cannot fail to mention that there are fundamental provisions in the erudite draft convention adopted by the Commission [893rd meeting] for whose acceptance the small countries, including Ecuador, have been fighting. The draft convention states that any treaty whose acceptance has been obtained by the threat or use of force is null and void, and this statement constitutes the full recognition of a rule of international law, of an irrefutable nature, which has been in force ever since the use of force in international relations was prohibited.

23. For the American continent, this principle has been sacrosanct ever since the First International Conference of American States, held at Washington in 1889, and had been persistently reiterated in numbers of conventions, resolutions and other pronouncements. The condemnation of the use of force is a sacred principle, the more so in that it constitutes the very basis of international law and relations among peoples; a sacred principle despite the violations to which it has been subjected—and of one of which Ecuador has been a victim; a principle that should always be respected, as the General Assembly has said in operative paragraph 1 (a) of resolution 2160 (XXI), in which it states that "armed attack by one State against another or the use of force in any other form contrary to the Charter of the United Nations constitutes a violation of international law giving rise to international responsibility". Ecuador, which is still suffering the consequences of that aggression, hopes that these principles and the resolution it has cited will not remain a dead letter but will be given life through the elevating inspiration of justice.

24. The definition of aggression, a subject that is linked to the peace and security of mankind, is a fundamental aspect which complements the prohibition of the use of force. The efforts made since 1950 are a valuable antecedent which will make it possible to arrive at a definition. Ecuador is a member of the relevant Committee and makes every possible contribution to this important task.

^{3/} Treaty banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

25. Ecuador is following with special interest the work of the Special Committee which is studying the principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States. The progressive development of international law through these studies is a fundamental achievement to which all States should make an effective and permanent contribution. As these principles regulate the life of peoples, it is necessary to make their content and their scope perfectly clear.

26. The legal equality of States is a basis of peaceful coexistence. Just as States must rigorously observe the generally recognized principles and rules of international law and comply in good faith with the obligations arising from international treaties freely entered into, so must they declare any treaty null and void in the conclusion of which one of the parties has acted in bad faith.

27. It is also essential to reaffirm the principle that States must settle their disputes by peaceful means that do not endanger international peace and security or justice. But if we sincerely want these procedures to be effective, we must declare that peaceful settlement applies to all disputes, wherever they may be. Similarly, so long as there is no provision for the possibility of moving towards a peaceful settlement by one of the methods provided in the Charter, but upon the initiative of one only of the parties to the dispute, not much progress will have been made in the progressive development of this principle.

28. The declaration in resolution 2131 (XX) is the corner-stone of the prohibition of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and of the protection of their independence and sovereignty. This General Assembly resolution is the statement of a general legal conviction, since the principle of non-intervention is considered one of the bases of the international juridical order. Ecuador will make its contribution towards the strengthening of that principle.

29. My Government also expresses once again its total support of the principle under which it is recognized that all peoples have the right to self-determination, which includes the right to become independent, to constitute a national State, freely to choose their political, economic and social systems, to achieve full development and to dispose of their own wealth and natural resources. The exercise of the principle of self-determination cannot detract from respect for the territorial integrity of States. Consequently, this principle cannot be practised by local minorities or by territories whose rule is a matter of international dispute.

30. In the same order of ideas, Ecuador attaches particular importance to the study of methods of fact-finding. Investigation is not in itself a method for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, but on the other hand it is an auxiliary means for any peaceful settlement, such as the prevention of disputes and contentious situations. In that matter we shall have to go on studying the possibility of setting up a special international fact-finding organ, which should be a permanent body provided with a sufficiently flexible statute to enable it to call upon the services of suitable specialists and experts for each case or each

situation. The fact that such a body would be in existence prior to the dispute or to the agreement of the parties would guarantee its effectiveness and impartiality.

31. Ecuador abides by its firm anti-colonialist position. It is convinced that colonialism and racial discrimination are contrary to the fundamental principles of international law and of the United Nations Charter and that they are obstacles to the promotion of international peace and co-operation. At this point, I must express Ecuador's congratulations to the Special Committee of Twenty-Four on the magnificent work it has been doing for some years to ensure the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

32. Ecuador took part in the preparation of the revised draft resolution which was adopted at the fifth special session and under which a United Nations Council for South West Africa was established [resolution 2248 (S-V)]. The Afro-Asian and Latin American groups worked assiduously on that occasion, thus showing great unity of thought and action, as standard-bearers in the anti-colonialist struggle. The Latin American thinking was directed towards the need to seek harmonious and peaceful methods in this lamentable episode in South West Africa. In the absence of any co-operation from South Africa, the United Nations must exercise its responsibilities through direct administration.

33. What has happened in Southern Rhodesia gives us cause for concern. Ecuador reaffirms its support of the Assembly declaration [resolution 1514 (XV)] by virtue of which the Zimbabwe people have the right to freedom and independence. In endorsing resolution 232 (1966) adopted by the Security Council, my Government declares that there are no trade relations of any kind between Ecuador and Southern Rhodesia. It views the struggle undertaken by that people with sympathy and is sure that the racist minority settled there will not achieve its objective.

34. Nor are we altogether satisfied with the attitude adopted by Portugal in trying to disregard the right of the people in the territories under its administration to freedom and independence, a right which has been fully recognized by the world Organization. The Ecuadorian Government reaffirms its confidence that Portugal will live up to its historic tradition and will find the most acceptable way of satisfying this just right of the people under its administration.

