



CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<i>continued</i>)	
Speech by Mr. Nkundabagenzi (Rwanda)	1
Speech by Mr. Sharp (Canada)	4
Speech by Mr. Usher (Ivory Coast)	8
Speech by Mr. Thorn (Luxembourg)	10

President: Miss Angie E. BROOKS (Liberia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. NKUNDABAGENZI (Rwanda) (*translated from French*): Madam President, the very wise choice that has raised you to the Presidency of this twenty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly is a source of satisfaction to Rwanda. Your outstanding personal qualities as a jurist and a stateswoman—which my country, then under United Nations Trusteeship, appreciated for itself when you led certain missions there on behalf of our Organization—justify this august Assembly's unanimous confidence in you, which honours not only your person and your noble country Liberia, with which Rwanda maintains friendly relations, but also our continent of Africa.

2. We wish to take the opportunity also to do devout homage to the memory of His Excellency the late Mr. Arenales, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala, who ably directed the work of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly. He had the affection of us all, and fate has taken him from us. My delegation wishes to convey its heartfelt condolences to his country and to his family.

3. When, twenty-four years ago, a group of States most of which had been lashed by the scourge of war twice within twenty years met at San Francisco and adopted the United Nations Charter, they believed that they were thereby creating the best possible conditions for establishing peace and security and promoting international co-operation.

4. At the same time they bound themselves to respect a number of fundamental principles, and in particular to act effectively together to prevent and remove threats to peace and to suppress any act of aggression or other breach of the peace; to bring about the peaceful settlement of disputes; to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of the equal rights and self-determination of peoples; and to co-operate in solving international economic, social, intellectual and humanitarian problems and in promoting and encouraging respect for

human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. They acceded also to the corollaries of these principles: namely, non-interference in the domestic affairs of States, and respect for their sovereign equality.

5. But, sad to say, the political history of these twenty-four years of the Organization's existence teaches us that the proclamation of noble objectives at San Francisco did not necessarily protect the world against the threat of grave dangers caused by the intolerance of certain States towards others, by the great Powers' thirst for supremacy, by the confiscation here and there of the rights and freedoms of individuals, by the selfishness of developed and industrialized countries in the face of the marked poverty of the less-favoured, by the arms race between certain States, and by these States' possession of weapons of mass destruction. I shall say no more.

6. Rwanda's permanent policy and course of action are still based on unconditional loyalty to the principles I have stated, in the face of the world's many past and present critical situations, and are still unswervingly aimed at the maintenance of that peace and security which are so dear to us all, and at co-operation between States, particularly for economic and social development.

7. To Rwanda the human personality is sacred, its freedom is inviolable and the fundamental freedoms are guaranteed to all our citizens; all are equal before the law without distinction of race, tribe, colour, sex or religion. Our Constitution, in its Part II, Chapter I, guarantees public freedoms.

8. It is with all the deeper distress that we see in the southern part of our African continent—by which I mean Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa—that these freedoms which we are all proud of enjoying and to which we are so deeply attached are utterly denied to a vast number of individuals, and that the United Nations has not yet succeeded in finally eradicating those destructive cankers, colonialism and *apartheid*.

9. We must, of course, pay tribute to the worthy attacks that our Organization, urged by the countries of the third world and especially by those of Africa and Asia, constantly makes on the forces of evil in that part of the world. Nevertheless, no matter how noble our Organization's action, and no matter how apt our resolutions may be, they are always blocked by a conspiracy among the imperialist and racist forces of Portugal, Southern Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa, which are encouraged by the plotting of the great economic and financial interests of certain Powers.

10. In Angola and Mozambique the shameless, base and anachronistic policy of Portugal grows more refined and continues to set at defiance the fighting spirit of the African patriots and the international public feeling which backs their cause.

11. In addition to these two territories, Portugal's criminal policy is aimed at the adjacent countries. We recall that in July 1969 Portugal violated the territorial integrity of Zambia, a sovereign country and a Member of the United Nations, in order to sow death and affliction among the people there. Are we to believe that Security Council resolution 268 (1969) on this matter, which my country unreservedly supports, will remain a dead letter in the history of our Organization?

12. In Rhodesia Ian Smith, leader of the tribalist and racist minority, under cover of the hesitant and constantly procrastinating policy of the United Kingdom, has repeatedly succeeded in cynically preventing the application of resolutions of this Assembly and of the Organization of African Unity, and has even gone so far as to set up the so-called Republic of Southern Rhodesia after pretending to consult the people.

13. In Namibia, the imperialist policy of the Republic of South Africa continues to wreak havoc despite the important decision taken by our Organization to place that territory under the direct control of the United Nations.

14. In South Africa racial discrimination, established as a State religion, is still absolute. The reactionary forces of Southern Rhodesia are being taught in that unhappy school so thoroughly that, if we are not careful, South African racism will soon make sorry conquests in that part of the world. Indeed, do not the facts show clearly enough that South Africa is trying to throw a dangerous cordon round the independent neighbouring countries?

15. Rwanda has never swerved from its duty to denounce publicly racist, colonialist and repressive policies like those instituted by South Africa and by Portugal in Angola and Mozambique and now inspiring the usurpers of Southern Rhodesia. Accordingly it stresses once more its deep concern at these explosive situations which, beyond question, directly threaten peace and security in southern Africa. It again adjures the Portuguese and South African Governments to understand the meaning of history and to co-operate with our Organization.

16. Speaking more particularly of Namibia, Rwanda can never repeat often enough that the United Nations has a very special obligation to lose no time in enabling the peoples of that Territory to regain their stolen sovereignty and govern themselves in freedom and dignity. In other words, it should take appropriate and effective measures to induce the Republic of South Africa to abandon its evil policy in Namibia and withdraw completely. My country for its part has spared and will spare no effort to make its full contribution to the pursuit of the Organization's burdensome task, for it is convinced that none of us may shirk the responsibilities that history imposes upon us all.

17. It is also important that Member countries which love peace and freedom, in their efforts to combat colonialism,

particularly in Africa, should both recognize and support the action pursued so nobly and tirelessly, and under such difficult conditions, by the Organization of African Unity.

18. But colonialism and racial segregation are not, unfortunately, the only distressing problems of our time. There is also the civil war which is laying waste Nigeria; there is the problem of Viet-Nam, not to mention the thorny question of the Middle East.

19. With regard to the civil war in Nigeria, no man with any heart can remain unmoved by the terrible suffering it causes the civilian population on both sides. We have always appreciated the efforts of the Organization of African Unity Consultative Committee on Nigeria to find an adequate solution. The philanthropic action taken by certain States and international organizations to relieve the misery caused by the war likewise compels the admiration of us all.

20. The fact remains, nevertheless, that the Nigerian question is far from being solved. Hence it is up to our Organization—since it is not entitled to intervene directly in the matter—to encourage and support the action being taken by the Organization of African Unity. In the view of the Government of Rwanda, the basis for the settlement of this question would be first to stop the fighting, and then to seek a mutually-acceptable solution.

21. As for the Viet-Nameese problem, Rwanda, while deploring that the negotiations in Paris are merely marking time, is gratified nevertheless to note the glimmers of agreement that are appearing on the horizon and the decision solemnly taken by the President of the United States of America to begin "de-escalation" by reducing the numbers of military personnel stationed in Viet-Nam, notwithstanding the existence of international commitments undertaken by the United States towards South Viet-Nam. We venture to hope that the voices of reason and conscience will replace the clash of arms as swiftly as possible, and that the various parties in the conflict will accept negotiations as the only valid means of settling this dispute which has for so many years so cruelly lacerated that region of the world.

