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President: Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Fuentealba (Chile), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 108

Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): In accordance with the decision taken at this morning's meeting, the first question for consideration this afternoon is agenda item 108, entitled "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity". The Assembly has before it a draft resolution sponsored by several African countries [A/L.465]. I call upon the representative of the Upper Volta.

2. Mr. KABORE (Upper Volta) (translated from French): I should like to ask you, Mr. Vice-President to be good enough to tell Mr. Fanfani what a great pleasure it is for me and for the delegation of the Republic of Upper Volta to join in the warm congratulations that have been extended to him from this rostrum on his election as President of our Assembly.

3. Speaking on behalf of all the African representatives in the United Nations, I should like to submit a draft resolution [A/L.465] in which the African group requests the Secretary-General of the United Nations to invite the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to attend sessions of the General Assembly as an observer. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) was established by the Conference of Heads of African States, and Governments, meeting at Addis Ababa in May 1963. It includes all the independent African countries that love peace and freedom. All these States are represented in this international forum and each of their representatives here present wishes to do his utmost to further our objective of establishing a lasting peace and bettering the lot of mankind.

4. When the OAU came into existence, the adoption of its Charter, whose objectives and principles are so reminiscent of those of the Charter of the United Nations, was acclaimed throughout the world and by all ideological blocs. At Addis Ababa, the African Heads of State reiterated their desire to strengthen and support the United Nations, to which they decided to entrust the solution of their most important and vital problems.

5. At the first session of the Conference of the Organization of African Unity, held at Cairo in July 1964, U Thant, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, spoke of the Organization's Charter in these words:

"I am gratified to note that the Charter of African Unity not only follows the Charter of the United Nations in form, but reaffirms the fundamental purposes and principles of the United Nations. In its preamble, it contains a reaffirmation of the adherence of African States to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In article II, it lays down as one of the purposes of the Organization for African Unity: 'To promote international co-operation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights'. It reaffirms principles such as the sovereign equality of States, non-interference in internal affairs of States and peaceful settlement of disputes which are enshrined in the United Nations Charter."

6. The Charter of the Organization of African Unity was registered with the United Nations Secretariat on behalf of his Government by His Majesty Hailie Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, in conformity with Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations and article 26 of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity.

7. During the first two years of its existence, the Organization of African Unity peacefully settled a number of border disputes which, without it, would have been added to the list, unfortunately already too long, of international disputes with which the Security Council is now swamped. In order to eliminate any potential cause of war on the African continent, the first thing it did was to ensure the strict implementation of the General Assembly's resolution on the shameful policy of apartheid followed by some settlers in South Africa and the resolutions seeking to bring the Portuguese, who persist with alarming ingenuousness in refusing to recognize that the days of provinces in Africa, is over, back to their senses.

8. Under Article 52 of the United Nations Charter, the Security Council, in resolution 199 (1964) of

30 December 1964, recognized the Organization of African Unity as a regional agency and expressed the conviction that OAU would "help a peaceful solution to all the problems and disputes affecting peace and security in the continent of Africa". The Council also requested the Organization of African Unity to keep it fully informed of any action it might take under the above-mentioned resolution.

9. We therefore welcome the close co-operation which has already been established between the United Nations system and the corresponding organs of the Organization of African Unity, and it is our sincere wish to achieve a still more harmonious relationship between the two organizations in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

10. With a view to facilitating this co-operation, we request all delegations to support the draft resolution, whose adoption would enable our Secretary-General to take his place beside the Secretaries-General of the Organization of American States and the League of Arab States, who have already been invited to attend meetings of the General Assembly under General Assembly resolutions 253 (III) and 477 (V).

11. Mr. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopia): I should like to say a few words in support of the draft resolution [A/L.465], presented by the representative of Upper Volta. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) is an organization which has been established in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. It is a regional organization in conformity with the Charter. Secondly, the Charter of the Organization of African Unity has been registered with the Secretariat of the United Nations again in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. Thirdly, what the draft resolution, which is sponsored by all the States of Africa, wishes to accomplish is to have a relationship with this Organization, again in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. For if an organization is a regional organization, it must have a relationship with the universal organization, that is to say, the United Nations, in order that it may function properly and so that its work and its life may be known universally.

12. In consequence, the African States have presented the draft resolution which is contained in document A/L.465. This is an action which is similar to that taken by the other regional organizations, namely, the Organization of American States and the League of Arab States. What this draft resolution seeks to do is exactly the same. It does not entail any financial burdens on Members; it does not entail any political burdens on any Member. It is simply an administrative and procedural resolution designed to enable the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, to come her and to observe; and similarly, as appropriate, this Organization may wish to observe certain of our deliberations on the continent of Africa. That being the case, it is our wish that this draft resolution be adopted unanimously.

13. Perhaps I may be permitted to explain the second operative paragraph of this draft resolution. I have heard in the corridors certain objections to this paragraph. The paragraph reads:

"Invites the Secretary-General of the United Nations to consider, in consultation with the appro-

priate bodies of the Organization of African Unity, the means of promoting co-operation between the two organizations and to report as appropriate."

14. The objections centre on the word "consider" and also on the meaning of the words "and to report as appropriate". With respect to the latter phrase, this really means to report to the General Assembly, for the Secretary-General can report only to the General Assembly, and we wished to make that clear. The report will be to the General Assembly.

15. With regard to the word "consider", we have heard that some delegations would prefer the word "explore", but to us there is no difference between the word "consider" and the word "explore". If one is to establish some sort of relationship, then one must examine what sort of relationship is to be established. Therefore, if delegations wish to substitute the word "explore" for the word "consider", we have no objection, because in order to explore one has to consider.

16. That being the case, we are willing to be accommodating on these two points with some of our friends, and we hope that this will satisfy the entire membership.

17. Mr. ZAKARIA (India): My delegation deems it a great honour and privilege to have this opportunity to speak in support of the draft resolution contained in document A/L.465, which has just been introduced by the representative of Upper Volta. My delegation does so with a sense of particular satisfaction and with full confidence that the constructive and commendable proposal contained in this draft resolution will commend itself to all the Members of the United Nations met together in this General Assembly.

18. The creation of the Organization of African Unity on 25 May 1963 was an event of historic importance and was the culmination of the persistent efforts of the African people for more than sixty years to achieve continental unity. The establishment of the Organization of African Unity was welcomed by peace-loving and freedom-loving people everywhere, particularly in the sister continent of Asia, as a major step in the right direction taken by the enlightened leaders of Africa, and as a significant and positive contribution towards the strengthening of the forces of co-operation and unity in Africa and in all other parts of the world.

19. The Organization of African Unity has already achieved results which would do credit to any organization of like character. The activities undertaken by the various specialized commissions of the Organization of African Unity in economic, social, scientific and technical as well as political fields have shown the advantages of sincere co-operation on a continental scale. The variety of projects undertaken or proposed to be undertaken by the Organization of African Unity is truly impressive and could not have been possible except by co-operation among all the member states of the OAU.

20. In the economic field, the Organization of African Unity has already established a close liaison with the Economic Commission for Africa which is an organ of the Economic and Social Council. This co-operation between the Economic Commission for Africa and the

OAU has proved to be of as much benefit to the former as to the latter. It would be in the interest of all concerned to extend the scope of this co-operation between the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations, both of which share the common objective of working for world peace. Such co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity would be of advantage to the United Nations also in its task of liquidating the last vestiges of colonial rule from the African continent. The useful role which a regional organization can play in the establishment and preservation of international peace and security has been recognized in the Charter of the United Nations itself. The accordance by the General Assembly to the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU of the status of an observer will enhance the prestige and effectiveness of both organizations. It will open a new and fruitful chapter in international co-operation.

21. My delegation, therefore, on behalf of the Asian group of countries, expresses its strong support for the draft resolution and urges its acceptance unanimously and by acclamation.

22. Mr. VIZCAINO LEAL (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): First of all, I should like to ask the Vice-President, who is our Acting President, to tell the President of the Assembly how sad our delegation was to learn of the unfortunate accident which he has suffered and which is depriving us of his wise guidance. My delegation hoped that his health will soon be fully restored.

23. Now, as I speak on the item before us, I should like first to congratulate the Organization of African Unity on its formation. We consider that the regional organizations are a great instrument of co-operation for the United Nations in the attainment of the objectives outlined in the Charter.

24. Because of the importance of the question, we must ask all those concerned in the adoption of the draft resolution which is before us [A/L.465] and which, although it is dated 7 October, has only just been circulated, to agree to the vote being deferred for a day or two, not only as a matter of principle but particularly in order to give delegations such as mine which have not yet received instructions time to request them from our respective Governments.

25. We should be most grateful to the sponsors of this draft resolution if they could grant our modest request.

26. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Representatives have heard the proposal made by the representative of Guatemala, who requests the adjournment of the debate on the question we are considering.

27. In accordance with rule 76 of the rules of procedure, during the discussion of any matter, a representative may move the adjournment of the debate on the item under discussion. In addition to the proposer of the motion, two representatives may speak in favour of, and two against, the motion, after which the motion—i.e., the motion for the adjournment of the debate—shall be immediately put to the vote. The President may limit the time to be allowed to speakers under this rule. With regard to the latter part of the

rule, I should like to tell representatives that I naturally do not wish to exercise my right to limit the time allowed to speakers.

28. Consequently, in addition to the proposer of the motion, two representatives may speak in favour of the motion and two against. I would request them to keep their speeches as short as possible.

29. Mr. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopia): This put us in a difficult situation. I do not know, Mr. Vice-President, in which category you are going to put me after I finish my statement.

30. I am taking the floor now to appeal to my good friend, the representative of Guatemala, to let us proceed with this draft resolution. It does no harm to any Member of this Organization, it does no harm to any privilege of this Organization and does no harm to any right of this Organization.

31. Were it not for the fact that the Council of Ministers will be meeting tomorrow in Accra, we would have been quite happy to accept the suggestion of the representative of Guatemala. We shall have to leave it to his good judgement. We appeal to him to let us proceed because this draft resolution contains no substantive matter which a Member could oppose. We could understand it if the draft resolution contained something that was wrong or that could be criticized or that we refused to accept. But that is not the case.