35. International encouragement of the respect and protection of human rights, which are still being violated—sometimes even brazenly—in different parts of the world, must continue. Ecuador has condemned and still condemns all discriminatory practices, including the most detestable of all, the policy of apartheid.

36. The day of 16 December 1966 was an important one in the annals of the United Nations. On that day the General Assembly adopted the draft International Covenants on Human Rights and the optional Protocol [resolution 2200 (XXI)], which were the outcome of lengthy discussions in the Third Committee of the General Assembly. On that occasion the President of the twenty-first session rightly said:

"Each one of us recognizes that peace in itself is really the supreme right of all. We must therefore recognize that at the base of any rivalry or tyranny, in the present as in the past, there is a violation of human rights in one form or another." [1496th meeting, para. 64.]

37. These words convey a truth, and Ecuador wishes to express its immutable desire to strengthen the international machinery, at both the world and the regional levels, for the promotion and respect of human rights.

38. In the opinion of the Ecuadorian Government, international co-operation in economic matters is a subject to which the United Nations should give preferential attention, even more than it is giving at present. The General Assembly urged the developed countries to attain, and if possible exceed, by the end of the United Nations Development Decade, the target of granting resources equivalent to 1 per cent of their individual national income to the developing countries. This is one of the many efforts made by the United Nations to help the developing countries. Poverty is increasing at a tremendous rate. Every year some 3 million human beings die of hunger, while wealth continues to be accumulated in a few hands. It is shocking to know that, side by side with economically powerful countries, there are whole nations desperately struggling in the grip of poverty and sickness.

39. We need to adopt radical measures to put an end to such injustice. We cannot be content with declamatory speeches, more or less well designed. The peoples are calling for action, and immediate and effective action. To delay any longer in the matter imperils peace. Paul G. Hoffman, Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme, has written:

"Unfortunately, progress towards the specific goals of the Development Decade has, so far, been slower than was hoped. The growth rate of the majority of developing countries has been less than 4 per cent a year. This is clearly inadequate—in the face of population growth—to permit appreciable improvements in living standards or savings. The annual flow of international assistance and capital has increased only a little since 1960, and remains too far below the United Nations present target of 1 per cent of the industrialized countries' combined gross domestic product."^{4/}

40. Thus the situation is totally unsatisfactory. The United Nations Capital Development Fund, which was put into operation by a decision of the General Assembly [resolution 2186 (XXI)], has an enormous task to carry out. It is important to emphasize that the assistance to the developing countries which the Fund is to provide must be supplied in conformity with the principles laid down in the United Nations Charter and "... shall not serve as a means for economic and political interference in the internal affairs of assisted countries". This assistance must also be "of a kind and in a form consistent with the wishes of the recipients and shall not involve any unacceptable conditions for them, whether political, economic, military or other". In providing this assistance, there

must always be full recognition of the inalienable right reaffirmed by this Assembly, of all countries to exercise permanent sovereignty over their natural resources in the interest of their national development.

41. At the Meeting of American Chiefs of State, held at Punta de Este in April 1967, Ecuador had occasion to draw attention, through the words of Dr. Otto Arosemena Gomez, President of the Republic, to the defects from which the system of international assistance is at present suffering, through tied and unacceptable loans, the imposition of conditions that are sometimes incompatible with the rights of sovereignty and equality of States, and the obligation to make local contributions in quantities that are beyond the capacity of the receiving countries. Ecuador also pointed out, on that occasion, the incongruities of international trade, in that the developing countries are obliged to sell their basic products at prices fixed by the purchasers, such prices being neither stable nor remunerative, since they are even lower than those prevailing during the Second World War. Meanwhile—the President of Ecuador said—public needs in those producing countries are growing and to satisfy those needs the countries must acquire machinery, tools and techniques from the industrialized countries, which offer them on terms that are sometimes unacceptable.

42. When U Thant, the Secretary-General, asked the General Assembly to consider the problem of establishing a more secure basis for dealing with the present and future needs of the United Nations Development Programme, he urged that the annual voluntary contributions should reach a level of no less than \$350 million for 1970. Referring to that appeal, Paul G. Hoffman made the following comments: "In an age when the gross national product of the industrialized nations amounts to \$1,500 billion a year and is growing by almost \$50 billion annually, it is ironic that these fortunate countries are not yet prepared to increase the flow of their assistance by the relatively small amounts it would take to reach the very modest goals of this United Nations Development Decade, particularly when what is done in its remaining years can play such a critical role in determining growth rates in the decade of the 1970s."^{5/}

43. This shows how tremendous is the work of the United Nations. At the same time, however, we must remember that the historic responsibility of the industrialized countries has no parallel in the annals of human history. The unprivileged countries have their eyes fixed on those countries, in the hope that they will show themselves worthy of their destiny. The struggle for the betterment of man's material conditions as he passes through this world is the symbol of the era in which we are living.

44. Ecuador has faith in the world Organization. It has faith in its own destiny and in that of mankind. Despite the uncertainty and the anxiety in which man lives, his virtues revive in us the hope for a better world in which justice and law will be the basis for friendly coexistence, with mutual respect among States, having always in view the well-being of all peoples without distinction or discrimination of any kind; equal before the law, with a common destiny in peace and freedom.

^{4/} Paul G. Hoffman, "Progress Report on a Global Partnership", UN Monthly Chronicle (New York), vol. IV, No. 3, March 1967, pp. 64-65.

^{5/} *Ibid.*, p. 73.

