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President: Miss Angie E. BROOKS (Liberia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. PAZHwak (Afghanistan): Madam President, it is with great pleasure that I congratulate you on your election to the highest United Nations office, the Presidency of the General Assembly. You are the second woman, and your country, Liberia, the third African State, to be so honoured. The choice is not only a tribute to your personal qualities and your contribution to the work of the Organization; it is also a recognition of the emergence of the great continent of Africa in the community of nations—and, I venture to think, a symbol of its determination to finalize its epic of liberation from centuries of colonialism.

2. We are grateful to the temporary President and to the representative of Peru for giving us all the opportunity of paying tribute to the memory of the former President of the Assembly, the late Emilio Arenales [*see 1753rd meeting*].

3. The delegation of Afghanistan has always participated in the general debate as a unique forum where high-level representatives of now more than 100 States annually convene in the unending search for a better understanding among nations. In that alone, if in nothing else, the United Nations has made a tremendous contribution to world peace.

4. But now, in our twenty-fourth session, the debate is taking a new turn. You, Madam President, and others who have followed you, have set a keynote for a session of self-criticism, for deep soul-searching into the extent of our accomplishments and the dimensions of our influence. Our small minute of meditation is expanding into weeks of debate on this theme and this is good. It is completely in harmony with the series of self-appraisal dominating our

various organs, committees and commissions, on the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, which will take place next year. It could be a hope that this invaluable forum will move away from monotonous reaffirmations of frozen positions to an institution of creative and constructive ideas or, preferably, re-constructive policies, that the cancer of this stale confrontation will yield to the spirit of compromise and consensus.

5. At this point, however, it seems to my delegation that we must arrive at a clear understanding of what this criticism is all about. Is it the purgative of genuine self-criticism, a scrutinizing examination of our policies with respect to the world Organization? Or is it, as we seem to detect, a general onslaught on the United Nations, its noble aims, its unfolding ideology, its substantial inventory of fundamental principles which it tenaciously upholds against abuse and violation of its Charter, its tireless quest for that peace which has been the goal of all mankind throughout the centuries?

6. Let us make sure that what was intended to be a call for a constructive critique in the interest of an improved Organization is not turned into a campaign of rancid cynicism, into a dyspepsia of studied disrespect, into an orgy of pessimism. I think we all recognize that campaign of ridicule as the familiar device of those whose misguided policies find themselves in conflict with the Charter, with the resolutions of the General Assembly and with the decisions of the Security Council. There is such a campaign and it sometimes takes on a more subtle view: those who undermine its authority while tearfully deploring its alleged impotence damn the Organization with faint praise. Others, sometimes with good intentions, designate themselves "defence counsel" in justification of the life of the world Organization.

7. As far as the delegation of Afghanistan is concerned, we shall not stand on this rostrum in any posture of apology for the second great experiment in modern times to save mankind from the great plunge it has taken towards extinction in the cataclysms of two global confrontations.

8. Today, in the era of final weapons, we note that the third plunge will bring about the total eclipse of man on this planet; and we note that if we have so far avoided this great tragedy the credit is largely due to the United Nations, where words of warning and words of reason somehow broke through the thick fog of blind fear that gripped the world following the explosion of the first atomic bomb. Therefore, my delegation, in unashamed reversal of Shakespeare's famous line, "I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him", must say that we come to praise the United Nations, not to bury it. For us the function of our criticism must be the betterment of the Organization

and the first prerequisite for making an institution better is to see its essential good.

9. Against this background we cannot close our eyes to the fact that recently the United Nations has sustained a considerable loss of prestige in the eyes of world public opinion. We cannot ignore the obvious diminution of confidence in many parts of the world in the effectiveness of the Organization. It is reflected in the petitions, in the organs of popular expression and in the mass media. It has slowly corroded some of the most vital projects of the Organization; it is largely responsible for the mediocre results of the First United Nations Development Decade. Public indifference has created an atmosphere favourable to Governments that defy the Organization with impunity.

10. In our frenzied preoccupation with projects and with resolutions, we may be prone to forget that we do not dispose of the power of legislation or the arm of enforcement. Our decisions are, as is tirelessly pointed out, recommendations whose enforcement potential lies entirely in the moral weight they carry with popular support, and the degree of general faith in the efficacy of the United Nations. Lacking that support, we have a faith without followers—a creed without disciples—in short, a United Nations as remote as the moon, and far less exciting.

11. This poses a serious problem for our future work. We are engaged in very important long-range projects, with items ranging from the sea-bed to outer space, from the classroom to national plans, from human rights to the rights and duties of States. But most important of all is the global strategy of the Second United Nations Development Decade, involving the destinies of two-thirds to three-quarters of the world's population in the underprivileged nations; and we are seeking to go even beyond that, into longer perspectives, on the basis of the twenty-fifth anniversary. Yet at this stage of our work, when we shall need the full thrust of popular opinion to lift us into a viable orbit of accomplishments, we find that support at its lowest ebb. Is it not the most perverse of paradoxes that the most consummate programme for man enjoys so little of his enthusiasm and his confidence? How has this come about?

12. It is the view of my delegation that either we find the answer to this problem or we shall move blithely ahead with more plans and more resolutions, in tiresome restatements of the repetitious resolutions of previous years.

