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

**ITEM 9 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA**

**General debate (continued)**

1. Mr. MULLER (South Africa): Mr. President, my delegation joins with others in conveying to you its good wishes for a successful and fruitful term in office, and in extending to the delegations of the three new Members our good wishes for the continued progress and prosperity of their respective countries.
2. Never in the development of international intercourse has there been a stage which has demanded such restraint and patience, so much effort and perseverance in the struggle for the control of man's passions and ambitions as today. We are living in a world in which international relations have, in many respects, become infinitely more complicated and often more delicate than ever before, and when we consider the course of recent events with, in particular, the addition to the ranks of the atomic Powers, the growing disregard for the rule of law, the military infiltrations across peaceful frontiers, we cannot but be conscious of the terrible dangers which are jeopardizing orderly and fruitful dealings among States—causing the hope of lasting peace to recede even further into the background of our expectations.
3. Let us but consider the impact of recent developments on the functioning of the United Nations and on the manner in which we have sought to deal with each other in this world Organization. It is my submission that in doing this we shall find that the differences between nations, or between groups of nations, have more often than not been aggravated rather than settled or even improved.
4. A careful study of our debates will show how often emotion has been the cause of estrangement, and even hostility, instead of goodwill and co-operation; and, what is even more serious, this estrangement and hostility have often been engendered in the service of ambitions which can in no way be reconciled with the objectives which those at San Francisco had in mind. Moreover, the manner in which these ambitions

have been pursued and exploited has led, not only to a disregard of explicit provisions of the Charter, but also to unconstitutional and even vindictive practices—practices which can usually be pursued with lesser inhibitions against a smaller and weaker nation.

5. It is for these reasons that the changes which have taken place in international intercourse, and their consequences in this Organization, require unremitting vigilance, for, if permitted to continue, they are bound to gain momentum, and the United Nations will stray even further from the safe course which was charted for it in 1945, until international comity ceases altogether to be safeguarded by the law of nations and the sanctity of international instruments.

6. It is here that we should recall that the community of nations whose representatives assembled at San Francisco, imbued as they were with all men's desire for peace in the fullest sense of that word, set out to achieve one principal purpose: to create conditions in which a realistic and secure form of coexistence could be ensured, a form of coexistence firmly founded upon the rule of law, which is the essential prerequisite of harmonious and fruitful co-operation. This desire to preserve peace is as authentic and as universal now as it was in 1945, and continues to be the very *raison d'être* of the United Nations.

7. In this regard we must ever bear in mind that the Charter was essentially a compromise between the views of different nations with different national identities, cultures, institutions and forms of government. The Charter, as finally accepted, was in fact the highest common denominator among the various nations in their search for a formula to achieve a common purpose. Its provisions were accepted as such by the Governments concerned, and its overriding objective of safeguarding the peace by the creation of this Organization to implement the Charter principles was acclaimed by men and women of goodwill throughout the world.

8. The Charter, in particular, embodied certain provisions designed to safeguard the sovereignty of all Member States, guarantees without which few countries, if any, would ever have been prepared to ratify the Charter. Certain major Powers, having the capacity to protect themselves against any incursion into their sovereignty, were favoured with the right of veto. Others, the vast majority, who did not possess that measure of power and had thus to rely on the rule of law, were obliged and content to place their confidence in the guarantee, contained in Article 2, paragraph 7, that they would be safe against such incursions. These are the facts of history, facts which cannot be changed by any form of power politics, persistent abuse or rationalization.

9. In the course of the present debate we have listened with great interest to suggestions by representatives as to how the Charter should be adapted in order to meet the special requirements of the present time.

10. It is, of course, fitting that we should constantly face the fact that the world Organization must be able to fulfil its functions in the world as it is today. We must constantly explore what steps should be taken to enable the Organization, within the proper scope of its constitutional competence, more effectively to fulfil its primary objective of ensuring international peace and security, and to deal with the basic and legitimate needs of present-day international life.

11. Indeed, the Charter, as originally drafted and accepted, recognized the need for adaptation and growth and provided, in particular, for its own amendment to meet the essential requirements of a changing world. Of primary importance, however, is the fact that the manner in which the Charter could, and can, be amended was clearly defined and remains an explicit provision in the constitution of this Organization. Any amendment which, in the view of the Member States, is dictated by changed circumstances, can be effected constitutionally, as is the case with the proposed enlargement of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council. Any other means of attempted amendment, as well as any tendency to give the Charter meanings other than those which its authors originally had in mind, must necessarily be *ultra vires* and consequently null and void. The growing practice of amending the Charter by a process of interpretation, in order to achieve aims not initially provided for, must always remain legally unacceptable and will have to be avoided if the United Nations is to remain a legitimate instrument in international affairs and contribute to the peaceful coexistence of all nations and the happiness and prosperity of mankind.

12. Now, as all are aware, no attempted revision of the Charter has, as yet, come into force. It is, therefore, the Charter exactly as it stands which must be observed by the Organization in dealing with any problem which falls within the limits of its competence.

13. As long as this is the case, we have no alternative but to continue to perform our functions within the clearly defined framework of the existing Charter, whatever imperfections some of us believe it to have. If we fail to do so, our actions in the United Nations must be without legal sanction, and international law will cease to govern the relations between States.

14. It is my submission that the Charter has seldom been permitted to operate properly and its true worth has never yet been fairly tested. It is not to the Charter, as it is, which we should ascribe certain difficulties, but rather to the manner in which its provisions have so often been set aside and circumvented.

15. South African representatives have stated that before from this rostrum—for it is from experience that we can speak. How often have we had to protest against the ever-growing practice of violating the principles of the Charter, and how often have we been denied the protection it purports to guarantee to every Member State? I shall not again traverse the ground we have covered so often before—but I do say

this: it has now become an open question how long it will be possible for other Member States successfully to invoke Article 2, paragraph 7, in cases where they find themselves opposed by a majority.

16. I might conclude my remarks on this point by one further observation. It has become a platitude to say that the world is steadily shrinking and that the nations in many parts of the world now live on each other's doorstep. Nevertheless, it is true; and equally true is the fact that, because of this, the area of friction between nations, especially those with entirely different traditions and ways of life, has increased correspondingly. This, and the danger of such friction leading to conflict, can be ignored only at our peril and, therefore, if ever there was a time when the sovereignty of nations required to be respected and interference in each other's affairs avoided, that time is now.

17. Permit me at this juncture to emphasize again that those who drafted the Charter of the United Nations not only presupposed and entrenched the sovereign equality of all Member States, but also accepted, as a fact of international life, that this Organization would be composed of nations with different cultures, traditions and forms of government. In so far as these differences were natural differences, they had perforce to be recognized, for they cannot be eradicated, however much certain Member States may—when it does not affect their own identities—wish to do so. Ethnic differences have, throughout recorded history, usually led to separate national identities and ways of life, which, in turn, have found expression in the constitution of different nations with independent statehoods.

18. Indeed, the emphasis on the right of each people to attain independent nationhood is perhaps one of the most significant phenomena in the development of international relations at the present time. The various peoples of the world, conscious of their nationhood and fired by their own legitimate national aspirations, have, in most cases, achieved their independence, and the subservience of one nation to another is something which is rapidly disappearing from international life. This development, despite the upheavals, the dislocation, the many hardships and other difficult and sometimes even hazardous consequences, is an inevitable outcome of man's age-old and constant struggle to achieve a destiny of his own.

19. It is against this immediate background of what is fundamental in our Charter—the recognition of basic differences in culture, tradition and forms of government, coupled with emphasis on the right of each people to attain nationhood—that I deem it necessary to refer to certain aspects of our national life. In doing so, I must, however, repeat what we have constantly stated, namely, that my Government does not regard itself accountable to the United Nations for the manner in which it governs our country. If I feel obliged to speak about our domestic affairs, it is simply in order to place before all those who are prepared to listen objectively, the facts of our position as they really are, and not as some believe them to be.

