

United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

NINETEENTH SESSION

Official Records



**1293rd
PLENARY MEETING**

Monday, 7 December 1964,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

Item 9 of the provisional agenda:

General debate (continued)

Speech by Mr. Murumbi (Kenya)	1
Speech by Mr. Yifru (Ethiopia)	4
Speech by Mr. Shearer (Jamaica)	9
Speech by Mr. Belaúnde (Peru)	12
Speech by Mr. Odaka (Uganda)	15

Page

President: Mr. Alex QUAISON-SACKY
(Ghana).

ITEM 9 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. MURUMBI (Kenya): My delegation wishes to bring to you all warm greetings and best wishes from my President, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta. On behalf of the President, the people and the delegation of Kenya, permit me to express to you, Mr. President, our sincere congratulations on your election as President of this great and august body. Your appointment is a singular honour to Africa and is a reflection of the great part that Africa is playing and is destined to play in international affairs. Our felicitations go out to you on your brilliant and eloquent speech, which not only projected the image of Africa but also symbolized the important contribution which Africa is making to international affairs. As you rightly said, Mr. President, Africa—which for so many centuries has been exploited by so many Powers—must now rise fully to contribute to the progress of mankind.

2. At the time of its admission to membership of the United Nations, during the eighteenth session of the General Assembly, Kenya pledged itself to abide by and to promote the basic purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. Today, we reaffirm our faith in those principles and purposes, which are promotion of international peace and security, respect for the dignity and worth of the human person, belief in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, the promotion of social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, and the elimination of colonialism and imperialism throughout the world.

3. Kenya believes that peace, justice, freedom and security form the foundation upon which the living standards of all the peoples of the world can be developed and raised. The developing countries, no less than the developed ones, require peace and security for their political, economic and social development.

4. Regarding Kenya's domestic situation, I would like to recall that my President, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, in our last year's election manifesto stated:

"The Government of Kenya would be African because our nation must grow organically from what is indigenous. While adopting that which is suitable from other cultures, from the East and from the West, we must give our people pride and self-respect, building upon all that is good and valid in our traditional society."

5. In drawing up our Constitution, we had uppermost in our minds the development of a framework of government which is most suited to the genius of our people and to the need for an efficient administration. We have in our Constitution a provision for the protection of fundamental rights and liberties which guarantees to the citizens all the liberties and rights that are specified in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

6. The theory of multiple political parties held in the West, and other parts of the world, is not necessarily applicable to Kenya. Our Constitution gives the people the right to organize political parties in opposition to the Government if they so wish. In fact, after our last election, three political parties emerged in the country. But, realizing that there was no fundamental difference of policy between the parties, both the opposition parties voluntarily dissolved themselves and now support the Government. I would like particularly to emphasize that this evolution was completely voluntary: there was no legislation, no force, no inducement of any kind whatsoever to bring it about. Let me add that there is not a single political prisoner in Kenya today. This political evolution is a development unique in modern history.

7. Kenya's foreign policy is based on the principle of positive non-alignment. In pursuance of this policy, we reserve our right to take our own independent stand on the many international issues which face the world today, irrespective of the attitude of the other Powers, whether Eastern or Western. We refuse to be drawn into Cold War manoeuvres, Power blocs, military alliances and similar institutional systems intended to serve the interests of the Cold War.

8. We believe in respect for the territorial integrity and political independence of countries, large and small, non-interference in the affairs of other States in accordance with the well-established rules of international law, friendly relations and co-operation among States both for the peaceful resolution of international disputes and for the maintenance of international peace and security, unswerving support for the granting of independence to territories still languishing under colonial rule, the promotion of human rights and

equality throughout the world, and the furtherance of social progress, technical assistance, and economic development. We are convinced that the United Nations offers the best possible opportunity for the implementation of these principles on which our foreign policy is based.

9. In May 1963, at Addis Ababa in Ethiopia, history was made when the heads of more than thirty independent African States formed the Organization of African Unity. This organization strives to foster friendship and co-operation among its members in political, economic, social and cultural matters. We believe that freedom for any country in Africa cannot be complete until the entire continent is free and united. The unity of the African States would strengthen the United Nations, and we appeal to the Members of this world Organization to support the Organization of African Unity in its endeavour to promote freedom and democracy in Africa. African unity is vital for the maintenance of peace and security in the world. The Charter of the Organization of African Unity and that of the United Nations are complementary to each other and inspired by the same sentiments. Kenya, as a champion of African freedom and unity, is a member and staunch supporter of the Organization of African Unity.

10. As all of you are aware, the most serious problem facing the Organization of African Unity is the Congo crisis. That unhappy country has become inextricably bound up with imperialism and neo-colonialism, and all the sordid intrigues that go with it, rendering it politically ineffective, economically weak despite its vast mineral resources, and geographically dismembered. In certain parts of the country there is a complete breakdown of established law and order and a total absence of peace and security. This Congo tragedy is the result of naked, unwarranted foreign intervention, which continues unabated up to this day.

11. Since its inception, the Organization of African Unity has directed all its efforts towards finding a peaceful solution to the Congo problem, which we believe is essentially political rather than military. To this end, an ad hoc conciliation commission was appointed in Addis Ababa by the Organization of African Unity last September, with the mandate of finding ways and means to effect national reconciliation within the Congo and the normalization of relations between Congo (Leopoldville) and its neighbours. Kenya was honoured by the appointment of my President, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, as the Chairman of this commission.

12. My President immediately issued an appeal for the cessation of hostilities and convened a meeting of the commission in Nairobi. After protracted negotiations and thorough deliberations, the commission decided that all white mercenaries and foreign troops should be withdrawn forthwith from the Congo, and that all foreign intervention should cease immediately. I was a member of the delegation entrusted with the duty of explaining to the United States Government the decision of the commission. This was done.

13. In the meantime, my President was in constant touch with the Leopoldville and Stanleyville authorities, desperately trying to implement the decision of the ad hoc commission through the use of negotiations

and good offices. But his task was made impossible by the intensified military intervention of the United States and Belgium, with the actual connivance of the United Kingdom Government, which provided facilities for mounting the military intervention.

14. This intervention, solicited under heavy pressure, in circumstances amounting to breach of faith and in callous disregard of the efforts of the Organization of African Unity ad hoc commission, unfolded yet another chapter in the tragedy of the Congo, resulting in the loss of thousands of innocent lives, including those of some of the hostages.

15. The hostages would probably be alive today had it not been for the United States-Belgium military intervention. The ad hoc commission was not allowed to complete the negotiations with the Stanleyville authorities for the release of the hostages, which were being conducted in Nairobi. It almost seemed that the United States was not as much concerned with the lives of the hostages as with the fall of Stanleyville, which became a top military priority in its intervention. This is all the more emphasized by the fact that the United States was warned that its planned military objectives would jeopardize the chances of success of the talks and also place the lives of the hostages in grave danger. This warning went unheeded, negotiations were broken off in Nairobi by the United States Ambassador on instructions from Washington, and the military operation was organized. The gruesome results of this so-called humanitarian intervention are too well known to be recounted here.

16. We believe that another Congo anywhere in Africa would be disastrous to the stability and development of Africa and would endanger international peace and security. I appeal to all the Members of this Assembly to support the efforts of the Organization of African Unity in the restoration of peace, law and order in the Congo. A solution can be found in the African context provided that the Organization of African Unity is given full opportunity to solve this problem and the interventionists renounce their dreams of neo-colonialist control of the area and work to serve world peace and not their selfish interests or the Cold War. Let it be understood, here and now, that an imagined or real danger to certain minority groups in a particular country in Africa does not confer on any foreign Power the right of military intervention in that country.

17. My country regards the Congo problem as so vital that it has co-operated with other independent African States in calling for a meeting of the Security Council to discuss this problem. We propose to set out the facts in greater detail here.

18. Permit me to remind this Assembly of the resolution passed at the Second Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Cairo in October 1964, which appealed urgently:

"... to all foreign Powers at present interfering in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, particularly those engaged in military intervention in that country, to cease such interference, which infringes the interests and sovereignty of the Congolese people and constitutes a threat to neighbouring countries." [A/5763, sect. I.]

19. We have moved a long way from the San Francisco Conference of 1945, when only two independent African countries were among the original signatories to the United Nations Charter. The road to independence has been long, fraught with difficulties, opposition, prejudices and impediments of various descriptions and forms. But today, happily enough, we are proud to see that the number of independent African countries in this Organization has risen to thirty-five. It is evidence of the fact that the enormous sacrifices made by freedom fighters throughout Africa, motivated only by love of freedom and the dignity of man, have not been in vain.

20. Here, I would like to express our heartfelt congratulations to the new sister African States of Malawi and Zambia on their achievement of statehood and admission to the United Nations. I would also like to congratulate the State of Malta on its attainment of independence. We wish them peace, progress and prosperity; we are confident that, under the able guidance of their well-known leaders, they will make their impact on international relations for the betterment of humanity.

21. Let me strike a note of restraint by saying that the time for total rejoicing for Africa will come only when all the African territories now under colonial subjugation are finally liberated. There are still millions of our African brothers in South Africa, Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, French Somaliland and the Spanish colonies who are living under the worst forms of human oppression. They are denied the right of self-determination; the régimes imposed upon them by brute force have stamped out their fundamental rights and freedoms, contrary to the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the various other international instruments intended to promote human rights throughout the world. Our African brethren are condemned to live under fascist tyranny, where their legitimate aspirations to live in freedom are stifled by racist minorities. This situation will not, and cannot, be tolerated any longer. The United Nations has condemned it; the conscience of the world has moved vigorously against it.

22. Ever since the United Nations was first set up as an institution for world peace and security and for the attainment of human rights throughout the world, South Africa and Portugal have repeatedly flouted the resolutions of the United Nations and its various bodies; they have hampered the work of the various committees formed to ameliorate the conditions of oppressed peoples; they have not learned that the evil philosophy of apartheid based on racial superiority can never have any meaning in this twentieth century. So far the United Nations has confined itself to passing resolutions. The time for positive action has now come. The prophets and advocates of the Nazi tyranny, also based on racial superiority, have come and gone; so will the prophets and advocates of apartheid.