13. One popular explanation is that we are going through a period of reversion to nationalism: that people, turtle-like, have put out their necks, looked at the big, wide world, and then have drawn back into their nationalistic shells, with a kind of ostrich blindness to pre-world isolationism. But while true to a degree, that theory does not square with the world we see around us. Never was there so little of the old symptoms of nationalism, the spirit of chauvinism and flag-waving; never was there so much preoccupation of peoples with peoples, never so much of the world-view of things. The youth who at the turn of the century demonstrated for flag and country today riots for the principles of universal peace and social justice.

14. No, this is definitely not a world of turtles and ostriches, but the world of man—man caught in the spokes

of forward-moving forces—man on the move, but certainly not in a reversion to the past. From all we hear and see about us it is man in a conversion to the future. In this orbit he is neither a nationalist nor an internationalist. Perhaps he is basically the eternal explorer, seeking a sense of direction out of his dilemma; and if he has lost his contact with the United Nations, the supreme radar of that direction, it is because he is propelled by forces with a speed which gives our past the illusion of standing still.

15. It has also been said that we have lost the man of today because we have lost contact with reality, that we have adopted phantom resolutions whose words vanish like ghosts with the first ray of morn, that we have adopted decisions without regard to the voice of minority opposition, or to the prospects of their being implemented.

16. It is true, of course, that many resolutions remain unimplemented. But to blame the laws because they are not observed puts the problem upside down. The concept that the consensus of the majority must yield to the will of the minority poses a new kind of veto—a voluntary subordination, a tribute to power, without the responsibility of the veto under the Charter. Resolutions that are by-passed and defied are not necessarily adopted in vain; they carry with them a stubborn moral content of their own, with a penetrating force that begets implementation by somebody along the corridors of time. It is not the resolutions that alienate people from our influence, but our failure to implement them, to make them come to life, to give them the flesh of reality; it is our supine surrender to those who ignore them that has created the confidence gap regarding our Organization. If we fail to close this gap between decisions and action we shall certainly not close that other gap between the rich and the poor nations.

17. It would appear that in recent years this Organization with its record membership, its vast agenda, born not out of a misguided spasm for resolutions, but under the pressure of a changing world, moving too fast for the “haves” and too slowly for the “have nots”, has generally become divided into two schools of thought. Those who enjoy the monopoly of power—economic and military, psychologically and logically—constitute a phalanx of gradualism. The others make up the camp of the “forward-march”. Government policies in the United Nations appear to be shaping up along the lines of this division.

18. But for the hundreds of millions of impoverished in Latin America, in racist-bound Africa, in war-ridden Asia, and even for many people in the wealthier nations, the pace of gradualism appears to be no longer acceptable. Impatience is the pulse-beat of the day, and the so-called revolution of rising expectations has moved far beyond mere expectations to urgent demands, yes, sometimes even reached for the impossible; and is the impossible so remote when hundreds of millions have seen with their own eyes the landing of men on the moon—and soon, we are told, on Mars or Venus?

19. For the past two years we have witnessed an enormous acceleration of the world revolution rotating into the future. We have seen the rise of youth as a new political force, with its own new rhythm of accomplishments, clamouring for action where previous generations have

marked time. Everywhere new and old societies are seething cauldrons of threatening violence in more insistent demands for social justice.

20. This may well be a warning to us that if we do not enforce the decisions of our own making somebody else will—and it will not be with the peaceful transition we envisage. If we stand still, as so many of our frozen resolutions testify, it is obvious that the world does not. Not only the people on the streets, but also the scientists in their laboratories have stepped up their tempo in the elaboration and production of new weapons, so that the snail-pace progress made in disarmament is wiped out by the new weapons, just as in developing economies inches of progress are erased by the population explosion.

21. Thus if we establish a true ratio between gradual progress and the big leap of current events, we shall see that gradualism means standing still, and standing still means, in fact moving backwards.

22. We hear many views on what the United Nations might be, a forum, a mere diplomatic mart or the builder of nations and their future well-being. But I think that we can all agree that the one thing the United Nations, of all institutions in the world, can never be, is what is contemptuously called in our new world "The Establishment". The United Nations can never be the "Old Generation". Its Charter functions, based upon principles of a new and better world, give it a force and built-in leadership of the new world which no Government, however benign or liberal, can rival. I am afraid that the United Nations is doomed to the role of either "Perpetual Youth" or "Gradual Eclipse".

23. This poses a problem for an organization whose centre of power at its founding was the older generations. Youth was then largely in military uniform. Since then what we call public opinion has undergone mental and psychological changes. I am not sure that we have established a line of contact with these new forces. In the area of human thinking also, science and technology have made valuable strides. Therefore it may well be that the new psychological forces could become one more item on the agenda of our Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development, recalling the famous UNESCO dictum that wars and peace begin in the minds of men. In the meantime we may safely assume that our "peoples gap" problem is chiefly the problem of non-implemented resolutions. While in our vast agenda we are about to add over one hundred more resolutions to the archives of the past, it might be useful to establish a small group or committee on the presidential level to concern itself with the problems and possibilities of increased implementation. Such a group might approximate the "wise men" formula utilized in other international circles.

24. We are gravely concerned with certain retrogressive tendencies in world political developments in the past year, which not only by-pass the Charter but promulgate policies in direct contravention of the most basic principles of our Organization.

