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*Address by Mr. François Tombalbaye,
President of the Republic of Chad*

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): It gives me particular pleasure, and it is a great honour for me, to welcome on behalf of the General Assembly and on my own behalf His Excellency Mr. François Tombalbaye, President of the Republic of Chad, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. TOMBALBAYE, President of the Republic of Chad (*translated from French*): Mr. President, this is an opportunity for me to congratulate you most warmly on the confidence placed in you by Member States in electing you to the office of President of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly.

3. I also congratulate the outgoing President, whose competence and great personal qualities enabled him to perform his duties with such zeal during a particularly difficult period, namely the session that has just ended.

4. This is also an opportunity for me to welcome and congratulate the States that have newly entered the great United Nations family—the States of Southern Yemen, Mauritius and Swaziland.

5. My mind brims over with the words and ideas that might faithfully interpret the immense joy which fills me in making the voice of the Republic of Chad heard in the parliament of mankind.

6. Illustrious figures, His Holiness Pope Paul VI prominent among them, have preceded me on this rostrum, and all have emphasized the fundamental concerns of the United Nations: to build a world of true justice; effectively to ensure world peace; so to organize the world as to efface the ruins left by the last world war and to view the future with serenity in every sphere.

7. Today it is the Republic of Chad which, resolutely engaged in the great battle being waged in the cause of peace and of respect for the human person, would like to extol, through the voice of its President, the historic and lofty mission of the United Nations.

8. An idea becomes a force when it is served by men resolved to implant it in people's minds. The ideas of freedom have the strength required to overturn inhuman ancient traditions and change the world. Through mankind's long political and religious development the ideas of genuine brotherhood and true charity have become key concepts.

9. After the two cataclysms of 1914 and 1939 the great leaders of mankind, having been brought to knowledge through suffering and to moderation through sorrow, at last understood that the rights of nations, small and great, must henceforth be upheld and developed through a vast organization designed for the welfare of mankind.

10. The ideas of international peace and solidarity have taken shape and have profoundly affected peoples and individuals. This is the very essence of the United Nations. It is the human synthesis that modern humanism has sought to achieve, of the fundamental concepts of Christianity, Islam, Buddhism and the other Eastern religions with the time-honoured principles of the American Revolution of 1776 and the French Revolution of 1789.

11. Since that realization the United Nations has continued to perform energetic and effective work. The essential basis of this Organization, as expressed, is in our view optimistic; it seems to us to rest on an act of faith, for it presupposes a profound moral reform in man.

12. Unfortunately the evolution of the human conscience is not uniform and there still exist discrepancies that jeopardize the work of peace and weaken mankind to such a point that one wonders whether the human race has learnt nothing from the terrible catastrophes it has experienced in this twentieth century, and from the punishments that should instruct and guide.

13. Our generation and the one before it have witnessed events that could have demolished our planet. They have not been enough to make men reflect a little and recognize the futility of those shoddy quarrels that are basically a sign of man's failure.

14. The stockpiling of bombs goes on, together with the fond illusion that they will never be used. Yet a passing fit of anger would be enough to move the holders of power and strength impetuously to drag all mankind into universal suicide, without thought for the vital interests of the

human species. Wounded pride, like an unextinguished match, is all that is needed to start a fire.

15. That is why, notwithstanding the great doctrinal systems that have been set up to bring man back to the paths of peace, which is primarily born of justice, the human condition continues to be tragic in the highest degree. It is also why in most international conferences begun in enthusiasm and fervour the tone changes abruptly.

16. Several times in history, dominant nations incapable of allowing their reason to control them have dragged all mankind into insensate and dangerous adventures merely to satisfy the whims of their pride or their passions. The very genius with which they were endowed did not give them light enough, for they regarded it as an instrument with which the more easily to dominate others.

17. It reminds us of the criminal folly of the two legendary kings who staked their whole empire on a selfish undertaking—that of salvaging the honour of a brother whose wife had left him. An undertaking doomed from the outset and paid for in untold tears and lamentations on both sides. For it was not men, but urns and ashes that returned to every home after the destruction of Priam's citadel. The end of that lamentable drama was put into words by an epic poet; an English rendering reads:

“And in every house whence warriors journeyed far from Greece, crushing grief weighed down on all. One obsessing thought gnawed at every heart.”

18. The lesson of that age-old story is no different from those we can learn from present-day events. We often see repeated the unhappy adventure of the hare, heavy with young, being devoured by pitiless eagles which give her no chance. And just as the plight of the hare stirred the compassion of a divinity protecting animal life, so does the United Nations abhor the eagles' feast and extend its protection to weak peoples unable to defend themselves.

19. A tribute is also due to the United Nations, which, in addition to its interventions on behalf of peace wherever peace is threatened, has helped to develop in certain young States the technology, the foundation on which great undertakings are built. We also take pleasure in emphasizing what the United Nations has done towards restoring basic human rights, and welcome the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, adopted under its aegis in 1948 and designed to afford effective protection for racial, religious or political minorities against oppression and annihilation. Quite apart from the fact that it has concerned itself with social security, child health and all measures likely to give workers more amenities and a healthier life. In short, with the United Nations many peoples feel that they are being given opportunities and that they can take them.

20. However, these achievements benefiting mankind do not prevent us from clearly perceiving the open conflicts, fraught with endless misery, which shock man's conscience and await an adequate solution in one form or another. Those conflicts profoundly trouble sensitive men who, looking towards the future, have seen in them what they have interpreted as premonitory signs of world catastrophe and bloodshed: the distressing question of Nigeria; the

dramatic Israeli-Arab conflict; the faceless war in Viet-Nam, where Americans and North Viet-Nameese are “riding the tiger”, as an American author puts it.

21. Further questions, clearly less crucial than the foregoing, are nevertheless darkening the outlook of mankind: the organized subversion in young African and Asian States, the atrocities being perpetrated in certain countries, and especially in those where a minority holding political power is crushing and mutilating human beings.

22. In drawing up the list of problems mankind has been facing since the beginning of this century, the United Nations cannot close its eyes to the problems of the old Europe.

23. All these situations deserve to be examined in depth in a spirit of high understanding and justice, for heightened tension can make them explode into violence. To ignore them, when they are vital to the future of mankind, is to allow the basic causes that can bring about the total destruction of mankind itself to subsist.

24. Faced with the threats that those situations represent for us and viewing the abyss into which they can lead us, we must urgently bring about a return to rationality; in other words, we must acknowledge a common origin and destiny above and beyond any disagreements that may set men against each other.

25. Hatreds are so strong and grievances so bitter that such a return to rationality may be called utopian. It will be called utopian at a time when the conjunction of destructive elements and the accumulation of deadly weapons are sentencing mankind to live on the edge of a volcano. And that hope of seeing all the peoples of the earth freed from any spirit of domination and self-interest in the name of human rationality and brotherhood will also be called utopian.

26. Yet if human reason is not to triumph, if mankind must continue to provide an arena in which brothers are enemies seeking to destroy each other, our anxiety cannot but become increasingly acute; and the destruction of our species will then be a certainty.

27. Since the world is considered as being man's domain, the wealth of the universe ought normally to be transformed into truly human and equitably-shared assets through labour, science and technology. However, objects have become the idols to which we are sacrificing our entire being. Man is being brought to the level of things, and not things to the level of man. That situation renders the condition of mankind even more tragic by separating man from humanity to make him a prisoner of material things.

28. We can see no relief for the anxiety that is stifling mankind other than total solidarity among nations. Mankind is being threatened by hunger. As for Africa, it is the tragic scene of many sufferings.

29. And yet among the great men of this century, His Holiness Pope Paul VI and the United Nations Secretary-General, U Thant, have denounced the deep distress of fatally-wounded mankind. If their ceaseless appeals for

peace were to be heard, if their pleas for brotherhood were to meet with favourable response, the world would take a new course and men would no longer be doomed to a seemingly hopeless future.

