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*President:* Mr. Stanisław TREPCZYŃSKI (Poland).

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. RAWIRI (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is particularly pleasant for me to express to you on behalf of my delegation our warmest congratulations on your outstanding election to preside over the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. Your abilities and the experience that you have acquired in the course of a long career entirely devoted to the service of your country made you a natural choice to play the eminent role the General Assembly has entrusted to you. Thanks to your well-known ability and competence, we are sure you will preside over our debates wisely and effectively and thus ensure the final success of our work.

2. In a world that is more and more shaken by violence, our Organization more than ever has the imperative duty to find and propose to the community of men the ways and means that will lead to *détente* and peaceful coexistence. That is why, Mr. President, your role is one of vital importance, for from the results of our work will be born either hope and light or doubt, pessimism and fear. This shows that your task, although noble, is very difficult because of the complexity and gravity of the problems we have to confront. We have no doubt that you will be successful in carrying out this exceptional task with your enlightened judgement and your realism and with the assistance and full co-operation of all the Members of this Assembly.

3. My delegation is also gratified to be able to pay a sincere tribute to the outgoing President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, Mr. Adam Malik, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia. Our last session registered important successes, thanks to the work of Mr. Malik, who showed great patience, a spirit of co-operation and effectiveness.

4. I shall only mention, among the most significant events of the twenty-sixth session, the following: the admission of new Member States, the entry of the People's Republic of China into our world Organization and the election of a

new Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who succeeded U Thant.

5. The Government of Gabon would like to address to our former Secretary-General, U Thant, a very special tribute for the invaluable work he did at the head of our Organization during a period of 10 years. Because of his total devotion to the cause of peace in the world, U Thant has earned the thanks of our Organization.

6. To our new Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, we would again express our hopes for full success in leading our Organization. His talent, his authority and the diplomatic ability he has constantly shown in the course of the first year of his mandate are an earnest of success for the future.

7. A few months have elapsed since the holding of two very important international meetings: the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [*UNCTAD*], held at Santiago, Chile, from 11 April to 19 May 1972 and the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held at Stockholm from 5 to 16 June 1972.

8. In Santiago the representatives of the third world once again denounced the increasing gap between the wealthy and the poor nations and again appealed to the industrialized countries to try to reverse that dangerous trend which is so perilous for the future of mankind.

9. In Stockholm the representatives of the developed countries expressed alarm at the great danger to nature and to the human species from modifications of the ecological balance caused by the frantic and uncontrolled exploitation of natural resources to satisfy ever-increasing needs.

10. On the one hand are the poor nations suffering from poverty and hunger, and on the other hand are the wealthy nations complaining about the damage caused by the excessive exploitation of natural resources.

11. As can be seen, the concerns of one group are not necessarily the same as those of the other, and the exchange of views between the wealthy and the poor nations might well be a dialogue of the deaf.

12. In Santiago recently the third session of UNCTAD pronounced the failure of the first United Nations Development Decade, on which so many hopes had been based.

13. The transfer by the industrialized countries of 1 per cent of their gross national product to the development of the third world has never been achieved. Indeed, assistance for development has decreased both in volume and in real purchasing power, in view of the depreciation of the value

of money. The prices of raw materials, produced basically by the developing countries, are becoming lower and lower, whereas the prices of the manufactured goods exported by the wealthy countries are attaining a record level. This system of trade relations can only benefit the industrial nations, which can become even richer by it.

14. The Second United Nations Development Decade that was solemnly proclaimed by the General Assembly in resolution 2626 (XXV) was supposed to follow up the first, and was expected to achieve, if not exceed, the objectives that had been set in order to intensify and improve trade relations so as to provide the third world with resources with which to confront the problems of development. But if attitudes do not change and if morality is not introduced in relations of all kinds between the wealthy and the poor countries, then the Second Decade will end as did the first in bitter and inevitable failure. Such a change of attitude and approach was not manifested in Santiago. The two camps confronted one another: the third world, with its miseries and sufferings, calling for justice and understanding; and the industrial countries, unwilling or unready to accept the idea of a more equitable distribution of the profits derived from trade. This attitude of the wealthy countries can only give rise to doubts and scepticism regarding their willingness to help the developing nations by placing greater resources at their disposal, resources of both a financial and a technological nature.

15. The fact is that the industrial countries are devoting their wealth and their energies to the arms race, which, whatever may be said, has never been so intense or feverish. The Stockholm Conference warned of the grave risks that nature and mankind are running, as the constant utilization in different regions of the world of weapons of mass destruction and chemical weapons has effects which are as pernicious and dangerous as those of atomic weapons. My Government must most vehemently denounce the use of force entailed in the arms race and the stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction. The United Nations must devote itself, first and foremost, to putting an end to that dangerous situation and impose general and controlled disarmament on the world. But this disarmament must not only be limited to nuclear weapons. It must also cover chemical weapons, since the use of these latter must immediately be condemned and prohibited in those regions where armed conflicts are at present going on.

16. The limitation of armaments will not only permit the saving of important resources that might then be devoted to development and to the welfare of peoples, but also will make possible a true relaxation of tension in the relations between opposing blocs and ideologies. It will allow us to put out the fires of conflict and will permit the dawning of an era of peaceful coexistence in freedom and in the full exercise of the sovereign rights of individuals. It is that freedom, it is these rights, that the peoples of the third world are fighting to achieve, particularly in Africa, which still suffers from colonialism and racial discrimination.

17. In Angola, in Guinea (Bissau) and in Mozambique, Portugal, defying the decisions of the General Assembly and world public opinion, still persists in maintaining its domination over African territories, against the will of the peoples to which it refuses the exercise of their right to

self-determination and independence. Surely the time has come for the Portuguese leaders to recognize the legitimacy of the people's aspirations and honestly and courageously to find the ways and means, with the leaders of the liberation movements, that will allow Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique and Angola to enjoy their right to self-determination and accede to independence.

18. In Rhodesia, as in Namibia, the situation is no less disturbing since the dignity of the black man is being flouted. In Rhodesia the Zimbabwe people should have their voice heard and should acquire legitimate rights as citizens. As far as Namibia is concerned, once again we have to express the hope that the Government of South Africa will prove its willingness to achieve peace and show its spirit of conciliation by making concrete and constructive proposals that will lead to the full enjoyment of the right of self-determination by the people of Namibia as a whole.

19. That will to peace, that spirit of conciliation, are more necessary today than ever, in the light of the efforts being made to find equitable solutions to the conflicts that at present exist. The recent attitude adopted by North and South Korea to find a peaceful solution to the problem of the country's reunification constitutes a clear manifestation of a new spirit. Through their Red Cross organizations these two countries together, without intermediaries and without outside pressures, have decided to undertake negotiations, which we trust will lead to an equitable settlement and an honourable end to the conflict that pits one country against the other, and thus extinguish this source of tension.