22. I come now to a no less painful question: that of the Middle East. My country, which has real ties of friendship and co-operation with both parties to the conflict, has never concealed its concern at a situation in which violence seems to have become the only way of life. That is why, from this same rostrum and in other similar circumstances, we have never ceased to maintain that only a dialogue between the parties can lead to an honourable solution.

23. In my Government's view there is no case so weak as that of "those States" which persist in ignoring the existence of the State of Israel although it is a fully-fledged Member of the United Nations. There can be no such thing as a holy war; is there, perhaps, such a thing as a just war when it is justified by self-defence? The appropriate course, therefore, is for Israel and the Arab countries to try to meet in order to discuss face to face the dispute that divides them.

24. There is another problem of equal concern to my Government: the problem of China. There is a good reason

for this: the question continues to be brought up and debated at length at every session of our Assembly, and each time various points of view are expressed. My Government's position is established and well known. Rwanda recognizes the existence of only one Chinese people, which is legitimately represented within the United Nations and in the Security Council. As for the other aspects of the question, my Government is convinced that they are within the jurisdiction of this same people and should be settled by it alone. To speak in more practical terms, Taipei and Peking should direct their attention to the search for a political formula that might fulfil the necessary conditions for the concerted development of that great nation.

25. I should also like to touch on the fate of two other divided countries, Germany and Korea

26. With regard to Germany, my Government supports all efforts to bring about the reunification of the German people. Such reunification presupposes that the people of the eastern part of that great country would be enabled to express their will freely.

27. Turning to the problem of Korea: Rwanda ardently desires to see the people of that country reunited on a freely-negotiated basis, but still considers it necessary to retain both the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and the United Nations Force until the two parties agree on a *modus vivendi* which would fully guarantee peace and security in the country.

28. But would the abolition of colonialism and racial segregation, and the elimination of sources of tension throughout the world, be sufficient to give humanity hope of lasting peace and security while the sword of Damocles still hangs over our heads? I mean by that the spread of nuclear weapons and the existence of stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction.

29. My Government has made it a point of honour to welcome the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*], which it regards as a very propitious step. It would have signed the Treaty; but no guarantee was given to those countries that do not possess such weapons, and, what is more, no assurance was given that existing weapons would be destroyed. To borrow an aphorism, the local consequence of this situation would be "the disarmament of the disarmed".

30. My country believes that international relations should be founded less on the balance of reciprocal fear than on mutual confidence among States and on co-operation in various fields.

31. The vast sums that States, especially the great Powers, devote to armaments would be better used in raising the living standards of the populations of those parts of the earth where people do not get enough to eat, or are stricken by various diseases, or where even basic education is inadequate.

32. However, no subject has ever commanded such sustained attention as international co-operation. That is

because in the present-day world, where the mingling of the human race has woven such close ties that the wealth or poverty of one should be shared by the other, the many bonds of interdependence ought to increase solidarity among States. It is impossible to discuss this question without immediately mentioning relations among the so-called developing countries and their relations with the industrialized and developed countries.

33. Political history teaches us that the camp of the so-called developing countries is mainly composed of territories which were at one time colonized and which, as a result of the notorious Colonial Pact, had always served as a reservoir of raw materials for the colonizing countries, which sold their finished products back to them. As a result, there has generally been considerable delay in setting up genuine national industries in those territories; and even when they have attained independence it has not been easy for them to reorganize their internal economic structures and readapt their systems of trade.

34. Rwanda was one of those countries which, in Geneva in 1964 and in New Delhi in 1968, at the two international conferences on trade and development, did not conceal what they felt about the precarious economic situation of the developing countries.

35. The United Nations itself was also concerned, so deeply that it issued an appeal to the consciences of all Member States. Thus in 1961 a number of specific resolutions were adopted, establishing what has been called the First United Nations Development Decade. Those resolutions called on the wealthy countries in particular to set aside each year 1 per cent of their national income for the development of the countries that are still poor. Sad to say, at the end of the Decade we find that—with perhaps one exception, France—no country has been able to attain that target of 1 per cent; and it is generally agreed that the First Development Decade has been little short of a failure.

36. What are we promised by the Second Development Decade, which is to begin in 1971? It is important to note that one of the major obstacles to development in the poor countries is the weakness of their domestic savings; because of this they often resort to bilateral and multilateral assistance. It would be appropriate during the Second Development Decade to initiate more active co-operation among the donor countries or organizations, in order to avoid competition among them, and between those countries and organizations and the recipient countries. As part of multilateral aid, it would also be appropriate to consult the recipient countries as often as possible on the best ways of using the aid they receive. It would thus be possible to adjust the machinery for granting that aid in accordance with needs and conditions, which indeed are not all alike either in time or in place.

37. It is essential to bridge the gap dividing the developed from the developing countries; for, as was said not long ago by an authoritative African personality at the New Delhi Conference:¹

"To confiscate 85 per cent of the world's income for the benefit of one quarter of the world's population is the

¹ Second Session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 1 February to 29 March 1968.

greatest injustice of all time. To leave only 15 per cent of the world's income for 2,300 million out of 3,000 million people is the greatest act of cruelty of all time. On top of that to devote the sums confiscated to what we know to be a vast expenditure on arms is the greatest absurdity and the greatest aberration of all time."

38. In a century in which human genius has carried out the boldest scientific exploits, even to the point of enabling man to set foot on the moon, is it not scandalous that on the planet where he dwells hunger, disease and ignorance still rudely defy him? But the poor nations themselves must be convinced of the need to oppose a united front to under-development. They should rise above narrow nationalism and turn their attention to the creation of large groups which would be more effective in promoting development with a greater degree of regional or continental integration and balance. It cannot be said too often that poverty and hunger in the world threaten the security of nations just as much as does the rattle of arms.

39. It was my delegation's wish to draw the attention of the Assembly to a number of problems which confront our Organization and which the Government of Rwanda is sparing no effort to solve, convinced as it is that the maintenance of peace and security in the world and the promotion of international co-operation are certainly not tasks for a single State, or even for a few, but rather a duty for all States.

40. During the twenty-four years of its existence the United Nations has often proved impotent in the many complex situations that the world has experienced. Nevertheless, faith in the United Nations is more necessary than ever, today even more than yesterday, and must continue to be the force behind all our efforts to create better living conditions and better chances of survival for present and future generations.

41. In conclusion, Rwanda would like to express once again its unshakable devotion to the purposes of the Charter and its firm determination to make its full contribution to the tireless efforts of our Organization.

42. Mr. SHARP (Canada): Madam President, twenty-four years ago your delegation to the first session of the General Assembly was one of four from the continent of Africa. Today that number has increased ninefold. In electing you to preside over the Assembly this year we acknowledge not only your personal contribution to the United Nations, but also the distinguished services of your delegation.

43. I should also like to join with those who have preceded me in this debate in paying tribute to our distinguished President of last year, Mr. Arenales. We remember him as a statesman who served his country and the United Nations faithfully and well.

44. As the United Nations approaches its twenty-fifth anniversary it is faced with three imperatives: first, to avoid the scourge of global war and to contain and settle more limited conflicts; second, to speed the way to economic and social justice for the hundreds of millions of people who are now deprived of both; and third, to come to grips with the serious institutional problems facing the Organization at

this time. This morning I shall have something to say on each of these matters as they appear to the Canadian Government.