32. This is a simple procedural draft resolution. The right mentioned in the draft resolution is a right which is accorded to two other regional organizations. What we are trying to do today is simply to get the same right for our organization.

33. We do not want to oppose his request. We prefer to appeal to the good sense and friendship of the representative of Guatemala and we leave it to him. If he insists, he will have to take it upon his shoulders that he has declined our appeal. We are not opposed to his stand.

34. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): In accordance with the provision I have just read out, two more representatives may speak against the adjournment of the debate. Are there any speakers? If there is nobody else to speak against the motion, I shall call upon two representatives to speak in favour of the Guatemalan motion for adjournment.

35. In accordance with the appeal made by the representative of Ethiopia, I venture to ask the representative of Guatemala if he would perhaps be prepared to comply with the Ethiopian representative's request and withdraw the motion for adjournment of the debate.

36. Mr. VIZCAINO LEAL (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): Far be it from me to wish to obstruct the adoption of this draft resolution. Indeed, I am aware of its importance. Since, however, only this morning it was unexpectedly decided in this Assembly to suspend the general debate this afternoon and to consider this draft resolution first, I am necessarily obliged to seek instructions from my Government, which I have no doubt will be in favour of this draft resolution.

37. The representatives know better than anyone that here we act solely on the instructions of our respective Governments and that sometimes it is not within our power to do what we want. I therefore maintain my position and ask the sponsors to be courteous enough to follow the United Nations tradition once again and to defer this most important question, so as to enable us to seek instructions from our respective Governments. I think that my delegation is not alone in this respect and that there are others in the same position.

38. I think there are perhaps no grounds for refusing an adjournment of this kind, since representatives want this draft resolution to be adopted unanimously. We do not question the importance for African unity of the meeting to be held tomorrow but we should also like to give our support, with all that it signifies. For this reason, we should be most grateful if the representative of Ethiopia, as a sponsor of the draft resolution, could allow us, as is the custom in the United Nations, to seek the authorization of our respective Government in the meantime.

39. Mr. DADZIE (Ghana): It is unfortunate that the representative of Guatemala has not seen fit to heed the appeal made by the representative of Ethiopia, and I have come to the rostrum to give support to the stand taken by the representative of Ethiopia. Already the United Nations has done so much for Africa and for the Organization of African Unity, and the importance of this draft resolution will be in effect lost if it is not voted on today. As has already been pointed out, the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity meets tomorrow in preparation for the summit meeting, and we, the delegations of the African States, deem it very important that a resolution of this nature be passed today before the conference begins tomorrow. Fortunately, the paragraphs of the draft resolution are non-controversial; they are not the type of paragraphs that should really lead to any difficulties for any of the delegations here represented.

40. If I cannot make the representative of Guatemala listen to my appeal, I am sorry that I shall not be able to agree to his proposal for deferment. I would support my predecessor on the rostrum, the representative of Ethiopia, that, in the circumstances, the draft resolution should be voted upon, and the representative who has asked for deferment can exercise his right to vote in whatever way he deems fit. But, in all fairness, this is not the type of draft resolution that should create any difficulties for him or for anyone else, and we very much hope that his delegation and other delegations will give it their full support when it is put to the vote.

41. Mr. ALARCON QUESADA (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): On behalf of the Cuban delegation, I should like to associate myself with the view expressed by the African States which have spoken during the debate in favour of a decision today on the request from the States members of the Organization of African Unity. We do so because we think that, as a normal procedure, the General Assembly should accept this request from an organization which undoubtedly is completely and unequivocally a genuine United Nations regional organization.

42. Whatever their orientation and internal characteristics may be, the various African States all belong to the Organization of African Unity. That organization—and I think this is the universal criterion of the various nations—has done valuable work to promote the cause of international peace and co-operation. We consider that it would be improper for this Assembly to give, as it were, segregationist treatment to this organization by adjourning the debate without concluding it as it should be concluded, as a matter of normal procedure, since it is just and logical that this world body should accept the representative of an organization which is properly and genuinely representative of a region.

43. Moreover, as a Latin American country which is a Member of the United Nations, we should like to express our surprise and our profound displeasure that it was a Latin American representative and a member of a pseudo-regional organization who proposed the adjournment; I use the word "pseudo" because it is very questionable whether the Organization of American States is a regional organization of the United Nations since, in violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter, it excludes a country like my own which is situated in the heart of Latin America, however much the representative of Guatemala or of any other nation on our continent may dislike it.

44. For this reason, as a Latin American country situated in the heart of this continent, and as a country which is striving for progress and for the cause of world peace, we request that at this meeting the proposal to invite the representative of the Organization of African Unity to attend sessions of the General Assembly should not only be discussed but should be adopted, and adopted by acclamation.

45. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): In accordance with rule 76 of the rules of procedure, I invite two representatives to speak in favour of the adjournment of the debate on the item under discussion. Does any representative wish to speak in favour of the motion? As no one wishes to speak, the General Assembly will now vote on the motion for the adjournment of the debate.

The motion was rejected by 65 votes to 9, with 17 abstentions.

46. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We shall now vote on the draft resolution submitted by the Upper Volta and other African countries [A/L.465]. The Ethiopian delegation has suggested two changes in the wording of the draft resolution: that in operative paragraph 2 the word "consider" should be replaced by the word "explore", and that the Secretary-General should report to the General Assembly on the provisions of that paragraph.

47. If there are no objections, I shall declare the draft resolution [A/L.465] adopted, with the amendments proposed by the representative of Ethiopia.

The draft resolution, as amended, was adopted by acclamation.

48. Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): I had asked to speak before the vote was taken; however, since I did not actually want to oppose

the proposal but merely to clarify some ideas, I can equally well speak after the vote.

49. First, I should like to state that my delegation voted in favour of the Guatemalan proposal for the adjournment of the debate, because we think it is the right of all delegations, a right which we should do our utmost to respect, to request an adjournment in order to obtain instructions from their Governments, particularly when the matter is not one of great urgency. For that reason, my delegation voted in favour of the Guatemalan proposal.

50. Secondly, I should like it to be recorded that it is the view of my delegation that the procedure followed in this case should not be considered to constitute a precedent. Indeed, nothing would be more harmful to the orderly conduct of our discussions than the inopportune interruption of the general debate by a request for the inclusion of other items only one or two hours in advance.

51. In conclusion, I should also like it to be recorded that my delegation understands that operative paragraph 2 of the text we have adopted reads as follows: "Invites the Secretary-General of the United Nations to explore, in consultation . . .", etc. and ends as follows: "and to report as appropriate to the General Assembly".

52. Mr. VIZCAINO LEAL (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): Before this motion was put to the vote I asked the Vice-President for the floor on a point of order, in accordance with rule 90 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly. The Vice-President, however, saw fit to refuse me. I do not know what reasons he had or what reasons he will find to support his attitude, but rule 90 is perfectly clear and it says: "After the President has announced the beginning of voting, no representative shall interrupt the voting except on a point of order in connexion with the actual conduct of the voting. The President may permit Members to explain their votes, either before or after the voting, except when the vote is taken by secret ballot. The President may limit the time to be allowed to such explanations."

53. Thus, rule 90 definitely gave me the right to speak, for as we were about to approve in this Assembly the way in which a vote was to be taken, and as the Vice-President had announced that the vote was to be by roll-call, it was necessary to indicate, first, which country would be called upon to vote first and, secondly, the order in which representatives would be called upon. This was not done; nevertheless, only eight or ten days ago we adopted this procedure in this Assembly. That is why I asked to speak, in accordance with rule 90.

54. In view of the explanations given by one of the sponsors of the draft resolution, my delegation had no difficulty in approving it and accordingly voted in favour of it. If the rules of procedure had been respected and if the necessary judgment had been exercised, it would have been obvious that we had no desire to obstruct the voting but were simply anxious not to allow the principle to become established that a general debate may be interrupted or adjourned because of a matter which is neither essential nor

fundamental, although it may be of the highest importance to its sponsors.

55. We regret that, in the exercise of his functions, the Vice-President did not display the consideration due to a Permanent Representative who was making legitimate use of his rights in accordance with rule 90 of its rules of procedure.

56. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): In reply to the comments just made by the representative of Guatemala, I offer him my apologies, because, overlooking the provisions of rule 90 of the rules of procedure, I did not give him the floor during the voting. I would ask him not to assume that I had any intention that ran counter to the impartiality that it is my duty to maintain in the direction of these discussions.

57. Secondly, I should like to inform the representatives that the decision to include this item in the agenda for this afternoon's meeting was taken at the plenary meeting this morning by the Vice-President who was then presiding, in the exercise of his functions. Hence, the person who is presiding this afternoon at this plenary meeting of the Assembly was faced with a decision which had already been taken and which he could not fail to uphold.

58. Thirdly, I should like to inform the representatives that, in accordance with the rules of procedure, the floor was given to the number of representatives who have the right to speak against a motion for adjournment and the number of representatives who, in accordance with those same rules of procedure, have the right to speak in favour of such a motion. The question was then put to a vote and the result of that vote is known to all representatives.

59. Finally, I stated quite clearly that if there were no objections—and I waited long enough for them—the motion would be considered approved. That is in fact what happened, because not a single representative opposed the motion. I apologize once again to the representative of Guatemala and I ask him not to assume that I had any intention whatever that conflicted with the impartiality that it is my duty to maintain in the conduct of these debates.

60. The representative of the United States asked to speak on this question after the vote had been taken. He now has the floor.

61. Mr. FOSTER (United States of America): My delegation voted in favour of the resolution that the General Assembly has just adopted, calling upon the Secretary-General to invite the Organization of African Unity to send an observer to the General Assembly. We welcome this move of the General Assembly to have fruitful relations between the United Nations and the OAU.

62. When the question of taking this issue up today was raised this morning, my delegation had no objection, first, as a courtesy to the African representatives, and, secondly, because we viewed the proposal with favour.

63. My delegation would like to note, however, as have other representatives from this rostrum, that the normal practice is to schedule items at least

twenty-four hours in advance of the day of discussion. We, too, would hope that in the future this practice will be followed, so that all may be adequately prepared and have speeches ready, if necessary, and be able to give issues proper consideration with adequate notice in all circumstances.