23. So long as the subjugated African peoples are denied the right of self-determination, relations between African States, on the one hand, and the colonial Powers and their collaborators on the other, will always be strained; so long as our African brethren

are denied freedom, justice and human dignity, world peace, stability and international understanding will be jeopardized.

24. I would like to put it on record that Africa will no longer tolerate, or permit the existence of, colonialism and neo-colonialism, no matter in what form it is disguised or from what source it emanates: whether it assumes the form of political subversion, military intervention, the threat of force, the corruption of leaders, the creation by outside Powers of puppets to disrupt established authority, or economic pressures.

25. My delegation reiterates its stand in supporting the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. China is a vast country, with a population of over 700 million people, with a Government in full and effective control of the territory and recognized diplomatically by Kenya, other African States, and almost all the major Powers of the world. It is difficult to understand why it should be refused representation.

26. Let me briefly make a few remarks about the structure of the United Nations. International conditions have changed radically; the membership of the United Nations has swelled from fifty-five in 1945 to 115 today. These changes are not adequately reflected in the Charter, which, in some ways, is quite outmoded. My delegation supports fully the view that the size of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council should be enlarged to reflect the true state of affairs in the United Nations. It is my pleasure to announce that my Government has already ratified the General Assembly resolution [1991 (XVIII)] for amendment of the Charter in the above manner. Furthermore, we propose that a special committee of experts should be set up to examine and recommend further amendments that are desirable and necessary in the changed context of the world.

27. I should like to touch very briefly upon the affairs of Cyprus. We support the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and its protection from outside intervention in its internal affairs. We particularly wish to stress that all Member States should respect the sovereignty of Cyprus and refrain from threats or use of force against it. The internal problem of Cyprus can be solved only by the people themselves, without outside intervention, on the universally accepted democratic principle of majority rule, on the basis of which all democratic countries are administered.

28. I have so far dwelt on the political problems which confront us today. Permit me now to turn to economic issues. My Government strongly supports the aims and objectives of the Geneva Conference on Trade and Development. So long as two-thirds of the population of the world share less than 15 per cent of the world's gross income, there can be no real peace and stability. The gap continues to widen.

29. My Government supports the establishment of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development as a permanent institution of the General Assembly. We accept the general recommendations of the conference designed to encourage the export of goods by developing countries through the reduction of tariffs and by the elimination of quantitative restrictions and

internal taxation. The terms of trade which are made unfavourable for primary producing countries must be rectified through the liberalization of the internal markets of the developed countries. We also urge the flow of long-term loans on favourable terms to developing countries to supplement capital formation resources available from domestic savings and to supplement their foreign exchange reserves. Unless the industrialized countries are willing to provide funds to meet the development needs of the poorer countries, the gap will continue to widen. This problem is fundamental to the long-term solution of world problems.

30. Finally, let me reaffirm my country's loyalty to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter. Kenya is confident that the United Nations, which is, and must be, the conscience and hope of mankind, will enable humanity to achieve its cherished goals of peace, progress, and happiness.

31. Mr. YIFRU (Ethiopia): Allow me, at the outset of my remarks, to congratulate you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Ethiopian delegation, upon your unanimous election to the high office of the presidency of this General Assembly.

32. Much has already been said by the speakers who have preceded me regarding those noteworthy qualities which make you so eminently suited to the task of giving guidance to the deliberations of this august body of 115 nations. My delegation and I fully share their confidence in your gifts of intellect, skill and wisdom which, God willing, will help steer this Organization through these hazardous times and set it upon a course of action that will prove beneficent to all mankind.

33. A further felicitous duty I should like to discharge now is that of extending the warm congratulations of my Government to the representatives of Malawi, Zambia and Malta upon their respective countries' joining this ever-growing family of free nations. The occasion of welcoming new Members to our Organization is an extremely pleasant one, the more so as each addition of new Members increases by that much more the prestige and effectiveness of this Organization.

34. My Government rejoices that the struggles and sacrifices of dedicated nationalist leaders such as Prime Minister Mr. Banda of Malawi, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, President of Zambia, and the Prime Minister of Malta, Mr. Giorgio Borg Olivier, have been rewarded with victory, and it is our fervent wish that Southern Rhodesia will shortly accede to independence under an African Government and join our distinguished circle.

35. I have remarked that the increase in membership of this Organization augurs well for its prestige and effectiveness. Of this we are all aware, for the United Nations is by definition a comprehensive, international Organization whose effectiveness, therefore, depends upon the universality of its representation. The United Nations must be a real family of nations, and it should not exclude States on grounds of ideology. Yet China, with nearly one-fifth of the world's population, is still debarred from our counsels. Discussions of world disarmament, the effectiveness of the

authority of the International Court of Justice and the United Nations itself would, in the long run, have to be greatly affected by the presence or absence of China.

36. Over the last several years, Ethiopia has urged the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. The time has come, we believe, when those who are either opposed to or hesitant about the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations will have to re-examine their position. The presence of the People's Republic of China in these halls is, we believe, no longer merely desirable, but an imperative necessity if we are to continue to work for international peace and security.

37. Despite the critical situations which in the past year have developed over such far-flung areas as South-East Asia, Africa and the Middle East, despite the momentous and perhaps even disheartening developments in recent months, we are again gathered today in the calm and deliberative spirit of past years. The various crises which have arisen since the last session of the Assembly may not as yet have been resolved, but the timely containment of these situations through the instrumentality of the United Nations and the dedicated efforts of its Secretary-General are surely cause for gratification.

38. Whatever the causes or the magnitude of any international dispute, my Government takes the view that such disputes should be settled by the appropriate peaceful means provided for under the Charter of the United Nations. We believe that the procedures provided in the Charter for the peaceful settlement of disputes are not only the most feasible, but the wisest and sanest open to us in resolving such differences. We believe that the use of force in these matters can lead only to self-annihilation. We therefore take the view that the parties directly concerned in the disputes should themselves initiate the preliminary conversations necessary to reach mutually acceptable solutions to their problems.

39. But even while our world is beset by forces that tend to make life so uncertain and insecure, there are counteracting forces at work. Among these are, we believe, the two conferences that convened recently in Africa: the first session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity and the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries, held in July and October respectively in Cairo. Both these conferences have done splendid work in advancing the cause of the United Nations by promoting international peace and co-operation and understanding among nations.

40. Thus, under the aegis of the Organization of African Unity, armed conflicts between neighbouring African States have, on more than a single occasion, been halted. Equally impressive is the organization's achievement in promoting economic, social and cultural co-operation among African States. The entry into force of the agreement establishing the African Development Bank has, we believe, ushered in a progressive era of co-operation within the African family of nations.

41. In one of the most sensitive areas of international relations, the Organization of African Unity has taken a momentous decision. I refer to boundary disputes. Recognizing the dangers inherent in any attempt to re-draw existing frontiers in Africa, the highest organ of that organization solemnly declared that all member States pledged respect for the borders existing upon their achievement of nation independence. It is gratifying to note that this declaration has found expression in the "Programme for Peace and International Co-operation" adopted by the second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries. The inviolability of established frontiers has been proclaimed as one of the fundamental principles of peaceful co-existence.

42. Thus, these Cairo conferences cannot but leave a deep impress upon the course of international events and relations, stressing as they have the need for closer co-operation among nations with corresponding objectives and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of every nation.

43. One other significant contribution of the Cairo conferences to the advancement of international peace and security must be mentioned here: through their efforts to establish a spirit of moderation in relations among States, they have helped to ease world tensions and to clear up an atmosphere already overcharged with animosities and rivalries.

44. One of the most pressing political problems that has confronted the United Nations during the last four years is, undoubtedly, the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The efforts of the United Nations to restore law and order to maintain the territorial integrity of the young Republic were persistently resisted and even challenged to a dangerous degree. Despite this, our collective effort bore fruit to some extent, as witness the completion of the United Nations peace-keeping mission with the phased withdrawal of the United Nations forces as of 30 June 1964.

45. Thus, the loss of the lives of the greatly admired and lamented Dag Hammarskjöld and his colleagues, of Patrice Lumumba, and of the hundreds of Congolese nationalists and members of the United Nations operation in the Congo, among whom were my own countrymen, was not in vain.

46. Nevertheless, unfortunate developments have since taken place within the Democratic Republic of the Congo to cause serious concern to a number of Members of the United Nations, particularly those which are also members of the Organization of African Unity. Although the situation in the Congo, including the maintenance of law and order, was strictly a domestic matter for the Congolese Government to deal with, it appeared that, regrettably, external interference had been brought into play once more. Thus it was that, in conformity with the provisions of the charter of the Organization of African Unity, and at the express request of the Congolese Government, an extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity was called to consider the situation and to adopt appropriate measures for its solution.

47. The ad hoc commission established at this emergency session spared no effort, under the astute guidance of one of Africa's valiant sons, Prime Minister

Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, to conciliate the various factions in the Congo in an effort to restore order and to safeguard peace in that area. The attempt to find a solution to the Congo problem within a purely African context is, for obvious reasons, the only effective approach to a problem which, after all, concerns an African nation and its fellow-Africans. We trusted that there would be no further interference from external parties, which could only prove detrimental to peace in the Congo.

48. Regrettably, however, certain forces operating from without have led to the recent events in the Congo tragedy. The task of the commission has thus been systematically frustrated by the same forces which have been vitiating the Congo situation. Nonetheless, the ad hoc commission, in its task of finding a solution to the perplexing problem of the Congo, recommended at its meeting in Nairobi the convening of an emergency meeting of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity. My Government fully supports the convening of an extraordinary meeting of the Organization of African Unity, and stands ready to explore all the avenues whereby enduring peace and order can be re-established in the strife-torn land of the Congo.

