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President: Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. CARIAS CASTILLO (Honduras) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, the delegation of Honduras associates itself with the general feeling of this Assembly in expressing to you its sincere congratulations on your election, which is a tribute to your unquestionable personal qualities and to one of the outstanding figures in international public life. These good wishes are extended to your country, whose great historical achievements have made an inestimable contribution to human culture and to which the peoples of Latin America are closely bound by the traditional ties of the spirit.

2. My delegation also wishes to join in congratulating the new Members of the United Nations—the Maldives Islands, Singapore and the Gambia. In becoming participants in this Organization, they will contribute to and strengthen the principles of the United Nations which represent the genuine international philosophy of this century.

3. May I in this brief statement introduce a fleeting personal note. For more than eight years I have been absent from the deliberations of the United Nations, after it had been the brilliant centre of all my activities and hopes during many historic years. And now that this twentieth session of the General Assembly is beginning, I experience once again that stern and unflagging optimism which lies at the root of our attitude towards this supreme world Organization.

4. We continue to believe that this Organization is the ultimate synthesis of all the fears and all the aspirations of mankind. Here we are living in the presence of history and much will depend on the individual conduct of every Member State if the

United Nations is to stand before the world as an effective, magnanimous and stern instrument at the service of suffering humanity. Since we have overcome the problem which so alarmingly obstructed the progress of the nineteenth session and since the dedication and capacity for work of my illustrious colleagues is proverbial, I have no hesitation in repeating my optimistic view that the results to be achieved during this regular session will be fruitful. For no matter how profound may be the crises we shall have to face, they will all have to be temporary and to yield to the capacity for survival which, together with constructive endeavour, is the noblest achievement of mankind.

5. If we cast a rapid glance over the world of today, we cannot but be astonished at the violent contrasts it offers us. It is a scene of light and darkness. On the one hand, we can assert that man has broken the chains that bound him to the earth. Today he has before him, within his very grasp, nothing less than unlimited and tempestuous space. Never before have we been able to repeat so appositely the words of the poet: "The stars are yours". And yet the whole world, in every latitude and longitude, continues to suffer from the cruel scourge of the most terrible and most rebellious of all the horsemen of the Apocalypse — war. Although people are more enlightened in their ideals and attitudes, now, as throughout history, armed conflicts, both national and international, spring from one basic cause—intolerance: religious intolerance, ideological intolerance, racial intolerance, in short, intolerance of the rights of others.

6. So long as the legal personality of the human being is conditioned by the colour of his skin or his religious beliefs, there will always be the danger of armed conflicts. So long as States seek to subjugate others by force, violating their territory and destroying their traditions on the basis of anachronistic pretexts, there will always be war.

7. Thanks, however, to the vision and humanitarian feelings of brilliant statesmen, the United Nations was created and, as I said before, it continues to be the hope and spiritual refuge of modern man. If, twenty years ago, the Charter of San Francisco had not been signed, it is very probable that at this stage only the smoking vestiges of our civilization would remain. It has been shown time and time again that the path towards peace is steep, thorny and strewn with terrible obstacles, but it is worth while for men from all countries to persist in travelling along it bravely without premature feelings of defeat.

8. The twentieth session of the General Assembly has opened under the shadow of a struggle between two countries linked by long-standing historical traditions. As a result of these painful events, the majority of Member States have expressed their concern and their desire for a cessation of hostilities. My delegation associates itself with this desire and with the moves which are being made to achieve a permanent solution of the dispute between India and Pakistan, in accordance with the procedures indicated in international law and the principles of the United Nations Charter.

9. Inspired by sincere feelings of solidarity towards our mother country, and for the sake of the just cause defended by Spain, my delegation considers, most respectfully, that the United Kingdom, which has given so many examples of its genius in the history of peoples, should undertake bilateral conversations with Spain, another nation of genius, in order to find a solution to the problem of Gibraltar.

10. My country, aware of the importance of economic development, needs technical assistance and close co-operation with the United Nations specialized agencies. As we are an integral part of the Organization of Central American States, which we have supported and to which we have contributed, in the establishment of a common market, we know that we are called upon to assume a position where respect and equity among States forming such an organization must be the rule that gives the necessary balance for permanent, united and indestructible development.

11. My delegation has viewed with sympathy the draft resolution submitted by the sister republic of Costa Rica (A/5963) aimed at the defence of human rights through measures that will ensure respect for human dignity and the protection which the law and political and social systems must provide for the different sectors of the community, regardless of their ideology, race or creed.

12. As a small country, Honduras, by its traditions and its convictions, has been an ardent champion of the rule of law in its international relations. We fully realize that our sovereignty as an independent State cannot subsist except on the basis of respect for international law. Once again, therefore, my delegation reiterates its strongest support for the world Organization and its regional bodies.

13. When our sister country of the American hemisphere, the Dominican Republic, fell victim to misfortune, hovered on the brink of complete anarchy and thus became a fertile field for those forces which are bent on the destruction of the inter-American system, Honduras, in strict fulfilment of its international obligations, did not hesitate for one moment in supporting unreservedly the peace-keeping operations undertaken by the Organization of American States. With the pride of a Hispano-American, I can state that the OAS, a regional organization of the United Nations, has once again given proof of its effectiveness and its firm determination to preserve the inter-American system and to strengthen it more and more each day.

14. I should be failing in an elementary duty if I did not express my personal admiration and the

gratitude of my Government for the quiet and fruitful work carried on by the Secretary-General, U Thant, who, with inexhaustible patience and profound wisdom, has spared no efforts to ensure that tolerance and human dignity may prevail in every corner of the globe.

15. We also wish to convey our cordial greetings to the new and vigorous group of nations which have recently achieved independence. It is our fervent hope that, inspired by the conviction that order, justice and cultural and material progress are the basic pillars of society, they will be constant sources of pride to us veterans who have witnessed or participated in their ardent struggles for the attainment of independence.

16. In the course of this twentieth session of the General Assembly the pages of the history of the United Nations have acquired solemnity with the presence of the Supreme Pontiff of the Catholic Church, His Holiness Pope Paul VI, who, as the outstanding representative of Christianity, has seen fit to lend his support to the cause of peace and human solidarity at this time when men all over the world need to have faith and hope. He made it clear that the work of the United Nations also embraces the human aspiration towards loftier aims, so that the dignity and coexistence of the different parts of the world become the permanent concern of all Member States.

17. His Holiness has brought us a message of light and hope and his words, spoken with the humility of the supreme priest of Christianity and representing the thought of more than 500 million Catholics, are significant for the modern world because they are identified with the principles of all the other religions in the search for the permanent path to peace and in a fervent appeal to the human conscience over and above the ephemeral struggles for power.

18. Now that the voice of the Pontiff has been heard in this *aula magna*, as he called it, the United Nations has grown to unexpected stature because all religious creeds have a great part to play in the universal work of this Organization.

19. We reaffirm our faith and our optimism in the lofty mission entrusted to the United Nations and we are justified in hoping that, following a path of high endeavour and with a shining sense of history, we may attend our rendezvous with destiny in a manner more in keeping with the dignity and prosperity of all the peoples of the world and with a more palpable ascendancy of the eternal values of the spirit. For, side by side with the rationalization of social and political sciences and the obvious transformation of popular thinking and requirements, we are witnessing today the fantastic advances of applied science which can bring the dearest aspirations of mankind to swift and certain fruition.

20. Mr. TRONKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic):^{1/} Mr. President, the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic congratulates you on your election to the high post of President of the General Assembly and expresses the hope that, under

^{1/} Mr. Tronko spoke in Ukrainian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

your guidance, the twentieth session of the General Assembly will contribute by its work to the strengthening of international peace, and the development of co-operation between States, and also assist in the solution of the major international problems facing the United Nations. We should also like to thank Mr. Quaison-Sackey, the Foreign Minister of Ghana, who did so much as President of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly in order to assist the Assembly to cope with the difficulties confronting it and to resume its normal activity in accordance with the Charter of the Organization.

21. The Government and the people of the Ukraine express their profound satisfaction at the attainment of the agreement to a cease-fire between India and Pakistan. We hope that those two neighbouring countries will settle their controversial problems by peaceful means, and that they will follow the path of friendship and fraternal co-operation in the interests of the peoples of both countries and peace throughout the world. We also wish to mention the efforts made by the Security Council and the Secretary-General, U Thant, in the settlement of this armed conflict.

22. The United Nations is entering the third decade of its existence. The Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, one of the founding Members of this Organization, believes that the United Nations under the conditions of observance of the lofty principles and basic provisions of the Charter, can serve as an effective instrument for the maintenance of international peace and as a major centre of co-operation among States in the solution of international problems. The experience of the past activities of the United Nations has convincingly proved that it played a positive role, when it acted in accordance with the basic provisions of the Charter and kept abreast with the development of events in the world. Experience has also shown that when attempts were made to act in circumvention of the Charter, and when a certain group of States sought to use the United Nations for the attainment of their own imperialist policies in international relations, it was the Organization that suffered the failures.

23. Ever since the creation of the United Nations, the world has been undergoing substantial changes. Life does not stand still—it moves ahead. This is reflected in those tremendous changes that are taking place in the social, economic and political life of the peoples of different countries and whole continents. A third of the world's population is now composed of the peoples of the world system of socialism, the existence of which is now a major feature of modern times. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have become participants in international policy. Waging a staunch struggle, shaking off the fetters of colonialism and imperialism, they have stepped on to the road to freedom and national independence. They have arisen as architects of a new life and active participants in international policy. The fact of the existence of States with different social systems and the balance of forces in the world of today make it imperative to base international relations, including relations within the United Nations, on genuine equality and respect of sovereign rights of all countries both large and small. The principles

of peaceful coexistence are receiving ever-increasing recognition.

24. However, some Powers, while talking about peaceful coexistence, believe that it is applicable only to relations between States equal in power, and, at the same time, dictate their will to small countries, trampling their rights, violating and infringing upon their sovereignty and independence. Such an imperialist policy of diktat and arbitrary rule in respect of other countries aggravates the international situation, gives rise to serious international conflicts and endangers peace and security.

25. South-East Asia, the Caribbean region, the southern part of Africa, where Portuguese colonialists are waging war against the peoples of Mozambique and Angola, South Arabia, where Great Britain is waging war against the champions of freedom, Central Europe, where the revenge-seekers of Bonn rear their heads—those are the centres of increasing tensions, the hotbeds where are to be found already burning or still smouldering coals that can be kindled into a conflagration. To bridle the imperialist aggressors, to safeguard peace and security, are at present the most urgent tasks.

26. The most dangerous situation exists in South-East Asia, where the armed forces of the United States are being used for direct intervention in the domestic affairs of South Viet-Nam and for aggressive actions against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. A continual increase in the number of American armed forces in South Viet-Nam, their military operations against the National Liberation Front, have, in fact, turned the civil war in that country into a war of United States imperialists against the people of Viet-Nam. The American imperialists are subjecting the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to barbarous bombings thus committing open aggression against that heroic socialist Asian State.

27. It was with a sense of profound indignation that the Ukrainian delegation listened to the statement of the United States representative [1346th meeting], who tried to justify his Government's unlawful interference in the domestic affairs of the freedom-loving people of Viet-Nam. By what right do the American imperialists send their troops thousands of miles away in order to suppress the liberty of the people of South Viet-Nam and to interfere in their domestic affairs? There is no justification and never can be for the aggressive actions of the United States in Viet-Nam.

28. The Ukrainian people strongly condemn the United States aggression in Viet-Nam and express their solidarity with the people of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam who are fighting against American imperialism. The only possible basis for the settlement of the situation in Viet-Nam lies in implementing the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China, the cessation of the barbarous bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the withdrawal of all the armed forces of the United States and its allies from South Viet-Nam and giving the Viet-Nameese people the opportunity to decide their own fate.