45. Of these imperatives the first two—the prevention of war and the struggle to raise the standard of living—are perhaps as old as mankind itself. The third—to strengthen and renew this Organization—is new, and is peculiar to this time and this place. I choose, however, to deal with this question first, since Canada believes that the United Nations must fail to reach its goals if it cannot come to grips with its own problems. It is hard indeed to build something of value, something that will stand, if your tools are blunted and ill-designed for your purpose.

46. In addressing myself to this question, I should like it to be absolutely clear that the criticisms I have to make and the remedies I will suggest come from an active and loyal member of the family of nations represented here. Canada has shown its confidence in this Organization by its wholehearted participation in all aspects of the work of the United Nations. We could not conceive of a world in which the United Nations did not have a central and vital role to play.

47. The institutional problems facing this Organization are difficult in themselves. They are compounded by the fact that, because of their intractability, there is something like a tacit conspiracy, in which we have all joined, to pretend they do not exist. The situation might be compared to the cumulative effect of pollution in a lake or the action of the sea on the foundations of Venice; failing vigorous corrective measures a slow but certain process of destruction is going on all the time. If we do not act there is a very real danger that, instead of fulfilling its high purpose as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the achievement of the objectives set out in the Charter, the United Nations will become a side-show on the international scene, its activities brushed aside as irrelevant.

48. There are three areas in which remedial action is imperative: first, the United Nations, including all its organs and associated agencies, is drowning in a sea of words—to which I am contributing this morning. Talk is of the essence at the United Nations, but to be useful it must be kept within reasonable bounds. As we all know, this is not being done. The number of conferences and meetings, and the paper they produce, have increased to the point that even those Members with the largest resources have difficulty in providing competent representation and coping with the flood of paper. As the conference-load increases there has been a corresponding decrease in effectiveness. This has led Governments to attach less importance to United Nations activities and efforts. The credibility of the United Nations as a negotiating forum and as an instrument for resolving the world's problems is wasting away. Public confidence in the Organization is being weakened and public support is being undermined.

49. We can, and should, act to arrest this process by identifying priorities and dealing with them in an effective and businesslike way. We must also find the new techniques needed to deal with the problem of the unwieldy size of United Nations committees and boards, particularly those responsible for United Nations action programmes in the

all-important field of development. Some of these boards are almost as large as the United Nations itself was not so many years ago, and have proved ill-suited to fulfil the purposes for which they were created.

50. I urge these measures because I believe they are essential to the future progress of the Organization. At the same time we should acknowledge that such remedial action can deal only with the symptoms rather than with the disease itself. Member nations, locked in out-dated concepts of sovereignty and national interest, find debate to be a convenient substitute for action. As long as this attitude persists the United Nations cannot hope to fulfil the aspirations of its founders.

51. Secondly, even with the benefit of nearly a quarter-century we do not seem to have learned the lesson that confrontation between nations is no substitute for negotiation. During the past few years there has been mounting evidence that the great Powers have recognized the sterility of cold-war policies, but we have yet to see this realization translated into effective action. There is also the practice, which has become so common that it is taken for granted, of forcing the Assembly to vote on resolutions that attempt to translate moral judgements into calls for actions which the Organization manifestly has not the capacity, nor, in some cases, the legal authority to carry out. Resolutions of this kind only hurt the cause they purport to serve.

52. Thirdly, the programmes and activities carried out by the United Nations family of organizations have multiplied during the last ten years. During that period the total of the assessed budgets has more than doubled, and, if the present growth rate were to continue, would reach half a billion dollars by 1974. The absence of effective control of budget expansion has meant that priorities have become blurred. Programmes have been carried on long after they have ceased to be relevant to needs. Staff with inadequate qualifications or capacities have been recruited and kept on rather than weeded out, and as a result the quality of the work of the Organization has deteriorated.

53. The cure for this illness is a period of consolidation of existing activities before striking out in too many new directions. Action of this kind will enable us to take best advantage of the useful advice that will be forthcoming in the report of the Enlarged Committee for Programme and Co-ordination and in Sir Robert Jackson's study on the capacity of United Nations agencies to administer development assistance programmes.

54. I feel that I must express in the strongest terms my conviction that continued failure to deal effectively with these institutional problems has already begun to erode the foundations of the United Nations as a cathedral of hope for the aspirations of mankind. Powerful and wealthy nations may be able to contemplate this process with only a modicum of concern. For most Member nations represented here, however, such a prospect is intolerable.

55. Madam President, you are known to all of us for your personal devotion to the United Nations as well as for being the distinguished representative of a Charter Member which has contributed much to the Organization. What I have just said shows that we share the views, expressed so cogently in

your speech [1753rd meeting], about the future of this institution and what Member States must do about it. For these reasons, may I express the hope that in fulfilling your high office as President of this Assembly, you, and the officers elected to assist you, will accept as a challenge to your leadership the urgent need to launch a vigorous programme of renewal? The new shoe of restraint and self-discipline will be bound to pinch for a time, but the resources saved can be used for constructive purposes. I am sure I speak for many delegations as well as my own when I pledge to do everything possible to assist you in this task.

56. I make this appeal today, because it offers the only avenue for a renewed United Nations with a more streamlined and effective structure, where Member nations will seek solutions rather than empty propaganda victories, a United Nations that will be more truly representative of the aspirations of mankind. Such a revitalized organization would be better able to come to grips with its great dual task: to keep the peace and to improve the conditions of life on earth.

57. To keep the peace. This is the primary purpose of the United Nations. The supreme challenge is to find something better than the balance of mutual fear and deterrence on which the present uneasy structure of global security rests. The new weapons now in the final stages of development in the Soviet Union and the United States give a new urgency to this task. Unless the world seizes this moment to stop the upward spiral in arms race technology we run a very real risk of a breakdown in the equilibrium of deterrence that now provides what security we have.

58. I should like to say here that Canada regards the strategic arms limitations talks that the Soviet Union and the United States have agreed to hold as the most significant development in recent years. We urge both parties to begin at once. If the talks are entered upon in good faith, with goodwill and without delay, they could prove to be a turning point in world history.

59. At the last session of the General Assembly, Canada joined most Members of the United Nations in welcoming the achievement of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)]. We were the first nation with nuclear capacity to ratify this Treaty. What the Treaty contains is important enough, but its promises are at least equally significant. None of the provisions of the non-proliferation Treaty is more vital than Article VI in which all parties to the Treaty—and this applies particularly to the nuclear Powers—agree “to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament”.

60. Should we be discouraged by the slow rate of progress or by the fact that although some ninety countries signed the non-proliferation Treaty only seventeen have deposited the necessary instruments of ratification? I do not think we should be discouraged. One cannot afford to be discouraged when the survival of mankind itself is at stake. We look forward to this Treaty coming into force this year and we urge its early ratification by all Governments that have not yet done so.

61. One of the most encouraging events in the field of arms control in recent days has been the coming into force

of the Treaty creating the Latin-American nuclear-free zone,² and Canada wishes to express its congratulations to the Latin American countries responsible for this very positive step.

62. Of all the arms control issues that have tried the patience of the world in recent years, the most onerous has been the effort to conclude a comprehensive test ban treaty to supplement the 1963 Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water.³ The endless argument is continuing over whether on-site inspection is necessary in order to verify violations of an agreement to prohibit underground tests or whether national means of seismological detection are adequate for this purpose. At the last General Assembly a resolution [2454 (XXIII)] was adopted calling for the highest priority to be assigned to effective measures to limit the nuclear arms race and to achieve nuclear disarmament. In the hope that a step forward could be made toward overcoming the verification problem, Canada proposed in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva that an international system of seismic data collection should be explored through inquiries to all Member States seeking information about the facilities at their disposal and their willingness to make information freely available to all nations. This proposal will be pursued in this Assembly.