30. The role of science is to shape cosmic forces to human ends. Its role is to lead man in every clime of the living universe towards the conquest of the lost Eden. When science, following the shock and chaos of the Second World War, resumed its powerful and triumphant course, driving back the frontiers of the infinite on both sides, it was hailed with a most sincere enthusiasm. It was said that the world had been saved and that generalized peace, propitious to agriculture, learning and industry, had been achieved for mankind.

31. The pain of living and the despair of being a man, to borrow a phrase from Daniel Rops, rose to choke us when science, instead of representing a labour of liberation and peace, instead of serving the high ends of man, made him slave to a surge of frenzied ambitions and frenetic pleasures.

32. Notwithstanding the torches of hatred lit in some corners of Africa by the very children of a civilization that was considered to be brilliant, Africa, because of its spirituality, is tending to become a place for rejuvenation, where hearts worn out by the battles of this century can rest; above all, Africa advocates that we make science our chief servant for the promotion of man's spiritual development and for the grant to the greatest possible numbers of the indispensable conditions for a truly humane culture.

33. The Republic of Chad, situated in the heart of the African continent, young, full of the vigour of hope and strongly committed to the African traditions most capable of leading man towards his total fulfilment, is determined to lift its gaze in order to find in science the opportunity of progressing towards its own prosperity.

34. In the eyes of a certain press, that country is rather poorly understood; it has its detractors, who address it in highly unfavourable terms.

35. I have not come to this rostrum to speak solely about my own country. Neither is my presence in this Assembly aimed at setting me up as an advocate. Nevertheless, because of their segregationist policy, Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia are plunging mankind into shame and are thereby jeopardizing peace on our continent.

36. I have come to reaffirm Chad's unalterable determination to co-operate in establishing peace in the world and its complete adherence to the great principles of justice, freedom and international solidarity for which the United Nations stands.

37. We hold the belief that the Organization would more effectively serve the cause of mankind and that science, working for the United Nations, would be a magical working tool and would lead us to happiness, if the influence of some nations and the selfishness of some peoples did not hamper its activity.

38. And lastly, the conclusion of our message is a hope: the hope that the powers of the United Nations may be

strengthened; the hope that the United Nations may be truly endowed with executive powers in the service of justice and humanity.

39. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Chad for the important statement he has just made.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General Debate (*continued*)

40. Mr. PIPINELIS (Greece) (*translated from French*): Mr. President, on behalf of the Greek delegation, I should like to express to you our pleasure at the fact that the General Assembly is meeting under your presidency this year. In congratulating you on your election, which is both a tribute to your country and an expression of the high regard in which you yourself are held, we should also like to wish you the greatest success in the fulfilment of the task, as important as it is arduous, that has been entrusted to you.

41. I should also like to pay tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Corneliu Manescu, for the competent and effective way in which he fulfilled his heavy duties throughout a difficult year that was fraught with complex problems.

42. My Government fully shares the concerns to which the Secretary-General gives expression in his annual report [*A/7201 and Add.1*].

43. There is no question of underestimating what the United Nations has already been able to achieve. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that we are far from having been able to fulfil the hopes of our peoples. Thus, it is our duty to make up a balance-sheet of the present world situation and to draw the unavoidable conclusions. In so doing, I shall attempt briefly to express my Government's opinion on some of the problems that deserve particular attention and on the way in which it has, in so far as lay in its power, fulfilled its duties.

44. Faithful to the principles of the United Nations Charter and desirous of devoting its utmost efforts to the strengthening of peace, my Government has made an effort to contribute to the marked improvement in the conditions that currently exist in the Republic of Cyprus, as well as in our relations with our neighbour, Turkey. Greece played a prominent part in solving the very grave crisis of November 1967. Giving effect to a series of appeals addressed to the parties by the Secretary-General, the Greek Government took concrete steps that opened the way to pacification. For its part, the Turkish Government also responded to the appeal made by the Secretary-General, and the Government of the Republic of Cyprus, accepting the Secretary-General's offer of good offices, submitted to him concrete proposals on certain aspects of the Cyprus question, proposals that provided a basis for the direct contacts between Greek and Turkish Cypriots also suggested by U Thant.

45. In addition, the President of the Republic of Cyprus took internal measures for pacification which quickly led to a marked improvement in the situation on the island. It is to be hoped that the leaders of the Turkish community will for their part do their utmost to find a way to contribute effectively to the success of the efforts undertaken by the negotiators.

46. It is evident that the current talks between Greek and Turkish Cypriots do not cover all the questions that make up the Cyprus problem, and other contacts in a larger framework will be necessary before an over-all solution can be reached.

47. For the moment, we are hopeful that the two parties will give evidence of an equal spirit of goodwill and realism and that their present talks will result in eliminating all sources of friction. That will constitute a notable step towards the ultimate solution.

48. I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to all who have played a part in those encouraging developments, and especially to the personal contribution of our Secretary-General, who has constantly lent his support towards achieving the aims of the Security Council.

49. The evolution of the situation in Cyprus has led to a marked improvement in Greek-Turkish relations. Thus, in joint agreement with the Turkish Government, we have been able to undertake the study of some questions of purely bilateral interest that had been pending throughout the duration of the crisis. The progress we have been able to achieve is already becoming evident in several areas.

50. That fortunate evolution leads me to express the firm hope that Greece and Turkey will resume their role in that part of the world in the same spirit that inspired them between 1930 and 1950, to the benefit of the international community and more especially of the peoples of the two countries.

51. The renewal of trustful relations with Turkey, the friendly relations existing between the Yugoslav people and ourselves, and the normalizing of our relations with Bulgaria and Romania following the settlement of the differences that resulted from the implementation of the 1947 Peace Treaty, are providing opportunities for the establishment of peaceful coexistence in that region of the world.

52. Those heartening developments, as well as the Greek Government's firm resolve to pursue its policy of good relations with all members of the international community irrespective of their political and social system—a policy based on respect for sovereignty, independence and non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries—led me last April to speak of the possibility of drawing up a new statute of relations among the Balkan States, a sort of code of international good conduct that would define more clearly the duties incumbent on each State. Such a statute could in particular lay down the rules to be followed in the area of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States and in the matter of intergovernmental consultation whenever common interests might be involved, especial care being naturally taken not to impact upon commitments

already entered into with respect to other countries. Indeed, there is a wide area in which effective co-operation between the Balkan countries could take place for the furthering of their common interests without bringing their diplomatic policies into question. Those ideas, which have in fact been under study for a long time within our Organization, cannot of course be put forward except in an atmosphere of mutual trust based on a sincere desire for *détente* and for the friendly settlement of existing problems.

53. In any event, we would need an over-all atmosphere of calm and of increasing trust, for only in such an atmosphere can generous and beneficial ideas prosper. But several serious events have recently occurred that darken the horizon and trouble our thoughts.

54. Despite the heartening developments that marked the beginning of the year, the conditions under which the current session of the General Assembly is opening are none the less disquieting.

55. First of all, we have the Middle East crisis, which has proved insoluble thus far and therefore lies open to further complications that would be even more serious. That crisis is thus a principal threat to peace in a highly sensitive region.

56. At previous General Assembly sessions, the Greek delegation had occasion to state its position on the Middle East situation, which continues to be the scene of grave and murderous incidents and of terrible human suffering. The situation in that part of the world is governed by an intransigence which does nothing to heal wounds that remain open.

57. Notwithstanding the praiseworthy efforts of Mr. Jarring, the Secretary-General's special representative, who has worked unceasingly towards the achievement of the objectives set forth in Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, the path to a peaceful settlement remains closed. Yet everyone realizes that peace can be achieved neither by conquest and territorial expansion nor by violation of the United Nations resolutions.

58. The Security Council reaffirmed what had already been recognized and upheld by the world's conscience, namely, that acquisition of territory through military conquest is inadmissible. A war, even a victorious war, cannot solve the problems it claims to settle. It can only aggravate existing resentments and render peaceful coexistence between neighbours more vulnerable.

59. Terrorism and reprisals for their part also solve nothing and only lead to new acts of violence.

60. If we wish to break out of that vicious circle, a just, equitable and lasting settlement must be sought through negotiation, of whatever nature and method.