29. It is well known to the entire world that the United States policy is one of interference in the internal affairs of other countries. The events in Viet-Nam are not the only proof. In Stanleyville, the United States, the United Kingdom and Belgium undertook a military action in an effort to interfere in that country's struggle and to deal a mortal blow to the national patriotic forces.

30. The United States interfered rudely in the internal affairs of the Dominican Republic. No sooner did the population of that country rise against the dictatorship of the military junta and demand restoration of the constitution than the American Marines landed there. The Dominican Republic is at present occupied by the United States, under the guise of the inter-American military forces, against the will of the people. The imperialist circles of the United States are now seeking to establish these forces on a permanent basis in order to have them on call for armed interference in the affairs of any people of Latin America.

31. Everybody knows the policy which the United States is pursuing in relation to Cuba. It is for the Cuban people alone to decide their destiny, whether the United States likes it or not.

32. Political and economic pressures, blackmail, economic blockade, and smuggling of armed bandits, military intervention—this is only an incomplete list of the means of interference used by the imperialists.

33. On the first day of the general debate in the Assembly, a great deal was said from this rostrum about the lofty ideals of the United Nations, of the necessity to keep burning in the hearts of the people of this earth the fires of freedom, of making people free from fear, and of the responsibility to "keep the candle of peace glowing". But what kind of "freedom from fear" can there be if it is asserted by the bayonets of marines? What kind of "candle of peace" can there be if it serves to detonate napalm bombs which set fire to towns and villages in Viet-Nam? The flowery phrases about the lofty ideals of the United Nations and about the freedom of peoples and their right to self-determination will be worthless if no resolute measures are taken against the actions of the aggressive forces headed by the imperialists of the United States.

34. Recently, intensified efforts have been made to put the aggressive acts on a "theoretical foundation", to "legalize" interference in the internal affairs of States and peoples. A theory which is very dangerous to the cause of peace is being propounded, according to which there is no difference between national liberation and civil wars, on the one hand, and wars between States, on the other. The imperialist "doctrine of globalism", according to which the United States assumes the right to interfere in the internal affairs of any country in any part of the globe, is again brought to light. In the well-known book *My Hope for America*, whose author stands at the helm of United States policy, the use of force in the field of international relations is expressly propounded. "There is no place in today's world for weakness", ^{2/} writes its author, and calls for

using the entire might of the United States to "resolutely oppose" communism. The fabrications about the "communist threat" are produced on nearly every occasion where there is a need to disguise interference in the internal affairs of States and violations of their sovereignty.

35. Is it not a mockery of the principles of the United Nations when, a day before the opening of the present session of the General Assembly, the House of Representatives of the United States Congress adopts an unprecedented resolution authorizing armed intervention by the United States in any country of Latin America under the pretext of a struggle against communism? How does that conform with the United Nations Charter or even with the charter of the Organization of American States, which contain direct prohibitions on the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State or interference in the internal affairs of States? No considerations of a political, economic or other character, no inventions about the communist threat, can justify violation of those provisions of the United Nations Charter. The purpose which the imperialist forces pursue in interfering in the internal affairs of States or peoples, in whatever form it may be expressed, is to hinder and suppress the process of development of the national liberation struggle, to stop the progress of peoples towards political and economic independence and to keep them in the sphere of economic exploitation and political domination of the imperialists.

36. We condemn so strongly and so frankly the actions of the forces of imperialism and aggression, not because of a desire to inflame passions and exacerbate the working atmosphere at this session, but because these actions constitute a serious threat to world peace and are incompatible with the provisions of the United Nations Charter. It is necessary to make the practice of international relations free from dictate and arbitrary rule and from interference in the internal affairs of States and to pave the way for international co-operation both in the framework of the United Nations and outside it.

37. International co-operation is possible only when it is accompanied by strict observance of the principles of equality and self-determination of nations, by non-interference in the internal affairs of States and by peaceful coexistence among nations with different social and economic systems. Therefore the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic believes that the General Assembly should solemnly confirm the aforementioned principles—upon which the United Nations Charter is based—in the manner suggested in the draft declaration "on the inadmissibility of interference in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty", introduced by the delegation of the Soviet Union [see A/5977].

38. It is impossible also to pass over in silence the situation in Europe. It is high time that the vestiges of the Second World War were done away with and the situation in Europe normalized. The solution of the problem of a peaceful German settlement would respond to the vital interests of peace and security in Europe and would contribute to a

^{2/} Lyndon B. Johnson, *My Hope for America* (New York, Random House, 1964), p. 78.

normalization of the entire international situation. A peaceful German settlement is possible only on the basis of recognition of the fact of the existence of the two German States, that is, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, and of the territory of West Berlin. The realistic way to a rapprochement of both German States and to the peaceful unification of the German people is stated in the manifesto of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic dated 5 May 1965. This peaceful programme, inspired by a sense of responsibility for the future of the German people and for the destinies of peace, as stated in the manifesto, is fully supported by the Ukrainian people, who, in the span of one generation, went through two world wars unleashed by German imperialism.

39. The European socialist countries have put forward a programme for consolidating peace in Europe by creating a system of collective security. In this respect we consider worthy of attention the proposal of the Polish People's Republic concerning the convening of a conference of European States to discuss measures of European collective security, a freeze of nuclear armaments and creation of an atom-free zone in central Europe; the proposal of the German Democratic Republic for the renunciation of atomic weapons by both German States; the proposal of the Socialist Republic of Romania concerning improvement of neighbourly relations among European States; and the proposal for the signing of a non-aggression pact between the States of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the member States of NATO.

40. It is with profound concern that we watch the politicians of Bonn and those who protect them carefully growing the tree of militarism and revanchism which bears a striking resemblance to the tree from which the evil seeds of the Second World War spread all over Europe and throughout the world.

41. The ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany, with the downright connivance of the United States and some other countries, openly declare their revenge-seeking programme regarding the German Democratic Republic and the territories belonging to Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. Day in and day out the West German revanchists, using any occasion or any political undertaking, call for the revision of the borders in Europe. They want to question the fact that these borders have been established as a result of the Second World War and are not liable to any revision. The Governments of certain countries should long ago have stopped defending such an attitude on the part of Bonn, and the sooner they do so the stronger will be peace in Europe.

42. The politicians of Bonn support their demands for the revision of borders in Europe by active measures aimed at a revival of German militarism. At present the armed forces of the Federal Republic of Germany are numerically the strongest in Western Europe and they are equipped with almost all types of modern weapons, including rockets. Ex-Nazi generals and officers are in command of the army; they have assumed high offices in NATO and exert a decisive influence in shaping the strategy of that

military alliance. It seems that, to some people, it makes no difference who gives orders to the Bundeswehr. But it makes a great deal of difference to the Ukrainian people. Those who have sown death and destruction are again taking in their hands the military helm and the guidance of affairs of state in West Germany. The Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic has repeatedly demanded and continues to demand that Nazi criminals be prosecuted. The conscience of the Ukrainian people as well as that of all peace-loving peoples cannot accept the fact that criminals who committed the most horrid crimes against peace and humanity remain unpunished, no matter what the pretext.

43. It is not a will for vengeance that leads us to demand punishment for all war crimes, but our concern to prevent such crimes in the future. All that happened twenty years ago might, to certain people, seem pure theory about a mere episode of the past; but for the Ukrainian people it was the hardest period in their history. We shall never be able to forget that the fascists annihilated 4.5 million civilians in the Ukraine and that they took 2 million more people to Germany for forced labour and that they destroyed 714 towns and 28,000 villages. The Ukrainian soil is strewn with the graves of our fathers and mothers, sisters, brothers and children. And what a great number of sons and daughters of the Ukraine, together with their brothers and sisters of other Soviet peoples and the peoples of Europe, were burnt in concentration camps such as Majdanek, Auschwitz and other death factories which were created by the evil genius of German imperialism and will forever remain its shame!

44. There is not a single family in our Republic to which the war did not bring irreparable losses. The many monuments to the victims of fascism will always remind us that nothing and nobody is forgotten. Years have passed, and the grief for millions of dead has not been blotted out of the memories of the Soviet people. Their graves will never be forgotten by the people.

45. Our people made a substantial contribution to the defeat of the Hitlerite invaders. That is why they have a sacred right to demand, and they do demand, that the way to the revival of West German revenge-seeking and militarism should be blocked. We appeal to all peoples to be vigilant. The revenge-seeking adventurers in Bonn are already taking aim against peace in Europe.

46. But, of extreme danger to the cause of peace are the demands by the ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany that the Bundeswehr should be equipped with nuclear weapons. The representatives of the Bonn Government declare without much ceremony that they have a "right" to have their own nuclear weapons, and they even present that claim in the form of an ultimatum. Surrendering to the extortions of Bonn, the ruling circles of the United States and the United Kingdom are trying to find ways to satisfy the atomic appetite of the West German revenge-seekers and at the same time to present themselves as opponents of the dissemination of nuclear weapons. It is impossible to imagine more inconsistent actions and intentions. Having

taken cognizance of the draft treaty on the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons introduced by the United States in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee,^{3/} the Ukrainian Government has come to the conclusion that this treaty would open the way for the transfer of nuclear weapons to those States not now possessing them. The Western Powers openly declare that the proposals put forward by the United States in Geneva contain no obstacles to prevent the West German revenge-seekers and militarists from getting nuclear weapons through multilateral or Atlantic nuclear forces of NATO. Thus, just as before, Western plans include giving access to weapons of mass destruction to the Bonn revenge-seekers, whose actions and policy are military threats in Europe and, consequently, in the whole world.

47. Lately, on numerous occasions, responsible representatives of the West have claimed that in the dissemination of nuclear weapons in the world they see a real danger for the cause of peace. If they want such statements to be believed, the Western Powers should give up their plans for the establishment of multilateral or Atlantic nuclear forces of NATO.

48. The draft treaty on the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons introduced on behalf of the Soviet Government by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. A. A. Gromyko, [see A/5976] for the consideration of the present session of the General Assembly rules out both direct and indirect access to those weapons on the part of non-nuclear States. The conclusion of such a treaty would avoid the dangerous consequences of the further dissemination of nuclear weapons and would considerably contribute to the prevention of a nuclear war. The Ukrainian delegation fully supports that draft treaty.

49. The Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic considers it necessary to strive towards the implementation of general and complete disarmament, as well as of such partial measures as the prohibition of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, the establishment of denuclearized zones, the elimination of foreign military bases on foreign soil and the withdrawal of foreign troops. The Ukrainian Government again declares that it fully supports the proposal to convene a world disarmament conference, to be attended by all nations wishing to participate in it.^{4/}

50. There are a number of agenda items dealing with one of the most urgent problems of our time: the problem of the complete and final liquidation of colonialism.

51. Almost five years have passed since the United Nations adopted, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. Colonialism has suffered a serious defeat. Many of the peoples of the world have won their freedom and independence only after a stubborn and difficult struggle. But the task of liquidating colonialism is far from being accomplished.

52. In this century we cannot tolerate that peoples and nations should still be kept in bondage by the forces of colonial barbarism and savagery. The dark night of colonialism has lasted all too long for the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, Basutoland, South Arabia, Oman, British Guiana and other territories.

53. Members are all aware of the great amount of time that was devoted to the discussion of colonial problems at previous sessions of the General Assembly. They are also aware of the large number of excellent resolutions and recommendations that were adopted and approved. Our delegation believes that the time of persuasion and good intentions is past. The General Assembly should decisively and unequivocally demand that the colonial Powers implement the decisions embodied in the epoch-making anti-colonial Declaration—that is, immediately grant freedom and the right of self-determination to the peoples of all colonial territories. The colonial peoples are selflessly carrying on their struggle for freedom and national independence against the forces of colonialism and imperialism.