63. The sea-bed and the deep ocean floor are the last earthly frontiers. The last General Assembly decided that this new environment beyond the present limits of national jurisdiction must be preserved for peaceful purposes. Canada, as a country with one of the longest coastlines in the world, has a vital interest in the fulfilment of that decision. Consequently, when the arms control aspects of this question were considered by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva, we put forward specific suggestions designed to ensure the protection of the interests of coastal States and smaller countries. We were particularly concerned to safeguard these interests through adequate verification provisions to assure compliance with any arms control treaty on the sea-bed.

64. The results of the deliberations of the standing Committee on the Sea-Bed⁴ and the discussions on this question by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva are not all we had hoped would be achieved. We shall nevertheless continue to co-operate actively as a member of the standing Committee on the Sea-Bed and as a member of the Geneva Disarmament Committee in efforts to achieve the two main purposes of the United Nations on these questions—first, to develop an effective legal régime for the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction and second, to ensure the preservation, for peaceful purposes, of the largest possible area of the sea-bed.

65. I turn now to that other menace to the survival of the human race—chemical and biological warfare. The Secretary-General's report⁵ has told us once again—if we needed

² Treaty of Tlatelolco, signed on 14 February 1967.

³ Signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

⁴ Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction.

⁵ *Chemical and Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons and the Effects of Their Possible Use* (United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.19.I.24).

to be told—the tragic consequences of using these dreadful weapons. At this Assembly we shall be considering proposals to eliminate them.

66. We recognize the valuable contribution represented by the draft convention for the prohibition of biological methods of warfare⁶ prepared by Britain and submitted at the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. The Secretary-General's report together with proposals advanced in Geneva and the draft convention put forward in this Assembly by the Soviet Union [A/7655] will all help to guide and facilitate our deliberations. The procedural resolution Canada sponsored,⁷ which we hope will be included in the report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, is directed to the same ends.

67. Let us remember, too, that the founders of the United Nations provided in the Charter procedures for the pacific settlement of disputes designed to stop the insane pattern of fighting and bloodshed which, from time to time, disfigures our globe and today particularly Viet-Nam, the Middle East, and Nigeria. It is a sad commentary on the state of the world community that it has no capacity to order the cessation of hostilities, except to the extent that the combatants are influenced by world public opinion. The current tense situation in the Middle East perhaps illustrates most graphically the nature of our dilemma. The Security Council unanimously adopted on 22 November 1967 a resolution [242 (1967)] which imposed an equitable balance of obligation on all the parties to the dispute. Its full implementation could have restored peace to the Middle East. Yet today the conflict continues to rage.

68. I am convinced we can do more to improve the machinery to head off disputes before they erupt into open warfare. This is why Canada is urging forward the peace-keeping studies being carried on in the Committee of Thirty-Three.⁸ In a working group of that Committee a concerted effort has been made during the past year to develop a "model" for the conduct of military observation missions authorized by the Security Council. As a participant in this study we have been encouraged by what has been accomplished but at the same time we are disappointed that the possibilities for much greater progress have not been realized. Once the model for an observation mission has been completed, the working group should go on to develop models for other kinds of peace-keeping operations.

69. There are difficult problems of a political, legal and financial character. Perhaps, as a representative of a country with a certain experience in peace-keeping operations I might offer a comment. It is essential that these problems should be given urgent consideration. There are many real risks in dispatching peace-keeping forces in moments of crisis without having worked out the necessary arrangements in advance. Our experience in peace-keeping forces certainly reinforces that conclusion. The Committee of Thirty-Three has been helpful in drawing attention to the questions that must be answered. They have been less successful in providing the answers. Meanwhile, Canada is

⁶ *Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1969*, document DC/232, annex C, section 20.

⁷ *Ibid.*, annex C, section 31.

⁸ Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

continuing, in the face of discouragingly slow political progress in Cyprus, to participate in the peace-keeping operation there, as well as in the United Nations peace-observation missions in Palestine and Kashmir.

70. There is so much to be done to ease the suffering and misery of the innocent civilians who get caught up in the vortex of war. It was for this reason that Canada joined with Norway at the recent International Conference of the Red Cross in Istanbul⁹ in urging the adoption of a declaration of principles on international humanitarian relief to civilian populations in disaster areas. Two other related resolutions, also co-sponsored by Canada, were adopted at the Conference. One of those resolutions established a committee to devise workable rules to supplement existing humanitarian law; the other resolution focused the attention of this new committee on non-international armed conflicts.

71. The Canadian Government has lent its full support to efforts by the International Red Cross to go further than has heretofore proven possible to build a system of legal as well as moral standards of humanitarian behaviour. We are extremely gratified at the success achieved at the International Conference of the Red Cross and we pledge to do our utmost to follow up the Conference decisions with specific action.

72. The second great goal of the United Nations is to bring economic and social justice to the world by providing an opportunity for the developing countries to escape the treadmill of poverty on which so many are trapped. If we can liberate the creative and productive powers of the untold numbers of men and women whose energies are now bound up in the struggle to exist, the future horizons of mankind will be immensely enlarged. There are many who say that such a goal is Utopian. I say that the words of the United Nations Charter are testimony that for a generation the world's leaders have believed that it is attainable.

73. Let us have no doubt about it: a great deal has been done. Development assistance has reached record levels and developing nations are becoming increasingly skilful at shaping and implementing plans for economic and social advancement. The economic indicators show that the poor nations are making more headway in their struggle to break the shackles of poverty.

74. What is being done does not yet, however, match the need and some recent trends give cause for serious concern. Although the volume of assistance has grown substantially during the past decade, continued growth is threatened by economic difficulties and, to some extent, by disenchantment in some key developed countries. In recent years the terms on which assistance is granted have shown a marked tendency to harden. For many developing countries the growing burden of debt service is eating away at foreign exchange earnings already eroded by falling prices for many of their traditional exports, and by barriers to their access to markets.

75. It is for this reason that the study being undertaken by the World Bank's Commission on International Develop-

ment,¹⁰ headed by a former Prime Minister of Canada and former President of this Assembly, the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson, and Sir Robert Jackson's study of the capacity of the development machinery of the United Nations are so important and so timely. Their reports will provide new insights into the strength and weaknesses of past policies and procedures, and their recommendations will provide the basis, I hope, for more effective international action in the future.

76. Never before has there been such a concerted assault by mankind on poverty and restricted opportunity. Yet even greater efforts are required to broaden the base of public support throughout the world for the cause of international development in the Second United Nations Development Decade. Setting guidelines and targets is only a beginning. Success or failure will ultimately depend on the determination of us all, the developed and developing countries and the international institutions, as together we come to grips with specific development projects.

77. Let me for a moment relate these considerations to Canadian policy. It is our declared national objective to improve the lot of the poor and underprivileged through development and trade. The level of the Canadian development assistance programme has increased very substantially in recent years and, despite the application of budgetary restraints to high-priority domestic programmes, it will continue to grow.

78. Moreover, we are making a determined effort to improve the quality of our development assistance and our capacity to administer the larger programme that we envisage for the future. Our experience has convinced us that development is hindered as much by a lack of knowledge, or a failure to apply the knowledge already available, as by inadequate resources. At this particular moment in time the knowledge gap is even more critical than the resource gap.