20. So, in the case of the Middle East, the Secretary-General, through his Special Representative, should bring about the resumption of conversations. We believe that the best basis for discussion lies still in Security Council resolution 242 (1967). That resolution was unanimously supported in the General Assembly, and the parties concerned in the conflict publicly agreed with the recommendations contained in it. It is only the full and scrupulous implementation of that resolution that can lead to an equitable solution of the question, thus putting an end to another dangerous situation whose persistence may well lead to a general explosion.

21. While the third world is involved in a battle without quarter against development, now that mankind is aware of the need to ensure defence of its natural environment, which, if disturbed, might threaten the very survival of mankind, man should not spend his energies and capacities in futile armed struggles which are so anachronistic and obsolete. Man must once and for all outlaw the use of force as the means of solving conflicts between nations. Man must mobilize his genius and his resources to claim a decisive victory over the enemies of the modern world, those enemies that are called hunger, want, pollution, racial discrimination and injustice.

22. Mr. SHARP (Canada): Mr. President, the Canadian delegation looks forward with hope and determination to the proceedings of the twenty-seventh session, over which you will preside. We count upon you for that same wisdom and judgement which characterized your distinguished predecessor's term of office. Your election is a mark of our high regard for you and for your country. Poland symbol-

izes for the world the unquenchable flame of national will blazing out after centuries of darkness. We remember that the terrible war which brought this Organization into existence began in the defence of Poland's national independence. We remember, too, the debt every country in the world—not least my own—owes to the Polish people in all the arts of civilization. How fitting it is, Mr. President, that the year of your election should be the five hundredth anniversary of the birth of that towering genius, Nicolaus Copernicus, to whom all mankind stands debtor.

23. May I welcome you also, Mr. Secretary-General, to the indispensable duties upon which you have embarked so vigorously. With the whole world as your province, you have already travelled widely. Canada was honoured by one of your first visits as Secretary-General, as it was some years ago by your first appointment as ambassador of your country.

24. Your concern for both the authority and the efficiency of the United Nations has been evident from the outset in the measures you have taken to assert the one and enhance the other. You have our admiration and our support. It is a current commonplace to take a dark view of the performance and prospects of the United Nations. One respected international commentator observed just the other day that "the United Nations has never been weaker than it is now", while your predecessor, Mr. Secretary-General, has called the phase through which the Organization is now passing "a time of trials".

25. There is ample evidence to justify a sense of defeatism. The international community often seems incapable of preventing war, powerless in the face of acts of terrorism, apathetic at the spectacle of starvation and misery, and irresponsible in its willingness to risk permanent damage to the environment. We seek to explain this by observing that in a world of sovereign nation-States, the United Nations is bound to reflect the weaknesses of the international society which produced it. Time and again, national egotism seems to be the ruling principle of that society.

26. This is at the root of the world's deep anxiety. For the better part of this century, we have known that nationalism has imperfections. Yet mankind is not about to do away with sovereign States. Indeed, the events of the century, by breaking up old empires and multiplying new sovereignties, have acted as a stimulus to nationalism. New States are not willing to deny themselves the advantages they believe older States have gained from national independence. Certain great tasks of social and economic construction are indeed impossible except in conditions of independence and, while some advantages of independence may prove illusory, even this is irrelevant since the Charter establishes national sovereignty as a fundamental principle.

27. Those are powerful considerations. In the face of them, it is unrealistic to plan for an international order in which the system based upon sovereign national units has been replaced. Instead, it is more hopeful and more sensible to work to transform the existing system, encouraging it when necessary to produce the antidote to its own poisons.

28. There have been encouraging developments in this sense recently. Even in the brief space of time since last we

met, relationships between the great Powers have undergone a remarkable transformation. Earlier this year, the two nuclear super-Powers signed a declaration on basic principles governing their relations,<sup>1</sup> an agreement limiting anti-ballistic missile systems,<sup>2</sup> and an interim agreement on the limitation of strategic arms.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, the Soviet Union and the United States have reaffirmed the undertaking in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] to pursue their negotiations to end the nuclear arms race and bring about actual measures of nuclear disarmament.<sup>2</sup> The nuclear sponsors of the non-proliferation Treaty have a particular responsibility to adopt measures to curtail the nuclear arms race and thereby prevent further nuclear proliferation. One such measure would be a ban on all nuclear testing. Surely it is time for the two super-Powers to end underground tests, for the two States which continue to test in the atmosphere to cease their testing, and for a complete test ban to be concluded.

29. The international community has a right to expect that the agreements concluded in Moscow will open the way to more far-reaching nuclear arms control and disarmament measures. But it by no means under-estimates the historic significance of what has already been accomplished. Surely this amounts to a recognition that the search for a one-sided strategic advantage has become self-defeating and illusory and that the way ahead lies through a stabilized nuclear balance to nuclear disarmament itself.

30. In this same brief space of time to which I have referred, the People's Republic of China has, to Canada's great satisfaction, taken its rightful place in the United Nations. Relations between China and the United States and between China and Japan have witnessed a dramatic improvement. In Europe, breeding-ground of two world wars, the most significant steps in this generation have been taken to reconstruct relations between the Federal Republic of Germany on the one hand and the German Democratic Republic, Poland and the Soviet Union on the other. The first general negotiations on co-operation and security in Europe since before the Second World War, as well as negotiations to bring about a mutual and balanced reduction of forces in Europe, will soon begin.

31. Caution says of course that all these developments are only beginnings. But they could mark the greatest change in the international order since the United Nations was founded. If we are right to say that the United Nations reflects the international order on which it is based, can we be wrong to hope that these beginnings will sooner or later transform the United Nations as well? There are other hopeful developments. Dialogues have now begun between the two halves of Germany and Korea. These face enormous difficulties. But we can expect that in the not-too-

<sup>1</sup> Basic Principles of Relations between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, signed at Moscow on 29 May 1972.

<sup>2</sup> Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, signed at Moscow on 26 May 1972.

<sup>3</sup> Interim Agreement between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Moscow on 26 May 1972.

distant future the universality of the United Nations will be strengthened through the extension of membership to the peoples of the divided countries. It will be strengthened also as self-determination brings the era of colonial empires to its final end, especially in Africa, where the most intractable problems of securing human dignity and freedom are posed. Although the recent proceedings of the Security Council give little support to the view, surely it is no longer visionary to conceive of situations in which the Council will function as was originally intended, by consensus of the permanent members and of the United Nations as a whole, through co-operation rather than through confrontation.

32. We founded the United Nations, as the Charter says, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". More has been accomplished in this past year to remove that danger than in any year since this Organization was created. Certainly so far as the risk of a general nuclear war is concerned, the hopeful evolution of great-Power relationships evokes deep feelings of relief, gratitude and satisfaction from us all.

33. It would be a bitter irony if the safer, saner world which seems at last a possibility rather than a dream should turn instead into a world in which the stream of violence simply cuts new channels.