20. I do so also because I do not wish to take up the time of the Assembly by exercising separately the

right of reply to the various charges which have been launched against South Africa in the course of this debate.

21. Here I find that the main objection to the policy of my Government is that it is alleged or believed to be one of perpetual domination by one section of the population over the others. I want to state most categorically that this charge is completely unfounded and unjustified.

22. Let me say first of all that those who belong to the South African nation, of European descent, hold no brief for the domination of any nation over another. On the contrary, we are strongly opposed to it, with an opposition which is rooted in our traditions and history. For a large section of this nation was itself, for a long time in the past, subjected to foreign domination.

23. Moreover, and this I must of course emphasize as strongly as I can, we are not settlers or foreigners on the continent of Africa, as we are so often stated to be by those who would deny to us our inheritance in our fatherland. We are no more settlers or foreigners in Africa than the millions of people of European or Asian or African descent who today live in the new world are foreigners there, although their ancestors, like ours, came centuries ago from other parts of the world. No, we South Africans of European descent are a nation in our own right, just like all the nations in the new world.

24. In addition to this, we live and are rooted in a land which we took from no other people. That land is our only home; we know no other. We are also part of Africa. We have been part of Africa for more than 300 years. And, like any other nation, we too are entitled to insist upon our right of self-determination. We claim it as an inalienable right which we shall never surrender. It is a right in defence of which we, like others, on more than one occasion, have taken up arms.

25. We are, however, not the only nation within the borders of South Africa, living in a traditional territory of its own. For South Africa is, in fact and in the first place, a multinational country rather than merely a multiracial country. Apart from the South African nation of European descent, it includes the homelands of a number of other nations having their own separate identities, each with its own undeniable right to separate nationhood in a land which has always likewise been its own. Here I refer to the various Bantu nations, differing from one another in language, culture, traditions and in everything else that determines national identities, rights and aspirations—differing as do other nations of the world, of whatever race, colour or creed, on whatever continent they may be found. Because of what has happened in the course of history, all these nations are at present still under the sovereignty of the South African Parliament, but progressively they are developing towards self-government and ultimate independent statehood.

26. May I in this context emphasize that our problem in South Africa is different from the so-called racial problems of certain other countries with multiracial populations. In those countries a multiracial structure is not accompanied, as with us, by a multinational

character. There may be problems of interracial adjustment, but these are questions of adjustments within the ambit of a single nationhood. The crucial difference is this: our task in South Africa is not primarily that of solving a problem of races; it is a problem of nations, a problem of bringing about a situation where peaceful coexistence of the various nations living in our country will be possible. We believe that this can only be achieved by the independent development of each people towards the full realization of its separate nationhood and the recognition of the right of each nation to govern itself in accordance with its own national traditions and aspirations. This is a principle fundamental in our policy of separate development, a policy which is profoundly different from the caricature of apartheid which is commonly presented by our critics, some of whom wish to promote chaos in South Africa rather than stability, intolerance rather than understanding.

27. In spite of what our critics say, in spite of the utterly false charge that the way in which we conduct our internal affairs constitutes a threat to world peace, we are implementing our policy in a peaceful and orderly manner, with the growing support of all the peoples concerned. The absurdity of the charge is patent from the fact that we have order and prosperity in my country to an extent which stands comparison with conditions obtaining in most other countries in the world.

28. While we are thus implementing a policy of peaceful coexistence, most of our critics advocate a policy for South Africa which, if enforced, will not only lead to strife and violence, but is also in conflict with the Charter. For these critics suggest that we should seek to establish in South Africa a fully integrated multiracial society, thus completely ignoring the rights of the various distinctive nations comprising multinational South Africa. Here the question must be asked: into what particular pattern is it considered that the various nations of South Africa ought to integrate? If it is into the white South African pattern, this would surely constitute a form of colonialism in a different guise. Could that for one moment be justified? What right has the white population to believe that its culture should necessarily be desired by other peoples? And would there be any better justification for selecting, for example, the Zulu nation, or the Xhosa nation, as the nucleus around which the various South African communities should be integrated? No, and this is why we adhere to what is with us an issue of first principle—that all the nations in South Africa should be free to develop as they themselves may wish to develop, borrowing what they will and rejecting what they will, from the experience of other nations.

29. With this in view and taking into account the history, culture and psychology of each of the nations in South Africa, it is our objective to provide to every individual the fullest chance of development within his own nation and, where possible, in his own national homeland. And not only that, for it is similarly our objective to enable all our national groups increasingly to come together to consult on problems of mutual interest and concern on the basis of equality and mutual respect for human dignity, through the establishment of high-level consultative machinery. In this

way we are confident of our ability also to eliminate discrimination among the various national groups. For when each of these groups has reached a stage of effectively administering and controlling its own affairs, both the practical and psychological basis for discrimination will rapidly disappear.

30. What I have been saying is certainly nothing new. It has been stated repeatedly by my Prime Minister and by other members of the South African Government. There are, of course, those critics of our policy who, in many cases with questionable motives, reject our declarations of policy as empty words or as political propaganda. Many of these critics are simply not prepared to listen to argument. But addressing myself now to those who are so prepared, may I, as an earnest of the sincerity and the bona fides of my Government, remind them of the immense efforts that my Government is making to accelerate that process of transition which, we are convinced, will result in the recognition by all concerned of the equality in status, in human dignity and in political autonomy and independence, of the distinct nations in South Africa.

31. I need not now go into the details; but is it not generally admitted, even by many of our critics, that what is being done for the educational, social and economic uplift of the developing peoples in South Africa is comparable with the contribution of almost any other nation towards the advancement of the developing peoples of the world? We are happy to be doing this and more, because we believe that the services and the aid which are being made available, and will in increasing measure be required, are indispensable prerequisites for the development of South Africa's peoples, each into its full and equal nationhood.

32. It is thus that we are striving to eliminate all forms of political inequality and to move towards our goal of sovereign equality for all the nations at present living within the boundaries of South Africa. It is thus that we achieve peaceful coexistence and good-neighbourliness and avoid friction and hostility.

33. What I have said today must be read in conjunction with what was stated by our delegation from this rostrum during last year's general debate [1236th meeting], when the leader of our delegation quoted from a number of statements by my Prime Minister in rebuttal of the persistent allegation that the white nation in South Africa seeks to maintain its position by coercion and perpetual repression. During last year's general debate the South African delegation gave a brief account of what was about to take place in the Transkei—a territory some 17,000 square miles in area, constituting the homeland of the Xhosa nation, comprising over 3 million people—almost one third of our total Bantu population, and situated in the heavier rainfall belt, and in one of the most fertile regions of South Africa.

34. What we foreshadowed at that time has since come to pass. On 20 November 1963, over 600,000 voters, approximately 69 per cent of the Transkeian electorate, went to the polls for the election of the first Legislative Assembly in the territory. This considerable percentage of electors who exercised their democratic rights serves as an indication of the con-

fidence with which they have accepted their new system of government, in terms of a constitution designed by themselves—not by the South African Government. The inaugural session of the Assembly of the Transkei was held in December 1963, when the first Cabinet, consisting of a Chief Minister and five other Ministers, was elected. At the same time, an official Opposition was formally constituted. In May 1964, the Transkei Assembly, at its first full session embarked upon its legislative and budgetary programme for the ensuing year.

35. Of importance is the fact that the public service establishment of the Transkei Government consists of 2,500 officials and 10,000 other employees and that over 80 per cent of this establishment consists of trained Xhosa officials. Those who are not Xhosa, who have been borrowed from the Republic temporarily and only for as long as they are required, fall entirely under the direction of the Transkeian Government. Furthermore, the Transkeian Government and its administration are functioning with increasing efficiency and, despite the difficulties with which that country will inevitably have still to contend, there is no doubt in our minds that it will indeed achieve the maturity and the capacity to accept ultimately all the responsibilities which are inherent in full sovereign independence.