61. Greece, whose bonds of uninterrupted friendship with the peoples of the region are age-old, and which wishes to see peoples living in peace, considers that the resolution of 22 November 1967 provides the basis for such a settlement. Greece urges the parties to the conflict to give evidence of a

moderate and realistic spirit and, availing themselves of the untiring efforts of the Special Representative, to move towards a settlement that could lead to peace.

62. At the same time the implementation of the principles of the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, of respect for sovereignty and independence, and of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other States—principles that lie at the very basis of the resolution of 22 November 1967—must be carried out not only in the Middle East, but everywhere in the world. Those principles must be scrupulously and consistently respected by every member of the international community. That is the only way in which professions of faith in the principles of our Charter will take on the quality of acts of high international morality and cease to be tactical manoeuvres serving purely opportunistic ends.

63. The tragic events that have taken place in Central Europe have filled us with the deepest dismay. The violation of the principles of non-intervention and free self-determination has been recognized as a direct threat by every country that regards respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter as the best assurance of and safeguard for its own sovereignty and independence.

64. What occurred in Czechoslovakia has thwarted lengthy efforts undertaken towards achieving better understanding among the Members of our Organization and has shown us that in certain circles, the policy of *détente* and the respect for the self-determination of populations are far from having become the rule of conduct on all occasions.

65. The condemnation of that action by nearly all countries, irrespective of their political and social systems, of their orientation and of their loyalties, has given clear and eloquent proof that the international community, whose moral core has been greatly strengthened by that crisis, is not prepared to acknowledge any mitigating circumstance or any justification for aggression whatsoever, from wherever it may come. We are no longer living in the distant past when Talleyrand could say: “Non-intervention is a metaphysical and political term that means more or less the same thing as intervention”.

66. Indeed, we reject the concept according to which adherence to this or that system of alliance deprives the members of that alliance of the right of adapting their domestic developments to their own particular circumstances. And we are even less ready to grant the strongest State in such an alliance the right to watch over the ideological orthodoxy of its members.

67. That is not only an offence repugnant to any conscience that cares in the slightest for its national dignity. It is more than a crime; it is a mistake, for it means plunging the international community into a state of increased and dangerous confusion that could enable each member to interfere as it pleases in the affairs of others, to foment internal conflicts and to enlarge without limit the areas of friction among peoples, rather than to reduce them.

68. Thus the Assembly had very compelling reasons to condemn intervention—of any sort and under any circum-

stances—in the domestic affairs of any country in its resolution 2136 (XX). A State's adherence to an ethnic, ideological or other bloc can in no way entail the alienation or limitation of its sovereign rights.

69. The foregoing remarks lead us to the conclusion that even the pretexts under cover of which the invasion—in itself blameworthy—took place have no foundation in the norms that are now generally accepted as controlling international life and inter-State relations, nor in plain common sense.

70. Since the idea of peace is indivisible, we cannot avoid concern over the continuation of the war in Viet-Nam. Peace-loving peoples are all too deeply aware of the increasing tempo of material destruction as well as of the sufferings and the frightful loss of life entailed. Thus there was widespread satisfaction when a few months ago, following serious peace proposals repeated on several occasions from this very rostrum by the United States of America, negotiations were entered in Paris. Nevertheless, it is disappointing to note that five months later, the negotiations are only marking time. United States limitation of bombing has not led to a reciprocal move on the part of North Viet-Nam, which has, on the contrary, increased its troop infiltrations and intensified its attacks against civilian centres in the South. Hanoi's condemnations of the so-called imperialist plans of the Western Powers cannot conceal its burden of responsibility for the continuation of the Viet-Nam war and for the prolongation of the sufferings inflicted on the people of that unfortunate country.

71. It is true that in the area of disarmament and the regulation of armaments we have this year recorded some encouraging results. The conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*] is an important event, especially when viewed within the broader context of its influence on efforts being made towards general and complete disarmament under international control.

72. As a non-nuclear country, Greece has expressed in the past and continues to express certain misgivings concerning the situation that might one day result from “nuclear blackmail”. Nevertheless, hopeful that the conclusion of the non-proliferation treaty would lead to increased trust among the great Powers and contribute to world-wide security, the Greek Government lost no time in signing that instrument.

73. The Greek Government expresses the genuine hope that this initiative will be followed by other efforts leading to general disarmament and consequently towards international *détente*. That is in conformity with the principles and goals of Greek policy, which is aimed at the maintenance and strengthening of peace.

74. The participation in our labours of a new African State, Swaziland, to which I extend my greetings and best wishes, is further evidence of the progress the international community has been able to achieve on the road to decolonization.

75. Finally, allow me to conclude with some thoughts of a general nature on the present state of the world.

76. I am certain that no one in this Hall will be surprised if I stress the truly serious nature of the situation—serious not solely because of the fact that difficult and inextricable problems are accumulating around us. Very often in the past we have been able to surmount crises that have been far more serious, and the world's confidence in our Organization has survived them and has been strengthened.

77. What is giving the current crisis in international relations its alarming character can be summed up by reference to two sets of facts whose coexistence, whether accidental or not, bodes ill for the future.

78. First of all there is an increase in areas of friction and misunderstanding among nations and individuals. The clearest concepts, finally formulated through the thought or ethics of nations over the centuries, are today understood differently, according to the ideological disciplines to which they are obliged to conform.

79. Words themselves, "beacons of human thought designed to guide it through the night of time", are in the process of distorting reality instead of illuminating it. And international public opinion, hypnotized to an increasing degree by the repetition of ready-made formulae, divided into irrevocably hostile camps, has ceased to exert any corrective influence on this state of affairs.

80. In addition, by virtue of that situation and of many other additional elements to which it inevitably gives rise, we are coming to accept as normal the immunity enjoyed by the perpetrators of international infractions when faced with faits accomplis that can only be reversed by force. It seems to me that here is an ultimate step in the development of our international institutions that we cannot ignore. Today I shall limit myself to pointing out that, in the light of many precedents drawn from ancient times and of other similar attempts in modern times, the phase of immunity can today also portend the approaching collapse of our hopes for a new world. Therefore we must act, and act swiftly.

81. There is no need to rise up in indignation against this state of affairs and to call for the moral recovery of mankind. What we need today above all is a labour of conciliation, of construction, of pacification, no matter how limited its extent and its scope. If each of us were to contribute all his determination, goodwill and imagination and were to succeed in extinguishing hotbeds of discord in his own part of the world and in promoting understanding with his neighbours, a notable result could in the long run be achieved from which our whole international community would benefit.

82. It is in that spirit that the Greek Government has tried, as I have had the honour to explain, to serve the cause of the United Nations. It will continue to do so with the same faith and the same perseverance, convinced that in so doing it is setting an example of reasoned and effective devotion to the service of peace.

83. Mr. EL AMIN (Sudan):¹ Mr. President, in the name of the people and Government of the Sudan, I greet you and

congratulate you most sincerely on your election to your high office. Your election is a token of the confidence of the Members of this Organization in your statesmanship and qualities of leadership.

84. If we hailed the election of a Member of the socialist countries during the last session because the Organization should not favour certain social systems over others, we rejoice at your election because you are the representative of Latin America. Your illustrious predecessor has proved worthy of the confidence that the Members of this Organization reposed in him. He conducted the affairs of the Assembly with utmost skill and led it to complete success.

85. We have no doubt, Sir, that your sure hand at the helm will conduct this Assembly amidst stormy seas to the harbour of success and thus prove that you are equal to your difficult task and worthy of the confidence of your colleagues. The Sudan pledges to offer you every assistance. We extend our hand to you in co-operation with other members so that, under your leadership and the wise guidance of our Secretary-General, U Thant, whose constant care has always been a factor in the forward march of the Organization, we shall all endeavour to make this Organization more positive and more effective.