34. Time and again, the smaller countries have called for an end to the nuclear arms race, an end to nuclear confrontation. We have sought an international order in which the great Powers conceived it neither as to their interest nor as their obligation to police the world. Now the great Powers, in their own interest and in the interest of us all, are moving in this direction. Is the new security and freedom which will thereby be available to all countries, large and small, to be dissipated in new forms of violence? Must we admit that only the fear of nuclear escalation has allowed us some limited success in the past generation in controlling recourse to force? Yet the international community still has no answer to the dilemma of deciding at what point local violence has such wide and obvious international implications that it can no longer be accepted as a purely domestic matter. We struggled with this problem last year during the crisis in Bangladesh. Even where violence is plainly international from the outset, our means of dealing with it are often pitifully weak. There are those in the world who appear to believe that the norms of civilized international life are not for them. They consider that they have a right to pursue their grievances by kidnapping, piracy, murder and wholesale terror and violence.

35. The problem is growing. It has become world-wide. My own country has had its tragic experience of violence of this sort. Canadians instinctively share the horror and shock which these acts produce wherever in the world they may occur. The Canadian Government understands only too well the agonizing choices Governments face when called upon to deal with a sudden nightmare of violence.

36. Terrorism takes many forms. It is called forth by a wide range of complex situations. The rights and wrongs of these situations are bitterly contested. It is simple realism to recognize all this. But the problem cannot be ignored

because it is difficult. There must be no truce with terror. Some acts of terror are the work of deluded and demented criminals, others of frustrated and desperate men willing to sacrifice their own lives and the lives of innocent people in what they regard as a noble cause. When we agree that the cause is noble, we are tempted to condone the terror. But are we wise to do so? The act we condone today may be the one we regret tomorrow, when it is turned against us, for terrorism in the end affects everyone: it is an attack on civilization at large. Violence breeds violence, murder answers murder, and order dissolves in chaos.

37. Therefore, we approve the Secretary-General's initiative in seeking to have the subject placed on the agenda [*A/8791 and Add.1*]. A number of delegations have reservations about the debate upon which the Assembly is to enter. Some fear it will be too diffuse to be useful; others that it will be too narrow to be constructive. It need be neither. The Canadian delegation looks upon the debate as a way to focus international concern upon the whole range of acts of terror and to stimulate action both by international bodies such as the International Civil Aviation Organization and the International Red Cross and by Governments acting within their own powers or under bilateral agreements.

38. The means of dealing with the problem will be as varied as its forms. Some international legal instruments already exist for the purpose. Those should be quickly strengthened through ratification by as many States as possible. Perhaps new international machinery and new international legal instruments will be necessary as well. Then let us create them. How can the world, which has declared slavery, piracy and the drug traffic beyond the pale of civilized life, fail to outlaw terrorism? The Canadian Government, which has already amended its domestic law, entered into bilateral negotiations to limit terrorism in the form of hijacking and ratified the international conventions concerned, stands ready to contribute to the strengthening of international law to outlaw terror.

39. The task is formidable. But the United Nations has responded to challenges of equal difficulty in the past. Since we cannot expect national loyalties to disappear, we must work to temper those loyalties by a growing sense of responsibility on the part of individuals and Governments to the international community at large. I suggest that a consciousness of this responsibility is growing in ways unknown to previous generations.

40. Consider the field of human rights. It would be easy to multiply examples of violations of human rights throughout the world. The task of creating and ensuring respect for agreed international standards has been daunting. Deep historic and cultural differences have produced widely differing views of the true source and proper extent of individual rights. Those differences are profound. How can we legislate them out of existence? Yet—and I would draw this to the Assembly's attention—the international community has successfully legislated the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights [*resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex*]. In doing so, it has recognized that there are limits to the exercise of State sovereignty and that certain rights attach to individuals—among others, the

rights to life and freedom, to liberty and personal security, to fair and prompt justice, to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, and the right to leave any country, including one's own.

41. The task now is to ensure that these rights are honoured in practice. So far as my country is concerned, I am glad to say that the constitutional difficulties which have delayed Canadian ratification of the human rights Covenants are well on the way to being overcome. Through national experience and international example, Canadians have come to appreciate that the field of human rights is another sphere in which national and international obligations reinforce each other.

42. Among the most serious challenges to the honouring of human rights today are those that lie in Africa. In South Africa the very system of *apartheid* does violence to the concepts embodied by the international community in the two Covenants on human rights. In Rhodesia an illegal régime continues to deny the majority of its citizens even the hope of the basic rights to which they are entitled, and now, in Uganda, a new form of danger has arisen. I do not wish to enter into the substance of the question. Obviously, however, the situation in Uganda requires the exercise of the greatest restraint on the part of the Ugandan Government if the Asian community is to be allowed to leave in conditions of reasonable dignity and security. Humanity on the part of other Governments is required as well, so that the tens of thousands who may ultimately be affected by enforced expulsion may have a generous reception in the many countries of the world where their talents could find new and useful expression.

43. The great programmes for economic co-operation between the developing and the industrialized world are another instance in which a growing sense of obligation to the international community has become an expression of enlightened nationalism. The whole notion that this world venture should be undertaken at all has become part of general public consciousness only in the last 20 years. And once again those who are looking for reasons to be discouraged after a relatively brief effort find their case ready made. From the statistics of the first United Nations Development Decade we know that *per capita* incomes in the developed countries—already far higher than in the third world—have been growing at not much less than twice the rate of incomes in the developing countries. We know that in the developed countries the consumption of energy *per capita* is 5 to 10 times the world average and that, quite apart from the difference in protein content, the intake of food in calories is almost twice as much *per capita* as in the developing world.

44. Those gaps are great. Some of them are growing. Meanwhile, the efforts of the developing countries to strengthen their economies are partially absorbed in supporting populations which in Asia, Africa and Latin America are growing at the rate of between 2 and 3 per cent a year—double or more the rate for Europe and North America.

45. The resources devoted to attacking these problems of development and disparity are undeniably inadequate. If they are to be increased in quantity and quality the

developing countries must continue their heroic efforts while the developed world finds ways of increasing the measure of its participation. The attack must focus equally on social issues, given the interdependence of social progress and economic growth.

46. In Canada, I am glad to say, sustained public consciousness of these problems has permitted the Government to make steadily increasing resources available for programmes of economic co-operation. I expect this trend to continue. It will be combined with an intensified search to ensure that the co-operation is extended in the forms we are best fitted to provide and our partners are best fitted to use. Hand in hand with this will go measures to improve the terms on which the developing countries have access to our markets.

47. In economic relations generally, discouragement at some current tendencies would be justified. There is still an inadequate international framework within which to adjust the trading relations of the developed with the developing economies, and the market with the socialist economies. Among the major trading nations there are distressing tendencies towards protectionism, associated in part with the growth of trading blocs.