25. In recent months we have heard the enunciation of the right to the military conquest of territory and to the right

of annexation of foreign lands. We have even heard a big Power, a permanent member of the Security Council, a major custodian of the Charter and a praetorian guardian of the peace, accord that right to a belligerent nation, generously at the expense of the territory of other Member States—a right which, incidentally, this big Power has repeatedly renounced for itself.

26. There is no need for me to discuss the juridical aspect of conquest by force of arms; the truth here is self-evident. All I wish to say on behalf of my delegation is that if this throwback to the dark ages is permitted an inch of compromise, then we shall plunge the world back into the days of Genghis Khan whose footprints are still on the soil of my country; then no nation represented in this hall will be safe from the ancient greed of the wars of conquest. This Assembly should administer an unmistakable and decisive rebuff to such policies.

27. The past year has also seen new and more extensive violations of human rights in the colonies, in occupied lands, in war-ridden lands and other lands. It is here that the United Nations, in its failure to go beyond the enunciation of general principles, has sustained an immeasurable loss of prestige. Accordingly, my delegation will support the creation of a United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights as a first step in the future development of an international enforcement structure.

28. We are also concerned over the rise of a new type of war. As in the case of war for territorial conquest, we thought that religious wars—the most dangerous, the most fanatical and the most intransigent of all wars—were a part of a long buried past never to return. But now it appears that we are about to suffer a serious relapse into history. Claims to the Old City of Jerusalem have been made on a basis of biblical law and quasi-religious narratives. On 3 July 1969 I appeared before the Security Council [*1485th meeting*] on behalf of my Government, along with representatives of other delegations, in the Council's deliberations on the occupation of Jerusalem. I raised the warning that the claims made to Jerusalem on so-called religious grounds, apart from any other aspects of the issue, dangerously opened up the flood gates for a reversion to religious war. I stated that if such a war took place, Israel would be responsible.

29. On 20 August 1969 the world heard with dismay and grief of the burning of the sacred Al Aqsa Mosque, one of the holiest of shrines to the Islamic peoples in all lands and a historic landmark to all religions and all faiths. This tragic occurrence ignited the hearts of Islamic peoples everywhere.

30. My point here is to draw some lesson from this unhappy development for the future peace and security of the world. Religious claims are one category of war into which the United Nations must not allow itself to be dragged as an arbiter—and for a very sound reason. Even in political and ideological tensions the world Organization has its obvious limitations and, within them, has achieved much in the prevention of conflict and in halting its spread. It has been able to exercise a restraining influence over Governments. But wars involving the most precious convictions of man run beyond the control of governments and

become the crusades of peoples on the highest level of reckless emotions; and this kind of war may not be amenable to the usual United Nations restraints. The United Nations must nip in the bud any attempt to revive this kind of war by eliminating its causes.

31. We are always concerned about the concepts of security. In this area the winds of war, like hurricanes, shift their direction. The centre of gravity of war now appears to have shifted from Europe to Asia, but with different problems.

32. In Europe the conflict was one involving power and hegemony, and at times colonization. In Asia the causes and roots of the conflict are more economic than political. Ours is primarily the problem of under-development in the lands where people are hungry and poor and restlessly striving for a slight improvement in their meagre livelihood. In this situation there is little margin for an extravagant division into military blocs, even for purposes of security, and their inevitable arsenal of armaments. Here, the strategic approach constitutes absolutely the wrong basis for the economic development which the countries of the region so desperately need.

33. Here, where seemingly, the fate of war and peace is to be decided in the future, and is already being fought out in what was once called the Indo-China sector, where tensions simmer between Pakistan and India, between China and the Soviet Union, between China and India, between Pakistan and Pakhtunistan, it is essential to ponder the political structure most conducive to the economic and social development of an entire hemisphere.

34. In such a structure we consider that foreign intervention is fraught with the greatest danger of setting off a new power struggle. Here, unlike in Europe, the ruling principle of peace must begin with the principle of self-determination of peoples as the major point of orientation. On the basis of these axioms—accepted as United Nations truths—perhaps the entire continent may embark on a constructive era of economic rehabilitation and development only on the broad base of an all-Asian formulation as the alternative to the rivalry of blocs and rival groupings.

35. In this pattern we may be able to implement what our Secretary-General, U Thant, calls a disarmament decade. Rightly and financially it is inseparable from the decade of economic development; the two are as complementary as the right arm is to the left. In the same way the two are inseparable from continental collective systems which, unlike strategic blocs, have no need for excessive armaments. We hope that Member States may begin to think in terms of this triptych for a new concept of inter-relationship between economic development, disarmament and security.

36. However, it must be emphasized that as long as the political crises and wars and disputes continue to plague relations between nations in any region or continent, to speak of peace and progress or collective understanding for any purpose, in any form, will remain far from realistic.

37. Speaking for my country, I am happy to state that our own relations are friendly with our neighbours, with all

countries on our continent, and indeed on all other continents. It is with great regret that I have to mention one exception.

38. At the last session of the General Assembly I spoke of the serious situations of international concern affecting the people of the Asian continent [*1690th meeting*]. I expressed the hope that a peaceful settlement of the disputes would be found in an amicable solution of the problems causing them. We are still deeply concerned about those situations in which Afghanistan is not directly involved; but we are directly involved in the high tension between the people of Pakhtunistan and the Government of Pakistan, fraught as it is with danger for the future peace and security of that region.