86. We feel that world peace is constantly threatened and that the danger of war looms large over the horizon. There is a raging war in South-East Asia. There is aggression which does not show any signs of abating. The situation in the Middle East may explode into armed conflict at any time. The African people are rising in revolt against foreign domination. There are conflicts on many fronts between the colonial Powers and the developing countries. In this situation, we are prompted to resort, once more, to the United Nations in the hope that it will stem the evil before it becomes uncontrollable. We resort to the United Nations in the firm conviction that it represents the ever alert conscience of mankind. It is as the eyes and ears and expressive voice of mankind; it is the hope and ultimate refuge—or thus it should be.

87. It is regrettable that the United Nations has not been all that we have hoped for, that the confidence of mankind in its efficacy is not now as firm as it used to be.

88. Many of the smaller free nations have realized, with great sorrow, how some great Powers have used the Organization for the realization of their own limited objectives or in order to obstruct and frustrate the legitimate aspirations of other Members. On the other hand, some Members of the United Nations not only continue to neglect its decisions but they have rejected and repudiated those decisions. The Organization is thus unable to curb aggression or redress the grievances of the aggrieved.

89. We, the Arabs, feel this most acutely. We have often been surprised to hear the voices of some of the great Powers rise in condemnation of what they claim to be aggression. We have been surprised because the same great Powers endeavour by every means to perpetuate oppression and to justify aggression elsewhere by extending their moral support and military assistance to the aggressor.

¹ Mr. El Amin spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

90. Five days ago we heard the voice of the United States of America rise in condemnation of what was described as aggression against the territory of others; and yet this same voice did not rise to condemn the present and patent aggression in the Middle East. The voice of the United States did not condemn the Israeli occupation of Arab territories. It was as if the United States was not aware of this aggression. It was as if it did not see or hear; and thus it did not utter a word of condemnation. But we stand as witnesses, and so does the whole world, that Israel, under the protective umbrella of some great Powers, has continued for twenty years to defy the decisions of this Assembly and those of the Security Council with impunity. Israel's aggression against the Arabs has continued from June 1967 to the present day.

91. Israel has refused to implement Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, which enjoins its withdrawal, as it has refused to implement other resolutions—both of this Assembly and of the Security Council. The United Nations has been powerless to respond to this defiance.

92. Now one hears the claim, often repeated by some Member States, that the only way out of the impasse is for the victims of aggression to negotiate with the aggressor on the terms of their release. This call for negotiations comes from some great Powers which could help, had they so desired, to provide a just solution for this problem; if they had cared to exert their considerable influence firmly and positively on the side of justice, those great Powers could have achieved the implementation of the resolutions of this Assembly and of the Security Council.

93. Israel has been occupying Arab territories in Sinai, Gaza, the West Bank of the Jordan and the Golan Heights for over fifteen months. During the whole of this period, the Arabs have endeavoured by various means to arrive at a peaceful solution through the United Nations and through the mediation of various States. Some of the great Powers, however, have been instrumental in bringing all these efforts to nought. The Arabs have meanwhile been patiently witnessing their compatriots, men, women and children, being subjected to suffering, to torture and humiliation, which befell them in equal measure, whether they stayed in their homes under the oppressive Israeli occupation or whether they were obliged to join the refugee camps outside the occupied territories. The Arabs have paid for their respect of the United Nations in blood and destitution and homelessness. They have been patient, yet their patience is not inexhaustible.

94. It is not an excessively pessimistic assessment of the situation to consider that, if the United Nations should fail to provide a just solution for this problem by compelling Israel to vacate its aggression immediately and without conditions, the Arabs will have no alternative but to resort to means that they have so far endeavoured to avoid. The equivocation and the doubtful tactics of some Powers could force the Arabs into a position that may well lead to a devastating armed conflict. If such developments should take place, the burden of responsibility would fall upon this Organization whose neglect of its primary objectives in the realization of peace and justice has been the result of the obstructive position of some great Powers, which abdicated

their responsibility for the establishment of peace and justice.

95. A matter of the first importance must be emphasized here. The withdrawal of Israel from occupied Arab territories, will take place sooner or later, whether Israel is willing or not. It is only a matter of time.

96. Yet, there is the question of the people of Palestine. If we now demand the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the lands that they occupied after 5 June 1967, this does not mean that we have forgotten the roots of this problem, the problem of the Palestinian people. It is well known how the people of Palestine were deprived of their property and driven out of their homes in order to make way for the Zionist colonialists who came from all parts of the world to usurp the land from its rightful inhabitants.

97. The Arabs of Palestine have been awaiting the restoration of their rights all these long years. They have hoped that the conscience of mankind would one day awake and show some awareness of their tragedy. Now that they have exhausted all other means they are resorting to armed resistance. They have not shirked the supreme sacrifice, to offer lives for the liberation of their country and the restoration of their rights.

98. While we hail their heroic struggle, we declare that we support them by every means available to us. We are sustained by the certainty that the Palestinian resistance movement is bound to prevail and the conviction that "only they who dare to sacrifice their life shall live". We believe that this is true of the people of Palestine.

99. The dilemma that Israel presents to the world is the arbitrary and confused identification of Judaic faith with certain racial and ethnic connotations. The Arabs, both Christians and Moslems, have lived with the adherents of the Judaic faith for many centuries in peace and tranquillity, in many parts of this world. Even in Palestine, the adherents of the three faiths had lived amicably, side by side, enjoying equal rights and obligations as equal citizens.

100. Now, if the Palestinians were to return to their land, the alien immigrants would have to return to their countries of origin, for they do not belong to the land of Palestine. The Palestinians, of all faiths, Jews as well as Moslems and Christians, would then live in peace. But if this does not happen, if the situation in Palestine should remain unchanged, we can be virtually certain that sooner or later we shall be engulfed in a ruinous conflagration.

101. The Israeli occupation of Arab Jerusalem, its rejection of United Nations resolutions, the infringement of the rights of its Christian and Moslem inhabitants, the constant effort to obliterate the Arab character and the substitution of Israeli modes and observances, without regard to the traditional religious susceptibility of the Arab population, not only have inflamed Arab feelings, but have been censored by Christians and Moslems all over the world. Yet, the United Nations seems powerless in the face of the Israeli defiance, heeding only the dictates of some great Powers whose narrow objectives and colonial ambitions have silenced the voice of conscience and obliterated the call of human compassion.

102. Yet, the Arabs will not rest until they remove the threat to the Holy Land for the sake of both Moslems and Christians. If the Arabs continue to be frustrated in their efforts for the achievement of a peaceful solution it will not be long before the situation is resolved, perhaps not in peace, but theirs will be the cause of righteousness.

103. Turning now to the raging war in Viet-Nam, one wonders whether the pledge of the Charter has been rendered devoid of all relevance and meaning; for the scourge of war has blighted for years the land and the valiant people of Viet-Nam with scarcely any demerit from the United Nations. This brutal war, waged by the powerful United States of America in pursuit of its own ends, is morally condemnable and should be so condemned as an unjust colonial war of aggression.

104. The war in Viet-Nam has been condemned not only by the younger generation and by thinking men and women in all walks of life in the United States, but by countless others both within the United States and outside it. Opposition to that war has mounted with every escalation undertaken by the United States in its vain hope that the destruction of crops and the devastation of the land will break the spirit of the Viet-Nameese people. Yet, the heavy tonnage of explosives, the napalm that has been showered on Viet-Nam, North and South, seem to have been ineffective. In fact the Viet-Nameese people have shown every sign of increased determination to continue their struggle.

105. The war in Viet-Nam is no longer a civil war. It has now become a colonial war to which the United States has committed more of its armed forces than it did in Korea, more in fact than it has done in any other war except the two world wars. The United States, which has spent billions of dollars on instruments of war and destruction, would do well to recall its forces and stop its intervention, and spare the lives of the Viet-Nameese as well as of its own people.

106. We are aware that such a demand may be construed as one-sided—as indeed it is. We are on the side of the people of Viet-Nam in their struggle against colonial domination. The Viet-Nameese, whether from the north or the south, are one people. They are a people which has suffered a great deal in the struggle for freedom. It ought to have been obvious that foreign intervention would only exacerbate the differences and disagreement between the two parts of the country and result in war and destruction. It is time that the people of Viet-Nam were left free to shape their own destiny. This is their right.