49. The overwhelming majority of the membership of this Organization has condemned colonialism as a flagrant violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples; the extirpation of colonialism in all its forms and guises from all parts of the globe has been a principal objective of the United Nations. But there are still a few among our membership who would breathe life into this outmoded and discredited system and give it support and sustenance wherever possible.

50. I wish to mention at this point that the States members of the Organization of African Unity have on more than one occasion taken a firm joint stand to ensure that the Charter of the United Nations and the resolutions of its principal organs are fully respected and implemented. That position was supported by the non-aligned nations which convened in Cairo in October. It is the hope of my Government that the other Members of this Organization will take similar measures to ensure the implementation of United Nations decisions.

51. Despite repeated appeals, despite the resolutions of both the Security Council and the General Assembly, some of the Powers have, regrettably, not adopted the necessary measures to curtail the supply of the means which make possible a continued policy of repression. It is imperative that the major Powers fully co-operate in this matter, since States maintaining cruel and repressive policies obviously could not continue to do so once their supply of arms had been cut off.

52. There are other facets to this problem. The application of economic and political pressures could be equally persuasive. I believe that the recent developments in Southern Rhodesia are a case in point.

53. The situation in Southern Rhodesia had been continuing to deteriorate at an alarming rate. The arbitrary arrest of nationalist leaders such as Mr. Joshua Nkomo and the Reverend Sithole, coupled with the threat of

a unilateral declaration of independence by the minority settler government, had aggravated the situation to the point of explosion. The reaction of the United Kingdom Government to such a threat, though overdue, was forthright, clear and unequivocal—no less than a warning of unpleasant economic and political consequences should the minority government carry out its plans for unilateral independence. Through its representative in the Committee of Twenty-Four, Ethiopia made it clear that it welcomed and fully supported the position of the United Kingdom Government.

54. My Government has consistently maintained that it recognizes no competent authority other than the United Kingdom in the territory of Southern Rhodesia. It is unfortunate that the situation in Southern Rhodesia should have been permitted to remain unresolved for so long. However, now that the Government of the United Kingdom has taken a decisive stand on the matter, reversing previous disavowals of responsibility for the situation in that territory, we should like to see a speedy conclusion to the whole business—that is, no less than the emergence of an African government in Southern Rhodesia.

55. As regards the territories of Swaziland, Basutoland and Bechuanaland, the first session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of Africa and the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Nations, realizing the critical position of those territories, recommended certain practical measures, including a United Nations guarantee of the territorial integrity of the three territories and the taking of steps by the United Nations to ensure their speedy accession to independence and the subsequent safeguarding of their sovereignty. On behalf of my Government I would now urge the endorsement of those recommendations by the General Assembly, thereby ensuring both the peaceful accession to independence of these territories and the security of their sovereignty, once won, from dangers emanating from a powerful neighbour—by which, of course, I mean the Republic of South Africa.

56. Concerning the question of South West Africa, I should like to touch on two aspects worth considering here. On the one hand, the International Court of Justice—having settled in December 1962 the preliminary question of jurisdiction—is now awaiting the filing of South Africa's rejoinder, due on 23 December 1964. Since, therefore, the matter is sub judice, parties to the case would naturally hesitate to make remarks that might be deemed prejudicial to it. We find, on the other hand, that the Government of South Africa, a party to the dispute before the Court, has attempted to implement the recommendations of the so-called Odendaal commission, in clear disregard of juridical procedure. Indeed, the timing of the publication of the Odendaal report itself was plainly designed to impede the normal course of justice.

57. The United Nations has already taken a firm hand in the matter, and so have the States and Governments which participated in the recent conferences held in Cairo. Yet, should the authorities of South Africa be tempted to ignore those warnings, I should like to appeal to this Assembly to reaffirm its position, in order to make the intention of our Organization with regard to South West Africa unmistakably clear.

58. There is yet another case involving the appalling death-grip of colonialism on the continent of Africa: that of Portugal in regard to Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. Disregarding the irresistible advance of colonial peoples towards independence, the Portuguese Government continues to cling to its quaint, anachronistic and entirely obsolescent fiction that the territories under its administration are not colonies, but actually an extension of metropolitan Portugal. Those claims are untenable as to require no further comment here. It appears that the Portuguese Government has, quite pathetically, failed to learn from the lessons of recent history and has wilfully shut itself up in a shell of its own making, removed from contemporary events. I need hardly add that Portugal's argument is one that has been used and eventually discarded by other metropolitan Powers.

59. Despite United Nations appeals and the joint stand of independent African States, the Portuguese Government remains obdurate. The unequal fight continues between, on the one hand, the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea and, on the other, a metropolitan Power armed to the teeth with the help of its friends and allies.

60. To those countries which have been extending help to Portugal we appeal, in all earnestness, to desist from contributing further to the sufferings of their fellow human beings in Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea. Surely those countries, no less than Portugal, must realize that the tide of history is inexorably against them and that these territories will inevitably gain their freedom, they must realize how much it would be to their credit if they willingly assisted in hastening that freedom rather than impede it at every turn. And how greatly it would be to the credit of Portugal if it generously proffered independence now, rather than being compelled later on by circumstances to grant it. Lacking that generous and voluntary gesture, this Assembly must be prepared to use all measures within its power to resolve the Portuguese problem with firmness and vigour and to restore order in that unhappy area.

61. Last, but not least, there is also the question of the French colony surrounding the Port of Djibouti off the coast of the Gulf of Aden. Cognizant of the usefulness of normal procedure, my delegation would prefer to reserve making a full statement of its position on this important and vital question for the appropriate United Nations forum—namely, the Committee of Twenty-Four.

62. I would not wish to conclude this portion of my remarks to the Assembly without expressing my delegation's appreciation of the splendid work of the Committee of Twenty-Four. My country, as a member of that committee, has actively participated in all its efforts for the elimination of colonialism. The task has never been smooth or easy, but in the course of the last year alone the committee has been able to examine the situation in a remarkable number of Non-Self-Governing Territories and to scrutinize hundreds of petitions. The committee has covered a very wide area in the course of its meetings and has done commendable work, in many instances in difficult circumstances. The chairman of the committee,

Mr. Coulibaly of Mali, indeed deserves our warmest congratulations on the very able handling of the extremely important task discharged by that committee over the past two years.

63. One of the most vexatious problems in Africa today is the policy of apartheid practised by the Republic of South Africa. South Africa continues its repressive policy in the face of world-wide condemnation, and the critical situation in that area has been the subject of considerable and careful review, both within and outside the United Nations.

64. Within the United Nations, the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa continues to expose the excesses and brutalities of this barbarous policy, and the group of experts appointed by the Secretary-General pursuant to the relevant Security Council resolution^{1/} completed its report in the middle of this year^{2/}. Furthermore, two resolutions were adopted by the Security Council in the wake of the Rivonia trials, at its 1128th and 1135th meetings, held on 9 and 18 June 1964 respectively^{3/}. The operative paragraphs of those resolutions, as we all know, urgently call upon the Government of South Africa to adopt measures to alleviate the deplorable conditions in that country, and appeal once more to all States to "cease forthwith" the sale of arms and other military equipment to South Africa.

65. Even more stringent measures were recommended for the eradication of apartheid by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity and the Assembly of African Heads of State and Government, as well as by the second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries.

66. Yet, oblivious to its obligations under the Charter, the numerous decisions of the United Nations urging it to abolish apartheid, and the condemnation of most of the rest of the world, the South African Government cold-bloodedly pursues its policy which, in truth, is tantamount to racial extermination.

67. The question now is how much longer this Organization can postpone taking a decisive stand on the problem and adopting measures in the form of total economic blockade. The question is, too, whether Member States which have continuously supplied arms and ammunition to South Africa will now, as urged by the Security Council, "cease forthwith" giving aid and support to a morally bankrupt régime, or whether, even at this late stage, they are determined to continue to encourage acts of racism through traffic in arms, obdurately deaf to both conscience and world opinion.

68. We welcome the news that the United Kingdom Government, the traditional arms supplier to South Africa, has considered terminating further shipment of arms to that racist Government. We urge the immediate implementation of such a decision, and call upon all those still hesitant to take similar action without delay.

69. These, then, are grave questions for the consideration of this body. The obduracy of Portugal and South Africa, despite United Nations efforts to curb their excesses, continues to stiffen. The intransigence of these two Governments, in the face of world censure, has become even more unyielding. My Government earnestly hopes that the United Nations, true to its declared objectives, will continue to appeal to the conscience of nations in a position to exert influence in the abolition of colonialism and the policy of apartheid, a policy disgraceful in the sight both of man and of God. These are matters that lie on the conscience of all of us, not alone on that of the oppressor. These are matters that concern all of us as members of the human race.

70. One of the paramount problems deserving our closest attention is that of general and complete disarmament. The imperative necessity for disarmament was perhaps best expressed in the following words addressed by His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, my august sovereign, to the General Assembly, in October 1963:

"Disarmament has become the urgent imperative of our time. I do not say this because I equate the absence of arms to peace, or because I believe that bringing an end to the nuclear arms race automatically guarantees the peace, or because the elimination of nuclear war heads from the arsenals of the world will bring in its wake that change in attitude requisite to the peaceful settlement of disputes between nations. Disarmament is vital today, quite simply, because of the immense destructive capacity which men now possess." [1229th meeting, para. 15.]

71. Although great efforts have been made at the Geneva meetings of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, I regret to note that we are today no nearer to general and complete disarmament than we were a year ago. When we met last year in the wake of the partial test ban treaty signed in Moscow, we all expressed our appreciation to the nuclear Powers for having achieved that much in the direction of the goal of complete and general disarmament, and hoped that more would be achieved in the following months. But the report of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament [S/5731] makes it abundantly clear that the principal negotiators have reached another stalemate.

72. When we consider this regrettable deadlock in the light of the proposals exchanged and accepted in principle by the leaders of the major nuclear Powers, some of us may well wonder why no progress has been made. I would be the last to depreciate the intricate problems involved in a disarmament negotiation, but, despite initial difficulties, it is clear that further attempts will have to be made to overcome the obstacles, technical or otherwise, in the way of general and complete disarmament.