79. As a contribution to meeting this need, we expect to introduce legislation in the forthcoming session of the Canadian Parliament to provide for the establishment of a Canadian international development research centre. The goal of this centre will be to devise and develop new ways to apply science and technology and the latest techniques of analysis to overcoming the very subtle combinations of political, economic and social factors that hinder the process of development. Although the direction and operation of the centre will be a Canadian responsibility, it is intended to enlist the aid of experts and scholars from all parts of the world.

80. To keep the peace and to improve the conditions of life on earth: these are tasks that call for all that is best in us. They will be fulfilled if we can lift our eyes from the narrow concerns of transient political advantage and national self-interest to a broader horizon that encompasses the whole family of man. We are all bound up together. It is together that we must learn to live in peace, it is together that we must apply all our resources to the betterment of the human condition. The United Nations can be the

⁹ Held from 6 to 13 September 1969.

¹⁰ Subsequently published under the title *Partners in Development—Report of the Commission on International Development* (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1969).

supreme instrument for the achievement of those great tasks. It can also become no more than a monument to man's lost hopes and lost opportunities. It is the Member countries that will determine what course this Organization will follow, and like you, Madam President, we have faith.

81. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the next speaker, I should like to suggest that the list of speakers in the general debate be closed tomorrow, Tuesday, 30 September, at 5 p.m. It is hoped that the general debate will be concluded on 8 October.

82. Since I hear no objection, I take it that the General Assembly so agrees.

It was so decided.

83. Mr. USHER (Ivory Coast) (*translated from French*): Permit me to take this opportunity to pay to you, Madam President, the respectful tribute which is your due, and to offer you the congratulations of the Government of the Ivory Coast on your election to the honourable position of President of our General Assembly. The Ivory Coast, which has the most fraternal and close relations with Liberia, is proud of this trust placed in you, which redounds to the honour of all African women and the whole of Africa. We desire that you may discharge this heavy task with great success and that your maternal love may lead you to place all your experience at the service of the world in general and of Africa in particular, so that we Africans may never stray from the road of brotherhood among men and the path to peace.

84. Twice, in 1914 and 1939, the peace of the world has collapsed. Although, paradoxically, the two resulting wars freed colonial peoples and released nationalism, we still think that peace remains the most important objective for the future development of peoples. It must, however, be a peace that is not only an absence of war but also a constant construction of a harmonious society in which all men, being equal and having a higher standard of living, will feel the need to settle all their disputes by peaceful means.

85. Such a peace has to be worked for; it requires a special type of behaviour and attitudes, forbearance, tolerance—a whole set of conditions which may not fit a partner's temporary interests. But the Ivory Coast has chosen them as the substance of its internal and foreign policy and, on that basis, has vowed to explore tirelessly every path which might lead to such a peace. Having made this choice, we shall appeal to your indulgence, your tolerance and your understanding—since you are all aware of the need for coexistence in diversity—to hear us state the position of the Ivory Coast on the various problems dividing the world.

86. The Ivory Coast is guided at all times by humane principles, which are the constant factors in its diplomacy. Acting thus, we seek neither to please nor to offend, but to do all in our power to contribute to the preservation of an orderly peace.

87. A war is raging in the west of Africa. It is entering its third year. In it, one ethnic group faces others. It has already caused almost two million deaths. This war is being waged in an undeveloped country where the medical

infrastructure and the network of food distribution are insufficient, where the quality of building materials in the villages is rudimentary, where bomb shelters do not exist.

88. Yet, because of the intervention of some great Powers and with their connivance, this war is being waged with the most modern and sophisticated weapons; British and Russian bombs are being dropped by Ilyushin planes on defenceless villages. All these factors have made it the most devastating, murderous and inhuman war that the modern world has known; two million dead in two years, in such a small area.

89. Death is caused there by weapons, disease and hunger, without distinction of age. Children, whom the Ivory Coast and some other countries, in a praiseworthy humane and charitable effort, are trying to keep alive, come to us in such a state of malnutrition that, despite the most modern treatment we can provide, they will remain indelibly marked, handicapped and weakened at a time when Africa needs healthy and vigorous men.

90. It is inconceivable that the prolongation of such a war, the accumulation of so much misery, can have any other result than to kill out in these men, these widows, these disabled, any will, any design, even any idea of wanting or being able to live in harmony within a united Nigeria.

91. Biafra was born from the disintegration of Nigeria after a succession of seizures of power which created a climate of insecurity, fear, terror and tribal hatred. Contrary to the view of some of our friends, who believe in curing evil with evil, we firmly believe that the war is adding to that insecurity, fear, terror and tribal hatred, and that it is only further deepening the gap between the two communities.

92. The principle which induces some countries to ignore this tragedy, on the pretext that it is simply a matter for Africans, is unacceptable. This tragedy, by its scope and the number of its victims, extends beyond its African setting and threatens international peace and security.

93. The United Nations is in duty bound to concern itself actively, alongside the regional organizations, with anything likely to endanger peace or human rights, as it did in Cyprus, the Dominican Republic and the Congo. History teaches us that the Swiss Confederation, which has similarities with our young countries, composed as they are of conglomerations of tribes with different languages and religions, was in 1848 likewise torn asunder by quarrels and conflicts born of its own diversity of language and religion. It has become what it is today only because some cantons and other countries not involved in the disputes offered, either on their own initiative or upon request, their mediation and good offices and proposed a compromise peace to the parties at variance.

94. This war must cease, in the interest of Nigeria, of Africa, and of the world. Let us unite in exerting pressure on the great Powers turned arms merchants to cease transforming this part of Africa into a suppurating focus for their ideological struggle and conflicts of interest.

95. We are therefore deeply convinced of the pressing need for a person of incontrovertible spiritual authority,

such as yourself, Madam President, or the Secretary-General, to address an urgent appeal to the parties to cease hostilities immediately and start negotiations to find a just and fair solution acceptable to all.

96. As for the Middle East, it is drifting into a war of attrition with disquieting aspects. The Governments responsible are no longer in control of the situation, which has been taken over by the Palestinians themselves. War operations are extending beyond the Middle East, in the air and on the ground, and are arousing deep apprehension among innocent peoples far removed from the scene of the conflict.

97. His Holiness Pope Paul VI sees in this situation portents of a generalized conflict.

98. In a joint declaration dated 20 September 1969 the great Powers declare that all the States of the region have the right to exist; yet they continue to give them arms to destroy each other. It is high time that the great Powers responsible for the situation in the Middle East increased their efforts to lead the parties towards a search for a peaceful solution; military means having proved useless, dialogue becomes a necessity. It may assume various forms, taking place either face to face or through intermediaries, so long as the participants act in good faith. The Ivory Coast affirms its belief in a negotiated settlement based on the declaration of the great Powers and on the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) dated 22 November 1967.

99. At last, after twenty years of war, twenty years in which Viet-Nam has been divided and torn asunder, twenty years during which economic development has been sacrificed to war needs, negotiations have begun. Better late than never. It is never too late to do good; therefore the Ivory Coast welcomes the Paris conference on Viet-Nam and expresses the wish that the parties will continue the dialogue with patience and determination and in good faith. May their efforts be crowned with success, so that peace may return for ever to Viet-Nam.

100. We shall soon be celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. Yet African territories remain under the domination of an out-dated colonialism. Nearly twenty-five years ago, our Charter solemnly proclaimed the equality of all men; but in southern Africa a State Member of the United Nations, which subscribed to that Charter, is writing racial discrimination into its law. We must keep a constant watch on this state of affairs, for it is weakening our Organization.