107. We have had reason for satisfaction and optimism at the signature of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons by so many States. Our optimism has been due in no small measure to the fact that we consider this Treaty an important and significant step in the disarmament effort. It is therefore with regret that we now observe that the climate of confidence and goodwill that prevailed two months ago seems to be giving way to doubt and mistrust.

108. We realize, more than ever before, that the smaller nations whose development depends on the prevalence of peace have a special duty to try collectively to help dispel

these doubts. It is the duty of the unarmed small nations to exert their efforts in every way available to them so that the great Powers may move again towards *détente*.

109. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [see resolution 2373 (XXII)], when it comes into force, cannot stand alone, since it would sanction only the existing monopoly of possession of nuclear weapons by the greater Powers unless the embargo on proliferation is followed by the prohibition of underground nuclear tests and eventually by the conclusion of an agreement to limit the production of nuclear weapons and the reduction of existing stockpiles, as a prelude to general and complete disarmament.

110. The choice for humanity has now narrowed to two alternatives, disarmament or destruction.

111. We have declared from this rostrum, year after year for the last twelve years, that the effectiveness of this Organization would be enhanced if it were to admit the People's Republic of China to its membership. We advocated the admission of the People's Republic of China even before our recognition of its Government and our exchange of diplomatic relations with that Government. Our advocacy has been based on the principles of universality of this Organization, on the criterion that the councils of the United Nations are open to the representatives of the Governments that are in effective control of their territory, and on the conviction that the continued exclusion of the People's Republic of China is in violation of the Charter.

112. The arguments that have been advanced for the exclusion of the People's Republic of China throughout the years have revealed how some of the Members of this Organization are capable of using a double standard to achieve their aims. It is a travesty of logic for the United States to claim, as it has claimed, that the People's Republic of China is not entitled to membership of this Organization nor is it worthy of this membership because it does not subscribe to the peaceful purposes of the Charter.

113. The Government of the Sudan has maintained its stand in favour of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China to the membership of this Organization because it is convinced that, as long as China remains excluded, the United Nations will continue to fail in its purpose as a guardian of peace and will continue to exhibit all the symptoms of the malaise that it has suffered from for the last two decades.

114. It has been repeatedly pointed out that the People's Republic of China is not only worthy and deserving of representation at the United Nations but that the cause of peace may benefit as a result of its membership. The Government of the People's Republic of China is a nuclear Power and it is unrealistic for the United Nations to ignore the fact that its participation is necessary if disarmament measures are to have any credibility or effectiveness and if it is to preserve world peace.

115. This session affords us a most needed opportunity for the assessment of the United Nations achievements in the liquidation of colonialism in fulfilment of the provi-

sions of the Charter and its Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

116. For us in the Sudan, the complete eradication of colonialism in all its manifestations is a national objective and an irrevocable commitment. This stand on our part stems from our keen awareness of the lessons of our own history and the history of the continents of Africa and Asia.

117. The recognition by the General Assembly of the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples under colonial rule and its invitation to Member States to provide moral and material support to the national liberation movements in colonial Territories was paralleled by a single-minded determination on our part to support and participate in the struggle for freedom and expedite the progress of dependent peoples towards complete independence, and our rejection of the exploitation of human and material resources and the subjugation of the soul of a people to an alien will. We have therefore taken the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples seriously and are endeavouring to implement it.

118. In recent years, the United Nations has made a positive and constructive contribution despite some pernicious efforts designed to halt the process of decolonization. This Organization has witnessed with pride the accession to sovereign independence of many new Member States. It is with great joy and gratification that we welcome the independence of Swaziland and the prospect of the attainment of independence by Equatorial Guinea.

119. Nevertheless, there remains the sad realization that colonialism, in spite of its defeat in many areas at the hands of the peoples of the world, has not changed in its essential nature. The gallant struggle by the colonial peoples has inflicted deep wounds but it has not brought about a crushing defeat of colonialism. An implacable resistance to the cause of national liberation developed in the southern part of Africa. Today we see the forces of African nationalism to the north of the Zambesi River and the forces of white supremacy to the south, facing each other in a fateful confrontation that carries with it the danger of racial conflict that could inflame all of Africa and may indeed involve the whole world. Let us not be unmindful of the dangers of the situation in southern Africa where the struggle for freedom has been inextricably linked to the battle against racial oppression. Let us be fully aware that the determination of the African people to bend events to their own will and shape the future of their own destiny is bound to triumph.

120. The ascendancy of the Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia represents a violation of the principles of justice and morality and a negation of the values that the United Nations holds supreme. The Government of the United Kingdom is largely responsible for this deterioration in the situation, since it neglected the opportunities for prompt and effective action to ensure the downfall of the present régime and pave the way for majority rule. Instead of undertaking such action, Britain embarked on the doubtful policy of economic sanctions the failure of which was patently apparent, whether they were voluntary or mandatory, selective or comprehensive.

121. Africa has spoken with one voice on the question of Rhodesia, in demanding the application by Britain of the only penalty that suits the crime committed against the people of Zimbabwe—the use of force to crush the rebellion and to establish majority rule. Our concern over the Rhodesian tragedy has prompted us to disavow all connexions with the predatory régime of Ian Smith and even to break diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom for some time. For an African Rhodesia, a Zimbabwe, is of special significance in the African struggle for the liberation of southern Africa; it represents our vanguard action in the campaign against Portuguese oppression in Angola and Mozambique; it is the prelude to the defeat of *apartheid* and white supremacy in South Africa.

122. As the perverted logic of imperialist Portugal would have it, the height of African aspiration should be to become Portuguese for, as long as an African is unable to acquire this status he will not be a citizen of his own land, and so long as he is not a citizen he has no rights. But the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) have rejected assimilation and embarked on a gallant struggle against the Portuguese oppression that is aided and abetted by the allies of Portugal, members of the NATO military pact. It is that aid which is strengthening the vain hope and fostering the illusion of Portuguese colonialism that it is in Africa to stay. The allies of Portugal share with it the responsibility for the damage to lives and property that Portugal is causing in the African continent and the indignities it has been inflicting on the African people. It may even be true to say that Portugal's allies should bear the main responsibility, for without their collusion Portuguese colonialism would have succumbed long ago before the onslaught of the African struggle for freedom.

123. The United Nations has proclaimed that the people of Namibia have a right to be free and that it is willing to aid them in their struggle. The defiance by the South African authorities of the collective opinion of mankind as expressed in the revocation of the Mandate leaves the United Nations with one inevitable step to take; that is, to aid its wards, the Namibian people, by every means in its power and to free them from the bondage of *apartheid*.

124. As a nation that believes that colonialism and peace are irreconcilable, we strive to put an end to the last vestiges of colonialism as all nations, of whatever persuasion, should also do. We reiterate our pledge to support colonial peoples and call upon the United Nations to join us in defending the right of all colonial peoples to freedom and independence.

125. This year, that of the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, has been designated by the General Assembly as the International Year for Human Rights, to be dedicated to the observance and support of the principles of human rights. But it is a matter of great concern and sorrow that this year has not witnessed the attainment of human rights for the people of southern Africa. The Year has almost come to a close while the Government of Pretoria has been reinforcing its unjust system of *apartheid*—a system that deprives the non-white population of all their legitimate rights and derogates from their human dignity—in order to perpetuate an unjust and immoral society that feeds upon the labour of the African,

who has been reduced in his own land, amidst the plenty that surrounds him, to a state of deprivation.

126. The situation in Southern Africa is an explosive and dangerous one. This is due not only to the obstinacy of the Government of Pretoria in following its policy of *apartheid*; the danger arises also from the ever-increasing extension of its unjust legislation, in both its scope and application, to other regions of the continent. Members of this Assembly are of course aware of the extension of the system of *apartheid* to Namibia, where the Government of South Africa, not content with its unlawful usurpation, has embarked on a division of the country into two regions in order to separate the two racial groups, thus putting the rightful owners of the land and its wealth in the poorer, less-productive region, while reserving the wealthy southern part for the white minority. Namibia also has thus been defiled by the system of *apartheid*.