45. Mr. GREGOIRE (Luxembourg) (translated from French): Mr. President, I should like to join with all those who have preceded me at this rostrum in congratulating you or your election to this high office and to express to you my best wishes for the success of our deliberations.

46. My pleasure in so doing is all the greater in that I look on your election not only as a recognition of your outstanding qualities as a statesman and diplomat, but also as an important step towards international co-operation, for which your country shows a notable readiness.

47. My delegation also wishes to pay a tribute to our Secretary-General, U Thant, for the initiative he has taken on so many occasions and for his untiring efforts in the cause of international co-operation, especially with regard to restoring peace in Viet-Nam.

48. This brings me to the most vital issue for world peace today, namely, the war in Viet-Nam. In broaching the question, although it is not on the agenda of this Assembly, I cannot refrain at the outset from recalling with deep feeling the human sufferings and the material destruction being inflicted on the Viet-Nameese people by the war. The Government of Luxembourg fervently hopes that the re-establishment of a just peace will finally enable the Viet-Nameese people to return to a normal life, after so many years of relentless warfare, and to set up whatever political, economic and social institutions it chooses in complete freedom and independence, without any outside coercion or interference, either overt or covert.

49. In our view, the only acceptable outcome is a negotiated end to the conflict, as was emphasized by the representative of the United States in his statement at the beginning of this session (1562nd meeting). The alternative, namely, an everincreasing military escalation on both sides, would inevitably lead us into a steadily widening war, with incalculable risks for the fate of all mankind. The United Nations General Assembly has no right to abdicate its responsibility in this serious situation. It has the duty to express unequivocally and forcefully the joint conviction of the United Nations that the war in Viet-Nam must end in a negotiated settlement, and it must exert all its influence to help bring that about.

50. Such a settlement must above all take into account the right of the Viet-Nameese people to self-determination without the threat of intimidation, subversion or military pressure from whatever quarter.

51. The most tragic event of this year, along with the Viet-Nam war, is undoubtedly the crisis in the Middle East. While it is comforting to note that hostilities have ceased, it is none the less evident that the critical situation, with all its political and human problems, still prevails in the area, with the danger of new outbreaks.

52. We share equally with the other countries of the world a vital concern to work out a solution, which must in our opinion fulfil certain basic requirements forming an indivisible whole. These elements are:

53. First, any solution must start out from the recognition of the legitimate existence of Israel and

respect for the right of the people of Israel to live in peace and security within the framework of a politically and economically viable State. Let us not forget that the State of Israel was created under the aegis of the United Nations, that it is recognized by the vast majority of the countries of the world, and that it is a Member of our Organization.

54. Second, if the withdrawal of Israel troops is essential, it can be accomplished only on the basis of certain guarantees, since no country may derive benefit from armed conflict.

55. Third, free passage through international waters must be ensured.

56. Fourth, an equitable solution to the problem of the Palestine refugees must be worked out with the co-operation of all the parties concerned.

57. I should add our desire to see the problem of the status of the Holy Places determined in a spirit of freedom and tolerance, and with due regard to the interests legitimately urged in this matter by the international community.

58. We are convinced that a return to the status quo, purely and simply with no prospect for lasting normalization of the relations between the parties and with no real progress towards true pacification, would only lead to re-creating the explosive situation which brought about the recent war.

59. The road to complete pacification is doubtless still very long, and the obstacles will be many. However, we do not despair of an over-all settlement being worked out, provided both parties give evidence of goodwill and mutual understanding. We shall wholeheartedly support any effort towards pacification, whether by the parties concerned or, failing that, by third States wishing to lend their good offices in this struggle.

60. Essentially as a rapid solution to the Middle East crisis and the war in Viet-Nam may be, it must not be allowed to obscure a wider problem: that of establishing peace on a world-wide basis.

61. Owing to deep differences of opinion on the constitutional problems involved, the peace-keeping activities of our Organization are far from having the cohesion and effectiveness we might wish. Nevertheless, we feel that there is no cause for undue pessimism, inasmuch as the Organization should be able to cope pragmatically with the concrete problems which may arise. It is the duty of all Member States to support United Nations action aimed at peace-keeping. In our view, this means that the financial burden should be divided in an equitable manner among all States, according to criteria to be laid down, taking into account particularly the ability of Member States to pay.

62. The mention of peace-keeping leads me naturally to speak of disarmament. In this field we have made progress over the past year. To be sure, we are all disappointed that more was not accomplished. However, the fact that the two major Powers were able to agree at Geneva to submit a joint text of a draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons^{6/}

^{6/} Documents ENDC/192 and ENDC/193.

must be hailed as an important step in the right direction, despite some outstanding problems for which a solution will have to be worked out. Although there is broad backing among the countries for such an agreement, the feeling is unfortunately not universal. Communist China, in particular, rejects this treaty, while continuing to implement a significant programme of nuclear tests. This is somewhat disturbing in the light of the well-known views of the Peking Government.

63. Although agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is a definite step towards the prohibition of nuclear weapons, it must be followed by other measures, particularly in the non-nuclear field. For it is of the utmost importance in disarmament that progress be made on an equal footing in respect of both nuclear and conventional weapons. Many countries today see their security threatened by countries which are not nuclear Powers.

64. Real disarmament covering all categories of weapons seems to us feasible only if world political and economic conditions return to normal.

65. In Europe this depends both on disarmament and on the elimination of the political factors which have given rise to tension between East and West. The most important of these factors seems to me to be the German problem. Only by coping with the quite abnormal situation resulting from the Second World War can the permanent consolidation of the eastern frontiers of Germany be brought about, thus allowing for the establishment of a stable and universally recognized territorial status in Central Europe.