101. As to the Portuguese colonies, the legal fiction to which Portugal clings in order to retain these colonies is largely obsolete. The events which have shaken Africa since the Second World War are deeply rooted in that nationalism which broke up the great empires of Europe and Asia. These are "*novas ideias*", as the Old Man of Cabinda said. Guns will be of no avail; these ideas will bring the independence of Africa to completion and free it for ever from colonial domination. Although assimilation originates in an idealistic and praiseworthy spirit, Portugal must face the obvious; in the context of present-day Africa, there is

no other acceptable road than that of self-determination. We are ready to help Portugal, which has become a prisoner of its own system, but on condition that it categorically proclaims its acceptance of the process of leading its territories to independence.

102. *Apartheid* also seems to us a consequence of the "great fear". Its advocates are trying to reserve part of the territory of South Africa exclusively for the white race, and endeavour to justify their attitude by so-called scientific or biblical principles proclaiming racial superiority.

103. However, we must try to convince those whites of South Africa that their fear is not justified, that the decision to live in Africa implies the acceptance of a mixture of races and civilizations, giving birth to a composite civilization and manifesting the progress of mankind, and that if, unfortunately, *apartheid* were to stay, the accumulated hatred would impel Africa on the road to vengeance. A war of attrition, like that raging in other parts of the world, would then become established in Africa, to the prejudice of the economic progress which is indispensable for the well-being of all peoples living on our continent.

104. Happily, not all the whites in South Africa are racists. There is a minority, but one that is gagged. Threats from the outside can only add to the difficulties of this *élite*. Those threats, therefore, must be replaced by a realistic policy likely to help that minority to grow. Thus the United Nations could convene a world conference on *apartheid*, not in order to utter platonic condemnations but to bring together scientists, theologians of all religions, politicians, businessmen and workers from all over the world, including both communities of South Africa. Its work would demonstrate and expose the fallacy of the scientific and biblical arguments put forward in support of *apartheid*, would seek the true and deep-seated causes of this scourge, and would suggest remedies.

105. Some great Powers have made mistakes whose consequences will be with us for a long time. Rhodesia is one of the mistakes made by the United Kingdom, that champion of Nigerian unity, which divided Ireland and the Indian Union, and is about to transform the Rock of Gibraltar into a mini-state. From the time of the dissolution of the East African Federation to the creation of the Rhodesian State, the United Nations by many resolutions has vainly striven to persuade the administering Power not to hand over the armed forces to the white minority government of Rhodesia, not to concede the 1961 Constitution and not give up the legal powers which the United Kingdom held by virtue of earlier constitutions and through which it could prevent the adoption or promulgation of discriminatory laws. But, as one position after another has been abandoned, the last example being the recall of the British Governor the day after the comedy of the referendum on the so-called Rhodesian Republic, the *fait accompli* has now been consecrated and legalized. It is easy to take the next step and to say that the United Kingdom can do nothing since it no longer has any relations with Rhodesia: the representatives of the British Government have almost said as much from this rostrum. And let us note in passing that the remarkably peaceful attitude adopted by the United Kingdom during the Rhodesian tragedy, which is not nearly over, is in very strange contrast with the activist, or even bellicose, attitude it has adopted elsewhere.

106. No matter what happens, the Ivory Coast continues to consider the United Kingdom responsible and hopes that it will find an adequate solution whereby to lead Rhodesia towards independence with majority rule.

107. That is the Ivory Coast's position on the problems of *apartheid* and decolonization. However, although this situation is a matter for serious concern, it is not nearly so horrible as that prevailing in western Africa as a result of the conflict between Nigeria and Biafra. It is all very well for Africa to boil with rage over this question, but that it should remain indifferent to this vast slaughter which has already claimed two million victims, that it should stand aside from the chain of human brotherhood which is leading members of charitable organizations and men from other continents to risk their lives to save innocent African women and children—this is something that we simply fail to understand.

108. Therefore, as a protest against this attitude, which is a disgrace to African humanism, the Ivory Coast has decided to abstain on any resolution dealing with this question until this shameful fratricidal war is ended.

109. The peace that I have defined in my statement requires an improvement in the living level of populations. Yet we are witnessing a very disquieting phenomenon, the widening of the gap between the wealthy and the poor countries. It is widening because what the economists call the terms of trade have deteriorated, so that the countries producing primary commodities are becoming poorer while the developed countries, no matter what their economic system, are becoming scandalously richer. The failure of the World Trade Conference in New Delhi was deeply and bitterly felt in our countries. If this situation grows worse and no compensatory machinery is devised, it is likely to cause such trouble in the world that peace will become precarious.

Mr. Valdes (Chile), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Experts have proved that the loss of earning power resulting from that situation cannot be offset by the paltry subsidies doled out to our countries. Therefore an equalization system on a world scale must be found to stabilize prices.

110. But we must admit that our peoples will benefit fully from economic well-being only so far as we can set up in our countries stable and democratic governments. And our governments will only be stable when we learn to abolish seesaw politics and to keep away from the bipolarity dividing the world into two blocs. Only by doing so can we avoid the familiar theory of limited sovereignty which is invoked to shore up some sort of ideological system.

111. We in the Republic of the Ivory Coast believe in the future of the United Nations. We believe in the principle of collective security, of international brotherhood; and our attitude can be explained only by our desire to help the United Nations as best we can to fulfil our common pledge to save future generations, on all continents and in all countries, from the scourge of general or local war.

112. To conclude, I repeat again that the silence of some influential Members about the tragedy in western Africa makes me anxious.

113. One of our illustrious and eminent colleagues, who devoted his whole life to supporting the United Nations and fell in that struggle, the late Professor Belaunde, said with characteristic humour:

“The United Nations is a body in which something is for ever disappearing: when two small Powers quarrel, the quarrel disappears; when a great Power and a small Power are in conflict, the small Power disappears; when two great Powers quarrel, or when two small Powers have a dispute in which the great Powers are involved, the United Nations disappears.”

It was that venerable old gentleman's way of pointing out to the impetuous young diplomats which we were at the time the imperfections of our Organization and its paralysis by the great Powers' veto.

114. But I am convinced that the United Nations will answer our appeal and not disappear in the face of this horrible war which is devastating Biafra, however ill-advised the intervention of the great Powers.

115. Mr. THORN (Luxembourg) (*translated from French*): Madam President, it is a source of satisfaction to me that the unanimous choice for the exalted office of President has fallen upon you, whose smiling authority merely emphasizes the great competence you have acquired by long familiarity with this hall. My pleasure in greeting you is all the greater because you are the eminent representative of a young continent whose problems are particularly close to my heart. I am convinced that your appointment is a good omen and fraught with significance today, the eve of the Second United Nations Development Decade.

116. At the same time I should like to convey once again to our Secretary-General, U Thant, an expression of the confidence that my Government has always shown in him for his tireless efforts to bring about a permanent understanding among all peoples so as to eliminate the conflicts that still threaten international peace and security. I particularly wish to congratulate him on the report he has submitted to our Assembly [*A/7601 and Add.1*], which is the most complete and lucid analysis possible of the world situation.

117. As we resume our work it is my duty to pay sincere homage to the memory of President Arenales, who was taken from us prematurely by his death a few months ago. In guiding the Assembly's debates last year this distinguished man, now departed, showed objectivity, efficiency and wisdom. Let us recall the prophetic words he uttered before the closing of the twenty-third session, summing up for the last time in a few meaningful phrases the lamentable and congenital weakness of the United Nations:

“... the evils of this world cannot be cured simply by negotiated resolutions, but only by the actions of Governments” [*1752nd meeting, para. 483*].