73. My delegation would, therefore, suggest that the major nuclear Powers take immediate steps, along the lines recommended in the joint memorandum of the eight non-aligned States which participated in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament [A/5731, annex I, sect. O], to achieve an agreement com-

^{1/} Official Records of the Security Council, Nineteenth Year, Supplement for April, May, June 1964, document S/5471.

^{2/} *Ibid.*, documents S/5658.

^{3/} *Ibid.*, documents S/5761 and S/5773.

pletely banning all nuclear weapons tests and discontinuing all such tests. The urgency of such a step is even greater today than it was a year ago, a fact clearly brought home to us by the recent successful nuclear test explosion by China. I need hardly dwell on the gravity of the situation precipitated by this recent, although not wholly unexpected, event, which should galvanize this Assembly to take immediate, decisive steps to halt the further proliferation of nuclear devices and completely ban the use of such weapons for war purposes.

74. I think it opportune to recall at this point the proposal of the Ethiopian delegation as far back as the thirteenth session of the General Assembly, in 1958. Ethiopia proposed at that time convening a special conference for the purpose of signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. We maintained that such a move would be an effective deterrent to the arms race and would thereby ease world tensions and be conducive to a feeling of mutual trust among the Powers. We maintained that this would be a decisive step towards general and complete disarmament and the elimination of the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Today we are more than ever convinced of the merit of our proposal and would, therefore, urge this Assembly to give it its closest attention.

75. One other matter which my delegation would wish to be considered in this connexion is the extension of nuclear-free zones. We all recall that at the last session the General Assembly adopted resolution 1911 (XVIII) on the denuclearization of Latin America. Now an item entitled "Denuclearization of Africa" has been inscribed on the agenda of the present session, pursuant to the declaration of the Assembly of Heads of African States and Governments which met in Cairo last July. My Government urges the extension of nuclear-free zones as a major step in the containment of this frightful instrument, and I trust that this is the attitude of the majority of this body, which, I hope, will give the matter its most serious consideration.

76. I should like to turn now to a very important event in recent months. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Geneva from 23 March to 16 June last, has been described as "possibly the most significant effort to organize world trade in our time". Conferences on trade and development, heretofore regarded as a specialized field, are now recognized as having an important bearing on many of today's socio-political problems. Thus we find that the United Nations and its agencies are now devoting more time than ever to economic problems, and we find on our agenda more items dealing with economics than ever before.

77. It is gratifying to note that the importance of the problems of the developing countries has become more generally recognized. At the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the problems of economic development of the developing countries were discussed in the context of their trade needs, with a view to achieving the modest targets of the Development Decade. The intense deliberations that took place at the conference bear out the fact that the goals of the Development Decade will remain unimplemented unless bold measures are taken to

open markets for the export products of the developing countries, which presently suffer from highly restrictive international market situations. To forestall this danger, the conference adopted the resolutions embodied in the Final Act which, if faithfully implemented, could pave the way for the speedy economic progress of the developing countries.

78. The implementation of these resolutions would mark the beginning of an irreversible process for greater worldeconomic co-operation—a process which would enable the United Nations to accomplish its unfinished mission, namely, the attainment of "social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

79. With these remarks, my delegation would like to appeal strongly to the developed countries which reserved their positions in Geneva to join hands in the setting up of the proposed United Nations trade and development machinery.

80. There is only one more subject I should like to touch upon before concluding my remarks, and that is the chronic problem of financing the United Nations peace-keeping operations, particularly the assessments on the United Nations Middle East and Congo operations. We all know the background of these difficulties and the steps that have been taken to solve them. Yet today the Organization is faced with the most severe crisis in its nineteen years of existence. The arguments on both sides—those who refuse to pay their full assessments and those who consequently demand full application of Article 19 of the Charter—merit careful consideration.

81. I should like to mention two points which might be worth considering here. First, let us not forget that the United Nations Charter, upon which the arguments are based, is the result of compromise and mutual accommodation, rather than of rigid, intransigent positions. Secondly, as the Charter does not provide for every possible contingency under the sun, perhaps Member States should make a special effort to ensure the broadest possible interpretation of its provisions, rather than demand a strict and narrow application. Rather than stress differences, our endeavour should be to widen areas of agreement. That is the view of my delegation on this matter.

82. It also appears that the conflict lies in legalistic and procedural fields, and if this is really the case, then certainly the differences can be ironed out by this body. My Government maintains that the effective functioning of this Organization is the collective responsibility of the entire membership. The same view was expressed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity which met in Cairo last July, in a resolution urging Member States to meet their obligations to the United Nations and render it all necessary assistance to help it fulfil its role in maintaining peace and security. It is, therefore, in a spirit of mutual accommodation that we should approach this difficult, but not insoluble problem. As in any family, harmonious relationships within this Organization can depend only upon the goodwill and generosity of its Members, upon the willingness to give as well as take, upon a genuine

desire to co-operate and a readiness to make necessary concessions.

83. We must realize that the United Nations is the best—perhaps last—hope of mankind for international peace and security, and that we must do all we can to keep it going. To keep it going, we must keep it solvent and this, as I said earlier, is a collective responsibility. I should also state that it is my delegation's belief that the settlement of outstanding financial obligations would greatly facilitate the adoption of a general procedure for future peace-keeping operations.

84. In conclusion, I should like to express the fervent hope of my delegation that, despite the difficulties confronting this session, despite the complexities of the decisions to be made, we shall, with goodwill and co-operation, arrive at solutions that will be beneficial to all.

85. Mr. SHEARER (Jamaica): Mr. President, permit me to offer you Jamaica's warm congratulations and to associate my country's delegation with the expressions of goodwill which have been addressed to you upon your election to the presidency of this nineteenth session of the General Assembly. Your election is a fitting tribute to your great abilities and to the high esteem in which you are held by your colleagues in the United Nations, but it is also a tribute to the dynamic example your country has set to the new nations of the world by its creative effort and its determination to carve out for its people a destiny of which great men can be proud. Representing a country whose citizens are predominantly of African descent, we take a special pride in your elevation to this high office and we are confident that under your skilful guidance the deliberations of this session of the Assembly will result in lasting benefit to the people of the world.

86. In the short period of fourteen months since the eighteenth session of this Assembly was convened, the high hopes we held for the future of world peace have not been realized. Since last we met here, solutions which we thought would be enduring have proved to be short-lived; old hostilities have been renewed, and where harmony had hitherto prevailed fighting has broken out afresh, posing new threats to international peace. As we gather for the opening of this session, we gather in a mood of grave concern, for we feel that the foundations of our Organization are trembling under us. Suddenly it appears that the very survival of the United Nations is seriously threatened.

87. There is no need to apologize for opening my remarks in this debate with a reference to the problem of peace-keeping, for the subject is uppermost in all our minds. We are relieved to find that the shadow which hung over us in recent months is for the moment coming no closer. We are happy that a way has been found for our beloved and respected Secretary-General—and I am sure we all pray for his for his speedy recovery to normal health—to bring his great qualities of mind and heart and his great skill to bear on the disagreements which have divided Member States about the relative roles of one organ and another of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security.

88. At such times of crisis, it is useful to return to first principles; to re-examine our original assumptions about the basic aims we are pursuing through international co-operation; to retrace in our minds the lines of demarcation between principle on the one hand, which cannot be compromised, and methods and machinery on the other, for the latter can be adjusted and improved upon, even discarded and replaced. Such a re-examination is necessarily an individual exercise, but out of many individual exercises a consensus might emerge as to what within our system is ripe for reformation and what must on no account be tampered with.

89. As far as my Government is concerned, it is essential that the United Nations should be strong and that its ability to move with speed and decision against threats to peace and acts of aggression should increase. From our point of view, it is of vital importance that the whole United Nations should never be rendered impotent and incapable of dealing with such threats to the peace or acts of aggression. If its main peace-keeping organ, the Security Council, should at any time be paralysed by the veto, but in the considered judgement of the large majority of our Members the occasion is one which calls for United Nations action, then residual means of enabling the United Nations to take such action should be found within the Charter, or written into it.

90. It is my Government's view that operations for the maintenance of peace and security can no longer be regarded as extraordinary non-recurrent activities of the United Nations. We must now recognize the indisputable fact that, if experience is any guide, peace-keeping in one form or another will in future be a normal, regular ever-recurring activity of the Organization. For this reason, we attach great importance to the principle that the means of financing each operation should not have to be determined *ad hoc* on an emergency basis as the operation is mounted. A basis of finance should be agreed upon beforehand and funds should be raised automatically, as required, through annual assessments on the Member States in exactly the same way as assessments are now levied to defray the expenses of the ordinary budget.

91. Jamaica is concerned to see the Security Council remain strong. We wish to see it employing to the fullest extent the wide and effective powers with which the Charter has endowed it. We would be pleased if the Council would proceed to draw up the long-term agreements with Member States envisaged by the Charter through which armed forces would be held in readiness, to be employed whenever the necessity arose. We wish it would make proper use of the Military Staff Committee, as the Charter intended it should do.

92. But Jamaica does not want to strengthen one organ of the United Nations at the expense of another. Our concern is to see the United Nations as a whole and effective instrument for "saving future generations from the scourge of war", and we are continually conscious of the pronouncement of the founders of this Organization in the preamble to the Charter that the people were uniting their strength for these purposes—not depending upon the strength of a few great Powers to secure these ends.

93. In regard to the role of the General Assembly in peace-keeping, my Government considers that the Charter has vested in this organ the exclusive right to levy assessments for peace-keeping operations, whether these be of a military or non-military character. It is proper in our view that this should be so, for the Assembly is the only organ of the United Nations on which all Member nations are represented as of right. We would find it very difficult to believe that a way of strengthening the whole Organization could be to deprive the Assembly of this vital Charter-given power.