127. The United Nations should have taken further measures to ensure compliance with its resolutions. But some of its Members have not been willing to go so far. They have, in effect, extended their protection over the Government of South Africa. They have even supplied that Government with military equipment in order to suppress the African revolution. We should not fail to demand of these Members that they return to the path of morality and put their trust in the cause of justice, to assist rather than hinder the United Nations in its effort to break the resistance of the Government of South Africa.

128. In making this demand, we of the Sudan applaud the unrelenting struggle of the people of Southern Africa and pledge once again our continued support.

129. The process of decolonization cannot be effectively completed unless it is carried over to the economic sphere. The achievement of political independence by the former colonies has to be closely followed by the development of their economic viability, either separately or within the framework of regional integration and co-operation.

130. The problem of development has consequently gained international recognition and importance and has become the subject of attention of international bodies, both within the United Nations and outside this Organization.

131. The first United Nations Development Decade and the establishment of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization have undoubtedly given substance to the concept of international co-operation by attempting to provide the necessary organizational machinery for such co-operation in the fields of industrialization and trade. The recent measures adopted by the General Assembly to put the United Nations Capital Development Fund into operation may be termed a brave attempt to fill an important gap which continued to exist in the system of international co-operation. These developments, however, have not been without their shortcomings. The first Development Decade is drawing to a close, but has fallen far short of its declared policies and aims. This may be attributed partly to the lack of political will on the part

of those who are in the best position to help in achieving those ends, and partly to circumstances arising from the world economic situation. Politicians and economists may argue about the real causes of this disappointing situation; but what should concern us here are the ability to learn from the experience of the past, and the desire and will-power to map out a more comprehensive global strategy for the next Development Decade. The Capital Development Fund must be put into operation to make available the resources for follow-up investments to a growing list of feasibility studies already completed through United Nations assistance resources. We have noted with deep appreciation the generous contributions made by a number of developing countries at the last pledging conference of the Capital Development Fund, and we hope that those countries' example will be followed by the other developing countries. We also hope that the group of socialist countries and the smaller west European countries will finally be able to identify their interests with those of the developing countries in supporting the Capital Development Fund. Another organ which will continue to need our attention and support is the United Nations Industrial Development Organization.

132. The establishment of that organization was marked by a degree of unusual hesitancy on the part of many developed countries. Many aspects of its operations were the subject of criticism even before the organization really started to operate. There have been attempts to limit the powers of the Industrial Development Board and thus hinder the growth in the power and resources of the organization in an effort to stem its development into a specialized agency. The decision taken lately, at the second session of the Board [see A/7215, annex VI, resolutions 3 (II) and 12 (II)], to set up a working group to examine the current and future programmes of work, as well as their financial implications, two weeks before the annual session of the Board is, in the view of the Sudan Government, a step in the wrong direction. Not only does it tend to limit the powers of the Board, but it also tends in effect to make of it a rubber stamp organ. It is well known that the developing countries have some difficulty in attending all the international conferences that they are called upon to attend because of lack of resources or personnel. To ask them, therefore, to send delegations to attend the meetings of a working group to do the same work that should properly be done by the Board will eventually discourage them from attending the working group and thus play into the hands of those developed countries, which will undoubtedly make use of this opportunity to dominate the working group and draw up its recommendations and conclusions to meet their own purposes. My delegation believes that the powers of the Industrial Development Board should be restored and consolidated by the abolition of the working group. The organization must be further strengthened by pledging resources directly to it, to give it the means to get on with the job of assisting the industrialization of the developing countries.

133. All countries should co-operate in making the forthcoming pledging conference of UNIDO a success, and in this respect the developing countries are in duty bound to make the necessary contributions, since many developed countries have repeatedly shown and expressed their lack of enthusiasm for the organization and its future development.

134. Thus we do not wish the United Nations to reflect the reality of the primacy of the great Powers and the triumph of expediency. We would wish to see the United Nations reflecting another kind of reality: the reality of the will to co-operation and the love of peace, the reality of the brotherhood of man and the goodness that is within his soul. We would wish to see the United Nations support the values of freedom, equality and justice. We would wish to see the members of the United Nations uphold these values and defend them with sincerity and conviction.

135. Let us hope that this may still be realized.

136. Mr. KARJALAINEN (Finland): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to extend to you the warmest congratulations and best wishes of my Government and myself. We greet you as an outstanding representative of the great nations of Latin America which, throughout the existence of the United Nations, have played an important role in promoting the development of a peaceful world order; and we know that, under your leadership, the General Assembly will be able to complete its task effectively and constructively.

137. The General Assembly meets in an atmosphere of tension and a sense of insecurity. At the beginning of this year we still had reason to hope for an improvement in international relations. In the Middle East, the resolution unanimously adopted by the Security Council in November last year enabled the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Jarring, to establish contact with the parties to the dispute. On the Viet-Nam conflict discussions were begun between representatives of the Governments of the United States and North Viet-Nam. The wide support received by the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons also seemed to strengthen international peace and security. But the hopes raised by these developments have been frustrated. No progress has been made towards settling the political issues affecting the security of the Middle East. In Viet-Nam, the fighting continues unabated. And, finally, the intervention in Czechoslovakia, although it has been presented as a matter that concerns only the Socialist States of Eastern Europe, cannot but weaken confidence in such a development of international life as would preclude the use of force in relations among States.

Sir John Carter (Guyana), Vice-President, took the Chair.

138. The attitude of the Finnish Government to these current issues of international life has been made clear. As I said in the general debate a year ago, our position "is based not only on our well-known policy of neutrality, but also on the principles which we wish to apply to relations among States in all circumstances" [1577th meeting, para. 5]. I went on to say that:

"Every nation must be free to order its own affairs without outside interference or pressure. Every State has the right to peace and security. All States must respect each other's territorial integrity and political independence. International disputes must be settled by peaceful means through negotiations. The use or threat of force in international relations must be rejected everywhere" [Ibid.].

139. Accordingly, on the issue of Viet-Nam, the Finnish Government has consistently supported the proposals of Secretary-General U Thant that the bombing of North Viet-Nam should be halted and all military activity reduced, so as to prepare the ground for a peaceful settlement that would enable the people of Viet-Nam to determine their future without interference or pressure from outside. On the question of the conflict in the Middle East, we believe that the Security Council resolution of last November provides the basis for a settlement which would bring about the withdrawal of Israeli forces from territories belonging to Arab States and enable all the States in the area to live in peace and security. With regard to Czechoslovakia, it is the earnest hope of the Finnish people that foreign forces will be withdrawn from the country and that all external restraints will be removed as soon as possible in accordance with the wishes of the people of Czechoslovakia.

140. In the light of the events to which I have referred, it can again be said that the worsening of the international situation endangers especially the security of small nations. The small nations of the world are the most faithful supporters of international co-operation and international law. It is natural that repeated violations of the principles of the United Nations Charter should create a sense of insecurity among them. As the Secretary-General states in the introduction to his annual report:

"This tendency to return to force as a means of national policy strikes at the very basis of the United Nations . . . If this trend is not reversed, and if the principle of non-intervention in the free destiny of nations is not re-established, the future of international peace and security itself is indeed a very dark one." [A/7201/Add.1, para. 174.]

It should be in the interest of the great Powers to dispel these apprehensions and to find a new basis for a rebirth of confidence. For we live in a world of mutual interdependence among all nations, great and small, and the rules of international conduct among nations cannot be neglected without grave consequences for everyone.

141. In times like these, there is a tendency to dismiss efforts towards achieving a reduction of international tension as useless or harmful and to place greater reliance on military force. We in Finland are not prepared to draw such conclusions from recent events. In our view we must continue to work persistently for the restoration of confidence among nations and to repair the damages caused to international co-operation. We are convinced that despite recent set-backs only thus can world peace be secured.