54. With regard to the discussion of the question of the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations, the Ukrainian delegation would like to state that its position is based first and foremost on the provisions of the Charter. We would like to stress again that so far as questions of the maintenance of world peace and security are concerned, it is the Security Council which bears the main responsibilities under the Charter. The Security Council alone is authorized to take all decisions concerning the organization, the carrying out and the financing of appropriate United Nations operations. Under the Charter, the General Assembly may discuss any question relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, and make recommendations. However, any such questions on which action is necessary should be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly, either before or after discussion. This provision is crystal clear in Article 11 of the United Nations Charter. This provision determines the complete and indivisible responsibility of the Security Council for any operation that could be undertaken by the United Nations in order to maintain peace and stop aggression.

55. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic opposes any attempts to violate Charter provisions in this vital sphere of the activities of the Organization. We should like also to state that we cannot be indifferent to the opinion expressed in certain circles alleging that the Charter is outdated, that it does not meet today's requirements. The Ukrainian delegation holds that the United Nations Charter has withstood the test of time and still provides the necessary basis for concerted actions by States in the interests of peace and international co-operation.

56. Being concerned with the fate and good name of our Organization, we cannot but express, in a few words, our opinion on the way that the United Nations finances are being managed. One cannot but notice the fact that the Budget estimates increase year after year, and that year after year the estimate is exceeded. We are completely in agreement with

^{3/} See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965, document DC/227, annex I, section A.

^{4/} Ibid., document DC/224.

the Foreign Minister of France, who pointed out that a situation of this kind is completely inadmissible. With regard to expenditures of the United Nations, a strict order should be established in accordance with the Charter and the financial regulations of the United Nations. Over-expenditure of the estimate allocation should be considered as inadmissible.

57. A task of special urgency today seems to be that of making the United Nations a universal world organization. For this purpose, it is necessary first of all to restore the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in this Organization. There is also a pressing need for the simultaneous admission to the United Nations of the two German States, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. Only when the United Nations has become a representative world Organization will it be able to function as an effective organ of international co-operation which takes into account the interests of all peoples.

58. We should like to take this pleasant opportunity to welcome the new Members to the United Nations—the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore—and wish the people of those States success and prosperity in their national development.

59. The Ukrainian delegation has always sought actively to participate in discussing and finding solutions to economic, social, legal and cultural problems. It is gratifying for us to note that the agenda of the present session contains three items that were included on the initiative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. These are: the role of the United Nations in training national technical personnel for the accelerated industrialization of the developing countries; a world campaign for universal literacy, and measures to accelerate the promotion of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. When those questions are being discussed, we expect to receive the co-operation of other delegations.

60. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held in Geneva last year made a number of positive decisions concerning the most important problems of economic and trade relations. It was a constructive beginning, however modest, in the normalization of international trade. The present session of the General Assembly will have to consider the question of the implementation of the recommendations of the Conference. To bring those recommendations into effect, much work will be required, first of all, to solve such problems as the establishment of a universal international trade organization, the implementation of new and just principles in the international economic relations, the elimination of discrimination based on political considerations in international trade, the expansion of trade between East and West, and other questions.

61. I should like to state once more that our people are staunch champions of peace. Together with the other Soviet Republics which created the mighty Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Ukraine is building, with inspiration, a new society based on scientific socialism and communism. This society is based on the ideology of true equality among all human beings and all peoples. There is no place

in it for the exploitation of man by man. There is no place in it for racial, national or any other discrimination. Every person is a toiler, and the production of material wealth and all the wealth are at the disposal of the whole people. The Soviet State guarantees work, education free of charge at all stages, free medical treatment and social security for all. Our motto is, "all is for man, all is in the name of man".

62. All the peoples of the Soviet Union will soon celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the great October socialist Revolution accomplished by workers and peasants under the guidance of the party of the great Lenin. Masters of their own destiny, our people in the years of Soviet power have changed beyond recognition the face of the country and their own life. Our Republic has been turned into a country of universal literacy with a high level of science and culture. In a number of the most important fields, such as cast iron, steel, iron ore, and coal, our country has left behind most developed capitalist countries in per capita production. Those are the fruits of our people's toil and of the assistance of all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

63. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is a sovereign and free State in the great fraternal family of the Soviet Republics. We Ukrainians cannot but express our surprise and indignation at the fact that, in the United States, there is organized officially each year a funeral feast for the anti-national régime which was thrown out by the Ukrainian people into the junkyard of history half a century ago. Our Government, our people, consider those actions by certain United States circles to be interference in the domestic affairs of the Ukrainian State. We mention this because such actions are incompatible with the obligations of the Member States under the Charter.

64. The Government and people of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic favour the development of friendly and good neighbourly relations among all States and peoples. They want the principles of peaceful coexistence to become a law in relations between States with different social and economic systems. The securing of peaceful coexistence requires the creation of the most favourable conditions for peace and progress.

65. The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, in accordance with the will of its Government and people, will consistently support all moves of the General Assembly toward the consolidation of peace. We are convinced that the United Nations can and should carry out its duty towards humanity, and we expect that the twentieth session of the General Assembly will be able to contribute to the accomplishment of this important and noble task of the United Nations.

66. Mrs. MEIR (Israel): Mr. President, coming to the Assembly from Jerusalem, it gives me particular pleasure to join in the congratulations which have been extended to you on your election to the Presidency of our Assembly. For you have come to this high office from Rome, a city whose influence on the shaping of world civilization has since early times been of the greatest significance. Rome and Jerusalem

are not merely names of old cities. They represent some of the most ancient concepts in human history. Our cities have known strife and struggle. But we are privileged to see their revival in freedom and dignity, with friendship and co-operation between them.

67. Mr. President, we are fortunate that this Assembly will be led by one whose ability and wisdom are so outstanding, and who has played so notable a part in renewing the stature of his own country.

68. I would also associate myself with the tribute paid to your predecessor in the Chair, the Foreign Minister of Ghana, Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey. His dynamic, resourceful and cheerful leadership helped our Organization to emerge unharmed from the dangers to its survival, which we all hope will not recur.

69. On Monday, we were stirred by the profound spiritual message of peace and goodwill delivered in this chamber by His Holiness the Pope. It was for us a moment laden with history when His Holiness trod upon the soil of Israel last year, in the course of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land. We hope that his appearance before the Assembly will add to that universal human brotherhood which transcends all creeds and frontiers.

70. We are now embarking upon a new and active Assembly session. The crisis concerning peace-keeping operations, as well as recent armed conflicts, makes us view the United Nations in an atmosphere of realism.

71. Much has been said in the course of the general debate about the Organization's balance sheet—about what it has achieved and what it has failed to do during the twenty years of its existence. We must remember that when the United Nations was founded, it represented a second attempt at creating an Organization to prevent the recurrence of war. Had the first attempt succeeded after the First World War, the world would not have been plunged into the tragedy of the Second World War. And just as the second war was many times worse than the first—and I repeat that this was due to our failure to turn the League of Nations into an effective instrument for the preservation of peace—we know today that if we fail here the resulting destruction would be incomparably greater than before. None of us can tell if after another war we shall have the opportunity to make a third attempt at peace. Only from this point of view can we realize the responsibility weighing upon us collectively and, even more so, on each of us individually. After all, the Organization as a whole cannot be better or more effective than its Members.

72. There have been General Assemblies during which we sat here in fear, lest the so-called "cold war" flare up into a new world conflagration. And again there were Assemblies—and particularly that of 1963—when we felt that the world had recoiled from the brink of the abyss, and when the horizon seemed brighter.

73. It is a ground for sober comfort that we have lived for two decades now without a renewal of a large-

scale war. But we know that this is not the whole picture. No nation today can live isolated, and no conflict between nations can remain isolated. Our world is too small and too interdependent for such dangerous delusions. Yet it seems this lesson is not yet accepted by all. The fears which agitate international life today are the fruits of our own sins. During these twenty years we have allowed the day-by-day behaviour of Member States to be divorced from the United Nations Charter. I believe that declarations about peace reflect the sincere desire of mankind. At the same time there is a lack of willingness to act accordingly regarding disputes in which individual Member States find themselves involved. We have not succeeded in eliminating from international life the idea that there is a choice between solving problems by peaceful means or solving them by resort to war.

74. Throughout the history of mankind there were patterns of human behaviour which at the time appeared to be natural and acceptable, but which later came to be regarded as inadmissible. So too, our duty now is to eliminate from the thinking of our generation the concept of the use of force as a means for solving international disputes.

75. Since the end of the Second World War, some fifty so-called "local wars" have erupted. The latest example has been the fighting over Kashmir which we all pray is now being halted, in response to the Security Council's unanimous cease-fire resolutions and the peace mission of our dedicated and selfless Secretary-General. Did the tens of thousands of widows and orphans left after these outbreaks find consolation in the thought that their bereavement was caused only by a local war? Need we be reminded of the destruction caused, of the tens of thousands of scorched acres? Nobody knows how a global war might begin, but all know what its end will be. As to local wars, we know how they begin but we do not know how they might end.

76. Can we point to a single conflict which was solved by a so-called "local war" or which could not have been peacefully solved by the parties concerned—given a sincere desire to reach a solution, mutual respect and, above all, the acceptance of the axiom that each State has a right to exist?

77. If we accept the principles on which our Organization rests, can the United Nations ignore the declarations of individual Member States or groups of Member States calling for the destruction of another Member State? Can our Organization remain indifferent when the Charter and the resolutions of peace coexist with preparations for a war of aggression by Member State? Acquiescence in such a situation is not only unjustified toward the State threatened by aggression; it erodes the very foundations of the Organization itself and impairs its moral authority in other cases.

78. The destructive effects of such a warlike threat do not await actual hostilities. Long before, the would-be attacker stocks arms in order to carry out his designs while the designated victim has to arm in his own defence. The direct result is that huge sums are spent on armaments and productive

manpower is paralysed in developing countries which cannot yet satisfy the basic needs of their citizens.

79. The world now devotes its thoughts and efforts—and justly so—to the question of limiting and, in the end, eliminating nuclear weapons. This is without doubt the most vital objective facing us. But all the wars which have taken place in our time, with all their destructive consequences, have been waged with so-called conventional arms. Moreover, in many parts of the world these are the arms that are creating dangerous tensions, and the risk of fresh outbreaks. With all the central concern that is properly focussed on weapons of mass destruction, we cannot afford to ignore the grave implications of a conventional arms race.

80. Unfortunately, much of what I have said so far derives from experience in our own region. Three times recently the Kings and Presidents of a dozen Arab States, Members of the United Nations, have gathered to prepare and co-ordinate plans, to establish armed forces, and to approve budgets, with the declared aim of launching a war against another Member State. From these three gatherings there came no peace tidings, no call for friendship and brotherhood between peoples, no economic plans to solve the development problems of the parties concerned, no challenge to the hunger, poverty, disease and illiteracy from which many of their inhabitants suffer. From those conference halls came only the voice of belligerence. The agenda was a programme of aggression against a Member State, calling for a unified military command, piling up more weapons, and even recruiting and training refugees supported by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency in Palestine to operate against our territory. A budget of nearly half a billion dollars was adopted to finance and prosecute these purposes during the next four years.

81. Let no one feel reassured at the allegedly good news that a war which Arab leaders describe as inevitable has been postponed for four years. By insisting on their war aims and pursuing their war preparations, they are condemning the region to years of a wasteful and escalating arms race into which Israël, too, is obliged against its will, to divert precious resources and efforts for maintaining its own armed strength, since its defence capability is essential to deter its enemies. The price-tag for such an arms race includes the retarding of progress, the poisoning of young minds in the Arab countries with sentiments of hatred and revenge, and the building-up of explosive tensions. It is to us paradoxical that States that proclaim these doctrines of war and pursue these policies sit as Members of the United Nations, and even as members of the Security Council and the Disarmament Committee. It is our contention that the United Nations as such cannot close its ears to doctrines and policies of war unless it wishes to abdicate its primary responsibility.