39. The cause of the people of Pakhtunistan is a legitimate and just cause based on the right of peoples to self-determination and the fulfilment of the aspirations of peoples to determine their own fate and future. This is a cause that, as Members know, Afghanistan has supported for all peoples everywhere, and naturally we cannot do less for a territory that was a part of our country, usurped by a colonial Power, and a people that is our own people.

40. Pakhtunistan is not a small problem. It involves the legitimate aspirations of more than 7 million people. It is the largest territory in Asia demanding the right of self-determination. It is a serious and explosive problem, fraught with the possibility of grave consequences. Since this problem is not yet before the United Nations, I shall once again express the hope that the new Government of Pakistan, fully aware of the aspirations of these people and having realized the gravity of the situation, will not add to our disappointment as in the past by refusing to deal with it in accordance with the accepted international standards regulating such disputes, on the basis of the undeniable right of peoples to self-determination.

41. This Assembly session offers us an opportunity of facing new problems, the new forces, the new trends in our swiftly evolving world. They are many and complex. They include ourselves. They must be our profound preoccupation as a prelude to the next session, when we shall embark on a programme of celebrating our great anniversary and landmark. Basically, it all comes to a renaissance of the great faith the founding nations enunciated in San Francisco. We must restore faith in our people, faith in ourselves and a rededication to the Charter which has already done so much to alter the concepts and perspectives of modern man. We must close this gap between ourselves and this new man. We must regain our partnership with him in the great epic of our times: the renaissance of the human race.

42. Mr. ADOULA (Democratic Republic of the Congo) (*translated from French*): Madam President, you will understand better than anyone that, as I come to this rostrum, my first concern is to associate myself with those previous speakers who have made a tribute to the memory of your illustrious predecessor, Mr. Emilio Arenales, who has been torn from us by an untimely death. You will understand this all the more because in your native Africa, in our far-off Africa, it is traditional to associate the dead with all the affairs of daily life. The tribute that the

Democratic Republic of the Congo pays to this great man who has left us will be in keeping not only with that African conviction and belief but also with the admiration he inspired in those who knew his qualities as an enlightened diplomat and eminent statesman. In spite of the differences of opinion which can arise during the debates of an Assembly such as ours, Mr. Arenales was able, thanks to his knowledge of men, to rise above controversies. I hope that, throughout our work at this twenty-fourth session, the sacrifice which he made for the cause of the United Nations and for the triumph of peace will serve us as a model of devotion and abnegation.

43. Madam, your election to the presidency of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly should be a matter of profound satisfaction for all men and a cause of legitimate pride for Africa in particular. Indeed, it testifies, to the extent that such an election can do so, to the fulfilment of the Charter principles relating to the struggle being waged by all peoples against every form of discrimination. The great experience you have acquired in the affairs of your country, the interest you have shown for years in the problems of the United Nations, your active collaboration in the field of decolonization—all this constitutes for the Congolese delegation and, I may venture to say, for all delegations in this Assembly, a guarantee of your success in carrying out your heavy task. My country, which is linked to your own by ties of friendship and brotherhood, wishes to assure you immediately of its sincere collaboration. Following the example of a Mongi Slim and a Quaison-Sackey, you will preside over the work of this twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly with competence and dignity, stamping it with the personality of the African continent.

44. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, convinced as it is of the need for co-operation among nations, will participate, as it has done every year, in the work of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly by making its contribution to the establishment of world peace and to the preservation of the purposes and principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations. It will be our task to mobilize all means likely to promote United Nations action for the maintenance of international peace and security.

45. The deliberate violation of the principles of the Charter is the cause of the tensions which are now rending the world asunder, encouraging the arms race, jeopardizing every effort to settle disputes peacefully and thereby seriously endangering international peace and security. Throughout the world—in Asia, in Africa, in Europe and in America—our planet is dotted with centres of unrest.

46. In the very heart of Africa a tragedy is dividing a nation, a great nation, which, with its economic and human potential, should be considered a hope for our continent. For reasons of selfish interests, this fratricidal war is being kept alive by supplies of arms from abroad, thus preventing the Organization of African Unity from playing its role of mediation and conciliation.

47. The Democratic Republic of the Congo is particularly sensitive to the sufferings of that people because it, too, has been a victim of similar situations. It is therefore firmly

resolved to take an active part in the search for a just and equitable solution which will safeguard first and foremost the territorial integrity of that great country and then make it possible to ensure a lasting peace for all the peoples of Nigeria.

48. One cannot deny the sufferings and misery which this war, like any other war, has brought in its wake. There is obviously a need for humanitarian action. But it would be unfortunate if, under the cover of such a noble objective, certain institutions were to pursue political aims which are opposed to the legitimate demands of the Nigerian people. The Democratic Republic of the Congo, therefore, refuses to encourage any national sincerity which would seek a solution to its problem in secession. While it declines to recognize the situation resulting from secession in Nigeria, my country remains in favour of any action that would ensure a lasting peace safeguarding the legitimate aspirations of the Nigerian people as a whole. Our attitude, which is dictated by both principle and reason, thus remains invariably the same.