64. Mr. KABORE (Upper Volta) (translated from French): My main purpose in addressing you is to thank all the delegations which were good enough to support the draft resolution I submitted on behalf of the African group.

65. I should also like to draw the attention of some of the speakers who have preceded me to two points.

66. Firstly, we were criticized for not having submitted our draft resolution in good time. I do not believe that this criticism is entirely valid because, in my capacity as representative of the African group, I called on the President of the Assembly Friday night to ask him to authorize us to submit our draft today. We therefore requested the inclusion of the item under discussion in the agenda more than twenty-four hours before the vote.

67. Secondly, we conferred in the lobby with a number of delegations which found one part of our draft resolution unacceptable because it gives far greater privileges to the Secretary-General of our organization than to his counterparts in the League of Arab States and the Organization of American States. Accordingly, in order to satisfy those delegations, we had to amend two passages in operative paragraph 2 of our draft on the spot and this was done by our Ethiopian colleague. I say this to show the Assembly that the adoption this afternoon of our draft resolution was of vital importance to the African group as our Ministers for Foreign Affairs, now meeting in Africa, needed to know the result of the vote as quickly as possible.

68. That was why we pressed for a vote this afternoon. We had no wish whatsoever to quarrel with anyone in this hall.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

69. Mr. MOUANZA (Congo, Brazzaville) (translated from French): On behalf of the delegation of the Congo (Brazzaville), I should like to associate myself with those who have from this rostrum congratulated Mr. Fanfani on his election as President of the twentieth session of the General Assembly. His election is a token of the confidence which all the States Members of the United Nations have placed in him and of their wish to draw upon his long experience as a statesman and upon his unquestioned intellectual ability. The virtually unanimous acclaim that greeted him as he walked up to the Chair betokens the confidence which all Member States place, first of all, in him personally and then in Italy, the great nation which he represents and which is the cradle of so much of what is magnificent in what we now call Western civilization.

70. My delegation also takes pleasure in extending its warmest congratulations to Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana, on the political sophistication, steadfastness of purpose

and, in a word, the skill, which he displayed during the darkest hours of the United Nations.

71. I should also like, on behalf of the people and the Government of the Republic of the Congo, to welcome the Gambia, Singapore and the Maldives Islands to our Organization. Their attainment of sovereignty and their admission to the United Nations are not only a resounding victory over moribund colonialism but also a sign of encouragement to the still oppressed masses who are fighting fiercely for their national independence in Africa and elsewhere. We hail the admission of these countries to the United Nations and are fully convinced that they will make an effective contribution to our work.

72. As we celebrate this year the twentieth anniversary of our Organization, we cannot fail to observe that the world, which has undergone the terrible ordeal of two successive wars during the first half of the century, has still not succeeded in establishing a true and lasting peace among the nations. For the past twenty years, there has been a profusion of speeches, decisions and reports in the United Nations all concerned with international peace and security and in favour of delivering the world from the anguish, terror and destruction of atomic weapons. Member States have always felt that the United Nations was particularly well suited for taking action to usher in a world order based on friendship and mutual understanding between peoples. My country regrets that the twenty years that have elapsed since the end of the Second World War have been partially wasted. The reasons why they were wasted are essentially political. We speak of peace and the right of peoples to self-determination, but we are compelled to admit that words have not always matched deeds and that certain Powers in the United Nations which wish more than anything else to fulfil their dream of world domination have set themselves up as veritable international policemen in order to impose their political, economic and military suzerainty on the small countries.

73. These Powers have not hesitated to ignite and fan the flames of war throughout the world, to set up increasing numbers of military bases, and even to intervene with the use of military bases in the domestic affairs of the small countries. Such cases of military intervention as the United States aggression in Viet-Nam or the acts of aggression committed at Stanleyville and in the Dominican Republic are part of this policy of world domination and subjugation of the small countries. One permanent feature of this subjugation is the installation or maintenance of puppet despots whose function it is to defend colonial interests and the privileges of their masters. A veritable sword of Damocles therefore remains dangling over the head of the small countries in case they ever show the slightest sign of disliking imperialism. Let no one be surprised to hear one day that the Congo (Brazzaville) has had a humanitarian operation visited upon it. Gunboat diplomacy, great Power chauvinism, efforts to supplant the former colonial Powers (for example, the replacement of the French expeditionary force by a United States expeditionary force in former Indo-China), the use of the United Nations as a screen to cover the imperialistic designs of certain Powers, the attempts to crush liberation movements, and the

cruel repression of the struggle of oppressed peoples are only some of the features characterizing the whole period that has elapsed since the day the United Nations Charter was signed. During that period we have learnt a lot about tracking down communism, that extremely elusive animal which is never run to earth and which is to be hunted out of the forests and grassy plains of Africa, Asia and Latin America as if that were some sort of divine mission. But all this teaches us also that the Charter has many enemies, even in the United Nations itself, and that in the last analysis the problem of world peace is closely linked to the problem of the liquidation of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. This naturally presupposes that certain Powers must cease to play the part of international policemen and it also presupposes the dismantling of all foreign bases as the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries recommended at their Cairo meeting in 1964.

74. No sensational progress has so far been made towards disarmament because the political prerequisites do not yet seem to have been given sufficient attention. So far nothing more has been done than to give the greatest possible publicity to the half measures taken by some Powers. The lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations have not been restored. No effort has been made to associate China with the work on disarmament, even though it is well known that no serious problem of disarmament, whether nuclear disarmament or otherwise, can be solved without the participation of the People's Republic of China.

75. My country, aware as it is of the gravity of the problems I have touched upon, thinks that there can be no effective or lasting solution to the problem of disarmament or of denuclearization without the convening of conference of representatives of all the countries of the world. The success of such a conference would necessarily open the way to lasting solutions and to the establishment of true peace in the world. There can be no doubt that the enormous savings resulting from disarmament could advance the economic and social development of many small countries all over the world which are fighting against insurmountable odds to overcome an almost chronic state of underdevelopment that in some cases is the legacy of a long history of trials and tribulations.

76. These problems of disarmament and denuclearization, like the other major international problems, including, I would go so far as to say, the present crisis facing our Organization, are, I repeat, linked to the problem of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

77. Twenty years ago, fifty-one States adopted the Charter of the United Nations, which had been drawn up by five sponsoring countries: France, the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom and China. Since then, many changes have occurred in the world. The wind of decolonization has been sweeping away the last strongholds of imperialism and colonialism. Liberation movements have surged over Asia, Africa and Latin America. Upsetting the sombre calculations of the imperialists, the Chinese revolution has released one quarter of the world's population from the shackles of colonialism and feudalism. Then there

have been all the other struggles for liberation, all the other victories scored by the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

78. The combination of all these factors has resulted in an increase in the number of States Members of the United Nations from fifty-one to 117. Paradoxically, however, this increase in the membership of the United Nations, this inevitable progress in the recent history of mankind, has fallen short of the universality which the Charter demands. In fact, since the triumph of the Chinese revolution in 1949, the systematic and dangerous opposition of the United States, which calmly manipulates the United Nations, has so far prevented the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the Organization. Thus, one quarter of the world's population is deprived of representation in an organization which purports to be universal. The fact remains, however, that, whatever its present régime, China exists and is becoming an increasingly modern, prosperous and powerful State. The steady growth in the power of the People's Republic of China and the increasingly bigger role it plays in international affairs are sufficiently eloquent facts in themselves to show the absurdity, the futility and the danger of the ostracism to which the greatest Asian Power has been subjected for sixteen years. It is absolutely clear that a permanent solution to the great international problems, both of peace and disarmament, cannot be achieved without the participation of the People's Republic of China. These are facts which all the hysteria and all the anti-Chinese campaigns cannot disguise indefinitely. It is not by keeping the People's Republic of China out of all international bodies that we shall be able to solve all the problems which our Organization must face. We ask for the unequivocal restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and my delegation reserves the right to speak again when this item of the agenda is discussed at the present session.

79. I now come to the problem of Viet-Nam. In broaching this burning question, I cannot refrain from alluding to the United States aggression against the Viet-Nameese people. We hope that this shameful colonial war, this colonial war which outrages the conscience of mankind, will end as soon as possible, for such a great Power as the United States cannot be allowed to continue for years transforming Viet-Nam into a slaughter-house, on the false pretext of protecting a fraction of the population against communism. Be they in the North or the South, the Viet-Nameese are one people, and nobody can deny it.

80. For twenty years, from the North to the South, from the East to the West, the Viet-Nameese have been waging a relentless war against imperialism and colonialism. This war, one of the most glorious episodes of which occurred at Dien-Bien-Phu, has brought great honour to the struggle of the oppressed and has precipitated the down fall of the colonial empires.

81. We strongly condemn this aggression committed in flagrant violation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements and no arguments, either alleged communist aggression or any other reason, advanced by the United States, can justify that country's intervention in the

affairs of the Viet-Nameese people. The escalation of this colonial war has resulted in the insane bombing of South Viet-Nam and North Viet-Nam. Viet-Nam has literally been transformed into a testing ground for weapons of mass destruction and the Viet-Nameese people are struggling, day and night, against gas, and toxic and bacteriological weapons and against all kinds of atrocities. The United States expeditionary force is daily adding to its strength despite the setbacks suffered by these foreign invaders in terrain which is necessarily unfavourable to them. They talk of North Viet-Nameese aggression in order to justify their own aggression against Viet-Nam, but everybody knows that it is not Viet-Nam which has traversed thousands of miles in order to bomb the United States, just as we know that Cuba has never attacked the United States, that the Dominican Republic has never attacked the United States and that the Congo has never attacked the United States. We also know that it is not the small countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America which have installed military bases around the United States to encircle it. On the contrary, it is the United States which, playing the role of international policeman, has kindled the fires of war everywhere. It is in Viet-Nam that this world-wide intervention has been the most prolonged and on the most massive scale. There are not a thousand solutions to the problem of Viet-Nam. There is only one: to put an end to the gunboat diplomacy practised, as I have just said, by the United States. Peace in Viet-Nam is linked to respect by the United States of the Geneva Agreements, i.e. to the withdrawal of all United States troops and mercenaries and the dismantling of their bases. The Viet-Nameese people alone are competent to settle their own affairs. My country supports the four-point declaration of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the declaration of the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam dated 22 March 1965.