36. The implementation of a policy of preparation for independent nationhood requires, in our view, a great deal of time, as well as careful planning, patience and above all devotion and idealism on the part of those undertaking the difficult task of leading a people towards self-government and full independence. But, thanks to adequate planning, plus the experience so far in the Transkei, we have now reached a stage where implementation is taking place with greater speed. For what I have said is by no means the whole picture. What we have succeeded in doing so far, considerable as we deem it to be, is admittedly but the beginning. Although great progress has been made in the Transkei, this is, of course, only one of the Bantu homelands. There are a number of others, each one of which is receiving continuous attention, and in each area development is making rapid strides.

37. The first objective in the case of all is self-government, but the pace will vary according to local circumstances and the wishes of the peoples concerned. Experience in the Transkei may prove a guide-line, but the pattern of development of the other Bantu nations need not be identical, or even similar. Again, it will depend on the wishes of the peoples themselves. Broadly speaking, however, the edifice of self-government is being built from the bottom upwards, starting with a system of local authorities, then district authorities, then regional authorities, leading finally to a national administration, thus providing a stable basis of experience for the full national unit when it secures self-government. This we see as the very essence of successful democracy. In the case of most of the Bantu nations the stage of the regional authority has already been reached. The extent to which the Transkei becomes a visible and viable success will make it so much easier for other regional authorities to decide to follow a similar path. That success is already being achieved and is providing the foundation stone for the complete implementation of our

policy—the attainment of a Commonwealth of South African States, politically independent and economically interdependent.

38. With respect to economic interdependence, may I emphasize that we do not seek any form of co-operation, whether economic or political, which will have as a result the economic domination of one State by another. This applies no less to our relations with other States and territories in southern Africa, than it does to our relations with the Bantu homelands. It is our firm desire to avoid in these relationships any possible element of economic colonialism or economic imperialism. In Africa, in the past, other Powers have not always shown the same interest in avoiding economic colonialism, and many Africans have accordingly resented the pattern of economic development which emerged under the colonial system and which some of them claim has continued into the post-colonial era in a form of neo-colonialism. Many have similarly maintained that the introduction of expatriate enterprises on a large scale had, in practice, the effect of handicapping or stultifying the development of indigenous enterprise, when the indigenous inhabitants were themselves in a position to undertake such tasks. It is South African policy, on the other hand, to discourage and to prevent this kind of development, and instead to provide know-how, managerial assistance and capital in industry and in agriculture, so that the Bantu nations may themselves progressively undertake responsibility for their own economic development. Control thus does not pass into alien hands, and white enterprise does not take over and exclude citizens of the Bantu homelands from what should be the enjoyment of their own heritage.

39. It will be seen that the type of co-operation envisaged is an economic association which will take account of the special circumstances between the several independent States, without the surrender of their sovereignty, but with a view to the common goal of economic stability for each, without which independence, in the full sense of that term, can never be maintained.

40. In this context, may I add that South Africa is only too willing to assist other States in Africa in technical and similar fields of co-operation, whenever the Governments of the States indicate that such assistance would be welcome.

41. Let me assure representatives that my Government is fully sensible of the magnitude of the task which it has undertaken. We realize, only too well, that there are still many obstacles ahead and that we shall have to continue to exercise patience, to accept sacrifices, and above all to persevere, in a situation which is not only complex, but unique, requiring a solution which, therefore, must also be unique and hence the more exposed to criticism. It is regrettable that most of our critics single out for their attacks certain phases in the development of our policy, while they ignore its broad principles and ultimate aims. An objective analysis of the latter will indicate that, with due regard to the special circumstances obtaining in South Africa, we are, in fact, moving towards the goal set forth in the Charter, namely: "To develop friendly relations among nations

based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples". We are firmly convinced that what we have chosen is the only right and just course, and we can only hope that as our policy continues to bear fruit, its merits will be recognized.

42. The picture I have given of our policy and its implementation has not been a detailed one and certainly does not reflect the progress which has been made in many other aspects of the development of the Bantu who live in South Africa. I have also not covered, in this review, what is being done to assist the Asian and Coloured population groups towards the attainment of control over their own interests. Nor have I dealt with what is being done for the very large number of Bantu who live in the homeland of the white South African nation, with the opportunities offered to them in respect of employment, education, housing, social and health services, and so on, and how they are preparing themselves for the important role, politically and otherwise, which awaits them in their respective homelands. I have refrained from doing this because statistics, of themselves, seldom carry conviction in an address of this kind. It is perhaps more useful to refer to a fact which is all too commonly overlooked by those who so constantly condemn us and who seek to persuade the nations of the world to resort to sanctions against us.

43. This fact is that, in addition to those of our own Bantu who work in the homeland of the white South African nation, there are close on one million foreign Bantu, many of whom have entered our country in a clandestine manner, in order to seek avenues of employment which they could not find elsewhere and to avail themselves of a host of services which are provided on a scale far exceeding what they would have in the lands from which they come. These foreign workers, who come of their own volition, enjoy the same social services and privileges which are provided to the South African Bantu, and even exemption from South African taxation. This stream of Bantu immigrants from outside the borders of the Republic constitutes an eloquent response to those who contend that the lot of the Bantu in the homeland of the white South African nation is a form of exploitation and oppression approximating to serfdom. But the presence of nearly one million foreign Bantu has also its bearing upon the efforts of those who seek to organize economic boycotts against us. For it will surely be realized that, should a boycott be applied leading to a measure of unemployment, we would be forced to reserve such employment we might have to offer for the people of South Africa, and that these foreign workers would have to leave our country and seek employment elsewhere. I make this comment primarily for the information of those who would wish to approach these matters with realism and objectivity.

44. Apart from the influx of foreign Bantu, the successful implementation of our policy is evident from the growing support which it is receiving from the vast majority of the non-white people. They, to an increasing extent, appreciate the real significance of our policy and the promise which this policy holds out for their own future. The measure of progress is the degree of contentment among all our peoples,

as reflected in the industrial peace, prosperity and economic boom conditions now prevailing. Indeed, nearly every visitor to South Africa is surprised to discover that the picture of South Africa presented to him overseas, a picture of violence and unrest and agitation, finds no reflection in the actual situation.

45. This distorted picture derives mainly from the activities of a small minority whose actions are highlighted abroad and especially in this Organization. This minority, comprising elements not only from the Bantu peoples but from all the major population groups in South Africa, was engaged in a largely communist-inspired conspiracy to overthrow the State by violence. It included in its ranks men who did not hesitate to kill and who nevertheless were hailed as martyrs and heroes by those who claim that their convictions were based on "opposition to the policies of apartheid". Nothing could, in fact, be further from the truth. The individuals who have figured most prominently in the records of the United Nations are those who have been found guilty of taking human life or who have engaged in high treason.

46. In addition to what I have already said earlier in this address about the dangers inherent in departure from the letter and spirit of the Charter, I feel it incumbent upon me now to draw attention to one other example, namely, the denial to a Member State of a principle fundamentally entrenched in the Charter. I refer to the principle laid down in Article 51 of the inherent right of self-defence of every sovereign State. Representatives must be well aware of the efforts now being made to deny to South Africa the means to implement this important right. But what is involved here is more than merely a right; it is also a duty. For every State has a duty to defend its peoples—all its peoples—against aggression. It is a duty which in present circumstances no self-respecting State can ever shirk, however much we may all look forward to the time when, under United Nations auspices or otherwise, a fully controlled and effective system of international disarmament may make the possession of defensive weapons unnecessary. It is a duty which South Africa will certainly not shirk, whatever sacrifices are involved.