49. With regard to the Middle East, the Democratic Republic of the Congo endorses the views expressed by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report [A/7601/Add.1]. In that part of the world, the resurgence of violence and the increase in tension are further reducing the prospects of peace. We favour negotiations among the four great Powers affected by the conflict in the Middle East in so far as such negotiations may lead to a solution of lasting peace among the belligerents. However, we ask these great Powers to be honest with themselves and to stop encouraging the parties to the conflict by supplying them with arms and munitions. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo firmly believes that an objective application of the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)] would undoubtedly lead to the establishment of a lasting peace in the Middle East.

50. In the Far East, it will soon be twenty-five years that the Viet-Nameese people have been involved in civil war, a war which will have lasted for as many years as our Organization. Here again, we are faced with the inability of the United Nations to put an end to that tragedy, because certain countries whose function in the Security Council is to safeguard world peace have shirked their responsibilities in order to preserve their own hegemony. The Paris negotiations, which had appeared to offer a glimmer of hope, are proving more and more of a disappointment. The Democratic Republic of the Congo, at the risk of repeating itself, reiterates the positions which it has always upheld, namely, the right of peoples to self-determination and, in the case of Viet-Nam, a return to the application of the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

51. Moreover, it is impossible to refer to the problems of the Far East without linking them with the influence of China. No lasting peace can be established in South-East Asia without the participation of the world's most populous country, a country with a considerable economic potential. Moreover, mainland China, whether one likes it or not, has become a nuclear Power. Truth compels us to admit this fact. The universality towards which our Organization aspires would be advanced if the People's Republic of China were associated in its work.

52. Unfortunately, however, it must be admitted that the People's Republic of China offers us little encouragement in this respect. By setting up violence as the golden rule of its foreign policy, by proclaiming armed struggle as a means of ensuring its control over the Asian continent, the People's Republic of China is pursuing objectives which are far from consonant with the ideals of peace contained in the Charter of our Organization.

53. Furthermore, in the opinion of my delegation, if mainland China should enter the United Nations, this should not lead to the exclusion of Nationalist China. It does indeed appear paradoxical to us that the very people who wish to compel the international community to recognize the eastern part of Germany as an independent political entity refuse to admit that Nationalist China, a Member of the United Nations, undeniably constitutes an independent and sovereign political entity.

54. These factors will determine the attitude of the Congolese delegation to the question of the presence of Communist China in the United Nations.

55. The upheavals which are now taking place in the world have not spared the European continent. Last year that continent was the scene of events which quite rightly aroused the indignation of the international community. Our delegation cannot support a conception of regional security which, in defiance of the principles of the Charter, authorizes one State to interfere in the domestic affairs of another, and which violates its sovereignty and its people's right to self-determination. Is it not tragic that, almost twenty-five years after the establishment of our Organization, a Member State has been unable to obtain from it any effective protection of its rights and has been forced to seek the ultimate explanation of its submission in the memory of the tragic betrayal of Munich?

56. In keeping with this approach, we are prepared to participate in good faith in the discussion of the item entitled "The strengthening of international security" [A/7654], which has been included in the agenda as a result of the happy initiative taken by the Soviet delegation. We venture to hope that a fruitful discussion of this item will make it possible to attain the desired goals and so contribute effectively to guaranteeing peace in the world.

57. If we wish to safeguard the peace and security of nations, present world trends call for the elimination of the fear of atomic warfare through the halting of the arms race, both by prohibiting the production of nuclear weapons and by destroying those weapons. It must be recognized that the signing of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)] was an obvious manifestation of the willingness of all the signatory countries to put an end to the danger that the arms race represents. It is discouraging to note that the countries directly affected by the arms race are at present content to make mere declarations of intention. However, endorsing the concern expressed by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report, we associate ourselves with the appeal he addressed to the United States and the Soviet Union "... to begin immediately their bilateral talks to limit and reduce offensive and defensive strategic nuclear weapons" [A/7601/Add.1, para. 30].

58. The atomic bomb contains in itself the elements for its own limitation; but the same is not true of conventional weapons, which, quietly but surely, continue to inflict increasingly heavy losses of life on the human race.

59. We roundly condemn the use of all chemical and bacteriological weapons and call upon all States to comply scrupulously with the 1925 Protocol.¹ Moreover, we believe that the initiative taken by the delegations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and eight other countries in proposing the inclusion of this question in the agenda of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly [A/7655] deserves our support.

60. One highly topical question in which my delegation is keenly interested is that of the reservation exclusively for peaceful purposes of the sea-bed and the ocean floor, and the subsoil thereof, and the use of their resources in the interests of mankind. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo will argue in favour of setting up international machinery to administer the marine environment and of establishing uniform legislation in this field.

61. We cannot speak of peace in the world, and even less of peace in Africa, as long as millions of human beings still remain subject to colonial exploitation and deprived of their rights. While we may congratulate ourselves on the results achieved by the United Nations in regard to decolonization, as exemplified by the large number of States which have acceded to independence since its foundation, we cannot but stress the impasse created by the cavalier attitude of Lisbon, Salisbury and Pretoria.