82. After Viet-Nam, I should now like to deal with the question of our relations with the Congo (Leopoldville). One year after the aggression by the United States and Belgium against Stanleyville, the relations between the fraternal peoples of the Congo (Brazzaville) and the Congo (Leopoldville) are still sorely strained by acts of aggression directly ordered by the imperialists.

83. We wish to affirm that the unity between the two fraternal peoples of the Congo (Brazzaville) and the Congo (Leopoldville) is a sacred unity which will triumph over all the vicissitudes of history and that the puppets installed at Leopoldville by the imperialists will, if they obey the orders of their masters, continue to fail in their attempts to divide us.

84. The people's revolution which has triumphed at Brazzaville reflects the legitimate aspirations of the Congolese masses; and all acts of flagrant aggression plotted by the imperialists and their lackeys will always be vigorously repulsed by the Congolese people. We are convinced that the bunch of flunkies gathered at Leopoldville will be swept away by the inevitable defeat of imperialism and that the puppet Youlou, who has taken refuge at Leopoldville, will not escape the fate reserved for all traitors condemned by the revolution.

85. With regard to problems of decolonization, the Congolese people strongly condemn the colonial policy which Portugal continues to pursue in Africa; they support unreservedly the heroic struggle of the nationalists of Angola, Mozambique and "Portuguese" Guinea. We urge the United Nations to take the necessary action for the speedy implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

86. In the face of Portugal's outrageous opposition to the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, we can no longer be content with the role of legislator to which we have resigned ourselves for the last four years. We must now proceed to the implementation of these resolutions by placing at the disposal of these countries special committees which will help them to set an immediate date for their independence. For we cannot expect the fascist Government of Salazar to offer a solution which will satisfy the aspirations of the peoples who are still languishing under the barbarous yoke of Portuguese colonialism. Indeed, everyone knows that Portugal cannot survive without Angola, Mozambique and "Portuguese" Guinea.

87. The Congo (Brazzaville), which borders on the Cabinda enclave, is sufficiently acquainted with the criminal methods and machinations of the Portuguese colonialists to be unwilling to grant any further respite to the fascists who stop at nothing in their campaign to annihilate the people of Cabinda while engaging in acts of flagrant aggression against Congolese territory.

88. The situation in Southern Rhodesia also urgently calls for effective and direct action, for it is inadmissible that a minority of 250,000 settlers, simply because they are white, should be allowed to scorn the legitimate aspirations of 4 million blacks. Ian Smith's decision to declare independence unilaterally must be resisted by all means. We hope that the United Kingdom Government, in view of its responsibility for the situation which has arisen in Southern Rhodesia since the granting of the 1961 Constitution, will take at least the same action as that taken by France when it dealt with the pieds noirs in Algeria.

89. As regards our attitude to the problem of apartheid, we reaffirm our condemnation of that hateful policy and declare categorically that the Verwoerd régime represents a challenge to the conscience of the world. The African delegation, which are particularly aware of the gravity of the situation prevailing in South Africa, have constantly drawn the attention of the United Nations to the measures which it should take in order to put an end to apartheid. This policy constitutes a serious threat to peace in Africa and to international security. By continuing to close its eyes to the acts of barbarism and tyranny and to the crimes of all kinds committed by the white minority against the black majority, the United Nations is abandoning the sacred principles on which the Charter is based.

90. The pretext of non-interference in the domestic affairs of States, which is always advanced by the South Africa racists to conceal deliberate violations of human rights, cannot be considered an obstacle to the adoption and systematic application of sanctions against a pseudo-Government which tramples all

human rights underfoot. Arbitrary arrests, persecution, torture, murder and all the atrocities committed daily against the black population have already gone on for too long in South Africa. The overthrow of the racist slave régime of Pretoria has become an absolute necessity and the General Assembly can no longer evade its responsibility without continuing to betray the hopes of millions of blacks and of the champions of justice who are waging one of the most decisive battles against racial segregation. We once again draw the attention of the Assembly to the incalculable consequences of the explosive situation prevailing in South Africa.

91. Further, we condemn the annexation of South West Africa by Verwoerd, an annexation carried out in flagrant violation of international law and of the sacred right to self-determination of the people of South West Africa. We demand unconditional independence for this country.

92. Having dealt with decolonization, I should now like to say a few words about the world economic situation.

93. In this twentieth century, the world's conscience is troubled by the increasing anxiety caused by the growing disparity between the heavily industrialized countries and the developing countries. A current survey of the world economy shows that, despite the laudable efforts made both through the United Nations specialized agencies and through bilateral programmes of assistance to the developing countries, the gap between the affluent world and the developing world has only grown wider until it has come to jeopardize the future of the young States.

94. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which aroused such hopes, has not yet found rational ways and means of halting the collapse and deterioration of world market prices.

95. In view of the urgency and gravity of these vital problems, the Republic of the Congo, for its part, will join in any efforts which other countries are prepared to make to speed up the economic growth of the developing countries.

96. I should like to conclude by expressing a wish dear to the hearts of all the peoples of the world, namely, that we may see the United Nation develop into an organization in which all peoples may find the fulfilment of their legitimate hopes for peace, justice and progress.

97. Mr. KISELEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): On behalf of the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, I associate myself with the congratulations which have already been addressed here to Mr. Fanfani on his election to the office of President of the current session of the General Assembly. We are truly sorry that Mr. Fanfani is at present in hospital and is obliged to be absent from our plenary meetings, and we wish him a speedy recovery. May I express the hope that the twentieth session of the United Nations General Assembly will be a successful one, and that the President's endeavours will make a worthy contribution to its constructive results.

98. I should like also, on behalf of the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, to welcome the representatives of the Gambia, Singapore and the Maldives Islands on the occasion of the admission of those States to the United Nations. The membership of our Organization has again expanded at an extremely crucial period in its history, which is evidence that the peoples of the world continue to believe in the capacities and in the future of the United Nations.

99. The Gambia, Singapore and the Maldives Islands join the ranks of the small States represented in the United Nations. Our delegation believes that the small States in the United Nations are faced with very important tasks. Their position as equal Members of the United Nations, has an important bearing on the choice of the roads leading to the strengthening of world peace, the securing of national freedom and independence, and the settlement of the problems confronting mankind in the sphere of economic and social development. It is essential always to remember that the fulfilment of the purposes of the United Nations, the prevention of world thermonuclear war, is a task which is common to all nations. The small nations, by demonstrating an understanding of the general interests of mankind, can contribute successfully to the adoption of agreed decisions; they can successfully act together with the powerful nations in the interests of peace, general security and progress. At this time, the goodwill of all countries, regardless of their size, is particularly necessary in the struggle for the achievement of the purposes for which the United Nations was founded. The peoples will not understand us if we waste our energies and slacken our endeavours.

100. We have to admit that the authority of the United Nations is not yet as great as we would wish. One of the reasons for this is that the United Nations is not yet succeeding, owing to the opposition of certain forces, in putting an end to the dangerous policy of interference in the internal affairs of States. It is this that is undermining the authority of the United Nations, since a most important principle of international relations is not being observed. This is clear to all who have at heart the interests of the United Nations and of peace.

101. Some time ago, Mr. Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR and Chairman of the USSR delegation, proposed [1335th meeting] the immediate consideration of the question of the "inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty" [A/5977]. This is yet another proof of the peace-loving policy of the USSR. The proposal accords with the fundamental interests of all mankind, as borne out by the present discussion, and in particular by the statements made from this rostrum by the representatives of Mali and the United Arab Republic. Indeed, it is only necessary to look closely at the Soviet proposal to see how extremely topical it is. We all know that, despite the provisions of the United Nations Charter, acts of intervention, including armed intervention, continue to take place in the domestic affairs of States. The new and noble initiative of the Soviet Union seeks to put an end to such acts of intervention and to prohibit such acts in the future. Those

who really have the interests of peace and security at heart realize that the adoption of the declaration would place in the hands of the peoples a powerful instrument for strengthening their sovereignty, for protecting their independence.

102. The Byelorussian SSR, which bases its policies on the Leninist principles of friendship and co-operation among peoples, of peace and peaceful coexistence between States having different social and economic systems, attaches particular importance to the question of prohibiting foreign intervention. It is no secret to anyone that it is precisely in connexion with interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign States that the danger to peace has arisen and continues to arise. This is borne out by the facts of the blatant intervention by aggressive forces in the affairs of courageous Cuba, their excesses in the Congo and their violation of the rights of the Dominican Republic. A flagrant example of gross armed intervention, fraught with serious consequences for the whole world, is the United States aggression in Viet-Nam.

103. The Byelorussian people decisively condemn that aggression and declare their solidarity with the heroic people of Viet-Nam, who are defending their sovereign rights, are struggling to achieve autonomy and independence, and refuse to accept foreign invasion. We strongly protest against the felonious acts of the aggressors. The intervention of United States armed forces in South Viet-Nam, and the barbarous bombings of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam are acts fundamentally contrary to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter. Is it not clear that those who seek to justify the violence committed in Viet-Nam are conniving with the aggressors? Yet we have heard attempts of this kind made in the speeches by the representatives of Thailand, the Philippines, New Zealand and some others. To our satisfaction, these voices are drowned out by the numerous voices of those who condemn aggression,

104. The United States delegation, addressing the current session of the General Assembly [1334th meeting], has attempted to whitewash United States policy in South-East Asia and, in particular, in Viet-Nam. It would have us believe that Washington is acting in response to a challenge, in the interests of the small nations. But this is contrary to the facts. What the small nations need is to be guaranteed against intervention in their affairs, regardless of whose selfish interests such intervention is intended to serve. We have heard it stated from this rostrum that the United States is willing to "enter into unconditional discussions" with a view to ending the conflict. But those words, too, sound hollow, since they, too, are belied by the facts, by the actions of the United States.

105. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR resolutely demands a halt to the bloodshed, to the aggressive war in Viet-Nam. What is required of the United States is that it cease its armed intervention and recognize the right of the Viet-Name people to choose for themselves their course of development. The Byelorussian delegation fully supports the proposals for the settlement of the situation which have been put forward by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, and the National Liberation Front of Viet-Nam,

representing the people of South Viet-Nam, who repudiate the corrupt puppet clique in Saigon.