82. I naturally do not intend to say one word as to the rights and justification for the existence of the State of Israël, now entering its eighteenth year of renewed statehood. But I must say that it gives me great satisfaction to note that there is agreement

between the United Arab Republic and Israël as expressed by the Foreign Minister of the United Arab Republic this morning: "a dangerous trend to use force in international relations" [1351st meeting, para. 56]; his advice to both India and Pakistan to solve their problems by peaceful means; the adherence of his country to the principles of coexistence; and so on. We agree to that fully. But it is very regrettable that his address serves as an example of the pattern I mentioned earlier in my speech, that some countries speak very eloquently on the necessity of peace, disarmament, and the solution of international problems by peaceful means, but follow a directly contrary policy in cases where they themselves are involved.

83. My Government, for its part, regards its signature of the Charter as committing it to the independence and integrity of every single other Member State. The Charter principles to which I have referred are for us not mere moral precepts, but guidelines for the conduct of our international relations. In all the years of our existence as an independent State we have repeatedly called upon our neighbours to abandon policies of belligerence, to settle our disputes by direct negotiation, and to agree on a relationship based on mutual respect for the sovereignty of all States in that region. Again today we call upon our neighbours to substitute for a doctrine of war the doctrine of peace, coexistence and fruitful co-operation. We do not call for peace from a position of weakness, nor are we animated by an arrogance of strength. We consider peace as the dictate of the hour, and the doorway to progress and development for all our peoples.

84. Peace is more than just the absence of war. Only peace makes it possible to create a society in which all our energies can be concentrated on constructive purposes. If we were to be relieved of the threat of war, our generation would be better equipped to face the formidable array of unresolved human problems. I should like to refer briefly to some of these basic questions.

85. To begin with, these are still difficult and even explosive problems left unresolved in the colonial field, such as those of Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea and others. This is an era when the recognition of almost universal that all nations are entitled to equal status and common dignity. Those who resist that truth cannot possibly win; they can only cause more bitterness and more pain. The irresistible tide of independence is the most striking historical event of the age. Within two decades it has transformed the political map of the world, and today over 90 per cent of the human race lives in sovereign States. The Israël delegation will continue to give its full support to the cause of national independence where it has not yet been attained, and, in particular, to the liberation of all African territories still under colonial rule.

86. It was with great satisfaction that we at this Assembly welcomed three more newly independent countries into our Organization: the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore. We greet them in a sincere spirit of friendship and co-operation.

87. However spectacular and rapid the march to independence has been, one cannot but feel unhappy at the slow tempo of development in those countries that have already gained their sovereignty. We know that there is no lack of goodwill towards the developing and struggling countries, and no lack of agencies and institutions, both bilateral and multilateral, through which international aid is made available to them. I have no intention of minimizing the extent to which international co-operation has grown up. There are remarkable facts quoted in the Secretary-General's lucid and thoughtful introduction to his current annual report concerning the work done over the years by the Special Fund, the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, and UNICEF. If one totals the annual budgets of the United Nations and the specialized agencies in the economic and social fields, the figure is very impressive; and considerably more is being done through direct channels.

88. Yet it seems that what has taken place so far is quite inadequate. We are now half-way through the hopefully proclaimed United Nations Development Decade without substantial progress having been accomplished. It would seem that international collective responsibility is still in its infancy, and that what we require is a revolution in our thinking about these problems.

89. The most burning issue in the world economic picture, as far as the developing countries see it, may well be that which relates to the marketing of primary products. It was most distressing to read in the Secretary-General's introduction to his annual report that:

"...a disturbing shadow has been cast, in the form of a worsening of the relative economic position of the developing countries. ...the terms of trade are moving against the developing countries." [A/6001/Add.1, section IV.]

90. It is, of course, legitimate for the more advanced countries to enjoy constant progress, and a steady rise in the standard of living of their people. But this must not be achieved at the expense of the poorer countries, from which they import raw materials. Nothing is solved when aid is offered to developing countries, while their natural wealth is bought on terms which keep them poor and therefore dependent upon more external aid.

91. No less serious a question is how to make available to developing countries the massive amounts of capital they need for economic growth, on terms they can afford. Without such a flow of capital, they cannot attain self-sustained growth. Yet, if they obtain loans at the prevailing terms, the repayment of the principal and interest will, in many cases, catch up with the total amount of financial assistance they receive from elsewhere, and the whole development effort will be defeated. At the United Nations Trade and Development Conference in Geneva, the Governor of the Bank of Israel, Mr. David Horowitz, submitted an ambitious plan for making development capital available to poorer countries at a greatly increased rate, and on the easy terms of the International Development Association (IDA). My dele-

gation believes that such an approach is in the long-term interests of the industrial nations as well, as it would expand the market for their capital goods. At any rate, it seems evident that this is a problem which will not be resolved just by a conservative banking attitude.

92. But with all their need for external aid, the developing countries will have to advance mainly by their own exertions and by co-operation among themselves. As a post-war State situated at the junction between Asia and Africa, Israel is happy to be an active participant in this process of direct co-operation with many other developing lands in those two continents, as well as in Latin America and the Middle East. Such a role is basic to our own sense of mission, and our place in the world. In Israel we have mobilized all our creative energy and pioneering zeal in tackling the development problems of our own small country, and we have sought to share with others our experience in nation-building. Today we have projects of economic and technical co-operation in over fifty other developing countries, while thousands of students and trainees come to us each year. A series of international conferences that have taken place at Rehovot in Israel have served the purpose of clarifying the needs of new States and seeking constructive answers. The themes of these conferences have covered science and technology, rural planning and monetary and fiscal problems, and the participants have included government leaders and top experts from over fifty countries.

93. In the social field, special praise is due to UNICEF for the growing scope of its work in the less developed countries. UNICEF has evolved for itself a broad philosophy, by which the young child is regarded not merely as an object of sentimental concern, but as the chief asset a country possesses and the key to its national future. For this reason, there is a new interest in helping children adapt themselves to the bewildering changes that are now breaking up the traditional patterns of family life. To quote from the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, "...mankind owes to the child the best it has to give" [resolution 1386 (XIV)]. And in helping the child, each nation is helping itself. It gives me personal satisfaction that a countrywoman of mine presides over the Executive Board of an international agency engaged in such vital and moving tasks.

94. A kindred field of endeavour is the international attack on illiteracy. At the recent UNESCO conference on this subject, held in Teheran, my colleague, the Israel Minister of Education and Culture, Mr. Zalman Aranne, pointed out that:

"The problem of illiteracy has two aspects. One is that of teaching men and women the simple skill of reading and writing. But beyond it looms the ideal of human dignity, of freedom through knowledge. Leave a human being without the ingredients for a creative and productive life, without the power of intelligent decision, and you deprive him of the opportunity of serving modern society and of living his life with a sense of purpose."

95. I might here refer to a remarkable conference held in Jerusalem last year, attended by women from

forty-nine countries, mainly developing lands, but outstanding women leaders of European countries as well. Many vital topics concerning women's role in developing countries were discussed. As a result of these deliberations, it is now decided to dedicate this year's activities to combating illiteracy among wives and mothers. This is to our mind the most effective way of influencing the home and the children.

96. The United Nations, like the League of Nations before it, is an association of sovereign States. However, the Charter combines respect for national sovereignty with an emphasis on the dignity and worth of the human being, and it rejects discrimination in all its forms. This concern for man as an individual was spelt out in detail in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights seventeen years ago, and in a series of declarations and conventions which followed it. Nobody would deny the moral and educational force of such documents. But no instrument has yet been devised for implementing them, and reconciling the protection of persons or groups within a State, with the sovereignty of the State. The delegation of Costa Rica has now taken an important initiative in proposing the appointment of a United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, as a means of overcoming this difficulty [see A/5963]. My delegation will give to this suggestion the careful and sympathetic study it warrants.

97. The Jewish people can claim a bitter status in this field. Many centuries of religious and racial persecution in many lands culminated in the indescribable horror of the Nazi régime and its attempted "final solution of the Jewish question"—an organized project to murder all Jews. Six million of them were wiped out in the gas chambers or moulder in mass graves, and to this day Israel is full of survivors with concentration camp numbers tattooed on their skins. With these memories haunting us, it is small wonder that we should abhor all discrimination on the ground of ethnic origin, faith, or the colour of a person's skin. We reject policies of racial or religious discrimination, colonialism and apartheid wherever they exist.

98. My delegation welcomes the progress which has been made in drafting declarations and conventions on the related topics of racial prejudice and religious intolerance. It is worth recalling that the evolution of these important texts started as a result of widespread anti-semitic acts some years ago—the so-called "swastika epidemic". I would note the following sentence from last year's report of the Commission on Human Rights:

"...anti-Semitism, in all its manifestations, past and present, was a repugnant form of racial discrimination; it was a dangerous social and political phenomenon, and it was a serious obstacle to the establishment of friendly relations and co-operation among peoples."^{5/}

99. At the eighteenth session, the Israel delegation strongly supported the inclusion, on the initiative of the United States, of an article expressly condemning anti-semitism. We deem it essential that this para-

graph should be maintained intact, together with the condemnation of racism and nazism, in the Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

100. It is now twenty years since Nazi Germany was defeated, and the foul Third Reich collapsed in blood and flames. What could be more fitting than for this Assembly to mark the occasion by adopting the Draft Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination?

101. The work of the drafts concerning religious intolerance has been rather slower, but a positive approach is apparent in what has already been done on this topic by the Commission on Human Rights.^{6/} In particular, it has become recognized that this is not only a matter concerning individuals. Religious communities and ethnic minorities are collectively entitled to all the freedoms and facilities needed to practise their faith, preserve their spiritual and cultural heritage, organize their communal institutions, and maintain contact with their brethren elsewhere. It remains a matter of sorrow and concern to us that a certain large Jewish community suffers serious disabilities and discrimination, which are causing distress not only to their fellow Jews, but also to decent and liberal opinion in other lands. A few concessions have recently been made, and we can only hope that they are signs of a more liberal policy. It is hard to understand what that great country concerned could stand to gain by stifling an ancient faith, culture and language, belonging to a minority group.

102. Twenty years after its birth, the United Nations appears troubled and divided, because it reflects a troubled and divided world. There is still a steep and tortuous road to that world order, based on the rule of law between nations, to which the United States representative referred the other day [1346th meeting]. Yet, during the critical months of the nineteenth session, there were indications that all the Members of the Organization shared a desire to preserve it, and to see it play an effective part in world affairs. Whether the United Nations can attain such a role depends upon its responses to the challenges which now confront it. Our organization will grow in strength, and not merely in size, to the extent that it can halt fighting, firmly reject doctrines of war, set in reverse the present arms race, conventional as well as nuclear, promote the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, help to liberate the remaining colonial territories stimulate development and welfare among the new nations, and safeguard human rights.

103. It is admittedly a formidable list of tasks, but it is by these expectations that the world will judge our joint success or failure. Let us renew our faith that if we want these objectives and are willing to work together for them, they will be attained.

104. Mr. MURUMBI (Kenya): I should, first of all, like to convey to you my delegation's congratulations on your election to the high office of the Presidency of the General Assembly. The Assembly is indeed

^{5/} See Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 8, para. 277.

^{6/} Ibid., Thirty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 8, chap. II.

very fortunate in having as its President a statesman or world renown and a political philosopher in his own right. As my country has very good relations with Italy, which are continuing to expand in a number of fields, it gives me great pleasure today to greet Italy's distinguished representative here.

105. I deem it opportune now to pay my delegation's tribute to the outgoing President of the General Assembly, Mr. Quaison-Sackey. During the tenure of his office he displayed remarkable patience, statesmanship and dedication to the cause of the United Nations and to the Members comprising it. In the face of heavy odds against him and at a time when the very existence of the Organization was threatened, he acted with resourcefulness, despatch and tenacity of purpose which won the admiration of all. But for his untiring efforts and unfailing hope and confidence in his mission, the twentieth regular session of the General Assembly would probably never have met. To this great son and patriot of Africa, we wish success in his appointment as Ghana's Minister for Foreign Affairs.