47. Efforts have also been made to restrict still further this inherent right of self-defence by endeavouring to secure the application of measures which it is hoped will undermine South Africa's economy. Nevertheless, we have every confidence in our ability to maintain the stability and progress of our economy. It has in the past shown remarkable resilience and all our peoples are determined to ensure that it will continue to expand. We have had some experience of the application of economic sanctions and are not unprepared for their future extension, for during the last war South Africa, like many other participants, was subjected to naval blockade and was forced to rely largely upon its own resources. The result was a boost to South African industrialization—an industrial revolution which transformed the South African scene and, *inter alia*, made it the workshop of the Allied armies in the Middle East.

48. In this statement I have dealt with certain trends and developments in the United Nations which I believe could have far-reaching implications, not only for

the future of my own country and its peoples, but also for the future of the Organization itself and consequently of the entire world. In doing so, I have presented to this Assembly certain basic facts concerning South Africa's own affairs, in the hope that these will assist representatives in understanding our contention that neither South African governmental policy nor actual conditions in South Africa provide the least justification for denying to my country, and to my country alone, the rights provided to all Member States under the Charter.

49. I have also done so because my Government is convinced that we shall succeed in our task, as we are indeed already succeeding, and that our success will be a positive and important contribution to peaceful coexistence, which is essential if mankind is to progress to universal prosperity, international harmony and tranquillity. We do not believe that the diversity of peoples and cultures, if each is respected and permitted to reach its full potential, need impede or prevent such coexistence. Rather do we believe, as did the founders of the United Nations, that this will enrich life and allow man to achieve his ultimate destiny. The United Nations Organization can, if it plays the part in international life for which it was originally designed, become an important and, indeed, the main instrument in furthering the peaceful coexistence of different national cultures, traditions and aspirations, thus achieving that international harmony which alone can provide a basis for peace and security for all States, big or small, powerful or weak.

50. Mr. GUNewardene (Ceylon): Permit me, Mr. President on behalf of the delegation of Ceylon, to congratulate you warmly on your unanimous election as President of this Assembly. Your personal qualities, your wisdom and experience, give us confidence that this Assembly, though confronted with difficult problems, will achieve constructive results in its progress towards peace and international understanding.

51. My delegation wishes also to extend its felicitations to the three new Members, Malawi, Malta and Zambia. Their presence here fulfils in an ever-growing measure the goal of universality set before this Organization. I should like to pay a tribute here to the United Kingdom for its wisdom and foresight in granting these three Territories their independence, thus earning their goodwill and friendship.

52. It is a matter for great regret that the same enlightenment and political wisdom has not been shown by Portugal in its colonial policies. Portugal has disregarded the irresistible advance of colonial peoples towards independence and is attempting blindly to cling to its colonial possessions. Despite appeals by the United Nations and the weight of African and world opinion, Portugal remains obdurate. It is attempting to continue its domination over Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea by armed might, in callous disregard of the rights of the inhabitants of these territories to freedom and independence, the rising tide of African and world opinion, and the suffering and damage inflicted on the peoples and territories concerned. We condemn unreservedly the colonial policies of the Portuguese Government.

53. In 1960, this Assembly adopted its historic Declaration [resolution 1514 (XV)] calling for the termination of the system of colonialism and grant of freedom to all dependent territories. It is necessary that we maintain the pressure for the liquidation of all vestiges of colonialism that still remain. Neither economic nor strategic considerations can justify the continuation of colonial bondage, and the transfer of power to colonial peoples and territories should no longer be delayed. The principles of self-determination enshrined in the United Nations Charter, as well as the principles of democracy, dictate that peoples still under subjection should emerge into freedom and independence.

54. It is equally important that we take every possible measure to safeguard the independence and territorial integrity of the new nations that have joined the world community. Their freedom and independence are in danger of being compromised by the policies of new colonial Powers who wish to retain or extend their influence over these territories. These neo-colonial Powers exploit disputes left over from colonial times or elements of internal dissension in order to exercise, in their own interests, political, economic, and military control over the newly independent nations. A particular cause of concern at the present time is the perpetuation of colonialist and neo-colonialist situations through military assistance or intervention.

55. We are deeply concerned at the events in the Congo, and the use of mercenary forces to impose a military solution of a problem which is essentially political. We urge that a solution be found, in the interests of peace and harmony, through the efforts of the Organization of African Unity, based on a national reconciliation of all political elements in the Congo.

56. In regard to the situation in Cyprus, my Government urges that the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus be respected by all States. It is particularly unfortunate that there has been interference from outside in matters that concern the internal affairs of Cyprus. This external interference, involving the threat or use of force, has disturbed the peace and stability of the region and made a solution even more difficult. As an equal Member of the United Nations, Cyprus is entitled to unrestricted and unfettered sovereignty and independence. The people of Cyprus is entitled to the right to determine their own future without foreign intervention or interference, in accordance with the right of self-determination enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

57. The problem of the divided countries should engage the earnest attention of the international community. The continuation of these artificial divisions, based on pressures of the cold war, is a major source of international tension. We earnestly hope that these divided nations will be able to achieve unity by peaceful methods, without interference or pressure from outside.

58. Disarmament is the crucial question of our time. The arms race constitutes a serious threat to peace and security and a wasteful burden on the economies of the Powers who are engaged in it. Resources which could be applied for the benefit of mankind continue

to be poured into the manufacture of weapons which are a danger to the very existence of our civilization.

59. As a small nation, we can only appeal to the good sense of the great Powers to heed the universal wish of mankind that constructive steps be taken to ensure progress towards complete and universal disarmament. We have been encouraged by some of the constructive steps which have already been taken, particularly since the summer of 1963, indicating significant progress on the road towards disarmament. I refer here to the partial nuclear test ban treaty, the establishment of the direct communications link between Washington and Moscow, the agreement to ban nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction from outer space, the unilateral reductions of military budgets by the Soviet Union and the United States, and the mutual cutbacks in production of fissionable materials by the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom. These measures were a promising start towards the goal of disarmament.

60. Unfortunately, this progress has not been sustained. The treaty banning nuclear tests has not been accepted by all the nuclear Powers. There has been no agreement among the principal signatory Powers to ban underground tests, though this would be the next logical step in a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty. Progress is also necessary to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.

61. In this connexion, we call on the great Powers to abstain from all policies conducive to the dissemination of nuclear weapons, urge all States to conclude non-dissemination agreements and to agree on measures for the liquidation of existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons. We also urge the convening of a world disarmament conference. We hope that urgent steps will be taken on these lines, so that significant and constructive progress in disarmament will be made in the coming year.

62. Progress towards the reduction of international tensions and the promotion of peace are closely bound up with questions relating to military bases and the establishment of zones free of nuclear weapons.

63. On the question of military bases, my Government is particularly concerned about the establishment of such bases by colonial Powers in their dependent territories as a device to maintain their power and influence in those areas. The tendency is for these Powers to continue their hold on these bases, even after the dependent territories have achieved independence and against their express wishes. As a consequence, the freedom and independence of these new nations have been impaired and sources of tension and conflict have been created.

64. In regard to the concept of nuclear-free zones, we welcomed the declaration made at the first session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its meeting in Cairo in July 1964. One of the key points in that declaration was the concept of Africa as a nuclear-free zone so as to eliminate from the African continent the hazards of nuclear war and nuclear contamination. We regard the declaration of the African continent as a nuclear-free zone as a first step towards a wider application of the concept of nuclear-free

zones which would cover other areas and zones, particularly those that have hitherto been free of nuclear weapons. Our view was that this concept should be extended to cover not only land masses but oceans as well, for the limits of territorial waters were determined in pre-nuclear times according to the limited range of conventional maritime weapons.

65. My Government has already taken action to give effect to these principles. In order to restrict the proliferation of nuclear weapons to the Indian Ocean, we closed our ports and airfields to ships and aircraft which either carry nuclear weapons or are equipped for nuclear warfare. We felt that this action was a practical first step in the direction of ensuring that, at least, a large area of Asia would be free from the dangers of nuclear warfare. We also felt that, if this principle were to be adopted, not merely by individual countries unilaterally, but collectively by the non-aligned nations, to a large extent the continent of Africa, the Indian Ocean, and even possibly the South Atlantic would be free of nuclear weapons.