106. It has been my fortune to take part in the San Francisco Conference and in all the sessions of the General Assembly, and to witness all the successes and failures in the work of the United Nations. Today, looking back over the past twenty years, I find myself likening our Organization to a ship which has sailed the waves of history and has become a familiar and important part of the world scene. This ship has weathered many storms. Attempts have been made to change its course, to sink it or to drive it aground. You all know how great the danger has been at times. The courageous efforts of those who have prevented the situation from becoming irretrievable are still fresh in our memory. And if today we continue our voyage, still full of hope and energy, it is only because the majority of States have remained faithful to the commitments which they voluntarily assumed on the eve of the voyage. I refer to the United Nations Charter.

107. The representatives of Peru, Brazil and Ireland have said, in one form or another, that the United Nations Charter is out of date and needs certain changes. But experience refutes this point of view. In the twenty years of its existence, the Charter has justified itself and continues to reflect the needs of modern international life. Many important decisions have been taken on the basis of the Charter: of these, I would refer now to the unanimous appeal addressed by the Security Council to the Governments of India and Pakistan [resolution 211 of 1965] to cease hostilities—an appeal which, to our great satisfaction, has met with a favourable response.

108. It is clear that it is not the United Nations Charter which is responsible for the existence of vexing unsolved problems. On the contrary, the fact that a number of unsolved problems still exist today in international relations indicates that some nations are not carrying out the provisions of the Charter. So far as the Byelorussian SSR is concerned, we do not share the desire for a revision of the United Nations Charter. Only if it is guided by the Charter can our Organization best solve the problems before it, including the taking of steps for the maintenance or restoration of peace.

109. The preservation of world peace is the first prerequisite for the progress of mankind. The question of war or peaceful coexistence has become the fundamental issue of our time. The principal task facing the peoples of the world is that of restraining the militarist forces, preventing a thermonuclear war and strengthening peaceful coexistence between States having different social systems. We believe that the efforts of all Governments must be directed towards preventing a new war and the banishing of war from the life of mankind for ever. The true and reliable way to this goal is through general and complete disarmament. The whole world knows that in the front rank of those fighting for disarmament stands the Soviet Union, which has on many occasions put forward specific proposals aimed at solving this most important problem.

110. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR believes that the question of general and complete disarmament has reached a stage where further delay in its solution increases in geometrical progression the difficulties that have to be overcome.

111. The continuing arms race, for which the imperialist forces are to blame, is completely contrary to the vital needs of mankind.

112. We must note with regret that the efforts of the peace-loving countries to break the deadlock in the disarmament negotiations are continuing to meet with opposition from States whose ruling circles hold the criminal belief that the continuation and even expansion of the arms race is advantageous, in the expectation of making immense profits and counting on one day being able to achieve military supremacy and to control the world. It is the fault of these forces that for more than three years the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva has been unable to draw up an agreed disarmament programme or even a programme of partial measures aimed at curtailing the arms race, restoring the general international situation to normal, strengthening world security and creating the best conditions for achieving the desired goal, namely, general and complete disarmament under strict international control.

113. At the appropriate time, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR will try to give a more detailed appraisal of the work of the United Nations Disarmament Commission and the Eighteen-Nation Committee. At this time I should like to confine myself to stating two practical conclusions which we have drawn from an analysis of the efforts that have been made this year through the United Nations in the sphere of disarmament.

114. The first conclusion is that the overwhelming majority of countries in the world are unquestionably anxious to achieve general and complete disarmament, and to achieve it as quickly as possible. These countries are prepared to co-operate in order to make practical progress, bearing in mind that any concrete result is worth more than a thousand high-flown generalizations about the benefits of disarmament.

115. The second conclusion is that international relations today, which are characterized by acts of aggression on the part of the imperialist forces, suppression of national liberation movements, and interference in the internal affairs of other States, adversely affect the search for practical ways of solving the disarmament problem once for all.

116. The Byelorussian SSR, as in the past, is firmly resolved actively to co-operate with all countries in settling international problems. That is why our Government is ready to make a positive contribution to the work of a world disarmament conference in which all countries of the world would take part, and considers it advisable for such a conference to be held in the summer of 1966. The Byelorussian delegation believes that the General Assembly should take the necessary decision on this question without delay. The sooner this is done, the better: we shall all have enough time to prepare for such a conference, if we only have the will to do so.

117. We cannot relax the struggle for disarmament even for a moment. To this end, it is most important that specific decisions should be taken in the sphere of so-called partial measures for disarmament. We believe that a ban on the use of nuclear weapons must be achieved, that nuclear-free zones must be established and military budgets reduced, that a non-aggression pact must be signed between the two largest military and political groups, the aggressive NATO bloc and the defensive alliance of the Warsaw Treaty States, and nuclear tests must be completely prohibited by extending the Moscow Treaty^{1/} to include underground explosions.

118. Our delegation would like to emphasize the importance of the proposals concerning partial measures which have been put forward by the socialist countries and by the independent States of Africa and Asia.

119. Among such partial measures, the question of the dismantling of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of other countries is of special importance. It is the duty of the United Nations to adopt recommendations which will give the peoples support in their struggle against the imperialistic policy of installing military bases and armed forces in foreign States. Such bases are a manifestation of the policy of intervention, and whatever the pretext under which they are established, it is time to do away with them.

120. The arms race is now proceeding on a scale and at a pace unprecedented in the history of mankind. Year by year, month by month, the means of waging war are becoming more destructive, more devastating. The total world nuclear potential is growing by leaps and bounds. It is generally believed that existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons are already sufficient to destroy all life on our planet several times over.

121. The baleful shadow of atomic weapons is beginning to spread all over the world. Unless effective measures are taken, it will be only a very few years before nuclear weapons will be in the hands of many States which do not at present possess them. The United Nations must do everything in its power to put an end to the spread of nuclear weapons, and in this connexion an important proposal has been submitted.

122. The agenda of the General Assembly includes an item of the utmost urgency, namely the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons [item 106]. The delegation of the Soviet Union has submitted a draft treaty on this subject which is exceptionally clear and businesslike. My delegation not only supports that draft but urgently appeals to all countries to give it sober and serious consideration, as a number of delegations have already done.

123. The USSR draft treaty, as we understand it, is aimed at eradicating the "nuclear cancer", at preventing the further spread of nuclear weapons. The draft indicates a course of action which will enable us to preserve and increase the chances of making progress in disarmament negotiations and to arrive

^{1/} Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water, signed at Moscow on 5 August 1963.

more quickly at the prohibition and destruction of all nuclear weapons. We see great merit in the simplicity of the Soviet proposal, in the fact that it does not impose any special additional conditions for its implementation.

124. The ideas embodied in the draft Treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons submitted at Geneva by the United States delegation,^{2/} on the other hand, are extremely pernicious and dangerous. The main defect of this draft is that it allows for a process of nuclear weapons dissemination, and in the most dangerous form—in the form of the so-called NATO multilateral or Atlantic nuclear force.

125. This year the peoples of the entire world have solemnly observed the twentieth anniversary of the victory over Fascism. The Second World War, unleashed by the most aggressive imperialist forces, cost the world 50 million lives; the total number of casualties, including wounded, was 145 million people. Everyone is aware of the great role which the peoples of the Soviet Union played in that war and the enormous losses which they sustained on behalf of freedom and independence throughout the world.

126. The Byelorussian SSR is the only one of the countries which fought in the anti-Nazi coalition whose population has not yet been restored to its pre-war level. The reason for this is the great number of lives that were lost, exceeding 2 million, and the material devastation resulting from the aggression, amounting to more than half the national wealth of the Republic.

127. The Byelorussian people cannot forget the casualties they suffered as the result of Nazi Germany's aggression. Together with the great family of socialist States and other peace-loving countries, Byelorussia is determined to do everything it can to prevent another world war. The lessons of the past show how pernicious is the policy of appeasing aggressors, how important it is to unmask them in time, frustrate their criminal plans and establish a united front to combat aggression. It is for this reason that the Byelorussian people are watching with such great alarm the dangerous development of the situation in the heart of Europe, in the Federal Republic of Germany, where militaristic, revanchist forces are again on the rise. The activities of those forces create a threat to peace in Europe, and thus to peace throughout the world. As L. I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, stated in an address to a recent plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in September,^{3/} in the case of the Federal Republic of Germany "we are dealing with the main centre of reaction and militarism in Europe, with the chief ally of the aggressive imperialist circles in the United States of America".

128. The threat to peace posed by West Germany is no myth. Who, I ask, can have faith in the peaceful intentions of a State in which excuses are now being made openly for bloodthirsty Hitlerism, in which the outcome of the war of liberation which put an end to Hitlerism is not recognized?

129. The revanchist forces in the Federal Republic of Germany are again preparing for war. Even now the Federal Republic is planning for a large army. Militaristic circles in the Federal Republic are trying to establish the military base which will enable them to satisfy their voracious appetites; they are striving to obtain nuclear weapons so as to draw the other NATO countries into their reckless plans.

130. A number of Western countries are beginning to realize where the militaristic circles in Bonn are heading. The unfortunate thing is that some of their NATO partners continue to be led along by the West German blackmailers. The policy aimed at establishing a NATO multilateral nuclear force in one form or another encourages the West German revanchists and consigns the interests of peace to oblivion; in addition, it flouts the obligations assumed by the members of the anti-Hitler coalition to destroy German militarism and establish guarantees that it would never again be able to disrupt the peace.

131. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers that the question of European security is of great importance; all countries of the world should concern themselves with the task of finding a prompt and satisfactory solution to that problem in the light of existing realities.

132. With regard to the means of strengthening peace in Europe, restraining the forces of militarism and establishing friendly and good-neighbourly relations in Europe, we should like to stress the importance of the proposals submitted by the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and the German Democratic Republic, whose peaceful policy is winning increasing respect in the international sphere, and also by certain other European countries.