66. That is undoubtedly the principal political problem within the context of Europe, but it is not the only change which must occur. It will in addition be necessary to liberalize our relations with the eastern European countries, with regard both to the movement of persons and to trade. A great deal has already been accomplished in this direction, and for that we are gratified, while we continue to look forward to the time when the last obstacle, consisting of a combination of concepts and practices, both political and economic, is broken down and true freedom of movement and exchange, intellectual as well as commercial, can develop.

67. It is therefore in a constructive spirit that my Government views the evolution of European relations. The lessening of tension—which was at one time acute—is undoubtedly due to a relative equilibrium between the defence systems of two groups of States, but it is also due to their pressing need for peace; and it augurs well for a steady improvement in the relations between Eastern and Western Europe. It is of the utmost importance that all concerned continue to explore every possibility in order that the division of our continent may soon be remedied.

68. However, the search for a peaceful balance of power among States is not our ultimate goal. We must succeed in bringing about active co-operation among all States. And I should like to dwell for a moment on one of the aspects of that co-operation, namely, assistance to developing countries. My Government regards this as an essential condition for the future of world peace. It is the duty of each of us,

within the limits of his resources, to make a substantial contribution to this cause.

69. The great task of development has already been the subject of innumerable statements in the United Nations. The discussions have highlighted the seriousness of the problem, which is marked by extremely slow industrial progress in the developing countries, by the worsening of the world food situation, and by the population explosion. Even though some representatives of the countries concerned tend too readily to impute the responsibility for this state of affairs to the industrialized countries, it must be granted that development aid is insufficient. Far from reaching the level set by the General Assembly, it has unfortunately fallen off of late.

70. Yet whatever the specific economic difficulties facing the industrialized countries in other respects, it is their duty—and furthermore, it is in their interest—resolutely to tackle a problem which is vital for all mankind. Governments will need for this the fullest support of an informed public opinion keenly aware of the basic importance of this problem.

71. The Government of Luxembourg intends to readapt its development aid policy, as regards both contributions to the various multilateral organizations and bilateral programmes.

72. Important as the material progress of mankind may be, it is not the only key to human happiness. For that reason, I feel I should consider briefly the question of human rights in the broadest sense. We attach great importance to the upholding and increasing of individual rights, to the protection of the family and to the elimination of all forms of discrimination based on race, philosophy or religion. We are firm believers in the principle of self-determination and we cannot but deplore the situation prevailing in certain areas of the globe.

73. The hopes I have just expressed and the goals I have attempted very briefly to define presuppose the existence of two things: a sincerely universalist state of mind, to begin with, and next an instrument effectively adaptable to all situations. Where do we stand at present? That is what we should like to know; and it will not be the only question to be asked.

74. As a matter of fact, the publicity being given to the United Nations among the masses, who are still disposed to follow us, is a constant worry to me. When those who form public opinion deliberately create serious doubts as to our grounds for existence by asking, with all sorts of pessimistic implications: "What use is the United Nations?"—the headline of one newspaper article—then I am no longer able to conceal the uneasiness which comes of deep personal soul-searching. Are we still applying our Charter in the spirit of the great stirrings of heart and mind which created it? What are the principal rules of conduct embodied in it? Do we still accept those rules? Let us draw up the list and examine them more closely:

(1) To eliminate small wars in the same way as large wars, wherever they may occur, since even small wars have an influence on our own national destiny;

(2) To have all nations outlaw all guerrilla fighters, those who employ clandestine tactics and those who employ overt dialectics;

(3) To replace everywhere physical weapons by diplomatic weapons, through the overwhelming strength of our good will;

(4) To recognize that the task of international diplomacy consists above all in dispelling all illusions, including those being propagated within our own Organization;

(5) To refrain from coming here to comment post facto on events from this rostrum, when our task is to gain—or to regain—control of those events;

(6) To work unceasingly towards the elimination of fear and violence, whether arising out of our insecurity or related to racial conflicts;

(7) To understand once and for all that unresolved problems, whether they be political, economic or social in nature, will pursue us relentlessly if we do not unanimously resolve to eradicate them for good;

(8) To recognize that it is irrational to admit to membership in the United Nations artificially created, two-headed nations, when our mission calls for the basic unification—and not division—of everything that can by its nature be united, before its admission to the family of nations. The United Nations is not some kind of hospital for the seriously disabled, but a joint enterprise embracing all sound and vigorous efforts, physical as well as metaphysical, to achieve understanding among peoples;

(9) To translate the great, universally accepted ideas enshrined in our Charter into the clear and precise language of action, instead of attempting secretly to realize our most sordid ulterior motives.

75. These are our responsibilities, everyone's responsibilities. But there are others. The very special responsibilities undertaken by those Powers that we call great, assumed before humanity and before history, seem to me to be as vexatious as they are immense. However, the rights of the great Powers are not limitless. If they choose to act as big brothers towards the small countries—of which my own is one—sometimes very kindly big brothers, perhaps there to protect us, they are certainly not entitled to misjudge the scope of their authority over us to the point of being dictatorial, nor to exploit the weakness of some and the territorial limitations of others for their own profit. Authority is not and can never be expressed by brute strength; it is reflected in an awareness of its responsibilities and a goodwill manifested in the way it guards in order to protect. In allowing these big brothers to play with matches, for example—a thing which is always prohibited, always forbidden to children—we are not completely sure that they are immune to every rash impulse calculated to set the world on fire.