48. International monetary machinery labours under extraordinary strains and urgently requires strengthening. Yet all these problems are recognized. They are under repeated attack in the Economic and Social Council, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the International Monetary Fund, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the regional economic commissions and elsewhere, and not without success. In the last analysis a sense of common purpose leads gradually to overcoming national differences.

49. If we wish to measure our progress we have only to recall the economic chaos of the period between the two world wars. Then rampant nationalism combined with economic ignorance to bring the world economic system down in ruins. How many of the political failures of that period can be traced to economic failures? For all their faults, the present world economic structure and the institutional framework for economic co-operation which has grown up under the United Nations are an infinite improvement.

50. But perhaps the most dramatic example of the rapid development of an international conscience and a sense of international responsibility concerns the protection of the environment. Even 10 years ago threats to the balance of nature were a matter for specialists. The public generally, and governments generally, were hardly aware that problems existed. In a matter of a few years we have awakened to the risk that we may be doing irreversible harm to the natural order which sustains life upon the planet.

51. The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment was the world community's first response to that challenge. It will undoubtedly take its place as one of the major conferences in United Nations history. Through its Declaration<sup>4</sup> the Conference has established a kind of

<sup>4</sup> See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, Stockholm, 5-16 June 1972* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.A.14), chap. I.

“environment charter”, providing a sound basis for the development of international environmental law and other co-operative measures for the protection and enhancement of the human environment. The recommendations for action agreed to by the Conference<sup>5</sup> demonstrate the willingness of Governments to work towards that goal. The endorsement of those recommendations consistent with the spirit and sense of purpose displayed in the Declaration will, in the Canadian view, be one of the major achievements of this Assembly, for the Stockholm Conference enunciated fundamental principles of international environmental law.

52. The international community now has an opportunity to make a further advance in strengthening the international legal régime as it affects the environment. This is in relation to the law of the sea. Canada, like many other countries, is in favour of convening the third law of the sea conference in 1973, but only if preparations are adequate. This will be possible if the sea-bed Committee<sup>6</sup> is able to hold two further sessions during 1973. Then the conference could be formally launched with an organizational meeting in the fall of 1973.

53. Those who wrote the Charter of the United Nations had certain clear ideas about what was needed to preserve international peace and security. They inherited some social, economic and legal machinery, and devised more. But the most foreseeing of them could not have anticipated many of the problems that have preoccupied the United Nations since. The whole range of exercises in peace-keeping; the transition to the post-colonial world; the machinery for economic co-operation between the developed and the developing countries; the extended protection of human rights; the work accomplished in relation to the environment, the sea-bed and outer space—all these endeavours have called forth activity unimaginable in 1945.

54. In a remarkable way this Organization has risen to these demands. It has done so by creating a large and complex family of agencies—so large and complex, indeed, that strong administrative leadership is as crucial to the continued authority of the United Nations as political leadership itself. To ensure that the machinery functions at maximum effectiveness on a sound and equitable financial basis is a problem of the first order. The Canadian delegation will work to ensure that this problem receives the steady attention it deserves. Considerations of cost and complexity are, however, a reminder that a price has to be paid if the United Nations is to be flexible and dynamic.

55. I contend that it has displayed these qualities. The successive challenges of the last generation have been met with only two changes in the Charter: the increase in the membership of both the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council. Apart from this, we have built upon the Charter machinery, giving a living interpretation to the Charter itself. While it has been difficult in practice to secure the required degree of agreement to amend the Charter, this does not seem to have prevented the United Nations from keeping up with the times. Canada

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. II, sect. B.

<sup>6</sup> Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction.

is ready to look seriously at any specific proposals to amend the Charter or make it work better if these have broad support among Member States. But I am not convinced that a new Charter that could be agreed upon would be better than the Charter written in 1945.

56. I have struck a hopeful note, and I may be criticized for that, but I am convinced that this is the right perspective. We have to concentrate on the problems of the day. This Assembly will have to concentrate on measures to prevent terrorism, consolidate our first advance in the environmental field, secure administrative and budgetary reform, protect human rights in Africa and elsewhere, and develop international law, especially the law of the sea and the law governing air piracy. Meanwhile the Security Council may well be obliged to deal with threats to peace—for example, if the current tension in the Middle East rises dangerously. All these matters are sources of deep concern. To deal with them successfully—to deal with them at all—will, we know, lead us at times into anger, frustration and despair.

57. It is therefore a healthy corrective to lift our heads above these problems on occasion, to remind ourselves of the great work the United Nations has accomplished in the past and to seek to trace those currents in human affairs which give hope that its greatest accomplishments lie ahead.

58. Mr. MEDICI (Italy): Mr. President, it is a privilege for me to extend to you, on behalf of the Italian Government, my congratulations and good wishes. I am addressing not only a distinguished statesman but the representative of a noble people to which the Italians feel very close, sharing with it many traditions and the same deep love of peace. In recalling the important work performed by this Assembly last year under the guidance of your illustrious predecessor, Mr. Adam Malik, I am certain that the results of the current session will prove just as fruitful.

59. I wish to assure the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, of my sincere appreciation of the dedication with which he has undertaken his difficult task in the service of the Organization. He knows that he can rely on the support of my Government in carrying out his high mission as the faithful interpreter of the spirit of the Charter.

60. The speakers who have preceded me have referred to the expectations and anxieties of their peoples, but it seems to me that the most significant note which has resounded up to now in this world Assembly has been a note of hope.

61. In spite of persistent conflicts and selfish nationalisms, in spite of the unleashing of violence no longer restrained by national or international law, we all feel that a relaxation of tension in international relations is taking place.

62. Let me first have a look at Asia, where the worst conflict of the last 25 years is still raging, but where we now note some encouraging symptoms. Two great peoples, the Chinese and the Japanese, are trying to bridge the gulf which has separated them in recent times. This is an event which can greatly contribute to a better and more stable international community. North and South Korea are

moving towards the normalization of their relations and we hope that nothing will interfere with these new and promising developments. In the Asian subcontinent, the way is now open to negotiations; if that path is followed with farsightedness, it will be possible to re-establish harmony among the States of that huge area to the benefit of the whole international community. In this spirit we hope that we may soon welcome Bangladesh in our midst.

63. The recent developments in Europe are bound to give a decisive contribution to the stability of the old continent and, therefore, of the whole international order. The Community, which the Western European countries are building, is undergoing a process of strengthening and enlargement. It is and will remain a commonwealth of free peoples, founded on the heritage of a common civilization and on a common conception of democracy, social progress and the dignity of man. This association of States is and will remain open to co-operation with the rest of the world.

64. The European Community intends to live up to its responsibilities in so far as its relations with other States, and in particular with the developing countries, are concerned. One of the most important issues to be discussed at the forthcoming summit meeting in Paris, next October, will be a plan for co-operation with the latter countries. The European Community intends to honour the commitments which it has undertaken in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development for the development of trade within the framework of a system of generalized preferences.