62. My country, which has frontiers in common with Angola, intends to spare no effort in helping that people to recover its full rights. It condemns Portugal's anachronistic attitude and urges it to apply, without further delay, the relevant resolutions adopted in this matter by the United Nations.

63. Where Rhodesia is concerned, it must be noted that this question highlights two types of responsibility: the individual responsibility of the administering Power and the collective responsibility of the States Members of the United Nations.

64. The individual responsibility of the administering Power requires it, in accordance with the Charter, to guarantee and assure to the people of Zimbabwe the full enjoyment of its right to self-determination and independence. Unfortunately, despite the formal and solemn declarations of the administering Power, the people of Zimbabwe have seen their rights betrayed for the benefit of a white and racist minority. The United Kingdom Government, which has described the attitude of Ian Smith as one of rebellion, stubbornly refuses to take the appropriate measures and is content to resort to the most fallacious pretexts, which, furthermore, ill conceal its breach of faith to 4 million Africans. On the one hand, the United Kingdom advocates the strengthening of economic sanctions against Rhodesia, while on the other, it refuses to endorse the only course which can ensure such strengthen-

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

ing, namely, that of inducing South Africa and Portugal to co-operate loyally and fully in respect of those sanctions. Given the bankruptcy of the policy of sanctions, which, moreover, has been recognized by the United Kingdom, what other solution does that country propose apart from the use of force, a solution which it has not hesitated for a moment to adopt in similar circumstances?

65. It is not only the United Kingdom's responsibility that is at stake in this Rhodesian affair; that of our Organization is equally involved. Unfortunately, we note that the United Nations seems to acquiesce, because this is the easier course, in the ineffective measures taken by the United Kingdom, even at the risk of being charged with complicity in the betrayal of 4 million Africans. It is regrettable to find that the very ones who bear the main responsibility for the maintenance of peace take refuge behind the specific responsibility of the United Kingdom, a responsibility assumed by the latter, oddly enough, in order to evade its duty of effectively guaranteeing peace in that part of Africa.

66. It is true that up to now, Africa, confronted as it is with intransigence, lack of understanding, not to mention the attitude of defiance paraded by South Africa, Portugal and the rebel authorities of Rhodesia, has always advocated the use of force as a solution to the problems of decolonization and *apartheid*. It is no less true that, in view of the hypocrisy of certain Powers which are more inclined to safeguard their economic interests than to permit millions of Africans to preserve their dignity as human beings, all of Africa, in its concern for understanding and peace, has made a place in its struggle for liberation not only for the use of force but also for peaceful negotiation.

67. Unanimously and as one man, the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting recently at Addis Ababa, adopted, at the sixth session of the summit conference,² a solution enshrining the Manifesto on Southern Africa,³ from which I shall read an extract:

"Thus the liberation of Africa for which we are struggling does not mean a reverse racialism. Nor is it an aspect of African imperialism. As far as we are concerned the present boundaries of the States of southern Africa are the boundaries of what will be free and independent African States. There is no question of our seeking or accepting any alterations to our own boundaries at the expense of these future free African nations.

"On the objectives of liberation as thus defined, we can neither surrender nor compromise. We have always preferred, and we still prefer, to achieve it without physical violence. We would prefer to negotiate rather than destroy, to talk rather than kill. We do not advocate violence, we advocate an end to the violence against human dignity which is now being perpetrated by the oppressors of Africa. If peaceful progress to emancipation were possible, or if changed circumstances were to make

it possible in the future, we would urge our brothers in the resistance movements to use peaceful methods of struggle even at the cost of some compromise on the timing of change. But while peaceful progress is blocked by actions of those at present in power in the states of southern Africa, we have no choice but to give the peoples of those territories all the support of which we are capable in their struggle against their oppressors." [A/7754, paras. 11 and 12.]

68. Consequently, Africa has the right to require that Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon should make an equitable return for the attitude of conciliation which it has adopted. So far, however, no worthwhile reaction has been noted. The Democratic Republic of the Congo strongly denounces, from this rostrum, the hypocrisy of those great Powers and calls on them to co-operate with the United Nations to wipe out the scourge which the policy of *apartheid* in South Africa and that of racism in Rhodesia constitute for the world.

69. I now take up one of the most challenging issues of our time. It is that of the economic and social situation. Several speakers from this rostrum, in fact, have repeatedly expressed their concern at the increasing disparities between the economy of the so-called developed countries and that of the countries of the Third World, the so-called developing countries, in order to bring out the gap that divides them. In certain circles it is maintained that the development of Member States is a matter of concern to those States alone, and that it is for the developing countries to make the necessary effort to improve the living conditions of their peoples. This theory, which flows from the sovereignty of States, is correct, but it should not prevent the establishment of genuine co-operation in the world between all countries, so as to facilitate the development of the countries of the Third World. It is indeed a fact that if such co-operation were completely lacking, the balance of peace would be in jeopardy. Our Organization has met this need by setting up various specialized agencies whose purpose is to promote international co-operation in every field.

70. Belonging as I do to a country which is classified among the under-developed, I can assess the efforts which the young countries are called upon to make and, above all, the difficulties of every kind which they must overcome in order to achieve their full development. I cannot, therefore, associate myself with a certain view of world public opinion which, without qualification, lays the responsibility for the backwardness of developing countries at the door of those countries alone. Poverty, hunger and ignorance—in a word the under-development of which we are all aware—are in fact primarily due to an egoistic conception of economic relations among nations. And the solution today lies in an equitable distribution of wealth, technical assistance and co-operation among Member States.