76. Therefore, their authority must have a basis; it must be based on wisdom. Active wisdom, however, is neither a virtue nor a quality derived from particular geographic or demographic conditions. It is acquired through the action of a fourth dimension, which is of the spirit. The smallest are not barred

from attaining it, nor do the great ones necessarily possess it. And—I apologize for my digression—when in my own country I mention this wisdom, I am sometimes interrupted by one or other of my listeners who is quick to ask me: But that "what-do-you-call-it", that invisible and impalpable something to which you give the misleadingly promising name of "wisdom"—what is it, in fact? Of course, I could answer that it is wealth, that it is the moral and intellectual wealth which everyone thinks he has in abundance whereas it is not all that common, since in the real world, the tragic, everyday real world, it is the product most lacking. Naturally, that answer would not satisfy him. That is why—attempting to make myself understood through a metaphor—I usually answer that this wisdom is above all the sense of judgement, drawn up in equal measure—using truth as the bucket—from the deep well of sound reason and of innate common sense.

77. Those three elements—truth, reason and common sense—must unite in order for wisdom to prevail and express itself. One cannot be substituted for another or for something else—truth, for example, cannot be replaced by falsehood, since falsehood is by nature porous and therefore ill-adapted to collecting and containing anything fluid—nor are we entitled to confuse reason with any sort of prejudice, even though that prejudice may be reasoned to the highest degree. We are not entitled to replace common sense with perfervid obstinacy inspired principally by mistakes. Wherever those three elements are not forthcoming, there can be no wisdom; there will certainly be nothing but a kind of caricature of wisdom, borrowing from hypocrisy some of the appearances of wisdom. However, where those three elements come together to form an integral whole, a wonderfully simple phenomenon occurs—the phenomenon of wisdom—and becomes effective in all its modest splendour.

78. This wisdom, however, affirms a law which no one, no man of real worth, can escape: the law that imposes and demands dialogue, a dialogue requiring the capacity to listen reasonably and courteously, that is to say with reason and goodwill, and also the capacity to make ourselves heard in the same fashion.

79. This, therefore, is the wisdom to which we must appeal, even, indeed especially, when we refer to the text of the United Nations Charter, if we are to derive the maximum benefit from it. Our Secretary-General is right to draw our attention, by the hallowed procedure, to Article 28 (2). But let him not stop with that single reminder; let him go all the way towards breathing life into the paragraphs, for a basic text which is a dead letter can all too easily engender still-born undertakings. That which was made for life should have life, through the mind and in the mind, so as to be capable of evolving with the living and adapting itself to the needs of the present day while serving the living.

80. In its highest manifestation, the wisdom of which I have been speaking delights in hearing wisdom spoken. Thus, the great and wise will, I hope, listen to the small and wise, and vice versa. This can easily be done here, in this great stock exchange of the wisdom

of nations, where shares are traded at the highest price and on the widest scale.

81. Such, at least, could be our undertaking. And to the question what use is the United Nations, we must reply: for precisely that, for that uninterrupted exchange, established and intensified so that ultimately something admirable may come out of it. Or again; What is the United Nations good for? Well, it is good for serving: it serves mankind, all mankind, through the inexhaustible resources of a dynamic humanism, wholly attuned to the demands of the international community for peace, justice and increasing well-being.

82. That is our true profession of faith.

83. Mr. ZOROME (Upper Volta) (translated from French): Mr. President, Upper Volta associates itself whole-heartedly with the congratulations which have already been extended to you on your impressive election. Your considerable experience of the United Nations and your unanimously acknowledged authority make you particularly qualified to preside over the important debates of the twenty-second regular session of our Organization. We also extend our congratulations to the other members of the General Committee and to the Committee Chairmen. There can be no doubt that the competence of such a team, its insight, wisdom and gift for conciliation, constitute a most encouraging assurance for the full success of our endeavours. We look upon your election, Mr. President, as a sign of the times: for this is the first time that a prominent representative from a socialist country has been chosen to guide our work.

84. We would also like to extend our deep gratitude to the President of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, Mr. Pazhwak, and to all his associates, whose outstanding ability at all times won everyone's admiration and understanding. My delegation would further like to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General, U Thant, whose role in the search for peace among nations has earned him virtually unanimous admiration. His second term of office has confirmed the fact that he is the man needed by today's world, in which the true happiness of all peoples calls for better mutual understanding and an honest confrontation of opinions on the major international problems. For that reason, my delegation would like to share with you the concern it feels with regard to the serious problems facing our international community at a time we consider to be a decisive turning-point in its development.

85. With such a full and meaty agenda, to which the "high priority" question of the Middle East crisis has recently been added, we felt that it would be more constructive and more useful for us to limit our comments to those current problems which appear to us most pressing and whose solution is vital for international peace and security: the problem of international solidarity, which must be expressed in concrete action, in an effective will to put an end to under-development and its disastrous consequences; the problem of coexistence with stable peace and guaranteed security, a coexistence which must serve as a basis for relations between peoples and nations; and the problem of the very survival of our Organi-

zation, which must adapt its spirit and its machinery to the changing world of today.