65. One of the main goals of the Community is the gradual closing, through a realistic and constructive dialogue, of the gap which has divided Europe during the last 25 years. The Community is attempting to set up new relations, based on the recognition of reality, on mutual trust and on the free exchange of people, information and ideas. If, as we hope, the outcome of the negotiations now going on in order to normalize the relations between the two States of the German nation is a positive one, an important obstacle on the way to European co-operation will be removed.

66. Further momentum for this process will be provided by the conference for security and co-operation in Europe. In this spirit, we are working towards the adequate preparation of that conference.

67. But Europe cannot feel secure unless there is peace also in the Mediterranean. Unfortunately, the ghost of war is still looming over the Near East, and the resolutions of the United Nations have so far remained in the limbo of good intentions.

68. Furthermore, despite the appeals made to the parties directly involved in the conflict we are now witnessing a resumption of violence which threatens to get out of hand. That tension is the result of a lack of progress in working out a just solution to the conflict in that region. It is the duty of the United Nations to encourage the parties—as well as the Powers which wield some influence in that area—to act in such a way that a just solution may be found. We maintain that the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) in all its parts is the most valid way to a lasting settlement in the area.

69. The easing of tension necessarily involves the problem of disarmament. I should therefore like to stress the interest which my Government has always attached to this important issue, so essential for the strengthening of peace.

70. We are deeply committed to the objectives of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and we express the hope that when it resumes its work the important negotiations undertaken by it will achieve positive results. We equally trust that the resumption of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks will bring about fruitful results.

71. Finally, we welcomed with interest the proposal to convene a world disarmament conference. Such an initiative will be all the more effective if it is supported by the general membership of the United Nations, including all the nuclear Powers, and if it is accurately prepared by an adequately representative organ.

72. Meanwhile, proposals have been submitted which are designed to limit arguments on a regional scale. We think that they should be viewed in the framework of the general balance of forces. Such regional initiatives, therefore, will benefit from the institution of machinery like the world disarmament conference.

73. We can therefore hope that we are on the threshold of further progress towards détente. However, we must do what is necessary to prevent the setting up of a new pattern of international relations from taking place at the expense of freedom for peoples and independence for nations. The emergence of new Powers on the world scene should be accompanied by the increasingly responsible participation of all countries in the life of the international community.

74. Our Assembly, which last year finally welcomed in its midst the representatives of the great Chinese people, should give its utmost attention to this problem. Another important step is likely to be taken towards the universality of the United Nations. We do hope that the two German States will successfully conclude their negotiations and thus be able to join our Organization.

75. For other so-called divided States the way to membership in the United Nations is still difficult. However, the negotiations in progress between the two Koreas raise some hope. Some better prospects arise also from the confirmed determination of the United States Government to withdraw all its troops from Viet-Nam. I should like to express in this Assembly the good wishes of the Italian people and Government to the Viet-Nameese people, so sorely tried by the horrors of war. I do hope that in the near future all the peoples of Indo-China will be able to devote themselves, in security and independence, to the rehabilitation of their countries.

76. The full attainment of the objectives of decolonization, solemnly and repeatedly voiced in this Assembly, will open the doors of the United Nations to some new peoples that are still yearning for independence. The Italian Government confirms its full adherence to this goal. We are convinced that we must facilitate, in the spirit of the United Nations Charter and in accordance with its provisions, the historical process which will wipe out the last vestiges of colonialism, especially in the African continent.

77. The foresight of the founding fathers made the United Nations flexible enough to enable it—after more than a quarter of a century—to deal with previously unforeseen problems, such as those of the developing countries, of the technological and scientific gap and of the protection of the environment. However, no one can deny the fact that, on the issue of the maintenance of peace and security, international reality has followed a course different from that advocated in 1945, thus partly frustrating the original expectations.

78. While the great Powers were slowly moving from a “balance of terror” to a dialogue which was the product of the so-called “balance of caution”, the members of the international community were increasing in number and new centres of influence were rising. These new centres, thanks to the great contribution they can make to economic and cultural development, should be enabled to participate more fully in the system of collective security established by the Charter.

79. The Italian Government has repeatedly stated to this Assembly its point of view on the matter of international security.

80. Peace-keeping requires, besides measures to avoid possible conflicts or to settle those that already exist, a global commitment for the gradual removal of the deeper and sometimes old causes of conflict. We must include among these causes all kinds of interference in international affairs, any limitation of sovereignty or any attempt to limit the freedom of each people to choose the régime under which it wants to live. If in some continents these ills are the remnants of the colonial policy of the past, in others they are the consequence of power politics.

81. Our commitment must be further directed against serious violations of human rights. Genocide, racial discrimination and political persecution, so much more unacceptable when carried out with the appearance of legality, are a permanent threat to peace.

82. The search for peace must aim at reducing the economic imbalance which separates countries and obstructs the path towards an effective equality among men of different races.

83. We must therefore strive to promote broader observance of international law. This can be obtained by strengthening the means for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, by enhancing the role of the International Court of Justice, by developing and codifying international law and by creating effective peace-keeping instruments of the United Nations. There is also the need to solve the serious problems arising from both terrorism and retaliation, which produce so many innocent victims in various parts of the world. In this respect, we listened with interest to the proposal of the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Rogers [2038th meeting], and we shall carefully study the draft convention submitted to this Assembly [A/C.6/L.850]. We are ready to co-operate in drawing up a text of a resolution which could meet with wide approval.

84. We think it is our duty to ask ourselves whether the structure of the United Nations can fulfil the Organization's

present tasks. The Italian Government believes that, while fully respecting the purposes and principles of the Charter as they stand, some structures of our Organization must be adjusted to the new realities and to the new requirements which have arisen during the past 25 years. As was pointed out by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Brazil, Mr. Gibson Barboza, when he opened the general debate:

“It is beyond question, in our view, that the participation of the medium-sized and small Powers would be highly constructive and creative; it would be tantamount to an infusion of new blood, which might serve to heal the sclerosis of structures that have aged apparently without being aware of it.” [2038th meeting, para. 19.]

85. In this connexion the Secretary-General noted in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization that collective security should not be based only on the agreement of a few Powers [A/8701/Add.1, p. 2]. We must go beyond the image of the United Nations as the “warden of peace” and strive for a United Nations capable of eradicating the basic causes of international tension, of harmonizing opposing interests and of creating better standards of living for all peoples.

86. Furthermore, a new approach to the problems concerning peace and security requires the strengthening of the Economic and Social Council. Its capacity for furthering the aims of the United Nations in the field of economic development, of social progress and of the protection of human rights must become more incisive.

87. We also consider that the responsibilities within our Organization should be better distributed, taking into account the contribution which each Member country can make, commensurate with its capacity, towards the achievement of the objectives I have indicated.