94. We recognize that this interpretation of the relative powers and responsibilities of the Assembly and the Council is not shared by all Member States. If, however, fundamental differences persist amongst Member States, including States which played leading roles in the drafting of the Charter, concerning the interpretation of provisions of the Charter, is not the time ripe for a new San Francisco, for a new conference to be called in which the respective interpretations can be thoroughly discussed and the differing views reconciled?

95. Each party to these disputes maintains that the disputed provision in the Charter can bear only the precise interpretation he places on it, and no other; each refers to the wording of an article, or to the intention behind the wording, as authority for the stand he maintains. In such circumstances, my Government sees no alternative than that the Members of the United Nations as a body should once more sit down together, decide what kind of peace-keeping they want, under whose authority the operation should proceed, and write the agreed decisions into our Charter. So far as the Jamaica Government is concerned, we pledge our support for any well-intentioned efforts to remove those obstacles which have stood, up to now, in the way of an agreement upon revision of the Charter.

96. To all appearances, no progress has been made in the negotiations on disarmament in Geneva during the past year. We cannot, of course, allow discouragement at this apparent lack of progress to overtake us. The effort to find areas of agreement must go on, and for my part I wish to affirm my Government's belief in the value of the painstaking effort which the non-nuclear members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament have been making.

97. We know that certain Member States have been conferring amongst themselves in the past year about arrangements to place stand-by military forces at the disposal of the United Nations. I trust that they will have information to give us later in this debate about the results of their consultations.

98. We are now all agreed that economic betterment is as essential as peace-keeping to the achievement of the purposes of the Charter. We have reached a stage in our understanding of the contemporary world at which we realize that arms control, peace-keeping, human rights and economic and social development are all vitally important aspects of the effort which must be made to improve the condition of all the inhabitants of this planet.

99. The recent Conference on Trade and Development has laid the foundation for necessary changes in the practice of international trade and production. Member States may congratulate themselves on having tackled this problem at that high level, but it is of paramount importance that the momentum should not slacken. The immediate next step is to establish the institutions which will enable the United Nations to give close and continuing attention to trade and development and so assist in realizing the hopes of the developing countries. It is Jamaica's hope that the setting up of the Trade and Development Board, on a fully representative basis, will be endorsed by this Assembly before the recess at the end of this month.

100. Let it not be thought, however, that the developing nations accept the results of the Geneva Trade Conference as an adequate fulfilment of their objectives in pressing for United Nations review of trade and development problems. From our point of view, the pattern of world trade is still distorted; the terms of trade are still moving against the developing countries; the gap in living standards between the developed and the developing countries is still widening. As matters now stand, developed and developing countries are probably agreed on the objectives they are willing to have applied in international commercial intercourse; that is all.

101. Agreement has been reached on a number of rules and principles by which international trade and development should be governed, and certain time-limits have been set for their application. The understanding of objectives, however, is not yet matched on the part of the advanced countries by precise decisions signifying that they have accepted commitments to meet the real needs of the developing countries. Indeed, I fear that in the minds of some of these nations Geneva has already gone too far, and things are getting out of hand. Let us hope that these nations will take early steps to reassure us about their intentions.

102. Like other developing nations, Jamaica is anxious to promote a more rapid rate of development so as to defeat the common enemies: hunger, ignorance, disease. We must provide continuing job opportunities and continually rising standards of living for our people. We recognize that development is meaningless unless it is seen in schools and houses, in diminishing unemployment, in improved living standards and better health for those in our society who are least able to secure these things for themselves.

103. The urgent need is for an increased supply of investment capital on terms we can afford. That the volume and methods of capital financing should be governed by the needs emerging from the development process is a principle we regard as fundamental; and so Jamaica would urge that the United Nations give early attention to the problem of providing capital for developing countries on less onerous terms than at present.

104. From our own experience, we know that much of the cost of the capital available through normal commercial channels is disguised in the excessive tax concessions received by the capital-providing countries as the price for investment. The internal

effects of these disguised costs are evident in our inability to collect revenues from new industries during ever-lengthening tax-free periods, revenues which are needed to finance the infrastructure which the government sector must provide. The pressure for concessions is already producing a ruinous competition amongst the developing countries as to which can offer the most attractive conditions, to the serious disadvantage of all of us.

105. Among the problems of capital availability, there is one directly before this Assembly. I refer to the specific recommendation in the Final Act of the Geneva Conference on Trade and Development^{4/} that the Capital Development Fund should commence operations at an early date on the basis of voluntary contributions.

106. In 1960, at the fifteenth session of this Assembly, the decision was taken that a United Nations Capital Development Fund should be established. The decision was embodied in resolution 1521 (XV). Since that time, the progress made towards the establishment of a fund has been slow and painful. The committee entrusted with the task has had to consider a variety of arguments; among them the argument that, since no additional money is available, the establishment of a development fund would merely result in a diversion of resources.

107. Jamaica recognizes the advantages of bringing into closer integration preinvestment projects and the investment projects which follow them. We will therefore support the proposed consolidation of the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance into a United Nations development programme. The amalgamated programme, however, would be no substitute for an adequate supply of international capital administered on a multilateral basis. If the United Nations decision of 1960 has not been implemented because funds have not been found, we must continue to explore means of finding those funds. Voluntary contributions can never be adequate to the magnitude of the need.

108. One alternative to which this Assembly has already given thought is the conversion to peaceful means of resources released by disarmament. Studies have been proceeding on the subject, but Jamaica feels the time has come for more positive action. We consider that part of the savings from arms expenditures should be earmarked now for the Capital Development Fund. We suggest that it is time that a dialogue commence as to the amount of savings from their defence budgets which Member States are willing to contribute towards the Capital Development Fund.

109. I now wish to make a few remarks on the problem of South Africa and its policy of apartheid. Last year, speaking from this rostrum, I said that we, the United Nations, could not allow ourselves to confess that the problem of apartheid had defeated us. Since then, South Africa has continued to ignore the resolutions of the United Nations—those passed by the Assembly and by the Security Council. So we must confess that all attempts to persuade or to compel

the South African authorities to abandon their hateful policies have failed.

110. This failure has been due, of course, to South African intransigence, but unfortunately this intransigence is supported by the refusal of certain key Member States to comply with Assembly resolution 1761 (XVII), adopted at the seventeenth session, which called on all Member States—not only some—to break off diplomatic relations with South Africa and to sever all relations in trade and transport. We note with appreciation that steps have been taken by one permanent member of the Security Council to cut off the shipment of arms to South Africa. This is excellent so far as it goes. To be effective for the purpose we all intend, however, it must be followed up by the suspension of all trade with South Africa. All Member States of the United Nations must face up to the necessity to do this. It gave me personal pleasure to note in what forthright terms the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has supported the stand of the United Nations in the decision to apply sanctions against South Africa.

111. Those of us who are genuinely determined to bring apartheid to an end must be resolute in our determination to find legitimate means of bringing this régime to its senses. Jamaica, for its part, will continue to co-operate in all efforts to this end.

112. Nevertheless, I wish to restate my country's conviction that the future of South Africa cannot be perpetual antagonism between race and race or the permanent elimination of one minority group or another. The future must lie in co-operation between the races on a basis of equality, common respect for human dignity and a common concern for the rights and freedoms of the individual. Because I believe this to be so, I appeal again to the liberal elements amongst the white citizens of South Africa—for liberal elements do exist, although their voice is scarcely heard—to admit that their present Government is dragging the whole nation down the path of national disaster. I appeal to them to repudiate the suicidal policies of the nationalist group and to support those leaders from both races who will accord the African and non-African their just rights, and will build the future political life of the country on co-operation between the races. Here again, those Member States of the United Nations whose trade and investment support the South African economy hold in their hands the key to these possibilities.

113. It is now certain that the decade of the 1960's will be recorded in history as that which saw the final and complete eradication of colonialism from the face of the globe. In these closing stages of the colonial era, certain territories present a special type of problem. I have in mind the small islands in the Caribbean, the Pacific and the Indian Ocean, which have little chance of economic viability should they eventually be left to fend for themselves.

114. I would like to suggest that in the case of these territories, the United Nations should extend its interest beyond mere pressure for the grant of independence. Under the Technical Assistance and Special Fund programmes, the United Nations should be able to undertake to formulate plans for their develop-

^{4/} See E/CONF.46/139, annex A.IV.7.

ment in co-operation with the local government. The United Nations should be able to carry out full programmes for the training of the personnel who will eventually conduct their external relations and direct their economic and social development. I feel certain that the administering Powers responsible for such small colonies will see the wisdom of co-operating with the United Nations in planning and financing the development of these territories.

115. I come now to one area of United Nations activity in which my country has tried to take a special interest. Last year, this Assembly decided [resolution 1961 (XVIII)] that the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights should be celebrated as an International Year for Human Rights. A committee is already at work preparing a draft programme of measures and activities which might be undertaken during the International Year. The Jamaican Government hopes that room will be found within this programme of observances for a world-wide conference on human rights at which the progress made in giving effect to the rights and freedoms set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights might be reviewed. It seems to us that such a conference could also offer the opportunity of taking a fresh look at the whole human rights programme, to see how best we can ensure that the objectives of the Charter in this main field of United Nations effort are most effectively pursued. I think we should consider whether the commission charged with this important part of the United Nations effort has the needed authority to carry out its task, whether it meets too infrequently and whether the resources allocated to it in terms of time, of personnel and of funds are sufficient to meet its needs.

116. In conclusion, I should like to offer a few remarks of a general character on matters which are not immediately on our agenda.

117. The existence of the United Nations as an institution of collective security and international cooperation presupposes the corresponding existence of an international legal order. If the Charter needs further amendment to enable the Organization to meet the challenging problems of our time, so must the international legal order be made to respond to the realities of the changes which are taking place in international society.

118. In this connexion, it is appropriate that, with a view to encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification, the Assembly should, during this session, continue to study the "principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations". If international law is to continue to be the basis of understanding amongst us—and indeed it must—we should not resist changes in the law where changes are justified. On the other hand, we must not be too adventurous in fostering innovations not based on general acceptance. My Government hopes that the study now being undertaken will culminate in significant contributions to the development of international law and to the rule of law throughout the world.