86. When the newly independent States came to weigh for the first time the tremendous responsibilities they were being called upon to assume, they found themselves faced with the problem of the great revolutionary era into which they had been plunged: appropriate political and administrative organization, economic situation, education and science, social structures, and so on. In the face of these problems, unparalleled complexity, the new Members of the United Nations family, especially considering the fact of their under-development, were called upon to show a great deal of realism and wisdom. They had to base their ideal on the great truth that any lasting development requires an enlightened and honest administration dedicated to the common good, a rational planning of work, a prudent and wise utilization of resources and a mobilization of all vital energies in a free but effectual manner in order to undertake the most pressing research tasks; a deep horror of administrative corruption, of speculation, of unjustified and prolonged idleness; and, finally, the systematic condemnation of favouritism, of waste, of ostentation and of discrimination. Thus, from the dawn of their independence, the new sovereign States had need of this healthy outlook for the sake of their national evolution: in brief, a solid moral philosophy of development.

87. But we must be honest and truthful, and we must admit that, unfortunately, in the important area of national development some new States have not always given evidence of the fact that morality must be allowed to assume its full responsibility and to play its normative role. They have given inadequate proof of this in many instances, and hence some political régimes have suffered upheavals which have either seriously upset their stability and that of their neighbours or have helped them to rechart their course and to adapt the means at their disposal—often with heroic courage—to the end they wish to achieve by making a healthier appraisal of the hard facts.

88. What has been called the deluge of pronunciamientos and military coups d'état in Latin America and in Africa can be explained by the need for rearrangement following the deterioration of internal situations and the resignations of certain responsible parties.

89. The revolution in Upper Volta on 3 January 1966, which was a popular uprising, resulted from such a need. But it occurred in a political and regional context of such a nature that the uninitiated and observers unfamiliar with conditions in our part of the world were too ready to classify it as one of the "military coups d'état" which have shaken Africa in recent years. It is particularly important to stress that this was neither a military copu d'état—at no time and at no level was there any concerted attempt by the army to seize power—nor a sudden whim on the part of the citizens of Upper Volta, but that it arose from a pressing need created by the healthy demands of the moment, by wisdom, and by popular good sense. We might also recall that the peaceful nature of the change in régime compelled the respect of all those impartial observers who really wished Upper Volta well.

But for the country itself, it afforded an excellent opportunity for finding out who its real friends were.

90. No matter what judgements and attitudes may have been the outcome of those events, nations of goodwill have now come to discover with ever increasing satisfaction that 3 January 1966 brought to Upper Volta a Government and political leaders firmly resolved to prove that in the important field of national development ethical considerations must prevail completely and must play their normative role. The internal powers, whose strength and stability are completely consolidated, are now making vigorous efforts to promote the harmonious development of the young Republic: clearing up the financial situation, liquidating the public debt, restoring confidence in the business world, stabilizing wages and salaries, organizing a patriotic contribution system, reducing State expenditure, and so on. The citizens of Upper Volta have understood, and they have courageously and generously accepted heavy sacrifices for the welfare of their nation. This is truly a school in which people have been made deeply aware of the noble concept of the common good. In addition, the Government has come to the conclusion that a national plan for economic and social development is an absolute necessity. An effort to integrate our economic activities with those of neighbouring countries is being pursued in order to strengthen the complementary arrangements already existing. In this connexion, Upper Volta is fully prepared to carry out its role as turntable in West Africa. The President of the Republic, General Sangoulé Lamizana, has declared:

"Our greatest concern is to put into effect an economic development plan for our country through increased investments, public as well as private, increased production, increased marketing activities, and increased efficiency in State operations. We will spare no effort to achieve this."

91. The aid given to Upper Volta by friendly nations is a decisive factor in its economic recovery; we therefore take this opportunity to pay a tribute to all States which have realized the comforting role friendship can play in a time of distress. The execution of our basic plan is geared largely to the efforts and sacrifices we have made and will continue to make, for the very life of the nation depends on this. With each day that passes, we realize that in order to break out of the vicious circle of under-development, we must rely above all on ourselves and on our own resources. The inadequacy of multilateral assistance, allowance being made for the complex nature of its effects and the discouragingly cumbersome procedure entailed, is for us a very serious handicap.

92. The trials which Upper Volta has experienced in its economic progress quite logically and legitimately justify the structure of its foreign policy, which consists of the following elements:

(a) First and foremost, realism: the policy of what is feasible. In this regard, we have taken prompt action aimed at adapting our entire diplomatic policy to national realities, conceiving it in terms of our responsibilities and our financial capacity;

(b) The need to avoid any arbitrary discrimination in co-operation whether with African nations or with other nations;

(c) The need to extend the hand of brotherhood to the peoples of the entire world, beginning with our brethren in Africa, naturally with the proviso that the most complete equality must be observed and that the sovereignty and dignity of Upper Volta must be respected;

(d) A diplomacy of frankness and common sense, free from all complexes;

(e) To crown all this, the firm conviction that it is possible to create a united world provided all States truly desire to work towards national, regional and continental integration, since such a broadening of interests is calculated to bring about true world solidarity. This conviction spells the reason why we belong to various regional and interregional organizations.

93. We believe that it was with this end in mind that the world created the United Nations. In setting it up and becoming part of it, we have all entered into a solemn commitment to live together in peace and brotherhood. Furthermore, a variety of wonderful discoveries have made it possible to endow our world with countless facilities for comfort and well-being; we had the impression that we had only to take advantage of all these things peacefully in order to live somewhat more happily. But by a strange logic, alas, we have been fighting each other for more than twenty years; more than fifty wars have disrupted and continue to disrupt the entire world. It is bitterly disappointing.

94. But what, basically, is behind so much lack of logic, so many contradictions? Two reasons can be advanced: the relationship between the wealthy countries and the Third World, and the relations of the great Powers amongst themselves.