71. It seems to us that the so-called "developed" world should give proof of its goodwill by trying to understand the obstacles which the developing countries have to face, and above all by inspiring confidence in those countries by giving them, without political ties, the aid they need to improve their economic and social situation. Given this approach, there is hope of achieving real co-operation and harmonious development in the world.

² The sixth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU was held from 6 to 9 September 1969.

³ Originally adopted as the Manifesto of Lusaka at the fifth Summit Conference of East and Central African States, held at Lusaka (Zambia), from 14 to 16 April 1969.

72. The developing countries must cease to be mere suppliers of raw materials. Consideration must resolutely be given to replacing the assistance which they expect from the developed countries by the establishment, in their own countries, of processing industries which can ensure great well-being for the peoples concerned.

73. We in the Democratic Republic of the Congo are convinced that the problems confronting us today can be solved if we make a sincere effort, without, of course, losing sight of the principle of the interdependence of nations.

74. For its part, the Democratic Republic of the Congo has spared no effort for its economic development, with a view to increasing the income of its population and bringing it greater prosperity. My country has not hesitated to make the necessary sacrifices. Thus, following up the domestic monetary reform of 1967, it resolutely embarked on the path of economic expansion by liberalizing its exchange and making its legislation on the transfer of income more flexible. Recently, it has also adopted a new investments code, which is extremely favourable to foreign capital. We hope that all these efforts will be followed by increased assistance.

75. In this Assembly, we express in strong and positive terms our desire for peace and co-operation with all peoples, with a view to the economic and social progress of our own peoples and of the world as a whole. Quite recently, the Democratic Republic of the Congo gave proof of its open-minded attitude to world co-operation by organizing its first International Fair at Kinshasa, which was attended by a number of countries from all continents and belonging to different social and political systems.

76. The First United Nations Development Decade is drawing to a close, and the developing countries unanimously recognize that their hopes have been flatly betrayed. At the twenty-third session of the General Assembly, we heard voices full of bitterness and disappointment. What could be the reason for this acknowledged failure? The programme for this First Decade contained no real policy to meet the desire for development and co-operation. We should like to believe that, on the eve of the Second Development Decade, all States Members of the United Nations and the international organizations will devote their efforts to evolving a more concrete and more effective development policy.

77. It is a deplorable fact that since the accession of the African countries to independence, their economies, like those of other countries of the Third World, are still suffering the consequences of the colonial system, the economy of most of the developing countries being primarily dependent on international trade.

78. The establishment of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [*resolution 1995 (XIX)*] aroused great hopes and was greeted with enthusiasm by the developing countries. This institution was considered an appropriate forum where the problems of the economic imbalance in the world could be discussed in the best possible conditions and where means for remedying them could be found. Unfortunately, when faced with the facts,

the Third World has had to revise its opinion. The New Delhi Conference,⁴ in fact, showed that the developed countries are not prepared to give up the system of privileges they enjoy but, on the contrary, are determined to maintain the *status quo* in international economic relations.

79. Here again, disappointment may jeopardize the relations of confidence which should be established between the two economic blocs, that of the disinherited countries, on the one hand, and that of the rich countries on the other. It is well known that the end of confidence means the birth of suspicion, with all the consequences which that involves for the maintenance of peace.

80. We believe that, during the Second Development Decade, it would be more profitable to undertake the preparation of specific economic agreements similar to those which already exist for coffee, tin and other commodities of the same kind than to confine ourselves to more or less theoretical discussions about development. It is urgently necessary to reach a general agreement on commodities and to look forward to the elimination of the artificial obstacles imposed by the developed countries on the pretext of protecting their markets against products originating in the developing countries. To this end, it would be sufficient for the developed countries to show a real political willingness to give a genuine meaning to this Decade, since otherwise it will suffer the same fate, the same failure, as the current Decade, and it will thereafter be difficult for the parties in question to undertake a constructive dialogue.

81. To discuss the problems of economic development without considering the part played by technology in contemporary society would be to ignore one of the key factors in any fruitful international co-operation. The inability of countries to use the knowledge offered to us by modern technology is one of the factors impeding our efforts to close the gap between the industrialized and the developing countries, a gap so wide that it jeopardizes world peace. That is why, in various international forums, we have emphasized the necessity of training technical personnel in our countries.

82. In this connexion, it is fitting to draw attention here to the work done by United Nations organs that are active in the field of technical assistance and pre-investment. In particular, I should like to express our gratitude to those responsible for the United Nations Development Programme for the work they have accomplished so far, and I invite them, together with the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, to increase their activities in this field, where the needs of the developing countries are still enormous.

83. In the course of its existence, the United Nations has lived through some difficult and sometimes even critical periods. It has had to face problems which have led to fundamental divergencies between Member States. There is every likelihood that it will be faced with perhaps even more controversial problems in the future. I consider that, despite the imperfections inherent in any human en-

⁴ United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Second Session, New Delhi, 1 February to 29 March 1968.

deavour, our Organization has contributed in large measure to the solution of the major disputes that have divided some of its Members. I should like to state here, formally and explicitly, as a testimony of our loyalty and gratitude, that the Democratic Republic of the Congo—which has had occasion to appreciate the beneficent work of our Organization—is still firmly devoted to the fundamental principles of the Charter.