119. Next, I should like to mention one respect in which the United Nations is uniquely well equipped to serve the aims of international peace and security. I refer to the role of United Nations conciliation in the peaceful settlement of disputes. I would urge Member States to remember that the Charter to which we all subscribed requires us to renounce the use of force in the settlement of disputes and to bring our international disagreements to the conference table. Member States should be guided by this obligation at all times. In this connexion, I would like to offer a genuine tribute to the work which United Nations conciliators and personal representatives of the Secretary-General are performing. Some of these dedicated men have given their lives in the service of international peace as surely as if they had laid them down on the field of battle. Jamaica would wish to join other Members of the United Nations in paying respect to their sacrifice.

120. At the beginning of this session, we had the pleasure of welcoming into United Nations membership three new territories—Zambia, Malawi and Malta. By agreement among the Commonwealth representatives, words of welcome were expressed by one or two speakers only on behalf of us all. I must take the opportunity, however, to say with how much pleasure the Jamaican Government and people welcome their arrival in the great community of nations. I will, at the same time, express our hope that before long the few remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories in the American region will similarly take their place in the community of nations.

121. I close with a reaffirmation of my country's profound belief in the future of the United Nations as the world's best hope for freedom and for the promotion of peace and progress for mankind, and with our pledge to continue our support of its activities for this purpose.

122. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (translated from Spanish): May I be allowed to say with what pleasure and great hope I welcome, on behalf of my country and my Government, the nineteenth session of the General Assembly.

123. Peru has reached a decisive moment in its history. While maintaining and developing its Christian and Western heritage, it is reviving the values which are its proud legacy from the empire of the Incas: political unity accompanied by respect for the inherent differences between the various regions, the resolve to bring civilization to other lands, and ardent concern for the welfare of the community.

124. The Government of Peru has devoted its efforts to increasing the amount of arable land, to extending, through difficult terrain, the road network which is to link the principal cities with the outlying provinces and to provide highways through the jungles of the Amazon, filled with mystery and promise, subsequently linking the terminals of those highways to a forest perimeter road, thus making Humboldt's concept of Amazonia as a geographical unit a reality and forging closer links between the neighbouring countries.

125. As a result of our Government's efforts to implement United Nations recommendations on community services, many schools have been built, bridges

constructed and new roads opened and more housing has been built in a single year than in the previous ten years. Industrialization has made great advances in recent years towards the goal of achieving economic independence; the stability of our currency has improved, as has our balance-of-payments position. I can state from this rostrum, without boasting and with complete objectivity, that all this has been done without prejudice to our constitutional structure, by seeking, despite all obstacles, the co-operation of all the public authorities and the essential political co-ordination, by meeting the just claims of labour, and with complete freedom of expression.

126. This is only a beginning and an indication of the immense task which still lies before Peru, the heir to Inca tradition: that of creating new employment opportunities, developing neglected or latent natural resources in order to cope with the population explosion, arresting the tragic exodus from the highlands, the cradle of our culture, by modern agricultural methods such as the use of fertilizers and the efficient organization of co-operatives, and overcoming the handicap of the low prices obtained for our raw materials, which contrast so unfairly with disproportionately high prices of the manufactures we have to import.

127. Since this subject has been dealt with by previous speakers, I need only say that the convening of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was a most valuable step and that the Final Act of that Conference is a document which deserves the closest study; I trust that the countries which enjoy a favourable geographical position, a great cultural heritage, expanding capital resources and a recognized national personality have been convinced that that personality will find its highest and most just expression in whole-hearted co-operation in order to close that gap, and prevent it from widening into an abyss which might threaten human culture.

128. I should be guilty of insincerity if I failed to mention, or mentioned only in passing, the deep concern felt by Members and friends of the United Nations about the crisis we are facing. A possible solution has been suggested by our Secretary-General, who with his scrupulous impartiality, his universal understanding and his warm humanity embodies the finest ideals of the United Nations. I trust he will accept these words, which I am sure you all endorse, as an expression of our regard for him and of our wishes for his complete and speedy recovery.

129. The remarkable history of the United Nations over the last twenty years encourages us in our confidence that the present difficulties will be overcome. I have been fortunate enough to witness this history in the making. At San Francisco our hopes were based on two fundamental assumptions: firstly, perpetual harmony between the great Powers; secondly, the immediate fulfilment of Article 43 of the Charter on the conclusion by the Security Council of special agreements with all Members of the United Nations and their effective co-operation in cases of threats to the peace, breaches of the peace or acts of aggression. When these assumptions were invalidated by events which we all remember and regret, our Organization seem destined to become the scene of irrecon-

cilable conflicts and fruitless discussions. In life there are, however, inexhaustible resources; there are mysterious forces and the intangible influence of spiritual values, which one political realist has called the "imponderables", the most important of which is the calm and heroic determination of a people, a head of State or an organization to carry out its duty resolutely in the face of all dangers.

130. At a time of bitter disillusion and impending crisis, the General Assembly solemnly proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, an affirmation of faith, a call to duty and hope, which had the effect of imbuing the new generations, which yearned for justice and peace, with many ideals.

131. In the course of these hazardous twenty years, often on the edge of abysses which appeared impassable, the United Nations survived the Korean crisis and gave its attention to economic co-operation; technical assistance was developed within the limits of our resources and the specialized agencies carried on their work for children, for the support and defence of labour, for agricultural development and for the expansion of educational opportunities. Regional pacts affirming adherence to the Charter were concluded and even the Suez crisis provided an opportunity for establishing an emergency force—the forces which should have been established under Article 43 not having come into existence—which under the banner and insignia of the United Nations, has served the cause of peace.

132. It was pointed out at the time that the responsibility for maintaining international peace and order lay with the Organization as a whole and not with the Security Council alone, although the Council had primary responsibility.

133. There is no need for me to revive the debates at San Francisco and the arguments that were put forward at the 1950 session of the General Assembly. Thanks largely to the determination of the majority of its Members, and with the growing approval of public opinion, the United Nations has fulfilled the purpose for which it was founded by interpreting the Charter in its true spirit, by reference to precedents and in the light of one decisive factor: requirements of a changing world.

134. It can be claimed without exaggeration that the United Nations owes its survival during these twenty years to the evolutionary interpretation of the Charter, which makes it possible for us to apply immutable principles to the change and progress of the modern world. I use the word "evolutionary" deliberately, because it implies that we must constantly review the application of immutable principles to changing objects.

135. May I, as a former professor, quote the famous author^{5/}, of Parliamentary Logic: "Identical principles do not necessarily produce the same effect; they do so only when applied to identical objects". If the principles of the Charter are to be applied to different situations, we, like the Roman praetor whose decisions were made on the basis of a just inter-

^{5/} William Gerard Hamilton, Parliamentary Logic (C. and R. Baldwin for T. Paine), London, 1808.

pretation of the development of law, must examine every circumstance and every case in order to apply the unvarying principle in the fairest possible manner.

136. Although the present dispute and the crisis it has brought about may be due fundamentally to conflicting interpretations of the Charter and perhaps to differing legal concepts, it is clear that, apart from these latent difficulties, there are other practical difficulties of a financial and economic nature in connexion with peace-keeping operations, whether for the halting of aggression, for prevention or for co-ordination.

137. At the same time I feel it my duty to state, with the same sincerity with which I have set forth the inviolable principles of the Charter, that in considering the nature of the different financial operations, we must use common sense together with technical knowledge and differentiate between the ordinary proceedings of the Organization and its extraordinary operations. The latter, although performed in compliance with a duty unquestionably incumbent on all Members, may involve some differentiation based on the fundamental responsibility which the Charter conferred on the great Powers, namely, direct responsibility in the events that have occurred—a historical fact that can be proved—and immediate interest determined by geographical position or regional solidarity.

138. The advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, which legitimately declared the principle of universality and of the obligation of all Members of the United Nations, preserved the criterion that specific definition of the obligation should depend on the various conditions imposed by circumstances. The previous decisions of the General Assembly favour this criterion of relativity and flexibility, which in no way affects the immutability of the principles of the Charter.

139. At this time, the representative of a small Power should really do no more than express his sincerest hopes that, in the spirit of San Francisco, which requires all organs of our institution to work in harmony, a way will be found of restoring to the United Nations its full range of activities.

140. It would be wrong to overlook the fact that recently there have been important changes in the international environment. A current of opinion, rising above ideological and political frontiers, is supporting the efforts being made to consolidate peace. It may be said that today all spiritual forces are being mobilized in favour of an international order based, not on the mere balance of power, always uncertain and unreliable, in the nuclear age, but on an acute vision of the essential harmony of human interests, and in favour of promoting the improvement of the standard of living of the masses, restoring to science its specific mission of furthering life and progress rather than destruction and death.

141. We today are witnesses of this extraordinary mobilization, which has culminated in the journey of His Holiness Paul VI to India, a magnificent pilgrimage in which the voices of the representatives of the greatest religions of the world have joined in a message of peace and of mankind's desire that armaments should be reduced and that all resources

should be applied to relieving the dereliction, hunger and disease suffered by two thirds of the human race.

142. The resumption of the General Assembly opens up an immense field of action. There are many encouraging symptoms, including the ratification by more than a hundred countries of the Treaty banning nuclear tests^{6/}—although, unfortunately, not underground tests—and the pronouncement of so many institutions in favour of a policy of co-operation and intelligence. The debates on disarmament are showing more and more clearly the undeniable truth of these principles to which I should like to draw the Assembly's attention: firstly, control applied equally to the Powers concerned is contrary neither to their sovereignty nor to their dignity; secondly, control, which is a means of application in every multilateral treaty, is in the case of disarmament, an essential element of the treaty itself; and, thirdly, maximum nuclear power with maximum deterrent force is merely an illusion and a deception because there will always be the possibility of a miscalculation, of an unfounded hope or of a suicidal urge which, like an imminent sanction, accompanies the hallucination of hegemony.