118. We have only to analyse the events of the past year from this point of view to see that we are certainly not justified in displaying an optimistic attitude. The same disputes may not have actually grown worse but still claim

the distraught attention of international public opinion. Unfortunately their persistence has widened the rift separating the opponents in current conflicts and made the search for compromise solutions even more precarious. It seems to us that not until the general atmosphere is improved will peace and calm be restored to the regions of the world where fighting is only too often preferred to a direct, frank and honest dialogue.

119. In the Middle East, above all, the lack of success of the attempts made so far to find a way out of the impasse seems to us fraught with serious dangers for the future. All the unwearied efforts there have been made both by the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Jarring, and by the four great Powers still have not induced the parties to comply with the body of directives contained in the resolution [242 (1967)] adopted nearly two years ago by the Security Council.

120. Allow me to express here the fear of a small nation which has put all its trust in the United Nations. Resolutions adopted in this forum should never at any cost remain dead letters. If they are not respected by the parties, the United Nations may lose its role of guarantor of the peace. How can we understand and *a fortiori* explain or even justify the conduct of countries which, while calling upon the authority of the United Nations to ensure respect for what they consider their legitimate rights and to put an end to a dispute, deliberately refuse to implement and respect a resolution adopted unanimously by the Security Council of the United Nations?

121. Similarly, I cannot accept the idea that Member countries of our Organization should after so many years still stubbornly refuse to recognize a State that has been admitted to full membership of our Organization by an overwhelming majority. It is perfectly possible to disapprove of a choice; but to go on indefinitely disputing a historical fact seems to us unreasonable. In our opinion, to dispute a majority decision of the United Nations is equivalent to disputing the authority, not to say the value, of the Organization to which we all belong; and this seems to us even more regrettable.

122. In this instance the lost time clearly does not work in favour of peace. To escape from the present vicious circle it will in any case be necessary eventually to renounce for good and all the acquisition of any territory by force and to recognize in practical terms the political independence and territorial integrity of all the established States in the Middle East. Inflexibility met only with intransigence would inevitably entail suffering for those who live in that part of the world.

123. Daily experience also shows us ever more clearly that the repeated use of force, the progressive escalation of violence and repeated declarations of intransigence only stir up passions and emotions even further, strengthen the position of extremists of every kind and threaten to wrest control of the situation from the responsible political leaders.

124. It is my duty to condemn the terrorist activities which are increasing in "third countries" not involved in the conflict. How do the leaders of these movements dare

to hope that they will win over public opinion to their cause by outrages and acts of piracy in countries which have always argued for a peaceful settlement of the dispute?

125. We fully endorse what the Secretary-General has said on this subject in his annual report [A/7601, chap. I, sect. D.1]. Not only should these acts of terrorism and piracy—what else can I call them?—be formally condemned by our Organization, but each Member country should undertake to apply severe sanctions against the authors of such crimes and, above all, should refuse to derive the slightest advantage, either direct or indirect, from such acts of piracy.

126. Who in this hall could still fail to recognize the scale of the problems, particularly that of the Palestinian refugees? In our view our efforts should not be aimed solely at establishing a cease-fire, ensuring the recognition of frontiers or reopening the Suez Canal, but should also tackle the actual causes of the unrest and trouble. We believe that we can attain this goal only by solving the unavoidable problem of the Palestinian refugees; and to do this it seems to us essential to establish direct communication with their authorized and properly-qualified spokesmen.

127. Even if today the antagonisms are too greatly exacerbated, even if there obviously seems no longer any prospect of the dialogue so long desired between Israel and the Arab States, even in the face of our Organization's inability to enforce respect for its resolution of 1967, we still hope that the parties will rely upon the good offices of the great Powers.

128. It seems to us that the four great Powers are in absolute duty bound to persevere in the course which they have sketched for themselves by tirelessly continuing their efforts to bring about a rapprochement of the points of view which still divide the opposing parties so deeply. They must not impose a ready-made solution from outside, but must none the less make moves that will restore calm in that troubled area. We fully endorse what the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs said on this point [1765th meeting], and we are bound to be gratified to note that on this occasion the four great Powers, which enjoy special rights in the United Nations, are also assuming special responsibilities. We hope that through their mediation, even without direct contacts—which we still hope for as keenly as ever—, at least an indirect confrontation of the various parties will begin.

129. For its own part the United Nations, whose observer groups have often in the past fulfilled their delicate missions with competence and dedication, could by its presence again substantially help to bring back a state of appeasement and thus eventually facilitate the establishment of a just and lasting peace. Let the success of the practical measures taken to restore peace in Cyprus be an example to us in the future. To give the peace-making machinery—now maintained by voluntary contributions—a solid institutional and financial basis, and to make of it an effective and undisputed instrument immune from last-minute improvisations, seems to me one of our most important goals.

130. With the same anxiety as they feel for the Middle East, the peoples of the whole world impatiently await the end of the bloody battles which continue to ravage Viet-Nam. Public opinion has followed with close attention the negotiations which were finally started last year in Paris and which then seemed to express a true and sincere desire to end the war as quickly as possible. The continuation of the conflict is an imminent danger to world peace, not to speak of the terrible loss of human life, goods and resources that it entails. It is impossible to hide a feeling of regret and disappointment when faced with the fact that so far these talks do not seem to have led to any real progress. It therefore remains to be hoped that the positive gestures that have been made repeatedly by the United States Government will meet with a real response, and that both sides will agree to give the people of Viet-Nam complete freedom to decide their own fate, safe from intimidation and from threats of overt or covert intervention from abroad.

131. For my part, I regret that the recent efforts of the Government of the United States have not been appreciated equally at their true worth by all Member States and that, on the contrary, certain States have responded to them only by casting doubt on their intentions. It is no good claiming that these efforts are in fact only concessions distilled drop by drop, gestures of appeasement and understanding meted out too sparingly. We think that, on the contrary, each and every one of us should express the wish that small steps or gestures on one side might be met by an equal number of moves on the other, thus making possible a gradual advance towards a comprehensive and final solution.

132. Although it is not for our Organization to deal with a crisis which under the terms of the Charter is exclusively within the jurisdiction of one Member State, we cannot refrain indefinitely from expressing our concern at the progress of the civil war which has been raging for more than two years in Nigeria. True, the Nigerian war is an African war, and the duty to end it is therefore in the first instance our African friends'. But, to judge by the latest events in that part of the world, our hope of a settlement of this fratricidal confrontation within the African continent is receding into the remote future and we recall mankind's darkest hours.

133. Last year from the same rostrum Mr. Debré, speaking for France, laid particular stress on the right of peoples to self-determination. He asked our African friends what they themselves intended to do in regard to the principle of self-determination, and reminded them of what Europeans had learnt from long and painful experience. He said: "Intolerance can exist among brothers too" [1683rd meeting, para. 79]. I invite this Assembly to consider—now that one of the fundamental principles of our Charter is at stake, not that a settlement seems unlikely save by violence and the inaction and silence of the nations make us mere anguished spectators of the appalling slaughter of a whole people—whether the United Nations is not in duty bound, if it is not to fail in its mission, to take up the problem, remove it from its present setting and impose a solution that will be just for all?

134. Addressing myself more particularly to the African States, I would ask them whether, in the presence of this

situation and in the absence of a quick solution, and aware of our responsibilities, they do not consider that they should lay this problem before the Assembly themselves.