95. At a period when peoples can no longer ignore each other, when poverty is a disgrace to mankind and when technical discoveries make possible the full exploitation of our planet's riches, how can we reconcile the sorry spectacle of the developing countries struggling desperately to escape their unhappy fate with that of the prosperous countries, where opulence and the desire to discover the vastness of outer space seem to blind them to the destitution haunting two thirds of mankind? Under-development, wherever it exists, carries within itself the seeds of conflict which serve to exacerbate existing international tensions.

96. Under present conditions, the aid which some wealthy countries are providing to the under-developed countries seems actually to create more tension that it allays, since even when it is most generous, it is still only too evidently subject to the interests of the donor Governments. Few wealthy countries have been able to withstand the temptation to use their assistance as a means of bringing pressure, if not blackmail, to bear on poor countries, at times to the point of denouncing agreements and suspending the aid supply when they feel that the Government of the recipient country is manifesting too much independence. Conceived and practised in this fashion, aid to under-

developed countries, instead of providing a basis for fruitful co-operation, may on occasion intensify the hostility of those countries towards the wealthier ones.

97. The developing countries deplore in particular the conditions under which their basic commodities are purchased by the industrialized countries. Owing to the lack of a suitable market organization (despite the very pertinent and timely UNCTAD recommendations), prices are subject to violent and unpredictable fluctuations, which periodically upset the precarious economies of the producing countries. In addition, paradoxical as this may seem, the over-all price level of commodities continues to decline, whereas manufactured products are becoming increasingly expensive. This accelerated deterioration of exchange rates is helping to widen the gap between rich and poor. In the middle of the twentieth century we are faced with the fact that two thirds of mankind do not have at their disposal in a year what the other third wastes every month.

98. Furthermore, the amount of aid at present being allocated bears no relationship to what is needed in order to improve substantially the situation prevailing in the Third World. The wealthy countries undoubtedly possess sufficient resources to provide more substantial aid to the other countries. Proof of this is that the testing of one ballistic missile alone costs approximately \$6 million, or around what it would cost to provide housing for 1,500 homeless families; that in 1957 one great Power spent more than \$1,000 million on long-range ballistic missiles, or the equivalent of the budget of some United Nations Member States for nearly twenty-five years; that the two super Powers are preparing to spend fabulous amounts of money to perfect their respective defence systems; that more than \$2,000 million were spent last year on armaments, or 10 per cent of the value of world production. The escalation of this collective madness is daily taking on alarming proportions: proof of this is that, according to reliable sources, the United States is going to spend around \$27,000 million to support its war effort in Viet-Nam. All that money and all those energies are devoted to preparations for slaughter, or rather, to the mere pleasure of playing with fire. The tragedy is all the more agonizing in that these engines of destruction are being constantly perfected and that we are standing by as though hypnotized, or disillusioned, or powerless, watching this progress towards nuclear holocaust.

99. Nevertheless, there are more and more indications that lead us to believe that all is not lost. Regional associations based on economic interdependence are being created or developed; vast movements of solidarity are being launched, often spontaneously, to come to the rescue of men threatened with extinction. We must encourage these praiseworthy efforts aimed at relieving the poverty of the disinherited and the outcasts of the earth.

100. What shall we say about the danger to mankind from those who in this twentieth century are behind the times? International obtuseness has taken on an acute form indeed: that of racism. In mid-twentieth century it is unthinkable that so-called "civilized" people should practise and foster the insanity of a concept of human inequality. The hateful policy of

apartheid practised by the fascist authorities in Pretoria and by those who slowly but surely are coming to emulate them does credit neither to so-called civilized peoples nor to our era.

101. In present circumstances, when international relations are characterized by a chronic tension hampering the development of friendly relations between States, financial interests which cannot be dissociated from the Governments and countries where they originate are undertaking massive operations against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of some independent States. The criminal employment of mercenaries is a constant threat to peace and security in a part of Africa whose only crime is to be endowed with extensive natural resources. The whole of southern Africa is subject to the criminal activities of mercenaries, who have had more success in Rhodesia and South Africa than in the Congo.

102. Indeed, what difference is there between the manoeuvrings of mercenaries harassing the Congo and the behaviour of those who have seized power in Rhodesia? The only difference lies in the fact that the activities of Ian Smith and his cronies were tacitly backed by the trusteeship Power, which clearly has done nothing to dissuade them from their course of action. We shall never cease to condemn with equal vigour the racist régimes of Salisbury and Pretoria and any ideology or action favouring them either directly or indirectly. My delegation hopes that at this twenty-second session the General Assembly will request the Security Council to take all necessary measures to restore legality in Rhodesia, drawing a lesson from the lamentable failure of the so-called sanctions adopted so far.

103. As for the problem of South West Africa, my delegation notes with deep concern the casual way in which the Council Committee which was set up has discharged its responsibilities; we should like to draw its attention to the fact that South West Africa is scheduled to attain independence "by June 1968" (see resolution 2248 (S-V)).

104. The situation in the Territories under Portuguese domination is also of concern to us. We take this opportunity to express once again our unreserved support for the brave forces in the swamps of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau.

105. Before concluding, I should like to add something more.

106. Two giants dominate our world. I do not mean West or East; I am not referring to Washington or Moscow, I am referring to fear and to hope: the fear of man's destructive power, which today knows practically no bounds, and the hope which millions of starving people place in the development of international solidarity, which is making such slow progress. This perilous passage through the narrow straits separating fear and hope is the central fact of life of our generation.