133. It will soon be five years since the adoption by the General Assembly, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. During this time the national liberation movement has made further great advances, particularly in Africa. Only fragments remain of the former huge colonial empires. Whereas at the beginning of the Second World War 31 per cent of the earth's surface, with a population of some 700 million people, was under colonial rule, colonial territories now account for about 6 per cent of the earth's surface, with some 40 million inhabitants, or 1 per cent of the world's population.

134. However, the United Nations should not slacken its efforts to combat colonialism until there is not a single colony left on earth or a single people under the colonialist yoke. It should adopt resolutions at the present session which will truly help the peoples struggling heroically for their liberation to break the rusty shackles of oppression and servitude once and for all.

135. On behalf of the Byelorussian delegation, I declare that we shall continue to maintain our resolute and uncompromising stand until the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, Oman, Aden and other territories have permanently won their freedom and independence.

^{2/} Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965, document DC/227, annex I, section A.

^{3/} *Izvestiya*, 30 September 1965.

136. Colonialism is still alive and represents a serious threat to the peoples of the world. It is dressed in new clothing and uses more subtle forms of enslavement and subjugation, commonly known as neo-colonialism. The neo-colonialists are trying to ensure that former colonies acquire their independence in name only. For this purpose they retain key positions in the economies of these countries and impose one-sided agreements, establish military bases and place their agents in government posts in order to keep these countries in their clutches.

137. The Byelorussian delegation has high regard for the work of the Committee of Twenty-Four, which has been engaged in drafting recommendations on the granting of independence; at the same time, it believes that that Committee has not yet been able to bring its work to a conclusion because of forces opposed to decolonization. The task now is to overcome the opposition of those forces and to discharge our duty to the peoples. We fully share the view expressed from this rostrum by Mr. Quaison-Sackey, the representative of Ghana, that not a single State that has liberated itself can really feel free until colonialism is definitely a thing of the past [1346th meeting]. This view was endorsed by the representatives of Uganda, Kenya, Zambia and other non-aligned countries.

138. We must continue relentlessly to expose the intrigues of the colonialists and their lackeys and rebuff them decisively. Take the case of Portugal, for example: how can we explain the fact that the Salazar clique is still able to retain its blood-stained grip on territories covering an area more than twenty times that of Portugal? There is only one explanation: the Salazar Government is receiving a great deal of help from the Western countries, and particularly from the Federal Republic of Germany. The patriots struggling to throw off the yoke of the Portuguese colonialists are in fact opposed by the collective might of the members of NATO. Those same countries are also helping the Government of the Republic of South Africa, pursuing the criminal policy of apartheid which the South African representative, to the indignation of all, has again tried to justify here.

139. The bell has tolled for colonialism, and neither brute force nor wily stratagems can help the colonialists. The movement of national liberation is invincible, and no force can stop it or turn it back. However, victory will not come alone and unaided. We must strengthen the unity of the anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist front on the basis of the struggle for peace, security, justice and progress; we must resolutely oppose all discrimination, wherever and in whatever form it may occur; we must more actively resist attempts at foreign intervention, which brings with it as in the Congo the disruption of progressive forces, chaos and serious new problems. We must draw practical lessons from the recognition of the fact that all efforts by subjugated peoples seeking freedom and independence are legal. For the attainment of our common goals we must continue to show good sense and consider the real situation obtaining at a particular stage of historical development.

140. The Byelorussian delegation continues to support, as it always has in the past, all effective measures directed against the colonialists, in favour of

the sovereign right of peoples to independent political and economic development.

141. The Byelorussian delegation is concerned with important, complex problems relating to general economic and social progress. We are sincerely concerned, in particular, with the problems of countries which have lagged in their development through the fault of the colonial Powers. Their rate of economic development is far from adequate, their share of world trade is decreasing, and their access to foreign exchange is extremely limited. This situation is wholly intolerable. It is the duty of the United Nations to give more effective assistance to the newly independent countries, and in particular to compel those responsible for their backwardness to compensate them, and also to help developing countries in their struggle to prevent domination by foreign monopolies and to defend their sovereignty over their natural resources.

142. A question of particular importance is the normalization of international trade. Many fine words have been spoken on this subject, but the time has now come to support those words with deeds and with decisions which will give scope to those deeds. We should ensure that the machinery of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development functions smoothly. We are convinced that the elimination of all the discriminatory restrictions in trade practised by countries which favour closed trading systems and one-sided profits will help in the satisfactory solution of general economic problems and particularly the problems of the newly independent States. Normal trade and successful economic, scientific and technical co-operation will provide an excellent basis for developing and strengthening peaceful relations among all nations.

143. In conclusion, I should like to express my conviction that the outlook will be heartening if all countries will understand the alternative nature of the current situation, recognize the need for peaceful co-existence in order to avoid a world war, and in their mutual relations abide strictly by the proven principles of the United Nations Charter.

144. If we show goodwill, existing ideological differences and differences in levels of economic development need not be an obstacle to broad co-operation and peaceful good-neighbourly relations. The debates in the United Nations would be meaningless if behind the sharp criticism of principle there were not a desire to settle outstanding problems in the interest of all peoples, in the interests of peace, independence and progress.

145. The Byelorussian delegation considers that the General Assembly can and must work constructively. There are many encouraging signs that this is possible. What is lacking is understanding on the part of certain Western Powers that the "cold war" in whatever form has become wholly obsolete. An atmosphere of co-operation and mutual understanding, now supported by the overwhelming majority of Members of the United Nations, is gradually gaining the ascendancy and the idea of universality, the importance of which is specially emphasized in the introduction to the annual report of the Secretary-General, U Thant [A/6001/Add.1], is winning acceptance in the United Nations.

146. It is an absurd and preposterous state of affairs when there is no delegation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, when the seat of the People's Republic in the Organization is occupied by a clique which has long ceased to represent those in whose name it attempts to speak. We also consider that the time has come, with a view to strengthening our Organization and expanding its possibilities, to admit both sovereign German States—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany—to membership in the United Nations. The participation of the German Democratic Republic in the work of the United Nations would strengthen the forces that support peace, security and co-operation among nations.

147. Ever since its first steps in the international arena after the Second World War the Byelorussian SSR has demonstrated its unwavering loyalty to the principles of peace, justice, equality of rights and co-operation.

148. At the sessions of the United Nations General Assembly and at many international conferences the representatives of the Byelorussian SSR have constantly stated that the Byelorussian people are vitally interested in a long and stable peace and in creating conditions which would guarantee to all peoples of the world peaceful, creative work and would make another war impossible.

149. The Byelorussian SSR is making every effort to strengthen the United Nations and increase its authority. Enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations in strengthening peace means, first and foremost, putting an end to violations of the Charter and creating within the Organization a climate conducive to the collaboration of all States on a basis of equality.

150. The Byelorussian SSR will continue in the future resolutely to defend the principles of the United Nations Charter and to combat all attempts to impose upon the Organization unilateral decisions incompatible with the purposes of universal peace, security and co-operation among nations.

151. The future of the United Nations lies in effective struggle for international peace and security, against the threat of a third world war. Its future lies in unrelenting efforts in the interests of independence and of economic and social progress and in the strengthening of co-operation and friendly relations among all States.

152. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR expresses the hope that the United Nations will accomplish its great duty to mankind and make its contribution to the strengthening of peace throughout the world.

153. Mr. DIALLO Abdoulaye (Guinea) (translated from French): As I am addressing the Assembly for the first time, I should like first of all, on behalf of the delegation of the Republic of Guinea, to associate myself with previous speakers and to convey the warmest congratulations of the Government of Guinea to Mr. Fanfani on his election to the high office of President of the twentieth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

154. Mr. Fanfani's human qualities, his qualities as a statesman, his profound knowledge of international realities and his long parliamentary experience, are, in the opinion of the delegation of Guinea, a sure guarantee that he will guide the work of the Assembly with enlightenment, competence and impartiality. We shall value his qualities still more highly, since the very heavy agenda of the twentieth session is of particular importance because the present session is opening after the failure of the nineteenth session, which was paralysed by controversies, the meaning of which was often not clear, over the application of Article 19 of the Charter.

155. In the settlement of this crisis, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ghana, our friend and brother Alex Quaison-Sackey, played a role, as President of the nineteenth session, which deserves our gratitude and our warmest thanks because of the tenacity, intelligence and insight which he displayed and which do honour both to his country and to Africa.

156. For its part, the delegation of Guinea most sincerely welcomes the end of this crisis, which affected the operation and the mainspring of the United Nations, and almost jeopardized its very existence. This crisis, which has euphemistically been called a "financial crisis", but which actually was a political and constitutional one, may prove to have had some beneficial aspects despite its apparent adverse effects and the bitterness it may have created. It may have shown the urgent need to adapt our Organization—which in its present form is no more than a reflection of a specific world situation at a particular time in history, namely, the situation following the Second World War—to present-day world realities.

157. While welcoming the settlement of a situation which had become intolerable, the delegation of Guinea believes that peace-keeping operations must be based on a legal foundation which will support them and prevent them from becoming merely a means of applying a policy formulated outside this forum and in conditions of which we are unaware.

158. The Government of Guinea is aware of the part which the small Powers must play in seeking these new ways and means of ensuring that the Organization can fulfil its primary responsibility, which is the maintenance of peace.

159. We do not underestimate the leading role of the permanent members of the Security Council. However, we should like to see the residual power of the General Assembly, the only truly democratic organ of the United Nations, strengthened and put to use whenever the Security Council proves unable to fulfil its obligations, as has been the case with the South African Government's policy of apartheid.

160. We are convinced that, whenever the Security Council is paralysed in its efforts to maintain peace, the General Assembly should be called upon to make recommendations to the Security Council, where necessary, in the hope that the Council will take due note of international public opinion as thus expressed.

161. Furthermore, the General Assembly should be able, like the Security Council, to supervise the proper application of its decisions concerning peace-

keeping operations, which would be financed by all Member States with pro rata contributions based on criteria established and accepted in advance. In this connexion, I should like to stress the particularly constructive role of the Afro-Asian countries in solving the recent crisis over Article 19. It was finally the formula proposed by those countries which made it possible to solve to the satisfaction of everyone this crisis, which almost led to the collapse of our Organization.