135. As we seek to establish harmony and understanding among all the members of the international community, with the aim of bringing about lasting peace and justice to the world, efforts to promote disarmament are rightly among our major concerns. Last year the signing by an impressive number of countries of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)], although it was a preventive step rather than a step towards disarmament proper, nevertheless helped to create a more confident atmosphere among the great Powers. That Treaty has opened up new opportunities of ending the atomic arms race. By making clear that they intend to take effective measures leading to real nuclear disarmament, the Powers that have the privilege of possessing atomic weapons can give an adequate answer to the critics who are still rising up on various sides to oppose acceptance without reservation of the non-proliferation Treaty. Such an agreement must, in order to be effective, become universal as quickly as possible; and we are bound to make a rousing and urgent appeal to all Powers to sign the Treaty.

136. A *détente* prepared in that way will, in our opinion, enable the current talks on disarmament to continue with greater chances of success. The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, meeting at Geneva, will then be better equipped when it comes to answer the appeal addressed to it by the Assembly at its twenty-third session—

"to make renewed efforts towards achieving substantial progress in reaching agreement on the question of general and complete disarmament under effective international control" [resolution 2454 B (XXIII)].

It will be possible to count on real progress in the various fields now being studied.

137. Disarmament is not, however, aimed solely at restoring mutual understanding among countries which have hitherto been divided into opposing blocs. It should also release the vast resources now devoted to military activities and enable them to do good, especially to all the developing countries.

138. In a world in which the sole guarantee of peace is often only a precarious and fragile balance of power, we are bound to give our full support to the proposal that has been made to us for a conference on European security. We think, however, that careful preparation is necessary in order to ensure at least a minimal chance of success; failure due to lack of preparation would only widen the rift between East and West. We remain convinced that such an undertaking, if well prepared, has every chance of leading to a *détente* and, in addition, of laying the foundations of fruitful collaboration. This conference should not be approached with the premeditated intent of consolidating the *status quo*, of further strengthening the yoke in which the two blocs confine themselves. We think of it as a release of power that will lead to the solution of painful and therefore tension-generating problems such as the division of Germany. I have said that, besides a *détente*, we must

seek co-operation between the two camps. The participation of the new States and a closely knit fabric of economic and cultural relations should restore the unity of our old continent, obliterate ideological differences, and replace the evil policy of selfish and protectionist blocs.

139. For about twenty years the world economy has known a period of unprecedented growth, and never before this has the process affected so many countries at the same time. Above all, since the considerable growth in the number of Members of our Organization, the close interdependence between industrialized and less-favoured countries has stood out more clearly than ever. We are becoming increasingly aware that the world cannot find balance and calm and overcome the dangers that threaten it while it is divided into an affluent minority and a majority of countries lacking adequate resources.

140. We have within this Organization the experience gained during the first decade devoted to technical assistance and pre-investment programmes. We have been preparing ourselves for some time to put the finishing touches to the strategy that must be followed in the next ten years, to give a real meaning to world solidarity, and to translate into reality our acknowledged collective responsibility towards the least-privileged peoples.

141. One certainty seems clear enough at the outset. It is that the material resources made available hitherto are far short of the vast estimated needs. The gap between the rich and the poor countries is growing. Should we not ask ourselves from now on whether the method of pooling our resources that has always been used in the past is still adequate to the needs of the future? Can simple voluntary contributions, not based on real contributive capacity, still give the expected result?

142. Moreover, our efforts unquestionably lack sufficient co-ordination and are not integrated into an over-all rational scheme. Numerous funds and international bodies—and I am not thinking only of those directly responsible to the United Nations—have undertaken the noble task of promoting economic progress; and many countries give constant bilateral co-operation. All too often, however, these efforts are fragmentary and isolated. Even if they do not actually cancel each other out, those of each giver are unknown to the others; sometimes they overlap instead of supporting one another. It is therefore necessary to try to establish a basic co-ordination that will produce continuous and well-balanced growth.

143. Moreover, this growth should always be aimed at a realistic and clearly defined target, so as to avoid expressions of vague hope lacking any real base or content. To pursue vain fancies would only arouse false hopes which in the end would be cruelly disappointing. To be content with past achievements would not meet the urgent needs that we now know. Mere retrospection is useful only as a source of lessons for the future.

144. I would not venture to say that what has been done so far in the First United Nations Development Decade boils down to an admission of insolvency. But we are forced to recognize that praiseworthy intentions are being expressed in words rather than deeds. We shall not hesitate

to criticize ourselves first, for no industrialized country is immune from criticism. We are prepared to join other countries that are our friends in reconsidering the forms of assistance we give. It seems to me that we must move towards a new kind of aid, and abandon the old concept of bilateral aid for a communal strategy. We are proud, incidentally, of the good results of the aid programme launched within the European Economic Community. Here a group of highly-developed States is giving technical and financial assistance to another, less affluent group. This undeniably successful experiment deserves to be extended in such a way as to give an ever-increasing number of deprived countries a share in world economic progress.

145. It is true that certain countries have regarded our assistance somewhat askance, considering that the Community's effort might shut the third world into a watertight compartment or even divide the world into certain geographic zones of influence. Happily events have proved that this reproach is undeserved, since the number of countries receiving our assistance has continued to increase. The recent negotiations leading to the renewal of the Yaoundé Convention¹¹ have shown that the member countries of the European Economic Community were anxious not to place any obstacle in the way of an effort towards generalized world aid. We are ready to co-operate with all countries in this field, whatever their political or economic systems, and with all international bodies that desire to end this great scourge of the twentieth century—under-development.

146. Moreover, in this connexion we should ask ourselves whether the 1 per cent formula for the developed countries' contribution to the developing countries' rise in living level should be regarded as a limit or a minimum. For my part I am inclined towards the latter view; for there is a great danger that the countries whose rate of economic growth is among the highest in the world may shelter behind that formula and refuse any aid beyond it.

147. Our Organization has placed great hopes in the system of generalized preferences. We too endorse this system but do not think that it will produce all the results expected. It seems to us much more urgent to do everything possible to speed the conclusion of world arrangements, product by product, so as to guarantee a stable income to the developing countries that export raw materials.

148. The unprecedented exploit achieved this summer by the United States astronauts when they set foot on the moon shows us both what man is capable of when he directs his efforts with determination towards a specific goal, and also that there is very little in which we cannot succeed if we really have the political will to place all the human and material resources of our time at the service of an idea, or even an ideal.

149. Already our Governments are considering how we should celebrate next year the twenty-fifth anniversary of the signing of the Charter at San Francisco. Rather than confine ourselves to declarations of intent whose results too

¹¹ Convention of Association adopted by the Conference of twelve French-speaking African and Malagasy States (27-30 March 1961) renewed on 28 June 1969.

often remain platonic, let us resolutely envisage positive action directed towards the restoration of peace where it is still not ensured, the implementation of human rights wherever they are still flouted, and a redoubling of efforts to bring about development in a spirit of universal solidarity.

150. And yet, now that the United Nations is preparing to commemorate its twenty-fifth anniversary and we are wondering what would be the most suitable way of celebrating that anniversary, I think above all of the post-war generation, of the same age as the United Nations, whose keynote is challenge and participation and whose members, judging us, are wondering anxiously whether we shall succeed in guaranteeing world peace during the last

quarter of this century. Would it not be appropriate—and I think it would—for us to take advantage of this anniversary to examine ourselves, to do as they are doing; and, looking at our record, ask ourselves in the light of our experience, our failures and our successes whether everything should remain fixed in an unchanging mould; whether this Organization, born of the chaos and marked by the scars of the Second World War, and certainly revolutionary in its day, remains, with its original structure and procedures, best fitted to prepare for the year 2000 or whether, to prove ourselves worthy of the founders of 1945 and of their ideal, we should not strive to do more to adapt ourselves to new conditions at the dawn of the third millennium of our era?

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.