84. Now that I am about to leave this rostrum, I am very happy to extend to U Thant, our Secretary-General, the tribute which my country pays to you personally, Madam President, as well as to the United Nations. Indeed, at tragic moments in my country's history, I have personally had occasion to recognize the full extent of the courage and devotion he has displayed in order that the cause of justice and peace might triumph. Taking over a difficult succession, that of the late Dag Hammarskjöld, whose memory I once more salute, U Thant has been able, thanks to his qualities as a conciliator and statesman, to bring the United Nations Operation in the Congo to a successful conclusion, an Operation which, in spite of that success, has none the less continued to concern our Organization because of the deficit which has resulted from it. I hope that the Member States which have hitherto refrained from participating in the financing of this Operation will reconsider their position in the light of the result achieved.

85. Lastly, whatever difficulties our Organization may still have to face, it is nevertheless my hope that next year, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of its foundation, the United Nations will be able to achieve the objectives which it is pursuing for the greater good of all mankind.

86. The PRESIDENT: I should like to take this opportunity of thanking the Permanent Representative of Afghanistan to the United Nations and former President of the General Assembly, and the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of the Congo for the compliments they have paid the President. I now call on the representative of Pakistan, who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

87. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): Madam President, the leader of my delegation will, on the appropriate occasion, present to you our sincere felicitations on your election to the high office of the Presidency of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

88. I have asked to speak this afternoon merely to say a few words about the reference made by the Ambassador of Afghanistan to the same matter which he raised last year in the general debate [1690th meeting]. That reference has somewhat saddened my delegation, as we in Pakistan entertain nothing but the friendliest feelings towards our brothers in Afghanistan. It is our desire to have the most cordial relations with the neighbouring people of Afghanistan, to whom the people of Pakistan are linked by the ties of faith, culture, geography and history.

89. In view of those friendly feelings, my delegation does not wish to join issue with the representative of Afghanistan. Pakistan's position was made abundantly clear in the 1690th, 1692nd and 1698th meetings of the General Assembly at its twenty-third session, and at this stage my delegation prefers not to add anything more to the record.

90. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Afghanistan in exercise of his right of reply.

91. Mr. ARYUBI (Afghanistan): In the exercise of his right of reply, the representative of Pakistan had just made certain remarks with regard to the problem of Pakhtunistan. The attitude of the representative of Pakistan does not come as a surprise to us. We observed the representative of Pakistan in the course of the general debate last year demonstrating the same position vis-à-vis the problem of Pakhtunistan in a quite peculiar and self-refuting manner. This year the representative of Pakistan demonstrated once again his negative attitude towards the problem of Pakhtunistan.

92. The head of our delegation, in his major statement, has stated in general terms what he said last year before this Assembly, with a view to drawing the attention of this august Assembly to the gravity of the situation prevailing in our part of the world as a result of the tensions between the Government of Pakistan and the people of Pakhtunistan. Those who are acquainted with the situation are fully aware of the events which followed in Pakistan, all of which bore out the fears we had expressed.

93. As yet the problem of Pakhtunistan is not on the agenda of this Assembly. We intended to avoid giving a detailed account of the problem. However, after the statement of the representative of Pakistan we reserve our right to reply.

94. I should not fail at this juncture to mention the basic fact once again that the issue of Pakhtunistan involves nothing less and nothing other than the right of over 7 million Pakhtunistanis to self-determination. That is the crux of the problem. We should like, however, to take this opportunity of assuring the representative of Pakistan of our good feeling and brotherly sentiments.

95. The PRESIDENT: I give the floor again to the representative of Pakistan in exercise of his right of reply. Before the representative of Pakistan begins I should like to make an appeal to him, since both sides have been able to get their opinions into the record, to spare us a long speech.

96. Mr. YUNUS (Pakistan): I shall bow to what the President has just said. My delegation has nothing to say except that the conciliatory tone of our statement has unfortunately not been reciprocated. We should not like to enter into a controversy. This is not a place for it. We consider that our position as reflected on the record is clear enough.

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (*continued*)

97. Mr. TOURE (Guinea) (*translated from French*): My reason for intervening at this stage of the debate is to request the Assembly, on behalf of the African group and under rule 83 of the rules of procedure, to transfer sub-items (a) and (b) of agenda item 64 from plenary meetings to the Fourth Committee. We hope that the

Assembly will give sympathetic consideration to this request by the African group.

98. Mr. AKWEI (Ghana): I have come to the rostrum to support the proposal which has been made by the representative of Guinea with respect to the transfer of item 64 from plenary meetings to the Fourth Committee. This proposal has been made with the best of intentions. It has been made to enable the maximum attention and consideration to be given to the item, as well as to facilitate the smooth and orderly dispatch of the business of this Assembly. I therefore second the proposal and hope that it will enjoy unanimous support.

99. The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw the attention of the Assembly to rule 83 of the rules of procedure. Whereas the General Assembly had already allocated item 64 at a previous meeting, we now have a request for a reallocation of sub-items (a) and (b) of that item to the Fourth Committee instead of plenary meetings. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly approves this reallocation.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.