88. The world undoubtedly owes much to the sense of responsibility shown by the great military Powers. But the concept of peace and security which I mentioned earlier implies that the time has come for other countries to share world responsibilities. I am referring to countries which, although they are not—and choose not to be—nuclear Powers, can still make substantial contributions to the maintenance of peace, since they are in a position to promote and advance the economic, social, scientific, technical and cultural progress of mankind. It was therefore with satisfaction that we heard Mr. Rogers say in his statement to the Assembly that:

“...we believe that for the Security Council to maintain its influence and authority, ways must be found to ensure the representation of States, other than the present permanent members... whose resources and influence are of major importance in world affairs.” [2038th meeting, para. 64.]

My country hopes that such a constructive approach will be adopted by the other permanent members of the Security Council.

89. The role of the United Nations and of its specialized agencies is ever growing and unique. In order to be increasingly able to deal with the deep-rooted causes of

international tension, the United Nations must enlarge its decision-making process by associating the emerging countries with it. At the same time the United Nations must obtain the co-operation of the great democratic forces of the world. Democratic institutions in national societies remain alive and operate through the full support of their major political forces. Similarly the vitality and the efficiency of a world Organization depend, to a large extent, upon the adherence and contribution of the most influential nations.

90. Let me conclude by restating the sincere confidence of the Italian Government in the United Nations as well as in the purposes and principles of its Charter. I also wish to assure you once again that the Italian Government, interpreting the deep-felt dedication to peace of its people, will continue to give its unrestricted co-operation to the United Nations.

*Sir Keith Holyoake (New Zealand), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

91. Mr. NGUZA KARL-i-BOND (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): It is customary at this time of the year for this glass and steel palace in Manhattan to play host to the meetings of special envoys who come from the four corners of the world and to offer the opportunity to international public opinion to hear speeches setting forth the positions of Governments on the economic and political problems of mankind.

92. As special envoy of General Mobutu Sese Seko, I come to this rostrum of the United Nations and before this unique forum to present the views and considerations of the Popular Movement of the Revolution, our great national political party, and the National Executive Council of the Republic of Zaire.

93. A certain tradition has been established in this hall placing political problems before economic problems, and especially development problems. In the Republic of Zaire, where a great revolution is occurring, we place the problems of development, and especially of our economic revolution, in the forefront.

94. Whatever the degree of political maturity of a people, its effective independence can be expressed only by the control of its economy.

95. For us, nations of the third world, the Bandung Conference<sup>7</sup> hurled a challenge to the colonial system. Thus, from the Bandung Conference to the Georgetown Conference,<sup>8</sup> our various States have all fallen prey and will continue to fall prey to all kinds of disturbances as long as they are not masters of their own economies. To remedy this situation, the international community took the initiative in 1964 in Geneva of starting round-table negotiations to denounce the plundering of our wealth.

96. Despite an abundant amount of literature disseminated all over the world on the danger represented by the

<sup>7</sup> African-Asian Conference, held at Bandung from 18 to 24 April 1955.

<sup>8</sup> Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Georgetown, Guyana, from 8 to 12 August 1972.

gap between the so-called developing countries and the so-called developed countries and despite negotiations within specialized bodies, no solution seems likely to be achieved to fill this gap. Can one talk of international peace when over two thirds of mankind languish in poverty? There is not the slightest doubt that the road to lasting peace in a community is through the solution of economic problems.

97. The gap which separates the economies of the developed countries—in the Republic of Zaire we call them “the equipped countries”—from those of under-equipped, or under-developed, countries comes from the bad structure of the international economy. The result is that on the one hand some cannot enjoy the advantages of the present international division of labour and on the other hand international assistance gives rise to problems which do not seem to be finding proper solutions in the present state of affairs.

98. To prevent delays in this fight against under-equipment as in the solution of important problems of structure in the international economic system of today, the Republic of Zaire has decided to count above all on its resources and secondly on all-round co-operation with all other peoples, taking into account its own interests. Zaire is convinced that the reform of the structures of the international economy can be achieved, not around a conference table, but rather through events resulting from the internal dynamics of these structures. Aware of this situation, my country has embarked upon a policy of reform of its economic structures. Through these reforms the Zaire economy will first have to be oriented towards the internal market, and then it will have to be able to make possible economic integration, and the agreements which the Republic of Zaire has just concluded with some African countries prove our political will to achieve regional economic integration.

99. Here I should like to point out that, instead of merely abandoning its project for the construction of the Inga hydro-electric dam, which had not aroused any interest on the part of equipped countries and the international bodies approached for financing it, the Republic of Zaire decided to build it with its own resources, come what may. It was only when this work was quite advanced that some foreign interests did come forward to co-operate with us. In a few weeks we shall inaugurate one of the greatest hydro-electric dams in the world, whose construction was made possible solely due to our own will.

100. I must also point out the important economic agreements concluded by two African countries whose independence in the matter of political and economic decisions is clear for all to see. I have in mind the Republic of Zaire and the Republic of Guinea. These agreements were reached in Conakry between President Ahmed Sékou Touré and General Mobutu Sese Seko during the fraternal and unforgettable visit which our national leader paid to the African land of Guinea. This proves that the economic integration of the under-equipped countries is predicated, above all, on their own will.

101. The Republic of Zaire, unfortunately, knows that, if it is rare for industrialized countries to agree even after

marathon negotiations, it is just as rare for under-equipped countries to achieve a harmonization of their views on matters of common, albeit vital, interest and here we can only blame ourselves.

102. We must have the courage to recognize that political will alone is not sufficient for achieving this integration. Under-equipped countries further require the technological and financial co-operation of the equipped countries, although this co-operation must take into account the imperatives and objectives freely chosen by the under-equipped countries.

103. The reform of the economic structures of under-equipped countries and the harmonization of their economic policies are necessary conditions for achieving their economic integration.

104. The most remarkable event of recent times is the international monetary crisis, whose effects continue to be felt in economic relations among States. You will agree with me that the international monetary crisis is but the reflection of a deficiency of the structures of the international monetary system; and, in the view of the Zaire delegation, this system must be revised so as to take into account economic realities which have been radically altered since the end of the last World War. One cannot, without contradicting history, rely upon the economic prosperity of a few States to build up a system of payments which would encompass all nations. The international monetary system must not any longer be directly tied to the monetary systems of a few States, no matter what their economic power. Therefore we are aware of the fact that the management of the international monetary system, a renovated system, must be entrusted to the will of the international community. For this the International Monetary Fund will have to be profoundly altered in its structure and its statutes, so that sooner or later the management of that body will be organized so as to enable it to play the role of a central bank on the national level.

105. The international division of labour as revised, the reformed international monetary system and the international economy will be able to make a new start on a solid, sound and just basis. As long as there is no reform of the structures of the whole international economic system, we are convinced, fluctuations will continue to affect inter-State relations, and the efforts of States and international organizations to remedy this state of affairs will always fall short of the mark.