162. Adapting the United Nations to new realities can give it new life, help it to meet its ever-mounting obligations and forge it into a more effective instrument of international peace and stability. This is both desirable and possible, if we all wish it together and if we all move together towards that objective.

163. In this connexion, Africa, aware of its international responsibilities, indissolubly and irrevocably united to further its economic and political liberation in its regional organization, has chosen its course once and for all. Indeed, the Charter of the Organization of African Unity reiterates the lofty ideals of peace and freedom of the United Nations Charter. It reaffirms the fundamental principles of the latter, such as the sovereign equality of States, non-interference in their domestic affairs, respect for their sovereignty and territorial integrity, and for their inalienable right to an independent existence, and the peaceful settlement of international disputes. The adoption of this Charter in May 1963, at Addis Ababa, was an act of faith of the new Africa, an act of faith which is renewed by each of its States in the bright future of the United Nations.

164. However, as its members are well aware, the Organization of African Unity can only achieve its goals if the African continent is delivered from all the evils that beset it: colonialism, racism and economic under-development.

165. In this inspiring and pitiless struggle, the African peoples expect from the United Nations not only generous understanding, but also efficient and effective support, without bargaining or strings attached; for to struggle against colonialism, racism and economic under-development is also to contribute to the strengthening of world peace and, in the final analysis, of the United Nations.

166. In adopting the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)] at its fifteenth session, which set up the anti-colonialist committee known as the Committee of Twenty-Four, and by later establishing a Special Committee on Apartheid [resolution 1761 (XVII)], the General Assembly was well aware that the United Nations bore a serious responsibility to deal with the extremely important questions of colonialism and racism.

167. Unfortunately, while it is reassuring to note that progress has been achieved in decolonization, since the adoption of the Declaration, it is all the more disgusting to see that the attitude of the Portuguese colonialists, who have forgotten nothing of their former practices and have learnt nothing from the recent history of decolonization, has not changed.

168. Portugal, a backward country from every point of view, is maintaining the most retrograde and most barbaric form of colonialism ever known. Mr. Salazar and his proconsuls are following a blind and inhuman policy of colonialist oppression in the territories of Africa, in defiance of all the principles of the United Nations Charter. Worse still, the Lisbon authorities treat all the resolutions of the Organization and the unanimous expression of international condemnation with the utmost contempt.

169. Portugal is becoming more and more deeply committed to its thoughtless policy of making so-called Portuguese out of the Africans in its colonies and is engaged in a dirty colonial war which can only lead to the liberation, not only of "Portuguese" Guinea, Mozambique, Angola, etc., but also of Portugal itself, that unfortunate country which has stagnated for so long under the heel of the savage medieval Salazar dictatorship, which spares no one, not even its exiled adversaries, whom it has murdered by its criminal accomplices.

170. These colonial wars, which are encouraged by the NATO allies and accomplices of the Portuguese murderers, will—and there can be no doubt of this—finally, after spreading terror in Africa, create a gulf between the African peoples and the so-called "free" world which will be difficult to bridge. The Portuguese adventurers will then have succeeded in discrediting all their accomplices, willing or unwilling.

171. However that may be, the peoples of Guinea, Angola and Mozambique have exhausted all the peaceful means of dealing with the Portuguese colonial adventure and have chosen the only remaining path, the path of armed struggle and war in all its forms to regain their freedom, which has been usurped for five centuries by a civilization which, when all is said and done, has proved to be the most backward and the most foolish that Europe has ever produced. However much the covert defenders of the Portuguese colonial policy may dislike it, no normal and impartial observer could call the armed struggle—this war for freedom and independence—contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

172. The enslaved peoples of the Portuguese colonies have taken up arms to free themselves because democratic channels, so dear to certain accomplices of the Portuguese assassins, do not exist in the Portuguese colonies any more than they do in Portugal itself.

173. The responsibility of all of us is to help these peoples in every possible way to throw off the Portuguese colonial yoke. It is futile to utter pious wishes and to proclaim principles in which one does not believe because they are impossible to apply. Very many States Members of the United Nations, including some Latin American countries, have had to resort to arms to free themselves from colonial oppression. Why then should Africans be begrudged this inalienable right particularly by those who so loudly claim to be Africa's kinsfolk and who identify themselves to a great extent and, it seems, with pride, to its race, culture and traditions? For our part, we shall not rest until the unhappy colonies of Portuguese fascism are liberated. All the African States in the Organization of African Unity have proclaimed this and no effort will be spared

to regain the freedom and independence of Africans on the African continent.

174. Africa is now counting the number of its friends, to whom it urgently appeals for open support in achieving the rapid elimination of Portuguese colonialism. It is also counting the number of Portugal's friends both covert and overt. The Portuguese aggressor will soon be thrown into the sea; he must be thrown into the sea with his accomplices and his hidden supporters.

175. The ambition of Mr. Ian Smith, that self-styled Prime Minister, is to establish in Southern Rhodesia a replica of the present situation in South Africa, by setting up a régime similar to that of apartheid.

176. The appeals launched by the United Nations in support of the African population of Southern Rhodesia have evinced no response from the settler Government. Quite the contrary, that Government's threats of a unilateral declaration of independence for the sole benefit of the white minority are becoming more and more insistent. In the face of such threats, we should at this stage denounce the—to say the least—ambiguous attitude of the Labour Government, whose coming to power in London had raised so many hopes in Africans. Her Britannic Majesty's Government must realize that by preventing a unilateral declaration of independence by every possible means, including force, it would merely be fulfilling one of its key obligations in the matter of decolonization. Be that as it may, the African peoples cannot forgive its purely passive attitude and pure complaisance, which can only be interpreted as a betrayal of its own electoral programme.

177. If the United Kingdom Government can suspend the constitutions of its self-governing colonies at will, as it did recently in British Guiana and Aden, then it is hard to see why it should not do the same for Southern Rhodesia, unless the reason is one which it cannot admit, namely, that in that country it is dealing with its blood brothers, if not its own citizens, that is to say the 250,000 white settlers.

178. It is in fact a kind of ingrained racism which is restraining the United Kingdom country from dealing with the Rhodesian adventurers. The only acceptable solution in Southern Rhodesia is one based on the consent of the Rhodesian people, and that implies first the suspension of the Constitution imposed in 1961, which gives legal sanction to all the arbitrary actions, all the crimes and all the atrocities committed by the illegal minority government of Ian Smith. This solution also implies the unconditional release of all political prisoners, without exception, and the holding of a round-table conference of all Southern Rhodesian political parties.

179. Racism in Africa is not of the Africans' own doing. It is an imported product which the white settlers brought with them when colonization began. Naturally, the Africans will throw it out of their continent. In these circumstances, the question arises whether it would not be wiser for mankind to spare itself a new war, a war more terrible than all those it has ever known: the war of the races.

180. The attitude of the Rhodesian and Portuguese colonialists finds an echo in that of the neo-Nazis of

South Africa, who are deliberately and wilfully violating our most sacred principles and our most unanimous resolutions, and are persisting in their ill-conceived, infamous and inhuman policy, which degrades thirteen million Africans and Asians to the level of animals, for the benefit of a minority of three million people of European origin, who are living under the illusion that they enjoy a certain security and in the tragic and mistaken belief that a political régime based on brute force in its purest form and on racial hatred can continue and survive forever and ever, in defiance of the conscience of all mankind.

181. Wherever we turn, we are forced to note with bitterness that the reason why Portugal, the minority régime of Rhodesian settlers and the Union of South Africa persist in their arrogant attitude is that they feel that they are supported by white Western nations including, paradoxically, France, which declares itself to be such a friend of Africa, and an Asian nation, Japan, which prefers material profit to all the virtues which are the foundation of Afro-Asian solidarity.

182. We invite these nations to ponder the very wise, realistic and generous words spoken in this forum one week ago [1347th meeting] by the spiritual leader of Christianity, the Sovereign Pontiff, Pope Paul VI. These words, which have reached the four corners of the earth and are still resounding in the halls of our Organization, should make them realize their obligations in face of the gigantic task of freeing men and nations and establishing their equality.

183. In any event, let these nations realize clearly that Africa will no longer allow itself to be deceived, and that it will no longer accept high-sounding declarations of principle which are never put into practice.

184. This explains why the Security Council, which has long had these questions before it, has still not succeeded in finding any solutions to them. The Council should, however, shoulder all its responsibilities. Otherwise, the General Assembly should relieve the Council of these responsibilities and consider the questions from a new angle, namely, with a view to taking decisions such as those called for in cases where the Security Council is obviously incapable of dealing with a clear threat to peace.

185. The truth is that apartheid and colonialism are permanent sources of tension likely to lead to a further and dangerous breach of the peace. We believe that the United Nations must not just sit by politely and wait until this breach of the peace actually happens before taking any action. We believe that it must take the measures necessary to prevent that breach of the peace forthwith, because the role of maintaining peace, vested in the Organization by the Charter, must not be merely static and remedial but also and principally dynamic and preventive, as soon as the actual conditions in a given situation indicate that a breach of the peace is likely.

186. Everything about colonialism and racism has already been said and said again. All kinds of resolutions have been adopted by the Assembly, from the most conciliatory to the most comminatory. The work done by the Committee of Twenty-Four and the Special Committee on Apartheid deserves our commendation and our thanks to all concerned. However, despite all

our efforts, neither Portugal nor South Africa wish to listen to reason. It is time for the United Nations to find a different approach to the problem. We believe that it is time for the United Nations to resort to the enforcement action provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter by deciding to adopt economic sanctions against these recalcitrant criminals. It must be repeated that we cannot deny the sacred right of those Africans who are still oppressed to defend themselves by taking up arms to drive racism and colonialism out of Africa.

187. The fact that South Africa and Portugal are Members of the Organization merely emphasizes still further the flagrant injustice which is being committed against the greatest State in the world: the People's Republic of China. The Republic of Guinea, since it became independent, has maintained diplomatic and reciprocally valuable relations with the People's Republic of China, based on sincere friendship and mutual respect. Guinea has reason only to welcome these relations since—and this must be stated from this rostrum—the People's Republic of China has never attempted to interfere in our domestic affairs. And our people has the greatest admiration for the spirit of sacrifice, the unselfishness, modesty, dedication and initiative of its technicians.