143. The conquest of outer space seems certain and one advantage is that there is relative agreement between the Powers on the necessity of keeping it free from claims to sovereignty and the use of nuclear arms. The road is open to a more solid position affirming the jurisdiction of the United Nations under the auspices of a multilateral agreement on the peaceful uses of outer space and the scientific results of its explorations.

144. International harmony presupposes not only means of common accord but psychological readiness for peace through the sincere and final refusal to profit from any circumstance which might harm the prestige or position of another nation which, because it is a Member of the United Nations, is a sister nation. Today the danger to peace lies not in open threats, in violent rupture or in flagrant aggression; it lies in indirect means, in the encouragement of political anarchy and in the support of subversive movements as part of the illusion of spheres of influence, of those spheres of influence which led to the rivalry of the great Powers throughout the nineteenth century and the present twentieth century. It is therefore most desirable that the principles of economic and cultural co-operation proclaimed in our Charter should be put into practice. There is room within this co-operation for peaceful competition, a sort of creative rivalry which would in itself bring the recompense of great prestige and recognition of the highest services in the cause of humanity.

145. Our brothers from Africa and Asia have proclaimed a policy of non-alignment, that is to say of considering themselves isolated from the former tendencies to political, economic or cultural hegemony. We interpret this declaration as an intention to give effective application to the principle of self-determination. The validity and acceptance of that principle will guarantee not only political independence but also, logically, universal peace. This just

^{6/} Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

desire calls for a suitable response from the Great Powers, namely, the renunciation of all unilateral or selfish influence and the decision to co-operate for the good of the developing Powers, through parallel actions of multilateral agreements, or through regional agreements or arrangements or by generously developing even further the specialized organs of the United Nations.

146. A few moments ago I said that universality was a prerequisite not only of justice but of peace. Peace is indivisible because it is universal in the noblest sense of the word. Peace, like spiritual values, calls for tribute from the great and contributions from the small. By drawing closer to universality, therefore, the United Nations has given its objective of peace a sure and strong basis. That desire for peace which has its place in the hearts of all young nations, and which this body has started—and will certainly continue—to recognize at this session, must be considered one of the imponderable factors of spiritual value which animate this institution.

147. I shall conclude by merely recalling the lesson of long experience: the alternative, facing the world is clear. It is not the hegemony of a group of Powers over other Powers. No, that was the alternative of the past; today it is either complete legal and moral order or universal destruction by the atom bomb.

148. Mr. ODAKA (Uganda): Allow me, Mr. President, to extend to you my delegation's warm congratulations and those of the Uganda Government on your election as President of this Assembly. Your unanimous election is of special significance to Africa and its friends, and points to a bright future in which Africa hopes to play an increasingly significant and effective role in the affairs not only of this Assembly, but also of all organs of the United Nations.

149. Your capabilities and your personal warmth and magnanimity have impressed all those who have worked closely with you. My delegation has full confidence that, under your wise and experienced guidance, this Assembly, although confronted with some of the most intractable problems in its history, will yet emerge triumphant and in a position to justify the confidence that the vast millions of the human race have reposed in it.

150. The Uganda delegation welcomes the emancipation of Malawi and Zambia, countries which were once part and parcel of the hated, white-dominated Central African Federation, and I see it as a triumph of African determination in the struggle for dignity and political freedom based on the principle of majority rule. We also warmly welcome Malta as a full Member of the United Nations and look forward to close co-operation with the Maltese people in our struggle to raise the standard of living of our people and to maintain peace.

151. Uganda would like to pay a tribute to the memory of the late President John F. Kennedy, the late Prime Minister Nehru and the late Milton Margal, whose deaths not only inflicted a heavy blow on their nations, but also robbed the world of champions of freedom, peace and social justice. May their example guide and inspire more world leaders in the struggle to

establish a world order based on international brotherhood and justice.

152. The general world situation since the last session of the Assembly has not improved according to our hopes. There has been no progress towards general and complete disarmament; the partial test ban treaty has remained partial and has not been extended to cover all nuclear tests including those underground. The Uganda delegation is disappointed that the "nuclear club" has expanded. China has joined this club by carrying out its own explosion in the atmosphere. Uganda has always opposed nuclear tests by any country, not only because they are wasteful but also because they are a dangerous pastime threatening the future of mankind. The expansion of the "nuclear club" has once again emphasised the great urgency for action by the United Nations to ensure that the Organization becomes fully universal.

153. My delegation, as it did at the last session, attaches great importance to the admission of China to the United Nations. We have on many occasions made our position clear. Indeed, we maintain that the admission of China is one of the most pressing problems if the United Nations is to be a strong Organization embracing all the nations of the world. It is therefore, the hope of my delegation that, in our deliberations, we shall not be blinded by ideological differences but rather motivated by the realities of the current international situation and the noble aims of the Charter.

154. It has been argued in some quarters that the People's Republic of China should be excluded because it does not conform to the provisions of Article 4 of the Charter, which stipulates that "Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving States which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter ...". Since the essence of this organization is to lay down and enforce certain rules of international behaviour, a vicious circle is at once created, for the People's Republic of China cannot be expected to abide by the terms of the Charter until it has gained admission. We have no proof that China which, as we all know, was a founding Member, is not able and willing to carry out the obligations contained in the present Charter.

155. It has been further argued that to admit China, now that it has become a nuclear Power, would be to pursue a policy of appeasement tantamount to giving way to threats and menaces. While my delegation categorically condemns explosions of nuclear weapons by any country, I feel that the acquisition of nuclear weapons by China has demonstrated more clearly than ever before the absurdity of regarding China as a delinquent school boy who should be kept safely in a corner in the hope that this will keep him out of mischief. Now that China is a nuclear Power, it must not be permitted to continue outside the pale of the nuclear test ban treaty and must forthwith be admitted as a full Member of this Organization.

156. In the submission of my delegation, the question whether there is one China or two should not be permitted to cloud the issue. The People's Republic of China, representing as it does the world's oldest and most populous country, must be represented in this Organization.

157. In considering the question of the admission of the People's Republic of China, we must not be prejudiced by ideological, economic or political considerations. We should be guided only by our determination to make this Organization truly universal and an effective instrument for the preservation of world peace.

158. Because of the unique geographical position of Uganda, we have for decades had large numbers of people swelling our population from the five countries with which we share a common border. In the last three years, however, the influx of people pouring in across the Uganda border from Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and, more recently, from the Southern Sudan as refugees have created an extremely critical situation which calls for special attention on the part of this Organization.

159. Many countries in the world are faced with a rising tide of refugees, who continue to seek asylum in neighbouring territories. In my submission, however, Uganda has been hardest hit. This is partly because of the timing of the blow—falling as it did immediately before and after independence, partly because the resulting expenditure is very high in relation to the gross national product of Uganda, and also because, due to geographical circumstances, Uganda has been the victim of a three-pronged assault of refugees mounted simultaneously from its western, southern and northern neighbours. Matters have reached such a pass that today Uganda is giving asylum to over 100,000 refugees, which represents an unexpected rise in our population of nearly 1.5 per cent within a matter of three years. Refugees have received direct support from the Uganda Government, and large sums have been spent in providing relief and resettlement.

160. Uganda is appreciative of the help so far given by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other international organizations. It is, however, my delegation's view that the problem posed by African refugees has not received the serious attention it deserves from this Organization. So long as some major Powers continue to maintain that refugees are the responsibility of the countries of asylum, the collective might of this Organization will never be brought to bear on this problem.

161. I am aware of the fact that there is a Refugees Commission of the Organization of African Unity trying to grapple with this problem. But we believe that until the internal situation in the countries of origin is ameliorated, thus making it possible for all their citizens to live in peace, we shall continue to be faced with the problem of providing the bare necessities of life for men, women and children who have fled their countries of origin in search of asylum.

162. Internal problems are not confined to any particular country. We all have them. But most of us are able to solve them within our borders. In other cases they overflow and thus affect the neighbouring countries, becoming, in the case of Africa, the joint responsibility of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations.

163. In the Congo, the problems have certainly overflowed and have been and still are affecting its neigh-

bours. The Uganda delegation would like to pause at this juncture and highlight some of the problems involved.

164. Firstly, we believe that, since it gained its independence, the main problem facing the Congo has been the lack of a popular leader acceptable to and also able to control the whole country and to establish a government strong enough to maintain law and order. Even after the defeat of secessionist Katanga, the Congo lacked a leader to unify the country. That problem, in the opinion of the Uganda delegation, cannot be solved from outside, but the Organization of African Unity and other well-wishers could help the Congolese in finding a leader acceptable to them. We are convinced that this is a political problem, and a political approach would stand a better chance of success than a military one.

165. Secondly, it has been argued in some quarters that other countries are helping the legal Government of the Congo. While not disagreeing with that, we must remember that it was President Kasavubu who appealed to the Organization of African Unity as the only organ that was capable of helping the Congo in its troubles. Unfortunately, it was not possible for his Government and the other Governments concerned in the Congo to co-operate with the Reconciliation Commission. Instead, plans of military conquest using white mercenaries went ahead, thus ruling out completely the opportunity for peaceful reconciliation.

166. We consider that even after the blunders of the past, which led to the recent massacres, not only of whites—as some quarters would have us believe—but also of thousands of Africans, it is not too late to persuade Mr. Tshombe and his helpers to stop fighting and withdraw the white mercenaries. That would enable the Reconciliation Commission to visit the Congo and determine what aid would be necessary in maintaining law and order and assisting the Congolese to obtain a government of their own choosing.

167. We consider that the present trend of supporting one person and establishing and maintaining his rule by military force is not only unfortunate but dangerous for newly independent States. If we assume, as we must necessarily do, that sovereignty is vested and should at all times be vested in the people, then it is a negation of democracy for large Powers, through military aid, to throw in their weight in favour of a leader of their own choice, who may not be acceptable to the people. If that trend continues, small States will have to think seriously of their future security and continued independence. It is important to draw a distinction, however, between military assistance given to a popular government of a country and assistance given to one faction in a country and aimed at establishing one régime against another, as is now the case in the Congo.