106. I also wish to welcome to our company the delegations of the Gambia, the Maldives Islands, and Singapore. Their admission to the United Nations marks yet another step in the universality of this world Organization. We hope that their admission will strengthen the United Nations further.

107. With regard to the United Nations, it is a fundamental aspect of the Kenya Government's policy that this Organization deserves unqualified support from all its Members to ensure its continued existence. Just a few weeks back it was gravely paralysed by financial difficulties and its fate hung in the balance. Many observers thought they would witness the end of this Organization in the fashion of the League of Nations. However, it is with a great sense of relief and gratification that I note the normal functioning of the General Assembly and the other organs of the United Nations during this session. Let no one be so optimistic as to believe that the problems of the Organization have all been permanently solved.

108. The stiffest test faced by the United Nations is the question of peace-keeping operations. This is indeed an exceedingly complex problem. My delegation believes that the recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations^{2/} provide a useful basis for tackling this problem.

109. The Government of Kenya firmly believes that in order to maintain peace in the world all Members of the United Nations must be prepared to meet the costs involved. The fundamental reason for the existence of the United Nations is to maintain international peace and security. One effective way of fulfilling this objective is to create a permanent United Nations peace-keeping fund. The entire membership of the United Nations should be compulsorily assessed each year. If thereafter a Member feels that it has the capability and the willingness to make voluntary contributions in addition to the annual

assessments, such voluntary contributions would be welcome. In this manner every Member must strive to uphold the basic objectives of the Charter, one of which is the maintenance of international peace and security.

110. My delegation feels that some Members rely far too rigidly on legal technicalities which have the effect of negating the very purpose for which the United Nations was founded. If the United Nations is to emerge as an effective force for peace in this struggle-torn world, if the Members wish it to fulfil the purposes and principles of the Charter, when it is imperative that such legalistic and narrow interpretations of the Charter should be avoided. Otherwise the United Nations will be a mere talking assembly used as a propaganda platform for the interests of embattled nations.

111. There is then the question of the right of veto, reserved to the five permanent members of the Security Council. This needs to be revised drastically to enable the United Nations to act promptly in an emergency situation. The power of veto has been repeatedly used not for the furtherance of the aims and purposes of the Charter but as an offensive and defensive weapon for the promotion of the foreign policies of great Powers.

112. I also wish to comment briefly on the competence of the Security Council vis-à-vis the General Assembly to make executive decisions on peace-keeping operations. It is very clearly spelled out in the Charter that the Security Council has a primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. My delegation, however, believes that it is equally true that, if the Security Council is deadlocked by a veto, it is incumbent upon the General Assembly to act in an emergency situation which might, if unchecked, destroy the very basis of peace in this world. It is unbecoming to any permanent member of the Security Council to let a threat to world peace go by default just because the Security Council is paralysed by disagreement amongst the great Powers. In such a case it is a disservice to the cause of world peace to block effective United Nations action by the exercise of a veto and then to plead constitutional niceties as a justification for frustrating the United Nations peace-keeping action in areas where peace is threatened. It is precisely this type of attitude which has weakened the United Nations in the past. In order to meet effectively the blocking tactics of the permanent members of the Security Council, my delegation formally proposes the insertion of a new Chapter in the Charter to deal with this and the other problems I have just raised in the question of peace-keeping operations.

Mr. Sidi Baba (Morocco), Vice-President, took the Chair.

113. Time and again the great Powers have taken unilateral action in areas where peace was threatened. Ignoring the United Nations, ignoring the obligations assumed under it and acting on the principle of "might is right", they have taken punitive action in smaller countries. The case of the Dominican Republic, Viet-Nam and others instantly come to mind. It makes

^{2/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 21, documents A/5915 and Add.1 and A/5916 and Add.1.

one wonder of what use is the United Nations as a guardian of peace if its authority is excluded for the pacific settlement of disputes—a purpose for which it was mainly founded.

114. I wish now to touch on the question of the restoration of the legal right of representation in the United Nations and its various organs to the People's Republic of China. It 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 as such by a large number of countries in the world, including most of the major Powers. It is evident more than ever today that without the People's Republic of China no peace in South-East Asia can be secured. Without it the usefulness of the United Nations will always be limited. Participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations might, we believe, end its frustrations and make it accountable to the United Nations for its actions. If it persisted in taking very militant and aggressive action as a Member of the United Nations, it could be outvoted on specific issues. The risks of admitting China are negligible when compared to the usefulness of having it in the United Nations. While it is excluded from this Organization on the grounds that it has not and will not obey the Charter of the United Nations, it should be borne in mind that, denied participation in the United Nations, it is under no obligation to follow meticulously the provisions of the Charter. Its continued and artificially organized exclusion from the United Nations will always provide standing encouragement for some of the Organization's dissidents and critics to form rival organizations. Let all of us assembled here examine our conscience, especially the major Powers, and ask ourselves if we have always adhered meticulously to the provisions of the Charter.

115. The Government of Kenya believes that the United Nations, with all its imperfections, with all its inadequacies, is the best hope for mankind. The record of the United Nations in the past in solving the numerous post-war problems is commendable. The solution of many explosive political issues, acceleration of the process of independence for non-self-governing territories, promotion of human rights, and a host of other positive achievements stand to its credit. This is not to mention the splendid work it has done for the emergent nations in the technical fields through its many specialized agencies. It is therefore our ardent wish that the United Nations should continue to exist as a strong and effective body. In the final analysis, the United Nations will become what the Members want it to be. To all Members I address the appeal that they should demonstrate their adherence to the Charter of the Organization by faithfully observing its provisions and obligations assumed thereunder.

116. Permit me now to move on to the general world situation. The gathering storms in the present international arena seem to indicate that we are condemned to live in an age of crises, one following the other in rapid succession. Even when there is a semblance of peace, it is troubled with fears of war, hunger, ignorance and prejudice. The forces of cold war at play, both overt and covert, are deliberately

geared to the achievement of ideological objectives. Such tendencies undermine the very concepts of international peace and progress through co-operation. They nullify the basic aims of peaceful world order and need to be eradicated once and for all in relations among States.

117. We cannot be blind to happenings which endanger the chances of world peace and, in the long run, the very survival of the human race. We can no longer afford to acquiesce in any challenge to peace, any threat to freedom or any attempt to sabotage international co-operation, no matter in what form such challenge is disguised or from what source it emanates.

118. The most urgent and pressing problem today is that of disarmament. My delegation believes that, so long as the conventional and nuclear armaments race between the great Powers continues, each vying to overtake the other regardless of costs and consequences to world peace, we shall be condemned to live in an era of uneasy peace which could be disrupted at any time by one of the many existing explosive situations. The arms race does not exist only in relation to the great Powers; it has been actively encouraged amongst the many lesser Powers, too. This has resulted in a multiplication of areas of tension, hostility, and conflict which is difficult to control.

119. The Government of Kenya, being fully conscious of these latent forces, appeals to the great Powers to work for general and total disarmament by stages with fool-proof systems of inspection under the aegis of the United Nations. It is time that the great Powers stopped stalling for time by talking all the way and doing very little to disarm. Total disarmament by stages under the control of a comprehensively worked out United Nations system will reduce world tension and release enormous amounts of money and effort that can be usefully diverted to constructive programmes in the service of humanity at large.

120. The monopoly of nuclear strength in the military field, formerly held by the United States and the Soviet Union, was used to maintain uneasy peace through a delicate balance of military power and the reciprocally accepted deterrent and destructive capability of nuclear weaponry. Today this balance has become dangerously disturbed by the proliferation of nuclear Powers. There is, therefore, all the greater urgency now to ban altogether the testing, production, and stockpiling of such weapons under a satisfactory international control. In this regard the Government of Kenya welcomes the recent partial nuclear test-ban Treaty. Although not a disarmament measure in itself, it is a useful preliminary step towards it. The Government of Kenya continues to hope that a much more comprehensive international treaty banning testing, production and stockpiling of nuclear weapons will finally be agreed to by the nuclear Powers including the People's Republic of China. This will spare the world the hazards of a nuclear holocaust.

121. Permit me to reiterate here that my delegation advocates in an unqualified manner the denuclearization of the entire African continent. I wish to record in the strongest possible terms the opposition of my delegation to the use of Africa as a nuclear testing

ground by any country in the world. In fact, we are committed to this stand by a resolution of the Organization of African Unity.

122. There is then the related problem of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. The Government of Kenya believes that the use of this remarkable source of energy for peaceful purposes is most desirable to effect accelerated economic growth of the emerging countries. My Government therefore urges the nuclear Powers to co-operate with the developing nations in disseminating practical knowledge on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

123. Having dealt at some length with the United Nations and the general world situation today, I should now like to discuss some specific political issues.

124. You will all agree with me that the most explosive problem today which threatens international peace is the undeclared Indian-Pakistani war over Kashmir. From the very beginning it was destined to be a fruitless and inconclusive war of attrition. Its continuance would clearly be detrimental to both sides. The Government of Kenya urges both sides to abide faithfully by the resolutions [209 (1965) and 210 (1965)] of the Security Council of 4 and 6 September respectively, as well as the subsequent ones. The United Nations should facilitate a peaceful settlement of the dispute without any threats or interference from outside. I, for one, do not believe that a point of no return has been reached. A negotiated political settlement, honourable, equitable, and acceptable to both sides, can be found through the good offices of the United Nations. Here I should like to pay my delegation's tribute to the magnificent work which the Secretary-General, U Thant, has done to control this dangerous conflict. His unselfish and unremitting service to the cause of peace will go down as a glorious example of the United Nations' effectiveness, based on the unanimous decision of the Security Council.

125. The other issue of grave concern to world peace is the Viet-Nam crisis. That divided country unfortunately finds itself in the stranglehold of the United States and its allies, including Britain, Australia and New Zealand. Here one tragedy follows another in endless succession. The Government of Kenya believes that the only lasting solution to the Viet-Nam crisis is a negotiated political settlement on the basis of the Geneva Agreements. The preliminary step in this regard is the cessation of hostilities to be followed by unconditional talks amongst the interested parties to solve the issue permanently. In this context, the Government of Kenya appeals to the United States to demonstrate concretely its oft-proclaimed desire for peace and friendly co-operation by ceasing forthwith its massive military offensive against North Viet-Nam and the National Liberation Front. My delegation also calls for a demonstration of good faith on the part of North Viet-Nam and the People's Republic of China so that the cessation of hostilities is facilitated, preparatory to unconditional talks. It is evident to the Government of Kenya that no solution of the Viet-Nam crisis can ever be satisfactory when based on the principle of might is right. It should also be clear to one and all that no solution of the crisis can be

permanent which does not include the active participation of North Viet-Nam, the National Liberation Front, and the People's Republic of China. China's influence and interests in that part of Asia, its geographical proximity to Viet-Nam and concern for its own national security are factors of importance which necessitate its full participation in any move towards a settlement of the crisis.

126. My Government notes with regret that the Viet-Nam crisis has escalated dangerously close to a general war in South-East Asia by the United States intensified military interference and the regular devastation of the country through aerial bombardments and combat action on the ground. It is believed on good evidence that the United States is using Viet-Nam as a testing ground for newly devised American weapons of destruction. If the United States hopes to bring pressures to bear on North Viet-Nam to settle the crisis "peacefully" by military offensive, it is certainly displaying a shortsighted policy. How can one talk of peace in one breath and carry out aggressive military activities in the next? How can one talk of peace and friendship with a gun in one's hand? How can one create an atmosphere conducive to peaceful negotiations when behind the back of intending negotiators deliberate and sustained attempts are made for the physical obliteration of the State apparatus of the so-called enemy?