66. At the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Cairo in October, 1964, my Prime Minister accordingly made three proposals on this subject. The three proposals were:

"(a) The concept of nuclear-free zones should be extended to cover areas and oceans that have hitherto been free of nuclear weapons;

"(b) All non-aligned nations should take immediate action to close their ports and airfields to ships and aircraft carrying nuclear weapons or which are equipped to carry nuclear weapons;

"(c) Colonial Powers should not only undertake to liquidate existing bases in colonial territories, but they should refrain from establishing in colonial territories new bases capable of being used for aggressive purposes."

These three proposals were accepted unanimously by the non-aligned countries and incorporated in the Final Declaration of the Conference.

67. The racial policies of the Government of South Africa have been the subject of discussion here since the founding of the United Nations. The General Assembly and the Security Council have passed numerous resolutions condemning these policies. Nation after nation has raised its voice in condemnation of apartheid in this forum and elsewhere, but nevertheless the Government of the Republic of South Africa has persisted in its policy of apartheid which we, too, unreservedly condemn.

68. In fact, in the recent past, these policies of racial segregation have been intensified and measures to enforce them have been stepped up. Acts of repression against African nationalism can only make a solution more complicated, an understanding between the races more difficult, and the prospect for the future far less promising. This is indeed a great tragedy for South Africa, no less than for the African continent and the whole world.

69. We are sorry to note that the situation in South Africa has deteriorated considerably in recent months.

The reports of the Special Committee<sup>1/</sup> have drawn attention to this worsening situation. Further measures have been taken against the non-white elements of the population; the country's military and police forces have been steadily built up; and laws upholding the policies of apartheid have been enforced without mitigation.

70. It is our earnest hope that the Government of the Republic of South Africa will cease its defiance of world opinion and abandon its policy of racial segregation. We trust that South Africa, in its own interest, will realize the dangers of its policies and seek a solution which will be acceptable to all its people and to the world community represented in the United Nations.

71. The United Nations should continue its efforts, despite the lack of response up to now, to guide South Africa on the correct path. This Organization should continue to explore every means to convince the Government of South Africa that it must cease its defiance of world opinion and abandon its policy of racial segregation.

72. I should now like to express the views of my Government on the situation in Rhodesia. We find there a situation which is full of tension and a source of danger to peace and security of the African continent. This situation has arisen because a racist minority of white settlers has chosen to pursue policies designed to ensure their domination over an overwhelming majority of indigenous African peoples. It is a most unrealistic attitude. It is surely a travesty of all the principles of justice, equality and freedom that a minority of 220,000 Whites should be in a position of privilege and dominance over an African population of 3 million. It is surely a travesty of the principles of democracy when we find this racist minority attempting to continue its domination by every conceivable means.

73. It is a great pity that the group now in power in Rhodesia has failed to recognize the new realities of Africa. The white settler government has so far turned a blind eye to the winds of change that have swept Africa in the last two decades. What has to be recognized is that these white settler minorities cannot expect to continue their domination and exploitation. It is surely common sense to recognize that these minorities can, and must, exist with the goodwill and confidence of their African partners. Goodwill and confidence can be won only by genuine partnership. Unfortunately, the racist group now holding power in Rhodesia has not shown this realism or common sense. Its policies seem to be guided in a direction opposite to that which progress, common sense and the tide of events in Africa would dictate. This is indeed a great tragedy. These retrograde policies can only bring chaos, racial violence and a bitterness between White and African that will take a great deal of time to erase. The whole position of the white settlers in Rhodesia is perhaps being endangered by the short-sighted, futile and narrow policies of the group now in power.

<sup>1/</sup> Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

74. We have consistently held the view that the United Kingdom has a special responsibility for exercising authority in the Rhodesian situation. The United Kingdom, as the metropolitan Power, is responsible for constitutional change and for progress in the march of its dependent territories towards independence. We trust that the United Kingdom will heed the resolutions of the United Nations in regard to the constitutional rights of the indigenous population.

75. We consider it desirable that the United Kingdom Government convene a constitutional conference to which all political groups in Rhodesia will be invited with a view to drafting a new constitution based on the principle of one man, one vote, universal suffrage and majority rule.

76. I should like to express our support for the attitude taken by the United Kingdom in the face of threats by the Rhodesian régime of a unilateral declaration of independence. My Government is fully in agreement with the United Kingdom Government that such a unilateral declaration would be unacceptable and that independence for Rhodesia must be in accordance with the wishes of all the peoples of that territory. We are for Rhodesian independence at as early a date as possible, but independence must be given on the basis of a constitution with equal rights for all. We hope that rapid progress will be made towards this goal.

77. The situation in the Indo-Chinese region, particularly in Viet-Nam, poses a grave danger to peace and security. As an Asian country, we are particularly anxious that a peaceful settlement should be found to the problems facing the countries of this region.

78. The danger to peace and security arises primarily from the interference of foreign Powers in the affairs of these countries. Internal dissensions and sources of friction in the area have been exploited by neo-colonialist Powers in their attempt to continue or extend their influence. The Geneva Agreements of 1954<sup>2/</sup> sought to insulate the region from the pressures of the cold war and to bring about stability and peace. Unfortunately, the provisions of the Geneva Agreements have not been respected.

79. In South Viet-Nam the situation has been aggravated by the introduction of foreign troops and massive military aid in an attempt to forge a solution by military means. There have even been reports of plans to extend the conflict through retaliatory measures against neighbouring countries. We consider any such attempt as dangerous in the extreme. The problems of South Viet-Nam are political in nature and there can be no lasting settlement except by political means. I wish in this connexion also to emphasize the fact that no lasting solution is possible in South Viet-Nam unless the legitimate aspirations of the Buddhists, who form 80 per cent of the population, are respected and satisfied. Attempts to impose a settlement by force should be discarded and the futility of continuing a war of suppression realized.

80. The alternative is a continuation of the civil war, involving further destruction and suffering, and posing the threat of an expansion of the conflict beyond the

confines of Viet-Nam. No one who has the interests of the territory and people of Viet-Nam at heart, no one who is sincerely interested in the cause of peace, can accept such an alternative.

81. We do not raise our voices in a partisan spirit. As a non-aligned country, our aim is to steer clear of great Power groupings. We are concerned as Asians that our part of the world, no less than any other, should be free from dangerous conflicts. Our purpose is to insulate such conflicts from the pressures of the cold war and in Viet-Nam we see clearly the risks of such involvement unless a speedy and equitable solution is attained. Delay in arriving at a settlement only increases the risk of an escalation of the conflict with all its grave consequences to the world.

82. We repeat, therefore: let there be an end to the fighting; let there be a recognition that the problem is a political one, requiring a settlement by negotiation; let the Powers concerned return to the conference table with a view to implementing sincerely the terms of the Geneva Agreements of 1954. This is the only way out. We earnestly hope that the path of moderation and restraint will be followed before it is too late.

83. In the solution of the problems concerning South-East Asia, and indeed of all the major problems facing the world, the co-operation and active participation of the People's Republic of China is essential. Unfortunately, these realities are ignored by certain Powers which, out of considerations arising from the politics of the cold war, prefer to ignore the existence of the People's Republic of China and to deny it its rightful place in the councils of the world. This brings me to the question of restoring to the People's Republic of China its lawful rights in the United Nations.

84. My Government recognized the People's Republic of China as the only legitimate Government of China. Many other States Members of the United Nations have taken the same position and their number is steadily increasing. The People's Republic of China is physically in control of the great land mass of the mainland of China; it has behind it the overwhelming support of the 700 million Chinese people who compose one fourth of the human race.