168. The Uganda delegation appeals to all foreign Powers involved in the Congo situation to use their influence to end the fighting, which has resulted in the unnecessary loss of so many lives. It is also vital that the white mercenaries should be withdrawn, in order to give the Reconciliation Commission a chance to tackle the problem.

169. Like the Congo, Southern Rhodesia is by no means past redemption. My delegation warmly welcomes the recent statements made by the new United Kingdom Government, warning the white minority of the dangerous consequences of a unilateral declaration of independence. My delegation, welcoming that realistic and firm stand, sincerely hopes that such a stand will be maintained. It is possible for a peaceful and acceptable solution to the Southern Rhodesia problem to be found. It is vital that the African leaders who are now illegally detained should be freed. Uganda firmly believes that a constitutional conference should be convened and attended by representatives of all political parties. Such a conference would work out a constitution based on the principle of majority rule which would lead the country to independence.

170. Our stand has already been made clear—that if the minority régime declares unilateral independence, we not only should oppose its admission into any of the international or regional organs to which we belong, but also should seriously consider recognizing a government in exile that might be formed. But we are optimistic and think that the smooth passage to independence of Zambia will act as a guide. We shall be happy to welcome the true representatives of Southern Rhodesia at the next session of the United Nations General Assembly.

171. The position of the Uganda Government on the territories under Portuguese administration has already been stated. The basic issue is Portugal's insistence that Angola and Mozambique are not colonies but part of metropolitan Portugal, thus denying to the people of those colonies any possibility of moving towards self-determination and independence. Portugal's oppressive and discriminatory policies, and more recently its brutal attacks on and bombing of villages in Angola and Mozambique, demand the immediate attention of this Assembly, and especially of the great Powers which supply arms to Portugal. We cannot be indifferent to the fact that lives are being lost in those two unfortunate countries.

172. The Uganda Government will not relax its policy of trade sanctions against Portugal. We appeal to Portugal to end its unrealistic policy and follow the example of the other colonial Powers, so that both Angola and Mozambique may peacefully gain their independence.

173. In considering the question of South West Africa, the United Nations is faced with the doctrine and practice of apartheid and all its attendant evils spreading to a Trust Territory entrusted to this Organization. The attempted annexation of the Territory of South West Africa by South Africa is contrary to the spirit and the letter of the Charter and should stand condemned by all Members of the United Nations.

174. However, the biggest problem is posed by South Africa and its policy of apartheid. The Draconian laws, the massacres, the trumped-up charges, the trials and sentences of innocent people are unacceptable and are reminiscent of Nazi Germany. But the indifference, nay, the tacit support, of the Western Powers for so atrocious a system is perhaps the most heinous of crimes committed against Africa since the days of the slave trade.

175. Nothing unites African peoples more closely than their opposition to apartheid and all its manifestations. Africa is determined to rid itself of this obnoxious policy, and we realize that our own independence and self-respect will be ineffective so long as black men, elsewhere in Africa, indeed everywhere in the world, are still held in bondage on grounds of their colour. To resolve this problem, one of three courses of action has to be adopted: First, trying to appeal to the conscience of the white settlers in South Africa by persuasion; secondly, bringing pressure to bear on South Africa by the imposition of economic sanctions; thirdly, waging war.

176. The first course should be dismissed outright as utterly ineffective. The South African Government has by its public utterances and actions left no doubt whatever that it is bent on the abhorrent policy of apartheid, whatever the rest of the world may think or say. The Minister for Bantu Affairs recently said:

"South Africa is threatened by Black States driven by international Communism. They are conducting a hate campaign against the Republic. She was also threatened by disloyal elements inside the country and, worst of all, by voices advocating that concessions should be made. There was no turning away from the road followed by the Government. This policy aims at racial purity."

The emphasis on racial purity could have come from the lips of Hitler himself.

177. Exertion of pressure is the only course of action which will bring about sure results with the minimum cost in life and human suffering.

178. Having failed to appeal to the conscience of the South African white settler in the first instance, the African States find themselves at the mercy of the major Western trading countries. If the United Kingdom, the United States of America, France, Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany were to agree to economic sanctions, the battle would be won. I must also appeal to all countries, and in particular to socialist countries, not to exploit the vacuum that would thus be created. A peaceful and speedy solution of the South African problem is not only in the best interest of South Africa, but also in the long-term interests of its major economic partners themselves.

179. The continued frustration of the non-whites who comprise the majority of mankind is leading to a polarization of nations along racial lines, and may well lead to a breakdown of the United Nations. If a peaceful solution cannot be found, then a shooting war would be the only way out. But I am sure that no Member of the United Nations would seriously welcome such a development. We know that South Africa is arming itself to the teeth. We also know that, under an agreement signed in 1959, it was admitted to the nuclear club. It is my delegation's hope that the big Powers, which more than any other countries are responsible for the maintenance of world peace, will do all they can to avert a head-on collision which might result from this highly explosive situation.

180. Unlike the eighteenth session, this session opened in an atmosphere of doubt and fear created by the

extremely explosive situation concerning payment for peace-keeping operations. The question now is whether Members of the United Nations will be able to find a permanent solution to this problem, which threatens the very existence of our Organization. It is my delegation's considered opinion that all Member States, large and small, should regard the present problem as their problem. We should attempt to find a compromise solution which is in accordance with the basic principles of this Organization. In the crisis which has developed over the interpretation of Article 19 of the Charter, the small and medium nations are in a better position to look at the issue impartially. To them, this is not a question of who is right but what is right, and wherein lie the best interests of the United Nations.

181. My delegation is encouraged to note that the two sides are not adopting an unyielding attitude on the issue.

182. The problem we are facing is not a straightforward one of enforcing Article 19 of the Charter and thus only penalizing Member States which are in arrears; it is an extremely complicated and dangerous situation. One does not have to be an expert jurist of international law to observe that, right from the outset when the United Nations Charter was being worked out at the Conferences of Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta, it was the clear intention of founder Members that the key organ of the United Nations in the preservation of world peace was to be the Security Council. The salient features of the Charter are: First, the special position of the Security Council as the sole depository of world peace and international security; secondly, the provision that, apart from procedural and, therefore, relatively unimportant matters, the Security Council could not function save by a consensus of the five permanent members.

183. This undemocratic procedure, where all the big five have to agree before important decisions affecting international peace can be taken, has proved to be the main weakness of the Security Council, and it has also led to frustrations, accusations and counter-accusations on the part of the big five.

184. The Charter having vested in the Security Council the responsibility for world peace and international security, proceeded by a stroke of the same pen to render it ineffective by providing the big five with a veto.

185. The present controversy over payments for peace-keeping operations has arisen because the provisions of the Charter have proved vague and unworkable. Instead of amending the Charter to bring it into line with the realities of the present-day situation, an attempt has been made from time to time to bypass the Security Council and to confer on the General Assembly, and also on the Secretary-General, powers which were never intended by the signatories of the Charter in 1945.

186. The General Assembly throughout the Charter is envisaged as a deliberative and recommendatory organ is dealing with international peace and security. Nowhere in the Charter is the General Assembly given powers of action in respect of peace-keeping matters, and the Secretary-General is not even mentioned

in the Charter in connexion with the carrying out of peace-keeping operations.

187. The General Assembly is expressly enjoined to refer any questions on which action of a peace-keeping nature is necessary to the Security Council, and no provision is made in the Charter to meet a situation where the Security Council is either unable or unwilling to act. There is not even a provision authorizing the Security Council to divest itself of its powers in favour of the General Assembly.

188. In the view of my delegation, the last word on this question of peace-keeping operations has still to be said. One thing, however, must be emphasized. The Charter must be amended. The veto must go and the Military Staff Committee contemplated under Article 47 must be rendered effective as a matter of urgency.

189. It is quite wrong to regard as sacrosanct or inviolable a document drawn up twenty years ago by fewer than half a dozen Members and signed by less than half the present membership of this Organization.

190. My Government participated with great interest and hope in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in Geneva, the main purpose of which was to adopt a programme of practical action in the field of international trade aimed at increasing the exports and export earnings of developing countries and accelerating the pace of their economic development.

191. Although not fully satisfied with the results of the Conference, Uganda welcomed the good start that was made, and in particular the recommendation to establish a continuing machinery as an organ of the United Nations to deal with world trade. We believe that the efforts exerted and the various recommendations made in Geneva could be taken a stage further through the continuing machinery, so that the hopes and expectations of the international community generally, and of the developing countries in particular, may soon be realized. The Uganda Government considers this urgent and important because, as we stated in Geneva, Uganda's economy is based on export earnings from cotton and coffee, two products which have perhaps had the greatest fluctuations in value, to the detriment of our economic plans. It is disappointing to recollect, for instance, that if the prices obtainable on the world market for those two crops in the early fifties were still current, our gross domestic income this year would be almost double what it is at present.

192. It is the earnest hope of the Government of Uganda that the United Nations General Assembly will soon be in a position to approve and adopt the Final Act of the Conference on Trade and Development and establish a permanent United Nations body. My Government hopes, therefore, that this process will not be delayed unduly by the reopening of another general discussion on subjects covered at the Conference.

193. Uganda welcomes the Secretary-General's decision to start a United Nations Training Research Institute. We have pledged ourselves to support it, and it is our sincere hope that, through its training

programmes, the United Nations Secretariat and the staff of all United Nations organs will become more representative and better reflect the composition of the United Nations.

194. In conclusion, I should like to express my Government's sincere gratitude and thanks to the Secretary-General and all United Nations staff for the wonderful help rendered to us in our attempts to grapple with so many of the problems that face us.

195. Even without material or other benefits, Uganda's faith in the United Nations is strong. We believe that, given goodwill and co-operation among all Member States, we shall find answers to the problems before this nineteenth session and ensure the continued existence of the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.