127. The task of the tripartite International Commission comprised, under the Geneva Agreements, of India, Canada and Poland has been frustrated by the determined military action of the United States Government. This issue should be brought to the General Assembly and the Security Council for consideration and appropriate action. Otherwise what is the purpose of the United Nations if the United States feels that it can interfere in Viet-Nam unilaterally and determine the destiny of that country single-handed on the false assumption that its military might gives it a licence to threaten world peace with impunity? In our opinion United States intervention in Viet-Nam is the greatest menace to international peace and security.

128. Permit me to say a few words about the Cypriot crisis which erupts intermittently. The Government of Kenya, in accordance with its policy of promoting self-determination of peoples, advocates the exercise of this right for the Cypriot people on a basis of majority rule, with constitutional guarantees, if necessary, for the minority groups. I do not believe it is either fair or practical to allow the minority to hold the majority ransom by demanding inconsiderate concessions. The best solution should be found by the Cypriot people themselves, not by outsiders who want a solution to their own advantage at the expense of the Cypriot people. It is not easy to spare from condemnation the imposed constitution and the Treaty of Guarantee under which condemnation the imposed constitution and the Treaty of Guarantee under which the right of intervention in Cypriot affairs is granted to the interested parties, including Britain, Greece, and Turkey. No country can countenance such intolerable restrictions on her sovereignty imposed by external forces.

129. Hitherto the principles of friendly relations and co-operation amongst States have been seriously breached. These principles are enshrined in the United Nations Charter and in almost all the other constitutional documents of other regional international organizations. In violation of these principles and the obligations arising therefrom, some countries like the United States have taken unilateral action with scant regard for the United Nations Charter. While it is well established that all States must refrain from the threat or use of force for the adjustment of disputes, the United States conveniently forgot this obligation in the Dominican Republic. In one breath the United States re-affirmed that no country can arrogate to itself the right to violate the political independence and integrity of States, and in the next ignored it repeatedly in Viet-Nam. The great Powers have accepted that one State should not interfere in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of another. In practice, however, the smaller nations continue to suffer from the grossest intervention of big Powers.

130. Foreign aid has been used repeatedly without any qualms for the corruption of political and trade union leaders, for subversion of popularly elected governments, and for a number of similarly despicable objectives. Large organizations are in existence with unlimited funds at their disposal to further the interests of the donor States. Violence and subversion are sometimes openly practised to secure the interests of such Powers. It is high time that such practices were eradicated and the cloak of foreign aid under which they operate exposed for the world to see.

131. Every State is duty bound to respect the sovereign equality of others and to uphold the principle of self-determination of peoples based on majority rule, but Britain has consistently evaded this principle in Southern Rhodesia, Aden and British Guiana. It is only through honest practice of these principles that an organized and harmonious international order can be built up. The widely stretched interpretation of these principles to suit the convenience of each State and its foreign policy has the effect of nullifying any usefulness that the principles can be expected to yield.

132. It is a well-known fact that international cartels which make fantastic profits in many of the new nations have an unrelaxing grip of the prices of commodities which are the mainstay of the economy of such States. By arbitrary fluctuations and control of prices of primary commodities they are in a position to hold the country's economy to ransom. Many of these international cartels are backed up by their Governments, and when such Governments give assistance to the developing countries it has a very limited impact on the development of the economy. In effect, this represents the classic example of giving with one hand and taking away with the other.

133. While I am still discussing some of the significant economic issues I should like to stress that it is my Government's policy that the recommendations of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held in Geneva^{2/} should be faithfully

and speedily implemented in full. The system of trading created under GATT should also be radically modified to reflect the changed conditions of today and to accord with the decisions of the Geneva Conference. Development should be based more on trading than on foreign aid. Therefore, the developing nations must be allowed incentives for greater trading facilities on preferential terms in liberalized markets.

134. I should like to move on now to the African scene. Here we are committed at all costs to promote African unity, and this aim is not a mere slogan or sentiment. We fully realize that we cannot build African unity or slogans or pious expressions of hopes.

135. Unless we African countries are united, our future is fraught with dangerous consequences. African unity is vital for the eradication of existing outposts of colonialism. It is basic to the maintenance of African continental and also international peace. Without it, our efforts will fall pitifully short in combating decades and under-development and evils and injustices of colonial subjugation and external subversion. Friendly relations and co-operation at all levels amongst the African States would be greatly prejudiced if there were no unity and concerted action amongst them. The Organization of African Unity was established precisely for these reasons and the Government of Kenya is irrevocably committed to promote its aims and objectives.

136. Our greatest challenge in Africa is the total eradication of colonialist presence from our soil. We shall never abdicate the sacred trust to liberate our subjugated African brethren from minority, racist servitude, be it in South Africa, Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique or elsewhere in Africa. We are fighting for freedom, for dignity, for human rights. That illustrious champion of freedom, Abraham Lincoln, once said:

"When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also another man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism...no man is good enough to govern another man, without that other's consent."^{2/}

The implications of Abraham Lincoln's words apply with full force to the pressing and urgent issue of the independence of Rhodesia, to which subject I now turn my attention.

137. We shall never accept any compromise that will jeopardize the total freedom of the overwhelming majority of the Africans in Rhodesia. Our choice lies in either accepting the British Government's attitude of "wait and see" or facing the settler minority and recognizing all the implications of it—even armed conflict.

138. We hold the British Government legally and morally responsible for ensuring that the Africans are granted their independence. It is also the constitutional obligation of the British Government to guarantee and demonstrate by use of force, if necessary, that no rebellious act of unilateral independence by minority racists led by Ian Smith is attempted.

^{2/} Speech delivered at Peoria, Ill., 16 October 1854.

^{2/} 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).

If the British Government is afraid to exercise its authority over the present Rhodesian régime, it should allow the United Nations the opportunity to attempt to settle the dispute.

139. Failing either course, the Organization of African Unity is bound to seek the support of the African countries to intervene. Such intervention may amount to armed assistance to the Africans in Southern Rhodesia. Must the situation in Rhodesia therefore deteriorate into an armed conflict because of the inaction of Britain and the United Nations to take effective steps now to promote the interests of the majority?

140. Ian Smith has spared no efforts to entrench the whites in perpetual power, even to the extent of establishing an unholy alliance with South Africa and Portugal for this purpose. He used the recent affirmative voting of the chiefs in Rhodesia to hood-wink the world into believing that he has African support for European supremacy. He held farcical elections to renew the mandate for his infamous régime under electoral laws which favoured only the whited minority and totally excluded the African electorate. These manoeuvres were not and could never be an expression of the will of the African people. They were an unsuccessful ruse to deceive the world into legal acceptance of an unrepresentative order. In the face of all this, the British Government is importent and stands utterly demoralized.

141. There are precedents in British colonial history where, in situations of this nature, ruthless and immediate steps were taken: imposition of a constitution in Aden, suspension of the constitution in British Guiana, and military action through the declaration of an emergency in Kenya, are some of the examples of British action in similar circumstances. Why can Britain not take such action today in Rhodesia?

142. Our memory is not so short as to make us oblivious to happenings in Kenya before our independence. We had a strong settler minority Government in power. Our repeated efforts for representation in the Government and demands for independence were met with nothing but evasions. Constitutional niceties and legal trivialities were the stock official answers of the United Kingdom Government for many years. When at last we were forced to take up arms against the settler Government of the day, the United Kingdom Government acted with haste and declared a state of emergency. Thousands of British troops were flown to Kenya to maintain so-called law and order. This time it was to enforce "law and order" among a "rebellious African population". Why does the British Government hesitate to maintain "law and order" among the rebellious white settler minority in Rhodesia?

143. At the recent Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London, the British Government, under pressure, accepted the principle of majority rule in Rhodesia. It also agreed to call a constitutional conference within the earliest possible time. This is a definite commitment, a definite obligation to the Commonwealth and the world, which it must discharge at all costs in the name of justice and honour.

144. A short while ago I referred to the rebellious white settler minority in Rhodesia. I can assure you that that is the official stand of the United Kingdom as set out in the statement of the British Government of 27 October 1964 regarding its views on the consequence of the proposed unilateral declaration of independence by the Rhodesian régime. That statement accepted in an unqualified manner that the

"decision to grant independence rests entirely with the British Government and Parliament, and they have a solemn duty to be satisfied that, before granting independence, it would be acceptable to the people of the country as a whole".

I repeat: "to the people of the country as a whole". In the same statement the British Government reaffirmed quite clearly that any step in the direction of a unilateral declaration of independence would be illegal and

"an open act of defiance and rebellion and it would be treasonable to take steps to give effect to it".^{10/}

145. It is surprising to find that the British Government, after having made such a clear and strong statement on the illegality and dangerous consequences of a unilateral declaration of independence, lacks the moral courage to enforce its solemn obligation to protect the rights of the Africans to majority rule. Is it because of a slender majority in Parliament that the present British Government lacks the moral courage to face Ian Smith and enforce its constitutional obligations in Rhodesia? We should prefer to see the present British Government fall and maintain its principles so that history would record that it went down honourably rather than succumb to the machinations of Ian Smith and his collaborators.

146. I wish to advise the settler minority who control the Rhodesian Government that, if the African leaders now languishing in prison are released and if the principle of universal adult franchise based on "one man one vote" is introduced to implement majority rule, they have nothing to fear under an African representative government. In Kenya, which was also intended to be settled by a white minority group, as in Rhodesia, we still have many ex-settlers. Many of them are now citizens of the country, enjoying equal rights and contributing constructively to the development of the country. Nor does this apply to Kenya alone. It is the general pattern in other countries in Africa which have now won their independence. Talking only of Kenya for the present, we are proud of the racial harmony and understanding that exists amongst the various racial groups. I extend an invitation to the settler leaders of Rhodesia to visit my country to see for themselves what the joint endeavours of different races can produce in an atmosphere of trust, confidence and understanding.

147. It is appropriate that I should now address myself directly to the United Nations on the question of Rhodesia. Resolutions have been passed, but beyond that very little seems to have been done. We have now

^{10/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 8 (part I), document A/5800/Rev.1, chap. III, para. 572.

come to the point where we are almost forced to conclude that resolutions are merely an evasion of the problem. Therefore the United Nations should be prepared to take strong action to meet Ian Smith's threat to declare independence unilaterally. Otherwise international peace and security will be endangered. We had pinned our hopes on the British Government's acting promptly in the eventuality of a unilateral declaration of independence, but it seems that it is waiting for Mr. Smith to seize independence before it can make up its mind to act. The United Nations must, therefore, take immediate and appropriate action now to meet the challenge.

148. While still on the question of African independence, I wish to address the Assembly on South Africa. Its unrepresentative régime is still the most telling symbol and embodiment of colonialist presence on African soil. This virulently hated order is sustained by the financial and military stakes on its tacit apologists who were yesterday colonial masters of most of Asia and Africa. They have never implemented United Nations resolutions on the boycott of South Africa. Trade flourishes and investments continue to flow, thus consolidating the illegitimate authority of the present régime. I regret to say that some Asian and African countries are also continuing to have trade relations with South Africa. Without fear of contradiction I can say that Japan has not yet ceased to trade with South Africa. In its case it seems that financial interests override moral considerations. All these collaborators and supporters of South Africa are consolidating an order which derives its strength and pleasure from persecution and pitiless brutality and from the insane philosophy of apartheid. They will soon have to account for paying lip service to the ideals of human freedom and dignity while actually sustaining an order whose official policies negate these ideals. We expect from them a more realistic and less hypocritical attitude and, need I say, a greater measure of honesty for the sake of humanity.

149. The policy of apartheid which South Africa is following with pathological persistence is not very different from what some of the American racists advocate. However, the United States Government has at least the courage to take legislative measures to secure civil rights for the Negroes. Although there is much to be desired in the United States legislation, it is nevertheless a step in the right direction and is commendable.

150. The Portuguese enslavement of Mozambique, Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea is no less reprehensible. Having proved itself to be the most remarkable administrative and political failure in history, Portugal makes up for it by resorting to indescribable atrocities. Our stand regarding the self-determination of peoples in the little-mentioned and oft-forgotten Spanish colonies is the same. I often wonder how the fascist Portuguese and Spanish régimes are accepted within the orbit of Western democracies. We had always thought that democracy and fascism were incompatible. Perhaps the military and economic interests of the Western Powers in both Portugal and Spain outweigh human justice.