106. No matter what influence the international situation may have on the results of the third session of UNCTAD in Santiago, Chile, especially on trade, the under-equipped countries may quite justly speak of their disappointment in view of the few concessions made by equipped countries in fields where they have a monopoly. Since the hopes of the under-equipped countries to improve their trade balance have again been dashed, we wonder to what extent we can still rely on the goodwill of the equipped countries to solve the problems arising from time to time in the international economy.

107. We must admit that one of the most important matters taken up in UNCTAD was the important problem

of the stabilization of primary commodity prices. How is it possible to conceive that raw materials, upon which the economy of almost all, if not all, under-equipped countries depend, should be the object of speculation on the part of a few businessmen in some well-known markets? To say that the speculation affects only tiny or even non-existent amounts confirms the justifiable disappointment of the under-equipped countries. In other words, in the world everything happens as if some countries had only one right, that of producing, and others had the right to buy at the price which they themselves determine or, even worse, at a price determined by a few speculators. Worst of all is the fact that these raw materials bought at prices which are eternally fluctuating serve to manufacture finished goods which are then resold to countries producing raw materials, that is to say, the under-equipped countries, at excessively high prices.

108. In view of this fact, the Republic of Zaire has solemnly expressed its determination not to be any longer a reservoir of raw materials which can be drawn on at will. Even in the field of international assistance, which in principle is supposed to make up the shortcomings of international trade, the hopes of the under-equipped countries have again been dashed. Indeed, to attain the objectives of the Second Development Decade, the United Nations had decided that this year at the latest the equipped countries would make available to the under-equipped countries 1 per cent of their gross national product, of which 0.7 per cent would be represented by public assistance. This decision has practically remained a dead letter, and to the very small extent that it has been put into effect it has been on conditions which are in any case unacceptable to Zaire.

109. With regard to the conditions in which international assistance is granted to under-equipped countries, it has constantly been repeated from this rostrum that the equipped countries which do the lending must take into account the economic difficulties of the under-equipped countries in the matter of the reimbursement of the loans. The growing burden of foreign debt of the under-equipped countries and the constant desire of equipped countries to profit from their assistance face the former with a very difficult choice which certainly does not foster the development of the international economy.

110. Thus, President Mobutu Sese Seko, speaking before the First Congress of the Popular Movement of the Revolution, offered the following thoughts to the world:

“In our under-equipped countries, we welcome technical assistants who are paid totally or partially by the donor countries but whose salaries are either spent or saved in rich countries and even promote a black market in our currencies.

“The granting of fellowships to our young people who take courses in industrialized countries is worth while to the extent that the student comes back with more solid knowledge. But the expenses connected with this form of assistance are incurred in the donor country and redound to its benefit. Moreover, most of the time our students come back to us having completely lost their sense of identity.

“The word ‘assistance’ is also used when, in order to enable us to buy manufactured goods, we are granted purchasing credits. But who gains by that? Obviously the exporting firms and the banks which make possible the financing—but never the consumer country, because its foreign debt is only increased by this.”

111. Therefore, these examples compel the Republic of Zaire to draw some bitter conclusions, and this has led us to radicalize our economic revolution.

112. Of course, we know that, after all, this is a human problem. How can one expect of a rich man that he will help you so that you may attain his status? That is an aberration.

113. We have said in Zaire that we shall be the architects of our own development. We shall reach our economic objectives in accordance with our own will and our own resources and relying solely upon our own efforts. Foreign assistance will be used as a stopgap only when absolutely necessary, but we shall do everything in our power to see to it that in this process of economic revolution we shall be able to do without this stopgap.

114. These are the political and economic realities of the world. In Zaire, under the dynamic leadership of Mobutu Sese Seko, we have decided to play our part, and we declare this solemnly in this hall, in this Organization, which is designed to ensure the well-being and happiness of mankind.

115. To you international economists who attach importance to the gross national product in drawing up the lists of developing countries, we say, in Zaire, with President Mobutu Sese Seko, that we attach more importance to *per capita* national happiness.

116. The seas and oceans constitute huge reserves of raw materials and of mineral, biological and energy sources. Their exploration is proceeding favourably and their exploitation will be under way quite soon.

117. In view of these new possibilities, a part of international opinion has some legitimate questions. Who will profit from these new resources? The answer is obvious. The same people: the rich, the strong, those who have great resources—material, financial or human—unless an urgent and universally accepted solution is found within the framework of a renovated law of the sea. We all know that the sudden discovery of a rich under-sea deposit of manganese, copper or oil would certainly have a strong influence on the prices of these ores derived from the land.

118. That is why, in New York as in Geneva, the delegation of Zaire is positively studying the question of finding a new law of the sea for the international community.

119. The sea-bed and ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction have quite correctly been declared to be the common heritage of mankind. This principle will ensure free access, rational and balanced exploitation, and the equitable distribution of the under-sea resources of the international zone.

120. “Produce at all costs”: that is the motto of the developed countries. And that is the source of pollution. Therefore we wonder whether it is necessary to have innumerable factories if their chimneys are going to pour our toxic products on us day after day. I have been told that in one of the largest cities in the world the mere fact of breathing is equivalent to smoking two packs of cigarettes a day. I have also been told that in the same large city the hearing of the inhabitants is progressively affected after 25 years of age and that mental troubles caused by environmental assault progressively destroy the individual by acting on his psyche and his organism.

121. It seems to me that these horrible facts should arouse the universal conscience to the urgency of finding a solution to the problems of the environment.

122. The under-equipped countries are lucky to be able in their progressive industrialization, to take this important element into account.

123. We know that in your super-industrialized societies, you have works of art, your monuments, your cathedrals, your castles.

124. In the Republic of Zaire we say that we have our monuments which are masterpieces of nature. These are our rivers, our mountains, our volcanoes, our lakes, our plains, our animals.

125. We say, with our President, that in view of the degree of pollution of industrial societies, we might one day become the last refuge of nature in its natural state.

126. We have spoken of the economic aspects of the contemporary world. And this is no accident. This is an attitude which reflects the major concerns of the Republic of Zaire, which are marked by a historical truth: there is no real political independence without economic independence.

127. We must now speak up about the political problems of our day, and the first is international peace and security. My delegation is happy to recognize the efforts made in the world in the field of international peace and security since the end of the last session of the General Assembly.

128. We followed with great interest and attention the journeys of the President of the United States to China, the Soviet Union and Poland.

129. We consider that these initiatives which promote the convening of a conference on European security should be encouraged by the United Nations.

130. We think that the signing of the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin on 3 September 1971 is an important step in the process of détente in Europe.

131. Despite the optimism which seems to pervade international relations within an atmosphere of a relative détente, we cannot shut our eyes to the ominous developments of the Middle East tragedy. We know, we must recognize, that this problem remains unchanged and is a matter of great concern.