107. Until 1945, it was possible to maintain the myth that war affected only active combatants or military installations. The myth vanished for ever in the mushroom cloud which arose over Hiroshima. From that time on, those who saw themselves as the champions of what is good were forced to acknowledge that they

were using weapons incapable of distinguishing not only between men, but between nations and races. Man appears to have reached an impasse: the threat of thermonuclear suicide has already given rise to great waves of indignation in most countries, whatever their political system. Yet even if world public opinion were aroused sufficiently to force the great Powers to refrain from provoking a general conflagration, there would still be one imperative need for our salvation: recourse to negotiation.

108. The distressing events taking place in South-East Asia are one of the main obstacles to the easing of tension in international relations. We are witnessing interference by one of the greatest military Powers of modern times in the internal affairs of the Viet-Nameese people. The systematic massacres which occur daily before our eyes are an indication of the powerlessness of our Organization to impose a negotiated solution to a political problem.

109. Consequently, the bombing must be stopped in order to bring about a slackening of tension which will ensure the success of the subsequent stages, namely: the withdrawal of foreign troops, then an internationally supervised referendum with a view to the country's reunification. Such a return to the 1954 Geneva Agreements is all the more urgent and pressing in that the United States itself, through its permanent representative at the United Nations, Mr. Goldberg, has ruled out any idea of a military settlement and has recognized the necessity for a political settlement. The whole world looks to the United States to make the first move, for its awareness of its responsibility in the settlement of the conflict must be concomitant with its power and influence.

110. My delegation expresses its deep sympathy for the grief-torn people of Viet-Nam. We hope that that brave people will soon enjoy the peace towards which it has aspired for a quarter of a century. The Government and the people of Upper Volta are grateful to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for his unceasing efforts to bring the conflict to an end through a negotiated settlement.

111. As to the question of the Middle East, my delegation strongly urges the parties to that conflict to work out rational solutions to the following problems: the recognition of Israel's right to exist; the reintegration of the refugees; the withdrawal of Israel's forces to the pre-5 June 1967 frontiers; the settlement of the status of Jerusalem through agreement between the parties concerned and in accordance with resolutions 2253 (ES-V) and 2254 (ES-V) adopted at the fifth emergency special session.

112. As every year, we are met once again to take stock of what is happening in the world and to propose urgent and effective remedies. There is one important problem which we must deal with frankly this year, despite the real difficulties it poses: what means does our Organization have, or should it have, to implement the decisions we shall once again be taking here, at times by a nearly unanimous vote of Member States? In the introduction to his report (A/6701/Add.1), the Secretary-General is not optimistic. In his opinion, 1967 is likely to be a bad year for the United Nations. It is for us to see that it ends well, to correct the

pessimistic impression of a man with heavy responsibilities whose efforts we must support and sustain by our unstinting co-operation.

113. In fact, what do we find? We find a dangerous development in this supreme peace-keeping body. While it is a fact that the United Nations has succeeded in defusing a few bombs and that it has up to now fulfilled its role as the world's political barometer, there is cause for regret that it is showing increasing signs of exhaustion, that it is sinking into a disturbing state of impotence and real ineffectiveness. The outlook for a needed revision of the Charter, the disappointments and the disenchantment reflected in certain statements, continue to alarm us. And yet, no other rostrum can so well serve to bring nations together in a concerted effort to improve the international climate. In order to survive and to play its role fully, the United Nations must adapt its spirit and its structures to the pressing needs of today; otherwise it will be unable to deter the dark forces which seek to destroy it.

114. We must not only reaffirm our will and our determination to live together in peace and brotherhood; we must also, indeed above all, express that will in deeds. We must provide the Organization with the means it requires to impose its decisions, if the need arises; we must also keep our commitments, for if we fail in this we shall witness a steady whittling away of the authority of the Organization, and we shall move, slowly but surely, towards the disappearance, pure and simple, of its usefulness.

115. This is not a mere fanciful notion. In point of fact, 200,000 Whites in Rhodesia persist in trampling under foot the "historic" decisions taken by the international community. The backward-looking supporters of apartheid continue to hold our black brothers in the most heinous slavery and their criminal measures of genocide are stepped up with every day that passes. Portugal and South Africa continue to strut about within these walls, exchanging conspiratorial smiles, in the conviction that we are incapable of enforcing the dozens of resolutions adopted with virtual unanimity. To take a very recent example, Israel declines to implement resolutions adopted without a single dissenting voice. All this seems to us to augur ill. Each year it seems to us more out of place to devote our time to the now traditional ritual of ineffective oratory. We submit to it only because we cherish the hope that our faint warning will be heard.

116. In concluding these reflections, my delegation would like to reiterate that the world must work for the survival of the right of every people to safeguard its unity. The world must apply its genius to bring to an end the tragic meetings which work to the detriment of third States. We ardently wish for a successful outcome to the work of our Assembly. At the end of our present session, may we all have been strengthened by the staunch conviction that peace is founded exclusively on justice, co-operation and the consent of all the peoples of the world. Today nations have to live together, whether they like it or not; and there is no other choice but to live together in mutual respect, tolerance and mutual assistance. War is no more the ineluctable fate of mankind than peace is

a gift from the strongest Power. The United Nations must strengthen its moral authority and its international prestige in order to meet more adequately the difficult demands of modern times. May future

generations be the fortunate beneficiaries of the outcome of our deliberations.

The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.