85. How can the United Nations be fully representative of mankind if one fourth of the human race has no voice in the councils of the world? Is this not a negation of the principle of universality to which this Organization is committed? Are we not shutting our eyes to the realities of the world situation as it exists if we impose barriers to just and equitable representation for a people who constitute a major segment of the human race, on grounds which appear to be based on power politics and pressures of the cold war? If we are interested in strengthening this Organization and in making it truly representative, I submit that we should, without further delay, accord the People's Republic of China its legitimate rights in the United Nations.

86. We know that the policies of the People's Republic of China are not palatable to certain Powers here and that its presence in this Organization might even be embarrassing to them. But this is not an Organization where some Members should be permitted to

<sup>2/</sup> Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China.

exclude others merely because they do not agree with their policies. This is an Organization which has been created to represent mankind, to represent all the countries of the world, irrespective of their political and social systems, so that they may collectively advance towards the common goal of peace and progress. We trust that the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China will be viewed in this spirit.

87. It was with very great interest that my Government participated in the deliberations of the historic United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which was hailed as one of the most important events since the establishment of the United Nations. We cannot truly say that we are satisfied with the results of that Conference or that we are convinced that the developed countries have shown themselves adequately prepared and ready to meet the challenge of our times. Nevertheless, it is our belief that they could not have been left unimpressed by the efforts of the seventy-five developing nations to demonstrate to them that the problems of the world are the common concern of the community of nations, and that there can be no stability and lasting peace in a world where the disparities between affluence and poverty are not only so marked but where the tendency is further to widen the gap in living standards between the developed and developing countries. This Conference gave expression to the aspirations of millions of men and women, more than two thirds of the world's population, for a richer and fuller life, the realization of which is now long overdue.

88. It must be appreciated that the decline in export earnings of the developing countries, the deterioration in terms of trade and the increasing burden of servicing debts are factors beyond the control of developing countries and lead to the frustration of their economic policies. We must, therefore, be dominated by a sense of urgency and take practical steps for accelerating an increasing flow of capital and for liberalizing trade relationships in favour of the developing countries.

89. As pointed out in the joint declaration of the developing countries—which forms the annex to General Assembly resolution 1897 (XVIII):

"The fundamental trade problems of developing countries are well identified. What the world lacks today is, therefore, not the awareness of the problem, but the readiness to act."

90. While there was general agreement at the Conference on the need to assist the developing countries, there was much less agreement on the manner of doing it. Nevertheless, though a number of countries expressed reservations, yet there was a very wide measure of support for the principles which are to guide the future of international trade policy.

91. These principles represent a substantial advance on the traditional concepts of free trade which determined the recommendations that came out of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment held at Havana in 1947-1948. The principles which have now been formulated recognize very definitely the need for special assistance for the developing countries to expand their international trade and

through this means to develop their economies. The principle that developed countries should not require reciprocity in trade liberalization measures from developing countries is also embodied in the recommendations of the Conference, and the developed countries have been called upon to avoid domestic policies that stimulate uneconomic production of primary products and thereby deprive developing countries of a fair share of the world market.

92. As regards the subject of new institutional arrangements, it must be said to the credit of the Conference that unanimity was reached with all groups of countries—the developing countries, the industrialized countries and the centrally planned countries—on account of the firm determination of most countries to resolve the deadlock which was reached at one stage on the question of new machinery. The Conference would have been a complete failure if it had not secured agreement on future institutional arrangements through which the work of the Conference could be continued.

93. In this connexion, the question of procedure has assumed considerable significance. My delegation welcomes the report of the Special Committee [A/5749 and Corr.1] designed to establish a process of conciliation within the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and supports the suggested draft text to replace paragraph 25 of the recommendation contained in annex A.V.1. of the Final Act.<sup>3/</sup> Our warmest thanks are due to the Special Committee for the efforts it has made to evolve a solution acceptable to all Members of the Assembly.

94. I also wish to refer briefly to another important item dealing with economic development, which is on our agenda. This is the proposed merger of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the United Nations Special Fund in a United Nations Development Programme. My delegation supports the establishment of the United Nations Development Programme which, it is hoped, would not only include the best elements of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the United Nations Special Fund, but would have an added strength of its own to pay appropriate attention to the work of the United Nations in the application of science and technology to development, to industrial expansion, to the exploitation of natural resources, and in the promotion of trade. It is noted with satisfaction that the proposed consolidation would be without prejudice to the consideration of the study of the practical steps to transform the Special Fund into a Capital Development Fund, in such a way as to include both pre-investment and investment activities.

95. In conclusion, I should like to express the satisfaction of my delegation at the spirit of accommodation displayed by the Powers concerned in agreeing to avoid a confrontation on the question of Article 19. We take this as an earnest of their sincere desire to uphold the interests of this Organization and to avoid any situation which would detract from its strength and effectiveness. We sincerely hope that

<sup>3/</sup> See Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, vol. I, Final Act and Report (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 64.II.B.11), Final Act, annexes.

the negotiations now in progress will lead to a solution that is acceptable to all, in the greater interests of this Organization. We, for our part, will co-operate fully in every endeavour made to strengthen this Organization, which is mankind's major hope for a world order based on peace, justice and progress.

96. Mr. MANESCU (Romania) (translated from French): Mr. President, the delegation of the Romanian People's Republic regards your presence in the Chair as a mark of appreciation of your qualities as a distinguished diplomat and as a tribute to your country, the Republic of Ghana, with which Romania maintains friendly relations; we see in it a token of the ever-increasing role which the African peoples, with their ancient culture and civilization, are playing in international affairs.

97. On behalf of the delegation of the Romanian People's Republic, I should like to convey to you the warmest congratulations on your unanimous election to the office of President of the General Assembly of the United Nations at its nineteenth session.

98. The Romanian delegation would also like to express its best wishes for peace and prosperity to the States recently admitted to the great United Nations family, Malawi, Malta and Zambia.

99. The United Nations is faced with serious international problems, political and economic, and all the peoples of the world demand and expect that they will be solved. The discussions that have thus far taken place reflect a concern to find the most appropriate means by which the United Nations may justify mankind's faith in this international forum. This concern leads naturally to the question what, in the efforts of the Organization, should be the guiding factor which might enable it to meet the heavy responsibility of these tasks.

100. In view of the Romanian delegation, the establishment of a climate of peace and of a world safe from the danger of war depends upon respect for and loyalty to the principles on which the United Nations was founded. The principles embodied in the Charter nineteen years ago, enhanced and developed by subsequent experience, are as timely and viable as ever.

101. For the purposes of maintaining peace, developing international co-operation and promoting economic and social progress, the Charter prescribes, among the fundamental obligations of States, that they shall refrain in their relations from the threat or use of force, that they shall employ peaceful means to settle all their disputes, and that they shall under no circumstances intervene in the domestic affairs of another State.

102. The Charter gives first place among the rules of international conduct to respect for the sovereign equality of States—a principle rightly regarded as the keystone of international relations.

103. We believe that the assurance of good-neighbourly relations and co-operation among States lies in the strict application of this principle and of its implied consequences—respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, the right of every people freely to choose the economic and political system it prefers, and the right to respect for its personality in

international life. The possibility of promoting unilateral interests at the expense of peoples and of the free expression of their will is thus ruled out.

104. Conversely, violation of this principle conflicts with the legitimate rights of peoples, creating foci of tension and situations that endanger the peace and security of mankind.

105. How, then, can the foreign armed intervention against the Congolese people be described, but as a grave violation of the Charter? This totally unjustified action, which prolongs the sufferings of the Congolese people, is one of a long series of open or covert actions, typical of colonialism, aimed at curbing the will of this sorely-tried people to decide its own future. The actions of the colonialist Powers in attempting to keep the Congolese people in a state of dependence arouse the just indignation of international public opinion.