132. The Republic of Zaire, which unfortunately from the very first hours of its independence knew the horrors of internecine warfare, can only deplore the loss of human life.

133. We sincerely pray that one day peace and harmony will prevail in that part of the world.

134. On 22 November 1967, after negotiations which lasted more than a whole night, a resolution was adopted by the Security Council. This resolution, 242 (1967), had the advantage not only of establishing a satisfactory balance, but also, and especially, of meeting with the agreement of all the parties concerned. Why do we then not recommend that it be fully and faithfully applied? In any case, that is the sincere wish of my country.

135. As in the case of the Middle East we deplore the loss of human life in the Indo-Chinese peninsula. We hope that one day it will be possible to say that the man who advanced the idea of *homo homini lupus* did not translate or reflect the historical reality of mankind. And yet here again political will is necessary. The Paris Conference represents a hope. International public opinion is entitled to expect that the negotiators of the avenue Kléber will one day translate this hope into fact. International public opinion is also entitled to expect that all countries will bend every effort to help find a final solution to the problem of the peninsula.

136. To speak of an easing of tensions is also to speak of disarmament. General and complete disarmament to us is synonymous with the strengthening of peace and security in the world. Men have perfected their technology in the manufacture of weapons of war to such an extent that a world war today would be a catastrophe for mankind.

137. This bitter statement puts me in mind of the well-known sentence of President Kennedy expressing a harsh truth: "Mankind will have to put an end to war or war will put an end to mankind."

138. On the other hand, by disarming and by renouncing the manufacture of nuclear weapons new funds would be freed which might usefully be employed to allay the sufferings of mankind.

139. Another matter of concern, and certainly the most important, is that of decolonization. Colonialism is—and Portugal knows it—a denial of democratic principles and fundamental rights which must govern all men in all latitudes, in keeping with the spirit of the United Nations Charter and the just and honest expression of universal conscience as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted by the General Assembly [resolution 1514 (XV)].

140. But there are still people who are deaf because of selfish and sordid interests and who refuse to decolonize and therefore place themselves outside the pale of the international community and defy it. Even better, these deaf people are practising subtle and systematic genocide against the peoples of African territories still under their domination.

141. That is why, since there are no other ways of obtaining the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) by Portugal, the natural course of events and of history have led the international community in general and the United Nations in particular to recognize the legitimacy of the struggle led by the liberation movements in Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique.

142. The United Nations also has an effective role to play in ensuring the accession to independence of still colonized peoples. Posterity will judge the effectiveness of the acts of the international Organization in the field of decolonization.

143. The Republic of Zaire considers that the States Members of our Organization should refrain from any act which might be interpreted as assistance to Portugal in the pursuit of its anachronistic and shameless policy.

144. We must draw the attention of the partners of Portugal to the negative and prejudicial effect on the cause of African progress of economic and military co-operation with that country which obstinately continues to pursue a retrograde policy of colonial oppression.

145. In view of this alarming situation my country appeals to the universal conscience so that all free and justice-loving States will do everything in their power to compel the Lisbon leaders to comply with resolution 1514 (XV).

146. As far as we are concerned, and in view of the persistent refusal of Portugal to negotiate with the nationalists with which it is fighting, we could not possibly abandon our unconditional support for the freedom fighters. As the Assembly knows, it was on the initiative of Presidents Mobutu Sese Seko and Nguabi that the reconciliation between the two liberation movements of Angola was made possible in order to unite their forces in the face of the common enemy, colonialist Portugal.

147. Another problem of decolonization is that of the Zimbabwe people, victims of the oppression of a few white racist settlers.

148. Since 24 November 1971, international public opinion has been informed of the "Anglo-Rhodesian Agreements" or rather the "proposals for a settlement"<sup>9</sup> of the Rhodesian question.

149. Today we know what unanimous answer the Zimbabwe people reserved for these proposals. We did not have to await the results of the investigation by Lord Pearce<sup>10</sup> to know the opinion of Zimbabwe people concerning its future. This categorical "No" could have been foreseen. It has but one meaning—general disapproval of the illegal situation created in Zimbabwe, so-called Rhodesia, after 11 November 1965.

<sup>9</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1971*, document S/10405.

<sup>10</sup> See *Rhodesia: Report of the Commission on Rhodesian Opinion under the Chairmanship of the Right Honourable the Lord Pearce*. Cmnd. 4964 (London. Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1972).

150. The aspiration to freedom and independence among all peoples is part of an irreversible movement of history which nothing can arrest. Through its wholesale rejection of the so-called proposals for settlement, the Zimbabwe people has shown its determination to fight for national independence. The Zimbabwe people itself clarified matters. We think now that the British Government has no alternative but to intervene more effectively with a view to restoring the usurped rights of the majority people of Zimbabwe.

151. I could not conclude this consideration of the problems of decolonization without mentioning the painful problem of *apartheid*. The only crime committed by the Africans herded into their wretched reservations and ghettos is that they have a black skin.

152. Universal civilization, I am sure you will agree, is something that all peoples have contributed to with their own cultural components. That is a historic truth which the Republic of Zaire has reflected in its policy of "authenticity", which President Mobutu Sese Seko has brilliantly defined as a categorical refusal to be a carbon copy of anyone.

153. The policy of *apartheid* is abominable because it dehumanizes individuals.

154. We reaffirm our conviction that all men are equal, that they enjoy the same rights to human dignity and respect without distinction as to colour, race, religion or sex. We shall, therefore, never condone a human being or a group of human beings claiming to possess the privilege of governing other people merely because of their colour.

155. That is why my country is extremely concerned for the fate of the Namibian people, which also is subjected to the abominable régime of *apartheid*. This is the occasion to stress that the United Nations still bears full responsibility for Namibia. I should like to remind the Assembly of the historic meetings of the Security Council in Addis Ababa

last January, and the resolutions adopted by the Council on Namibia.

156. We know that since then our Secretary-General has travelled to South Africa and Namibia. We continue to place our trust in him to put an end as speedily as possible to this fiction that South Africa calls "the task of Christian civilization".

157. Mr. President, I should like to join my voice to those of previous speakers in congratulating you on your election to the presidency of the twenty-seventh session of the United Nations. It is an honour which all Member States of this Organization have done your country and you personally.

158. May I express the hope that under your guidance the international community will experience decisive improvements in the field of economic co-operation, in the field of the development of under-equipped countries and in the field of international policy, where we hope to see the advent of a new era of progress and mutual confidence in the interest of the whole of mankind.

159. I should like Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whom I congratulate on his recent election as Secretary-General, to know that the support and understanding of the Republic of Zaire are extended to him in the performance of his lofty tasks.

160. And now I must conclude. Economic development is one thing; the vagaries of international political life are another. But one thing is of paramount importance: a sincere will to succeed. This is, we must reject all hypocrisy in international relations so as to enable mankind and this Organization to contemplate a brighter future. Is this a forlorn hope?

*The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.*