142. In addition to the increasing feeling of insecurity, one of the dangers which the world community is facing today is that we might fail to recognize the necessary priorities. Despite all that has happened—and perhaps just because of what has happened—first things must be put first. Nuclear anarchy threatens all of us without distinction. Greater security for all nations can be attained only through disarmament and arms control. The way to proceed is step by step; we cannot obtain everything at once.

143. In the opinion of my Government this applies to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [see

resolution 2373 (XXIII)). The Treaty is open to criticism. It is not, nor can it be, an all-embracing instrument. Yet this Treaty in itself, recommended by the United Nations General Assembly and signed so far by about eighty Member States, is one of the most remarkable international achievements of recent years. It also continues to be the essential prerequisite for further disarmament measures. We feel that it is necessary to concentrate our efforts on making the treaty operational. For this purpose, a co-operative and constructive spirit is needed on the side of both non-nuclear States and nuclear Powers.

144. Of paramount importance in this regard is article VI of the Treaty, according to which the parties undertake

“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 . . .”.

This commitment to pursue disarmament negotiations in good faith should, in practice, lead to the beginning of bilateral negotiations between the two super-Powers on agreements to restrict the strategic nuclear arms race, to a comprehensive test-ban treaty and to other arms control measures outlined during the last session of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament in Geneva. The great Powers bear the principal responsibility for all these measures.

145. The United Nations remains the principal instrument available to nations for the maintenance of international peace and security. This has to be said in view of the disappointments and frustrations that, understandably enough, are spreading today. In our view, the security of nations cannot be improved through devising new treaty guarantees or other arrangements outside the framework of the United Nations, but rather through constant and concerted efforts to improve international relations, to negotiate further measures of arms control and disarmament and, above all, to strengthen the peace-making and peace-keeping capacities of the United Nations.

146. In this regard, recent developments in the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations carry some promise of future progress. Finland is one of the countries which has provided the Committee with detailed information on the preparations undertaken nationally for Finnish participation in United Nations peace-keeping operations. Experience has shown that the use of United Nations forces or observers or other forms of United Nations presence has become an indispensable tool in the hands of the international community for use in crises and conflicts.

147. The United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, in which Finnish soldiers are serving, is a case in point. Its presence on the island has been essential for keeping the peace. It has thus helped to make talks between the two communities possible. Let us hope that these talks will soon restore normal conditions. Such a result would mean a successful conclusion of the United Nations operation.

148. It must be admitted that one fundamental weakness of the United Nations system of collective security is the failure to ensure universal membership. Only as a truly universal organization can the United Nations effectively function as “a centre for harmonizing the actions of

nations”. Accordingly, the Finnish Government has consistently held the view that the seat of China in the United Nations properly belongs to the representatives of the People’s Republic of China, and we continue to hold that view.

149. A number of other important nations also remain outside the United Nations. I refer here primarily to the divided nations of Germany, Viet-Nam and Korea. Finland, in accordance with its established policy of neutrality, does not recognize the Governments in these divided countries and, consequently, has no diplomatic relations with them. But we believe that these Governments should be given equal opportunities to participate in the work of international organizations in appropriate ways. I agree with the Secretary-General, who has suggested repeatedly that the participation of such Governments should be considered. The Finnish Government is prepared to co-operate in finding a generally applicable solution to this problem.

150. The situation in southern Africa continues to be a source of serious international concern. The growing danger of racial conflict has prompted the Security Council to take collective measures against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. For the first time in history, the United Nations has resorted to total economic sanctions. This action must not be permitted to fail, for at stake is not only the fate of the black majority of the population of Southern Rhodesia but also the credibility of the whole system of United Nations enforcement measures. Finland for its part is complying fully with the Security Council resolutions.

151. The United Nations has also assumed a clear commitment with regard to South West Africa. We have pledged ourselves to enable the people of Namibia to attain self-determination and independence. Failure to fulfil this pledge would seriously undermine the authority of this Organization. We must continue urgently our search for effective and practical means by which a just and peaceful solution of this problem can be achieved.

152. While we must devote undiminished attention to the persistence of racial oppression in southern Africa, we cannot refrain from expressing our deep concern at the terrible human suffering caused by the internal war in Nigeria. The feelings of the people in Finland have been deeply engaged by this tragedy, and both the Finnish Government and many civic organizations have contributed to the relief efforts of the International Committee of the Red Cross. Finland stands ready to join in further international relief activities for the civilian victims of the hostilities. In the words of the resolution adopted by the Conference of the Organization of African Unity, we “appeal to all interested parties to co-operate with a view to assuring the rapid dispatch of humanitarian aid to all those who need it”. Yet, clearly, no relief action can save the people in the areas affected by the conflict unless the hostilities can be quickly brought to an end and a permanent settlement ensuring the safety and human rights of all concerned can be achieved.

153. The Nordic countries have also directed their attention to the humanitarian problems which we are facing in Viet-Nam and to the assistance that could be given to that country, once military activities have come to an end. For

this purpose, a study group was set up to examine what the Nordic countries could do in giving humanitarian assistance. The studies made so far have shown that the need for assistance is indeed immense. We consider that this is a responsibility to be borne by everyone. The Nordic countries, for their part, are prepared to participate actively in this work.

154. As we approach the end of the first Development Decade we have reason for critical self-examination. It must be admitted that we have not been able to cope with the problems facing us in the field of economic development. Intense efforts are needed, for example, to increase and improve food production. These efforts should be combined with an active policy of world-wide control of population growth. This problem basically concerns individual Governments, but the United Nations should give full support to their efforts to win the race between food and population.

155. The machinery of the United Nations created to deal with economic and social problems is an elaborate and complex system. It provides us with a considerable ability to fulfil the basic tasks of development co-operation. However, this machinery is an outcome of organic growth. There is not enough over-all planning. That is why the Finnish Government has followed with keen interest the initiatives taken by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and other United Nations agencies, such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the United Nations Development Programme, to assess the capacity of the present structure to deal with the problems of effective development policies. What we need in the beginning of the second Development Decade is an approach which might properly be called strategic.

156. Mr. MOHALE (Lesotho): Two years ago the Kingdom of Lesotho took its place in this Assembly as a sovereign member of the international community. Since then the Prime Minister of Lesotho, the Right Honourable Chief Leabua Jonathan, has had the opportunity of outlining for the information of the Members of the United Nations the salient features of Lesotho's geopolitical situation and the general principles which determine the foreign policy of his Government. In view of the close attention which the Prime Minister gave to the circumstances dictating both the domestic and the international policies of Lesotho, I shall endeavour here merely to underscore those issues which are of paramount importance.

157. In any elaboration of Lesotho's foreign policy, the status of our relations with the Republic of South Africa must assume priority. Indeed, the fact that Lesotho is an enclave totally surrounded by the Republic of South Africa leaves us no other choice but to come to terms politically and economically with that fact before we can realistically embark on any programme. Our forthright acknowledgement of this situation in no way makes us a party to the system of *apartheid* legally enshrined in the Republic. Moreover, there is no African State whose people are more intimately affected by its practice than ours. With as much as one fifth of our population working in South Africa at any one time, it means that the Republic and its policies

have touched the lives of virtually all our people. Moreover, the situation of hundreds of thousands of black South Africans bound to us by ties of blood and language makes a particular claim upon our sympathies.

158. The observance of the International Year for Human Rights has, among other things, drawn our attention to the fact that discrimination is still a universal problem. We feel constrained to note that there are few States in the world without racial, linguistic or religious intolerance. That these inequities have no formal legal sanction is small comfort to those bearing the weight of oppression. Our belief is that, if civilization has any meaning, surely its primary element must be a quality of toleration which accepts the plural character of society. We consider that, whether it be minority groups in any particular State or States, in their relations with others, they must continuously respond to the challenge of creating a new society based on equality. We can see no solution in the retreat into the presumed safety of compartmentalized existence or isolation. In any event, the realities of our situation rule out any consideration of Lesotho's being used as a staging ground against any of its neighbours.