151. The status of South West Africa, deliberately obscured by South African expansionist ambitions, will soon be settled decisively by the International Court of Justice, which has been considering this issue for some time. My delegation hopes that it will be established beyond any shadow of doubt that South West Africa has always had the status of a trusteeship territory. When that decision is made, we expect the United Nations to take over the administration of that territory and prepare the African people for early independence.

152. I wish to emphasize that against all these colonial interests, we shall not be content until total liberation is won. For without it there is no guarantee of our own independence and security, without it the very survival of human rights is outrageously threatened in Africa. It was precisely in line with these sentiments that the Government of Kenya imposed a total and effective boycott of those régimes. We shall entertain no relations of any type with them until the colonialist order is reversed to make way for Africans to establish their legal and representative government.

153. Before I conclude my statement, I would say this. Members will have noted that the Government of Kenya believes in non-alignment, which has been developed into a practical and working policy. It permits us to take independent decisions on the merits of a particular issue. Non-alignment does not imply non-commitment. We fully commit ourselves to support that we believe to be right and just in international affairs. In pursuance of that policy we seek friendship with every nation that will return it. The establishment of such friendship will not entitle any friend to choose enemies for us. Here I could do no better than echo the sentiments of my President, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, whom I quote:

"We welcome genuine friendship but we detest flattery. We welcome co-operation and assistance but we shall not be bought or blackmailed. We may be under-developed and our people may walk barefooted but we are a proud people—proud of our heritage, of our traditions and ancestry. What is more, we will not betray our children."

154. Mr. BAROUM (Chad) (translated from French): Perhaps more than in the past, for the young Republic of Chad the problem of peace is closely linked to the problems of decolonization and the rehabilitation of man, whatever his characteristics. Peace cannot be envisaged without real international co-operation, without harmonious economic development.

155. After the difficulties of the nineteenth session, the United Nations seems, under your guidance, Mr. President, to be having a more calm and more promising session. The delegation of Chad takes this opportunity to offer you its warm congratulations on the occasion of your brilliant election as President of the twentieth session of the General Assembly.

156. I should like also to pay a tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Quaison-Sackey, who tried, so far as was humanly possible, to limit the serious consequences of the financial crisis suffered by our Organization during the nineteenth session.

157. While expressing once again our regret at the withdrawal of Indonesia from the United Nations and while deploring the rumours that other nations are threatening to do the same, I have great pleasure in welcoming, on behalf of my country, the delegations of Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore.

158. On this occasion, the delegation of Chad expresses the hope that next year other countries still under foreign domination will achieve independence and will be able to come and make their contribution to the cause of peace within the Organization.

159. At this time of many and varied cares, when hotbeds of discord and tension appear in the world almost every month, I shall draw the attention of this Assembly to only the essential aspects of the problems which constitute a threat to peace and security in the world.

160. Today the eyes of the world are still turned anxiously towards Viet-Nam. Our country knows that this is one of the most dangerous centres of war, which must be rapidly contained. The Viet-Nameese people, from whom the antagonism between blocs has already exacted a heavy toll, should be left to settle their future for themselves by free elections and by the choice of the régime which suits them.

161. The Indo-Pakistani conflict augured a difficult twentieth session. We were greatly relieved when the fighting stopped. The delegation of Chad wishes to pay a tribute to the Security Council for the speed of its decision and to congratulate the Secretary-General, U Thant, on his personal and beneficent action in the solution of this conflict.

162. The conflicts which explode here and there—sometimes violent, sometimes spectacular—should draw the attention of all States Members of the United Nations to the other latent hotbeds of war. This is why my country thinks that the problems of the divided nations should be solved through negotiations and general elections under United Nations supervision.

163. The necessary prerequisites for a lasting peace will not be achieved until all peoples can exercise their right to self-determination. The case of Southern Rhodesia is a matter of concern to our people and our Government. We do not think that the procedural battle joined between Salisbury and London will make it possible to solve the problem of decolonization on the basis of a democratic and just constitution. In this twentieth century, considerations of a racial nature cannot be the basis for a policy of independence. The interests of individuals should no longer stifle those of an organized community.

164. By practising genocide in Mozambique, Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea, Portugal is defying the whole of mankind. Portuguese colonialism, although destined to disappear despite the secret assistance it is receiving, continues to sow death and devastation in certain parts of Africa. It undoubtedly constitutes a permanent source of armed conflict. The same is true of the Territory of South West Africa and it is time that the United Nations not only took the problem of this Protectorate in hand but found a speedy solution to it.

165. As for the policy of racial discrimination and apartheid pursued in South Africa, we have the impression that we are returning to the darkest ages of humanity. There is no better organized or more refined savagery. And to think that such a nation apparently has friends and allies to perpetuate the alienation of man!

166. It is here that Africa recognizes its true friends. As for the Republic of Chad, it firmly believes that the United Nations still has a great role to play in this question facing all nations of good will.

167. As was said two days ago by a man who undoubtedly represents a great moral force in the world, the United Nations is still at the beginning of its efforts to construct a universal society. Chad, which has been a Member of the Organization for only five years, reaffirms its confidence in the United Nations and on the occasion of its twentieth anniversary, wishes it a very long life so that one day the objectives of the Charter may be fully achieved.

168. Ever since its creation, the United Nations has been evolving each year towards its true role. Young States become Members of the Organization, new problems arise for everyone. The equitable representation of the geographical regions within the various organs of the United Nations becomes necessary. The increase in the number of seats allocated to developing countries in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council represents the beginning of a solution.

169. The Charter itself, however, must be altered and readapted to meet the wishes of young States and this is the only way in which the United Nations will be able to act effectively to promote a lasting peace.

170. As we tackle the present problem of economic development in our young country, we appreciate the close links which exist between economic inequalities and social inequalities. And this can be a threat to peace. For this reason, harmonious economic development and the social welfare of peoples should be the essential and ever-present goal of all Members of the United Nations. This does not mean simply keeping a number of countries in a state of economic dependence as markets and producers of raw materials and promoting still further the development of the already industrialized countries. We do not think that the machinery of economics will always turn in this direction without disadvantages for all. This is why my country hopes that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, whose aim is to promote the development of international trade and accelerate the economic expansion of the developing countries, will effectively achieve its objectives.

171. Although peace is threatened on all sides by colonialism, racism and hatred, by hotbeds of war and trouble and by under-development, it is threatened still more by the means of mass destruction possessed by certain Powers. We refer to nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. It is stated officially that five nations possess such weapons and unofficially that sixteen nations would be in a position to manufacture them within a few decades.

172. If it is true that the countries possessing these engines of destruction think that they will never use these weapons, it is nevertheless true that the arms race, on the pretext of establishing a balance, often ends in armed conflict. I do not think that any of us in this Hall would dare to contemplate war without alarm, particularly war with nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons.

173. We shall not be able really to speak of lasting peace until disarmament is general and complete. The negotiations on this subject should bring together all States in the world, whether or not they possess the atomic bomb.

174. For the emerging and developing nations as well as for the powerful and industrialized nations, peace alone—universal peace—means long life and lasting prosperity.

175. Mr. Amjad ALI (Pakistan): In exercise of his right of reply [1349th meeting], the representative of India again resorted to some misrepresentations about the Kashmir dispute. All the misstatements he made have been refuted by us at numerous times, both in the Assembly and the Security Council. But India persists in making them for the simple reason that it suits her interest to create confusion and to produce an impression that the issue is highly complicated and thus to blunt the sharpness of the issue which the present situation has brought out.

176. I would have wished not to take the Assembly's time going over the ground already covered. However, it is only fair that the points made by the representative of India should be duly exposed. In doing so, I shall make no assertions of my own. I shall merely examine how the contentions made by the representative of India square with the official pronouncements of the Government of India itself. Let that alone bring out the truth.

177. The first contention made by the representative of India is that it was not the Maharaja of Kashmir alone but also the people of Kashmir through their leaders that offered accession to India in October 1947, and that, therefore, the accession became full and final. If that were so, then would the Prime Minister of India have stated, in a broadcast to his nation, on 2 November 1947:

"We are anxious not to finalize anything in a moment of crisis and without the fullest opportunity to be given to the people of Kashmir to have their say. It is for them ultimately to decide.

"And let me make it clear that it has been our policy all along that where there is a dispute about the accession of a State to either Dominion, the accession must be made by the people of that State. It is in accordance with this policy that we have added a proviso to the Instrument of Accession of Kashmir."

If the decision had been made by the people, then what was the reason for adding a proviso?

178. Again, if the accession had been made by the people, then how was it that the representative of

India, presenting his case to the Security Council at the 227th meeting on 15 January 1948 said:

"In accepting the accession they"—the Government of India—"refused to take advantage of the immediate peril in which the State found itself and informed the Ruler that the accession should finally be settled by plebiscite as soon as peace had been restored. They have subsequently made it quite clear that they are agreeable to the plebiscite being conducted if necessary under international auspices."^{11/}

179. This was soon after the so-called accession. Subsequently too, the Government of India continued to acknowledge that the accession had not been made by the people. What else is there except this acknowledgement in this statement by the Prime Minister of India made on 1 January 1952:

"Kashmir is not the property of either India or Pakistan. It belongs to the Kashmir people. When Kashmir acceded to India, we made it clear to the leaders of the Kashmir people that we would ultimately abide by the verdict of their plebiscite. If they tell us to walk out, I would have no hesitation in quitting Kashmir."

180. Again, if the accession was made by the people and was final, then why was it that the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan said in a joint communiqué on 20 August 1953:

"The Kashmir dispute was specially discussed at some length. It was their firm opinion that this should be settled in accordance with the wishes of the people of that State with a view to promoting their well-being and causing the least disturbance to the life of the people of the State. The most feasible method of ascertaining the wishes of the people was by fair and impartial plebiscite."

181. Finally, if the accession was made by the people, then what was the point in the Government of India's entering into the solemn international agreement embodied in the resolutions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP)? Paragraph 1 of the resolution of 5 January 1949 reads:

"The question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan will be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite."^{12/}

182. The second contention of the representative of India is that India's commitment to a plebiscite in Kashmir was conditional. This commitment obviously was made when the UNCIP resolutions were accepted by the parties. Was this acceptance conditional? Let us hear the late Prime Minister of India himself on the question in a statement in the Constituent Assembly of India on 7 September 1948:

"The Commission told us that these proposals stood as a whole and while they were prepared to discuss any matter gladly, it was difficult—in fact, it was not possible for them—to accept conditional acceptances, because if we made some

^{11/} Official Records of the Security Council, Third Year, Nos. 1-15, 227th meeting, page 20.

^{12/} Ibid., Fourth Year, Supplement for January 1949, document S/1196, para. 15.

conditions and Pakistan naturally made other conditions, what exactly was accepted and by whom? So they said that these proposals were to be accepted as they were, and if there were conditions attached to them, it was not an acceptance but a rejection."

183. The third contention of the representative of India is that India waited for some four years for the implementation of the UNCIP resolutions and, since that implementation did not come about, they proceeded to ratify the accession through the Constituent Assembly in Kashmir.

184. This raises three points. First, what was the competence of this so-called Constituent Assembly? Secondly, did the obligation of the Government of India with respect to an impartial plebiscite in Kashmir lapse after these four years? Thirdly, who obstructed the implementation of the resolution? Let us see what the Government of India itself has stated on the first two of these questions.