106. Foreign intervention in South-East Asia, where a state of tension continues to prevail, is an undeniable violation of the provisions of the Charter. The Romanian people expresses its complete solidarity with the Viet-Nameese people's righteous struggle to defend the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and to realize its legitimate aspirations for the peaceful reunification of Viet-Nam, in accordance with the Geneva Agreements.

107. The other foci of tension in the world are due to the same futile attempts to prevent peoples from exercising their sovereign right to arrange their lives in keeping with their own aspirations—a right proclaimed in the Charter and in solemn United Nations declarations.

108. We vigorously condemn the policies of apartheid, and any manifestation of racial discrimination, as a challenge to fundamental human rights.

109. The Romanian Government reaffirms its constant position of solidarity with peoples struggling to achieve a life of freedom, dignity and independence. We are firmly convinced that no obstacle, no foreign intervention, can prevent the fulfilment of these aspirations, and that the historic process at present under way is about to wipe out the last vestiges of the colonialist system. The fact that dozens of States have recently won their independence and are now making their contribution to the efforts to implement the principles of the Charter bears witness to the objective and irreversible nature of this process.

110. As was pointed out recently by the President of the State Council of Romania, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej:

"There are circumstances today which cannot be compared to those of the past and which make it possible for peoples to develop along sovereign and independent lines, to enjoy equality in international relations, to arrange their political, social and economic life as they see fit, and to choose the path which best suits their fundamental interests."

111. I have laid stress on these principles because they also reflect the concern of a great many delegates to this session regarding the Organization's

ability to make an effective contribution to the solution of major international problems.

112. How can these principles, which prescribe the equal right of all States to participate in international life, be reconciled with the fact that one of the great countries of the world—the People's Republic of China—is prevented from occupying its rightful seat in the United Nations? It is not in keeping with the principle of universality of this Organization to continue to exclude the representatives of the great Chinese people from the United Nations. It is quite impossible to imagine a realistic solution of vital world problems without the participation of the People's Republic of China, the fifth nuclear Power which is playing an important role in the struggle to strengthen peace.

113. The Romanian People's Republic has co-sponsored the item submitted by Cambodia for inclusion in the agenda of this session, in the belief that consideration of this problem will lead to the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the expulsion of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from all United Nations bodies.

114. Our country approves and supports an increase in the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, since the implementation of the resolutions adopted in that connexion will more equitably reflect the present composition of the Organization and the interests of Member States.

115. We feel that it is necessary to ensure that the Organization functions regularly and smoothly, in accordance with legal procedures.

116. In the view of the Romanian Government, the United Nations can become strong only if it places all its activities on the firm footing of the principles of the Charter. Only thus can the United Nations offer to all States, great and small, a suitable frame within which to express their views and a fertile soil for the development of constructive endeavours; only thus can it become what the Charter considers a fundamental purpose: "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends".

117. However numerous the problems facing mankind and however varied the methods of approach to them, there is nevertheless one factor which brings States together: the interest of the peoples in safeguarding peace. Where peace is concerned, we are one world. Romania, firmly committed to the principles of peaceful coexistence enshrined in the United Nations Charter, considers that negotiation is the only reasonable way of settling international problems in dispute.

118. Romania places an active interpretation on the notion of peaceful coexistence. We do not regard peaceful coexistence as being the simultaneous existence on the map of the world of certain separate entities which ignore each other. Each State, having its individual character, may have something to offer and something to receive in a steady flow of material and spiritual values.

119. This concept of the Romanian Government finds an expression in its policy of continually develop-

ing our country's relations with all States on the basis of the principles of mutual respect and mutual benefit.

120. The actions of the Romanian People's Republic within the United Nations and the proposals it has submitted to the Organization are aimed at the application of the principles of the Charter to international relations and at finding realistic solutions to international problems.

121. The Romanian Government, believing that any improvement of relations on the regional plane helps to create a climate of confidence in international relations as a whole, has submitted to the General Assembly the following item: "Actions on the regional level with a view to improving good neighbourly relations among European States having different social and political systems".

122. Developments in recent years have shown that the creation of a favourable climate for grappling more effectively with the problems which prevent a relaxation of tension in Europe must result, in the first instance, from the efforts of every European country to promote co-operative relations with its neighbours.

123. We are of the opinion that the General Assembly must encourage the efforts already being made to find solutions to the major problems of concern to the peoples of Europe, the solution of which would have positive effects throughout the world.

124. Living in a part of Europe which has often been a scene of conflict, in the past, the Romanian people has had to bear the dire consequences of several wars. That is why Romania feels it its duty to help to establish good neighbourly relations and peaceful co-operation in the Balkans. Its 1957 and 1959 proposals which were aimed at achieving multilateral agreement between the Balkan States and concluding a treaty that would transform the Balkans into an area of peace and co-operation, are just as timely today.

125. We are gratified to note that negotiations have taken place and are continuing between the countries of that area, indicating a positive trend towards rapprochement and understanding based on mutual interest and confirming the existence of countless possibilities in that respect.

126. Romania attaches importance to the drafting of an international declaration on the promotion among youth of the ideals of peace, mutual respect and understanding between peoples. The idea of a declaration of this kind has gained ground every year and now has the support of many States. Its adoption has been recommended by international conferences and organizations. The Romanian delegation is sure that the General Assembly will proceed to draft this declaration.

127. The arms race, and particularly the continual stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction, are an obstacle to the restoration of normal international relations and to their being placed on a solid footing. Genuine security is hardly conceivable while the peoples are living in the shadow of nuclear arsenals.

128. Concern for the application of the principles of the Charter, to which I have referred, must go hand

in hand with the continuing and persevering efforts needed to achieve general and complete disarmament. The achievement of this goal might create conditions for the development of peaceful relations between States, which would rule out for ever the threat or use of force and open up broad prospects of international co-operation.

129. For that reason, the Romanian Government considers that the adoption of the programme for general and complete disarmament recommended by the Soviet Union and supported by the socialist countries and other peace-loving States would be of historic importance to all mankind.

130. The common interest of the peoples in being freed from the threat of war demands that every country should participate actively in seeking ways and means of achieving disarmament. That is why we fully support the proposal for the convening of a world disarmament conference put forward by the Cairo Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.

131. The Romanian Government is also in favour of the proposal made by the Government of the People's Republic of China concerning the convening of a conference of Heads of State and Government to discuss the general prohibition and total destruction of nuclear weapons, the immediate aim of which would be to achieve an agreement banning the use of such weapons.

132. At the same time, we are in favour of any measure designed to reduce international tension, to increase confidence among States, and to hasten the achievement of general and complete disarmament. Among these measures, we attach special importance to the establishment of denuclearized zones in different regions of the world, and we are in favour of the implementation of the proposals to establish such zones.

133. Now that the idea of peaceful coexistence between all States regardless of their social systems is gaining more and more ground, the division of the world into military blocs seems more and more anachronistic.

134. In the spirit of peaceful coexistence, Romania has expressed support for the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO, as a transitional step towards the abolition of all military blocs.

135. The plans for the creation of multilateral nuclear forces under the auspices of the NATO military bloc are contrary to the interests of peace and security. These plans are one more example of the danger of aggressive blocs. The creation of NATO multilateral nuclear forces can only lead to international tension, to growing suspicion between States, and to the stepping-up of the arms race; that is why it is causing justifiable anxiety.

136. In our view, the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament should make increased efforts to carry out its mandate and to meet the responsibilities entrusted to it by the United Nations. The Romanian People's Republic is always ready to do all it can in helping to find mutually acceptable solutions which could hasten agreement on disarmament.

137. We continue to believe, as in the past, that the liquidation of the aftermath of the Second World War through the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany would lead to a clearing of the world political climate. The only realistic basis for a discussion of this problem is one which takes account of the existence of both German States.