159. It is with the greatest sense of joy that we welcome into the ranks of the international community the newly independent Kingdom of Swaziland. Together with Botswana and Lesotho, Swaziland shares a common legacy of colonial experience in the complex geopolitical matrix of southern Africa. Faced with many of the same problems of daily existence, we are all equally determined to preserve and advance our hard-won independence, and we hope that those nations which have condemned racialism will see in our present needs adequate reason to demonstrate their public profession of support for non-racial societies. Many States that have spoken in the international forum on the problems of southern Africa might well consider whether there is any way in which they can play a positive role in the area granting meaningful assistance to the former High Commission Territories. We who live in this part of the world are convinced that it is not enough to condemn and to criticize what has been done wrongly, but that we should, with the assistance of all well-meaning friends in the world community, embark on positive action to ensure that even in southern Africa truly non-racial societies can exist. It would be a tragedy if our efforts in that direction were frustrated by the ill-informed condemnation which we sometimes have to face; and we must reiterate our belief that a sympathetic attitude and material assistance would be more positive gestures of goodwill for the entire area.

160. The problems of South West Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese-administered Territories of Mozambique and Angola continue to becloud the prospects for the future peaceful development of southern Africa.

161. On the question of South West Africa, we start from the premise that the well-being of the majority of the people of South West Africa is of primary concern. The Government of Lesotho ardently hopes that the Republic of South Africa, far from feeling threatened by an orderly transfer of power to a unified South West Africa, will regard such a development as the surest safeguard of continued peace and stability in the southern region of Africa.

162. In accordance with the proposal of the United Kingdom Government, which continues to bear the ultimate responsibility for restoring a legal government in Rhodesia, the Lesotho Government endorses the United Nations application of mandatory sanctions. We must confess, however, that any escalation of sanctions to South Africa would pose serious economic problems for my country. We note with regret that the violence which we previously deplored has resulted in South Africa's presence in Rhodesia. It is our conviction that the deteriorating situation in Rhodesia results in large measure from the continued detention of African leaders. It has, therefore, become imperative that the release of these leaders be given priority, as it is clear that no final solution can be reached without their participation.

163. The Government of Lesotho urges Portugal to discard at once the myths surrounding its presence in Africa. Portuguese insistence that Mozambique and Angola are merely overseas provinces obviously cannot stand the test of any objective enquiry. We urge Portugal to follow the commendable example of Spain, its sister Iberian State, and negotiate an orderly transfer of power to the indigenous populations. Given the nature of existing patterns of trade and cultural involvement, it is difficult to believe that independent governments in these Territories would not, if there were even a modicum of Portuguese co-operation, wish to promote fruitful relations with the metropole, and there must be many Mozambiquans and Angolans who would work towards a new, meaningful relationship with Portugal based on their independence and sovereignty.

164. The Government and people of Lesotho share the horror of all nations, and all Africans in particular, at the sufferings of the people of Nigeria. My Government associates itself with the efforts being made to restore peace in that troubled area.

165. It is with equal shock that we view the loss of life and tragic sufferings of the Viet-Nameese people, and my Government hopes that the current efforts to achieve peace in Viet-Nam will succeed in restoring peace and ending the bloodshed which has for such a long time tortured the conscience of the world.

166. The Middle East continues to attract our attention as another threat to international stability. We note with alarm an almost automatic commitment of the two great Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, to opposing sides in the conflict. In each instance, the projection of that external power or support encourages both Israel and the contesting Arab States in hardened positions which, in fact, are inconsistent with the political realities of the region. That Israel is a political fact cannot be contested. That it has the right to transform an occupation based on force into a legal annexation must be denied. The continuation of fighting along the cease-fire line will not stop until the occupation is ended; nor is the situation helped by the flow of arms into the area. At the same time it is clear that Israel must have assurance that it can pursue an orderly and peaceful existence without fear of hostile attack.

167. We do not believe, however, that there is only one avenue leading to such an assurance, but inasmuch as it was through a resolution of this Assembly that Palestine was originally partitioned, surely it is possible for a *modus vivendi* to be arranged through the good offices of the United Nations. We must not forget that the problem of the displaced Arab refugees continues to cry for a solution. The Lesotho Government hopes that Israel and its Arab neighbours will accord serious attention to the interest of those hapless people.

168. My Government welcomes the healthy relationship that exists between the United Nations Organization and the Organization of African Unity. During the past five years, the two Organizations have dealt with numerous matters of common concern. Though successes by both Organizations have been modest, it is our firm belief that these Organizations, which are complementary, have significant roles to perform in promoting peace and assuring security. Another healthy development which has arisen from the Organization of African Unity is the growing receptivity to regional groupings in terms of common problems and interests. The Maghreb, west Africa, east Africa, central Africa and southern Africa have thus evolved as natural economic groupings. We believe that the Organization of African Unity like all other international organizations will fulfil its role only if its Charter is given rigorous respect by all its members.

169. Recent events in Czechoslovakia are sad evidence that moral imperatives and international sentiment are still all too easily flouted by those exercising power. As a small nation we are particularly concerned by this ruthless employment of force in the imposition of a big Power's will on a small State. If such an approach were allowed to pass unchallenged, there would be no future for small nations. We have always maintained that small nations, like the big nations, have a right to determine their own course in peace and freedom. Surely the fate of Czechoslovakia demonstrates that imperialism has not been the exclusive characteristic of the Western Powers. Ironically, at a time when Great Britain was voluntarily stripping itself of its last African possession and Spain was negotiating for the independence of Equatorial Guinea, the Soviet Union chose to embark upon a blatant imperialistic enterprise without regard to international condemnation. We urge the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to withdraw immediately from Czechoslovakia and permit the Czech people to determine their own course. In any case, we seriously doubt that the power so ruthlessly exercised in Czechoslovakia will easily establish its credibility as a foe of imperialism and neo-colonialism.

170. Upon attaining independence, Lesotho was described by *The Cristian Science Monitor* as "the leading contender for the title 'least likely to succeed' ". We in Lesotho do not concede to this description. If we are at the bottom of the ladder of economic growth, there is only one way for us to go-up. Since attaining independence the entire nation, with a massive show of courage and goodwill, has surged forward to tackle its economic problems with a firm determination to succeed. The yardstick by which to measure our rate of progress should be not the height we have attained but, rather, the depths from which we have come.

171. We in Lesotho have become increasingly aware that political independence without the concomitant economic and social reforms is meaningless. As we approach the end of the 1960s we have become all the more conscious that the United Nations Development Decade has been the decade of discouragement and disappointment. The closing days of the 1960s are, indeed, characterized by political instability, internal strife and economic stagnation in many developing countries. Even countries richly endowed with natural resources woefully lack trained manpower and technical skills to develop and apply them for their speedy development. Not only capital assistance is required. Assistance is necessary in manpower training and in the application of the large pool of scientific and technological knowledge to accelerate the pace of economic and social development.

172. My Government's consideration of the activities of the United Nations would not be complete without reference to the extremely important work at present being undertaken by the United Nations Development Programme in the field of economic and social development among the developing nations of the world. As has been the case with other developing countries, the Government of Lesotho hopes to benefit as soon as possible from the

resources of the United Nations Development Programme in the field of assistance in undertaking a feasibility study concerned with our proposal to build two dams at Oxbow and Pelaneng. The Oxbow Water Scheme not only would increase greatly the water resources of Lesotho but in addition would have a revolutionary impact on Lesotho's economy through the sale of water to the Republic of South Africa. In recognition of the important work that has been done and can continue to be performed in developing countries by the United Nations Development Programme, my Government has decided, within the scope of its limited resources, to increase its contribution to the United Nations Development Programme beginning this year. We sincerely hope that other countries, both small and big, can do likewise.

173. My Government is appreciative of the noble efforts of the Secretary-General in trying to bring about peace in the troubled parts of the world. We sincerely hope that the big Powers will use their might in assisting him and co-operating with him to achieve this noble objective and not frustrate his efforts. In this way and only in this way can peace and stability be assured to all nations.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.