185. The representative of India's assertion is that the Constituent Assembly was competent to ratify the accession. He is directly contradicted by what the representative of India stated on 9 March 1951 in the Security Council:

"Accordingly, provision was made in the Indian Constitution for a Constituent Assembly for settling the details of the Kashmir constitution. Will that assembly decide the question of accession? My Government's view is that, while the Constituent Assembly may, if it so desires, express an opinion on this question, it can take no decision on it." ^{13/}

186. This statement was further reinforced by the same representative's statement on 29 March 1951:

"Some members of the Council appear to fear that in the process the Kashmir Constituent Assembly might express its opinion on the question of accession. The Constituent Assembly cannot be physically prevented from expressing its opinion on this question if it so chooses. But this opinion will not bind my Government or prejudice the position of this Council." ^{14/}

187. Then again, it was long after the summoning of the so-called Constituent Assembly that the Prime Minister of India made a statement, on 25 February 1955, in answer to a question in the Indian Parliament. The question was:

"In view of the fact that the Kashmir Constituent Assembly has ratified the accession of the State to India, what will be the terms of discussion on Kashmir with the Prime Minister of Pakistan?"

The Prime Minister answered: "A question like this cannot be solved unilaterally."

188. I repeat, "A question like this cannot be solved unilaterally." That should be enough to dispose of the competence of the so-called Constituent Assembly which, incidentally, was denounced by its own sponsor, Sheikh Abdullah, besides being declared incompetent by the Security Council by its resolution 91 (1951) of 30 March 1951.

^{13/} Ibid., Sixth Year, 536th meeting, para. 23.

^{14/} Ibid., 538th meeting, para. 5.

189. Incidentally, the representative of India quoted Sheikh Abdullah, the great leader of Kashmir. Let me remind the Assembly that Pakistan suggested in 1964 that he should be invited to appear before the Security Council so that all concerned would hear his account of the so-called accession to India and of India's attempts to annex Kashmir. If the representative of India is so keen to quote Sheikh Abdullah, then surely his Government should have no objection to his being heard directly here in the United Nations.

190. The second point is that, after four years, the Government of India was no longer committed to the plebiscite. Now, these four years would run from 1949 to 1953. Let us see what the Government of India had to say on the matter after 1953. I have already quoted the statement which the Prime Minister of India made in February 1955. There are numerous other statements, but I shall quote only two.

191. If the decision of the so-called Constituent Assembly had closed the issue and Kashmir had become an integral part of India, then what was the representative of India saying at the Security Council on 8 February 1957:

"It is possible for any sovereign State to cede territory. If, as a result of a plebiscite, the people decided that they did not want to stay with India, then our duty at that time would be to adopt those constitutional procedures which would enable us to separate that territory." ^{15/}

192. Also, what was the representative of India saying in the Security Council on 20 February 1957:

"The resolution of 17 January 1948, and the resolutions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan, the assurances given, these are all resolutions which carry a greater weight—that is because we have accepted them, we are parties to them, whether we like them or not." ^{16/}

193. The third point is about the implementation of the UNCIP resolutions. India's plea is that it is Pakistan which refused to implement these resolutions. If so, why has India throughout spurned the offer of arbitration on this point which we have repeatedly made? We have said time and again that we would be agreeable to any method that may be suggested for determining the obligation of the parties and what and who held up progress in their fulfilment. Obviously that is the only civilized way of settling the question. Why does India not agree to arbitration on this point?

194. This brings me to the third main contention of the representative of India: that the destiny of a people cannot be committed to the hands of an arbitrator. This is irrelevant because who suggests that the destiny of the people of Kashmir should be committed to arbitration? Certainly not Pakistan, nor any reasonable party. The destiny of the people of Kashmir can be decided only by themselves through an impartial plebiscite. But progress toward this plebiscite has been blocked by the issue of the implementation or non-implementation of the international

^{15/} Ibid., Twelfth Year, 767th meeting, para. 68.

^{16/} Ibid., 773rd meeting, para. 83.

agreement. In submitting the issue to arbitration, no one would commit the destiny of Kashmir to the hands of an arbitrator. One would only remove an obstruction to the exercise of the right of the people of Kashmir to decide their destiny.

195. The fourth contention of the representative of India is that Sir Owen Dixon, a distinguished jurist who served as United Nations representative, stated that Pakistan had committed an act contrary to international law. But in the very quotation from his report which the representative of India read, Sir Owen Dixon had stated categorically that the Security Council had not made such a declaration and that he himself had made no judicial investigation of the issue. His report reveals that it was not one of the conclusions, but an obiter dictum he made only to get India's assent to a programme of demilitarization. It is Pakistan which accepted that programme and India which rejected it.

196. The other contentions of the representative of India relate to more recent events. He tried to make capital of the fact that the Secretary-General said in his report that the Government of India had given him the assurance in August 1965 that they would respect the cease-fire agreement in Kashmir. Of course they gave the assurance to the Secretary-General. But it was at this time that they also crossed the cease-fire line. On 15 August, Indian forces crossed the cease-fire line, to reoccupy the three posts near Kargil. On 23 August, the Defence Minister of India stated in the Indian Parliament that Indian troops had in the past been crossing the cease-fire line and would do so again if necessary. This was while they were giving assurances to the Secretary-General. On 25 August, Indian forces again massively crossed the cease-fire line in Kashmir and began to celebrate their victory. This was a week before the Azad Kashmir forces, backed by the Pakistan army, went into action in Kashmir.

197. Finally, the representative of India spoke about the Muslims of India being highly patriotic, and having fought for their country. Let me tell him that I have no wish to challenge that statement. It makes only even more intolerable the deeds of the Government of India when it throws Muslims out of the States of Assam and Tripura in the Indian Union, on the pretext that they are Pakistani infiltrators. It only worsens the numerous cases of persecution of Muslims that come to light. If these persecutions cease, no one will be happier than we in Pakistan. But the issue of Kashmir will remain the issue that it is: the right of the people of Kashmir, be they Hindu or Muslim, Christian or Buddhist, to decide their future for themselves, as pledged to them by India, by Pakistan and by the United Nations.

198. Lastly may I say that the representative of India continues to confuse the issue. For eighteen Years the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir has embittered relations between our two countries and exercised the minds of friends and foes alike. In the preceding weeks, it is the same dispute that has caused war between the two countries. India's invasion of Pakistan resulted in destruction and devastation in both countries, the magnitude of which is yet to be determined.

199. The representative of India has stated in categorical terms that there shall be no plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir. This is tantamount to saying that India shall continue to hold the 5 million people of Jammu and Kashmir in perpetual bondage, if necessary, by the use of force. It also means that India is determined that there shall be no peace. It is not the words of the representative of India alone which cause us such concern. India obtained from the Security Council a fifteen-hour postponement of the cease-fire deadline ostensibly to enable her to issue appropriate instructions to her field commanders. In actual fact, India used this postponement to launch fresh attacks on Pakistan. Even as I speak, India continues her armed military offensive against Pakistan territory.

200. I should like to place on record the implications of India's attitude and the consequences of her manifest intransigence. Let there be no mistake that the issue which India seeks vainly to evade and to confuse is no less an issue than one of war and peace.

201. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the United States representative, who has asked to exercise his right of reply.

202. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America): I regret exceedingly that it is once again necessary that, in the exercise of my right to reply, I take the time of this Assembly to deal with remarks made by speakers who preceded me in reference to the situation in Viet-Nam. I refer specifically to some comments made by the Foreign Minister of Kenya. In his speech he said: "In our opinion United States intervention in Viet-Nam is the greatest menace to international peace and security." [Supra, para. 127.]

203. I must reject that statement as not consistent with the plain facts of the matter. The threat to peace and security in South-East Asia is communist aggression, not intervention by the United States. It is communist aggression that must stop if peace is to be restored to Viet-Nam, and it is communist aggression that will be stopped. And peace will be restored to South Viet-Nam.

204. My Government has stated and repeated in words of unmistakable precision exactly what its policy is in South-East Asia. As long as fifteen months ago, Ambassador Stevenson told the Security Council:

"... the United States has no, and I repeat 'no', national military objective anywhere in South-East Asia. The United State policy for South-East Asia is very simple. It is the restoration of peace so that the peoples of that area can go about their own independent business in whatever associations they may freely choose for themselves without interference from the outside." ^{17/}

205. In a communication I sent to the President of the Security Council shortly after coming here to New York, my Government made the following summary of points with respect to its policy in South-East Asia:

"First, that the United States will continue to provide, in whatever measure and for whatever period is necessary, assistance to the people of the Republic

^{17/} Ibid., Nineteenth Year, 1119th meeting, para. 38.

of Viet-Nam in defending their independence, their sovereignty and their right to choose their own government and make their own decisions.

"Second, the United States will continue to assist in the economic and social advancement of South-East Asia, under the leadership of Asian countries and the United Nations, and will continue to explore all additional possibilities....

"Third, the United States will continue to explore, independently and in conjunction with others, all possible routes to an honourable and durable peace in South-East Asia.

"Fourth, the United States stands ready, as it has in the past, to collaborate unconditionally with members of the Security Council in the search for an acceptable formula to restore peace and security to that area of the world."^{18/}

206. The Foreign Minister has said that the United Nations is an appropriate forum to deal with this conflict. We agree with the distinguished Minister. We emphatically agree. We have brought it to the United Nations in every conceivable way in which it can be brought. Our President, in San Francisco, invited all States Members of the United Nations, individually and collectively, to lend their good offices to a resolution of this dispute. I, as the representative of the United States, addressed a letter to the Secretary-General inviting the collaboration of this great Organization to the end that the conflict might be transferred from the battlefield to the conference table. Then in this report which I read to the members of the Security Council, we again repeated that invitation.

207. Mr. President, who has rejected the role of the United Nations? The record is crystal clear. It is Red China which, with contempt and with insult, has rejected any role for the United Nations in this dispute. It is Hanoi which has denied the competence of the United Nations in this area. It is not the United States which is unwilling to bring this to the conference table.

208. The Foreign Minister has said that the only lasting solution to the Viet-Nam crisis is a negotiated political settlement on the basis of the Geneva Agreements. We have repeatedly said—the President of the United States, Secretary Rusk, I and other spokesmen for the United States—that we will enter into unconditional negotiations in any appropriate forum, including a reconvening of the Geneva Conference. There has been no answer from the other side.

^{18/} Ibid., Twentieth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1965, document S/6575.

209. Finally, it has been said that the United States escalated the war in Viet-Nam. That is not the case. The war was escalated from the north by infiltration, by sending in armed regular units of the North Viet-Nameese Army, by sending supplies, by actions of terror which have continued until this very day, as members have seen from their newspapers of yesterday and today.

210. We have said again and again: let that aggression cease and there will be an appropriate response from the United States; but we shall continue to meet aggression when it is perpetrated upon innocent people who have asked us for assistance. What is at stake here is a fundamental principle of the Charter: the right of the people of South Viet-Nam to carry on their own destiny in their own way, free from force and violence, and to determine their own destiny by the principle of self-determination. I would ask the Members of the Assembly: what is wrong with that principle? What is wrong with the notion that the people of the south have the right to carry on in their own way, with their own Government, under the principle of self-determination? This is what is involved, and no obscuring of the record can make that obscure.

211. Therefore, we repeat that we are the ones who do not believe that political power comes from the barrel of a gun. We are the ones who have no designs or interests; we seek no territory, we seek no bases, we seek to withdraw our troops. But our troops cannot and will not be withdrawn so long as aggression is practised upon innocent people seeking to carry on life in their own way.

212. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): One more speaker, the representative of India, has asked to exercise his right to reply. I now call upon him.

213. Mr. QASIM (India): We have no intention of prolonging this fruitless exchange. I have already explained India's position in detail. As my delegation stated earlier, the people of India, including the people of Jammu and Kashmir—Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists, Christians, Sikhs and others—have given their reply to Pakistan in blood.

214. Kashmir is a constituent State of the Indian Federation and we will not allow any dismemberment of this Federation. The only political question is Pakistan's aggression and the termination of that aggression on our territory. When Pakistan has purged itself of that aggression, we shall be ready to discuss with Pakistan ways and means of promoting friendly and co-operative relations between our two countries.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.