138. An incidental consequence of progress towards general and complete disarmament would be the release of material and human resources, which are so much needed in order to hasten the economic and social advancement of peoples. The amount now being spent on armaments is roughly equal to the aggregate of the national incomes of all the developing countries.

139. As long as there remains a gulf between the economic situation of the developing countries and that of the industrialized countries, and as long as the need to battle against chronic scourges in vast areas of the world grows ever more urgent, social and economic problems will inevitably continue to be among the major concerns of the States Members of the United Nations.

140. We realize that the beginning of a new stage in activities in this area was marked by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which the Secretary-General of the United Nations rightly considers "an event of historic importance likely to have a significant impact on international co-operation for decades to come" [A/5801/Add.1, sect. IV].

141. The recommendations adopted by the Conference reflect an intensification of the efforts to transform international trade—freed from discriminatory barriers—into a beneficent agent for the economic development of all countries and for the creation of a climate of peace and international co-operation. Romania, as a country whose complex and multilateral economy is making great strides, has a direct interest in the problems considered at the Conference.

142. Because its economy has been developed in a balanced manner and at a sustained tempo, Romania maintains economic and trade relations with all countries, irrespective of their social and economic systems. Over the last twelve years, Romania's foreign trade has more than quadrupled. At the Geneva Conference, the Romanian delegation submitted, jointly with other delegations the proposal concerning credit arrangements for the delivery of capital equipment to be paid for in goods produced by the unit concerned or in other products. This form of co-operation is advantageous to the developing countries, because it promotes accelerated economic growth through the construction, with the help in the form of credit, of industrial units—which are the exclusive property of the countries concerned—thus ensuring respect for their economic independence.

143. The proposal is also of interest to countries which export capital equipment, because it provides them with markets and with opportunities to obtain supplies of finished products from the units they have delivered. A proposal emphasizing the importance of long-term trade agreements was also submitted; the experience of our country and of other States has demonstrated the effectiveness of such agreements in stabilizing and developing international

trade. We hope that these proposals, which appear in the Final Act of the Conference, will contribute to the expansion of international trade in the interest of economic development.

144. In our view, one important result of the Conference is that it laid down guidelines for economic co-operation between States. The adoption, under United Nations auspices, of a declaration embodying these guidelines would have positive effects on the development of trade.

145. In the economic sphere, as in political relations, there is a growing feeling of the need to establish generally acceptable norms, based on the United Nations Charter, to govern economic relations between States.

146. In support of the efforts which the developing countries are making for their own economic and social progress, the United Nations must expand its activities in connexion with the training of national personnel, planning, the use of natural resources in the national interest, and industrialization.

147. Before concluding, I should like to express the conviction of the Romanian Government that it is now more than ever necessary to explore every avenue, every possibility, which might lead to the restoration of normal international relations, to the strengthening of peace and to the development of co-operation between countries and peoples.

148. The PRESIDENT: In the exercise of his right of reply, I give the floor to the representative of Guinea.

149. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea) (translated from French): Mr. President, my delegation will in due course convey to you, on your election, the congratulations due to you as a fighter for African nationalism; in the meantime, however, you are allowing me to exercise my right of reply as Chairman of the Special Committee on the Policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

150. We have studied the speech made this morning by a representative who claims to be the representative of an African country, in which the speaker, with the audacity characteristic of the spokesmen of any fascist régime, sought to defend before this illustrious tribunal, a policy condemned by the whole world. It is well known that the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council have constantly called upon the South African settler Government to respect its obligations under the Charter, to abandon its policies of apartheid, and to end the régime of brutal repression against the opponents of those degrading and despicable policies. The General Assembly had every right to expect that the representative of the South African settler Government, who has spoken today as the advocate of the most mediaeval tribalism, would appear here to tell us what steps his Government was taking to comply with the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council and to put an end to apartheid, that colonialist hydra.

151. However, the spokesman for the racist settlers of South Africa made use of this rostrum to reaffirm his Government's contempt for the United Nations and to anathematize the majority of Member States.

He sought to sow confusion and to create doubt in people's minds with soothing words, designed to give us a rosy picture of an unhappily notorious situation.

152. The questions of apartheid and of South West Africa are on the agenda of this session, and we shall have occasion to discuss them in detail at the appropriate time and before the competent committees. I feel bound, however, to state here and now—and the Special Committee on the Policies of apartheid has submitted a mass of documentation in its recent report on the subject—that the South African settler Government has taken inhuman measures of unprecedented gravity to intensify racial discrimination and repression in South Africa in violation of the Charter. Its policies, which are abhorred by the entire world, have reached the point where their efforts, in an increasingly alarming manner, are a serious threat to international peace.

153. Thousands of opponents of apartheid, including such nationalist leaders as Nelson Mandela, Robert Sobukwe and Walter Sisulu, are languishing to death in prison. Chief Albert Luthuli, awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, is being kept in restricted residence under conditions of diabolical cruelty.

154. In total disregard of appeals from the Security Council, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, and many Heads of State, the South African Government recently executed the valiant African patriots Vuyisile Mini, Wilson Khayinga and Zinakile Mkaba. Many other patriots are awaiting the hangman in the death cells of the Pretoria régime.

155. The United Nations has issued enough appeals and warnings. In our view, the time has come for effective action to prevent Dr. Verwoerd and his accomplices from committing further crimes and provoking a race war, which might well spread beyond the African continent. Above all, it is time that the trading partners of the apartheid régime at last took an unequivocal stand in keeping with their profession of faith which so vigorously condemns, in words, the fascist régime of South Africa.

156. I shall venture to make a few comments on some assertions made this morning, which we noted when reading this dishonourable document.

157. We were told, this morning, of a theory concerning the "multinational" situation in South Africa. All representatives will, of course, have noticed that the spokesman for this theory could not claim to represent what he had the courage to call "the various nations of South Africa".

158. This spokesman, this morning, spoke of peace and prosperity in South Africa. But who, in this Assembly, does not know that this peace is the peace of the prison, the peace of the grave, and that this prosperity is only the prosperity of thieves at the expense of the people who are exploited?

159. We were told of the option which the various "nations" of South Africa have to decide on the régime of their choice. But we must ask this question: since when have these peoples been consulted as to their future?

160. We were moved to indignation to hear from the lips of the representative of apartheid this morning such phrases as "human dignity". It is an insult to Africa that the spokesman of the régime which oppresses the African peoples should come here to speak to us of human dignity, for in his language that means the dignity of the fascist white minority—3 million of the population—in South Africa.

161. We were told of a "commonwealth of South Africa". Who, in this Assembly, is not aware that a mere 13 per cent of the land in South Africa is reserved for a population that exceeds 80 per cent, and that 20 per cent of the population has a monopoly of all the wealth and all the fertile land in the country?

162. The representative of the South African settlers had the audacity to appeal to the African States, offering them the assistance of his Government! There could be no greater insult than to invite the African States to take part in the savage exploitation of their brothers who are languishing under the apartheid system of exploitation in South Africa.

163. This morning's speaker issued a challenge to the United Nations, saying openly that any sanctions which this Assembly might apply would simply create conditions for the better development of the South

African economy. We hope that all Member States, and especially those whose economic relations are helping to strengthen the system of apartheid, will take up this challenge and that we shall see the South African economy prospering as a result of the sanctions which our Assembly will be called upon to impose.

164. Africa, for its part, issued a solemn warning to the whole world on the occasion of the Summit Conference of Independent African States at Addis Ababa in May 1963. Africa will not forgive—it could not—and will not forget—it could not—the crimes committed against our peoples. If the South African régime continues along this road, which leads directly to disaster, we can but take up the cry of the martyr Vuyisile Mini, who, in his songs of freedom, warned Verwoerd to take heed of the advancing Africans.

165. As I have said, we shall have occasion to revert to this subject in greater detail and we shall expose, in precise terms, the abuses of authority committed by the South African conspirators against the dignity of the coloured peoples and against the United Nations Charter.

*The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.*