188. We will not, therefore, believe that the malicious accusations made against that country are well-founded. We will also not believe that to keep the People's Republic of China outside the United Nations serves either the cause of the United Nations or the cause of peace. That is why the Republic of Guinea this year, in association with other friendly delegations, has requested the inclusion in the agenda of the item entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations" [see A/5971 and Add.1 and 2]. In so doing, the delegation of Guinea expresses its deep conviction that more than 700 million human beings, who make up a nation which is scoring the greatest successes in every sphere every day, has the right, like all other peoples of the world grouped together in States, to participate actively in settling the affairs of a world of which they are such an essential and integral part.

189. Those who are rather afraid of restoring to the People's Republic of China its legitimate rights in the Security Council and the General Assembly should simply remember that, as long as China is kept outside the United Nations, it will exercise a permanent veto in all the basic questions with which we are constantly concerned, because none of these questions can be properly solved without its participation and endorsement.

190. One of the questions which demands an urgent solution because of the enormous development of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction is disarmament. My country firmly believes in general and complete disarmament. It remains convinced that, as long as this is not achieved, mankind will always run the risk of becoming engulfed in an apocalyptic holocaust. In this connexion, it is a matter for regret that the Disarmament Commission, despite its numerous and patient meetings, has not been able to

make any substantial headway. Moreover, even if any result had been achieved in that Commission, it would be to no avail as long as we continue to close our eyes to realities and to maintain that the People's Republic of China, a nuclear Power, is not part of the world.

191. All countries, whether nuclear Powers or not, developed or not, large or small, have a stake in disarmament and peace, because, even if they do not possess nuclear or thermonuclear weapons, they will be affected in just the same way as the nuclear Powers in the event of a general atomic catastrophe. That is why the Government of Guinea has constantly and tirelessly striven for the convening of a world disarmament conference which would not be merely a meeting confined to a few initiated participants. That is also why it believes that it is essential scrupulously to respect principles likely to guarantee peace in international relations.

192. One of these cardinal principles is that no one has the right to interfere in any form in the domestic affairs of sovereign countries. No country or Power has the right to arrogate to itself the unenviable role of an international policeman, intervening in all countries where a popular revolution attempts to throw off the cruel yoke of the dictator, the oppressor, the tyrant or the puppet. Such interventions are unbearable and intolerable manifestations of arrogant imperialism. In this connexion, the Government of Guinea fully supports the proposal made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, submitted as a Declaration, during the general debate on "The inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and protection of their independence and sovereignty" [see A/5977].

193. Another crisis, as serious and dangerous as the threat of a general war, is becoming more and more alarming for mankind since, because of its size and its scope, it affects the most elementary daily needs and—why should it not be said?—the dignity of two-thirds of the world's population. As you will have guessed, I am referring to the disturbing and crucial problem of under-development. The economic imbalance in international relations creates and aggravates social tensions, leading to conflict between men and between States. I need only quote a few figures here to show how well-founded are the anxieties of all the developing countries.

194. It appears that exports, which had risen by 8.4 per cent in the period 1950 to 1955, dropped to 6.6 per cent in the period 1955 to 1960. At this rate, according to the statistical experts, this increase will come to a full stop between 1978 and 1980. Hence, it is easy to foresee the future which awaits the developing countries, a future which is inexorably linked to the development of international trade. Furthermore, it is a commonplace to emphasize the constant fluctuations in primary commodity prices. Actually the price index for these commodities, which are the principal source of foreign exchange for the developing countries, is constantly falling. Generally speaking, the deterioration in the terms of trade is estimated to represent for the developing countries the colossal loss of 38,000 million dollars since 1955,

a sum which far exceeds all the aid received by those countries.

195. Because my Government is convinced that the historic United Nations Conference on Trade and Development is a positive step towards more democratic economic relations among all States, it has continually given the Conference its closest co-operation and fullest support. Guinea believes that the Final Act of the Conference,^{4/} which proposes solutions suited to the different problems of the developing countries, can be considered as the charter of economic co-operation and it is the duty of each Member State, in a spirit of responsibility and solidarity, to implement properly the Geneva decisions, which are the most striking manifestation of the desire of all to end the tragedy of under-development. In order to do so, we must all accept as a historical fact—and therefore as something which should be binding upon all—what was worked out with such care and such difficulty at Geneva in June 1964.

196. It is true that the developing countries, which are principally concerned, have their share of responsibility and it is indeed a large share, as far as the Geneva decisions are concerned, and we believe that all the measures recommended for the developing countries in the Final Act should be only a supplement designed to buttress their efforts in this uplifting task of economic construction.

197. But, however great these efforts may be, if they are to be decisive they must necessarily have the goodwill of the industrialized countries, which are at the very epicentre of all the problems of economic development facing the countries of the southern hemisphere, simply because it is they which, for the time being at any rate, direct and control world markets. It is for the developed countries—and it is their duty—to abandon their seemingly negative attitude to the Geneva decisions and to adopt a more constructive approach, which alone can promote sound co-operation; in other words, they should display political willingness to translate the various recommendations of the Final Act into deeds.

198. Only if the efforts of all are pooled in good faith will the new trade and development body be able to make its mark as an effective instrument of international co-operation and thus as an instrument of peace.

199. In striving to build-up its economy immediately after becoming independent, so as to fill the gap left by the abrupt but, when all is said and done, beneficial departure of the colonial Power, Guinea had to embark on a series of economic programmes covering three years. The aim of this modest plan was to survey all our resources, both human and material, in order to launch a more scientific plan.

200. The seven-year plan, the economic battle plan, was conceived in the light of these considerations. The execution of this plan will enable the Republic of Guinea, which has vast natural wealth, to enter the

phase of real economic "take-off" towards progress and prosperity.

201. My delegation is glad to state here that the Republic of Guinea maintains excellent relations based on co-operation with various friendly countries which are giving it their support in its grim battle against under-development. The diversified and non-exclusive nature of our bilateral co-operation is in line with Guinea's political and economic tenets which transcend the different ideologies and reflect only the true interests of its people.

202. Today there are in Asia two sources of serious concern and cruel suffering for all mankind: Viet-Nam and Kashmir. In these two countries, the roar of cannons and explosion of bombs have drowned the voice of reason. My delegation considers that it is not possible for a speaker at the rostrum of the world's greatest forum to remain silent about these two serious problems. Many speakers have mentioned them here and in very eloquent terms. I shall limit my remarks on the question of Viet-Nam to a reminder of my Government's conviction that no tenable solution can be found to this vexed question until the bombing of North Viet-Nam by the United States interventionist army ceases and all parties to the conflict unreservedly accept a return to the 1954 Geneva Agreements, non-intervention in the internal affairs of Viet-Nam and strict respect for the independence of that martyred country and for the self-determination of its proud and intrepid people, who will have given the finest lessons of courage to all mankind in their long heroic struggle against foreign aggression.

203. There is fortunately a lull in the Indo-Pakistan conflict, thanks to the cease-fire ending this fratricidal war which cannot benefit either of the belligerents. We feel, however, that we must go beyond this precarious cease-fire and tackle the substance of the problem, in order to find a final solution to this dangerous Kashmir conflict, taking into account the great principles proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations and the need to preserve and strengthen the Afro-Asian front and heritage, which have already been seriously damaged.

204. Here it is appropriate to pay a sincere and well-deserved tribute to our Secretary-General, U Thant, for his indefatigable, patient and wise efforts in search of peace, in Kashmir and elsewhere in the world. In this quest, in his untiring quest for peace, he can always count on the clear-sighted and friendly support of the Guinean people and Government.

205. Mr. Vice-President, I should be failing in my most elementary duty if, at the conclusion of this statement, I did not offer through you warm and sincere congratulations from the Republic of Guinea to the officers who have the honour and the heavy and difficult responsibility of assisting you in the conduct of our debates.

206. Our warm and sincere congratulations also go to the Gambia, Singapore and the Maldives Islands, which have just gained international sovereignty, thus emphasizing the victory of the peoples of the world over colonialism. Their admission to membership in the United Nations will undoubtedly strengthen in practice the principles of universality to which the

^{4/} 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).

United Nations Charter gave pride of place. Their representatives will always have the Guinean delegation's understanding and unreserved support in upholding their just claims and defending their legitimate aspirations.

207. It only remains for me to conclude; and, in the midst of all the turmoil of our age, I shall do so by quoting the words of the Head of State of Guinea, President Ahmed Sékou Touré, who said in this very hall:

"Our confidence in the future is equal to our determination, and we are profoundly convinced that the conscience of man will be able to transcend the contradictions of an age which is coming to a close; that it will be able with determination, realism and clear-sightedness, to enter upon a new age in world history.

"Rather than ask ourselves whether we should die for such and such a cause, we know with certainty that our duty is to live and create." [1148th meeting, paras. 156 and 157.]

208. I should like to take this opportunity to ask you to convey to our President, Mr. Amintore Fanfani, the news of whose accident caused us great distress, the Guinean delegation's sympathy and best wishes for a speedy recovery.

209. Mr. NOGUEIRA (Portugal): I am very pleased that I should be addressing the General Assembly under the presidency of the representative of Chile, a country with which my own country has close and warm relations of friendship.

210. I am sure that I speak for all of us when I express my regret that the absence of President Fanfani is because of his serious accident. I would ask you, Mr. President, to be kind enough to convey to the President of the General Assembly the heartfelt expression of sympathy of my delegation and my very best wishes for his complete and speedy recovery.

211. As a basis for this general debate we have, as a fundamental document, the Introduction to the Annual Report [A/6001/Add.1] which the Secretary-General has drawn up for our benefit and which places before the Assembly a comprehensive picture of the work of the Organization during the past year. We should not underestimate the importance of such a document. As I studied it, there came to my mind past reports of the Secretary-General, and I particularly remember the introduction to the annual report of 1962.^{5/} Then the Secretary-General of our Organization wrote that the United Nations had failed to promote social progress and better standards of living in larger freedom, and that the rate of development had fallen far short of meeting the needs and demands of peoples. The Secretary-General pointed out, in 1962 also, that the United Nations had failed to help in finding a solution to the very crucial problem of disarmament. As a result of all this, the Secretary-General spoke in 1962 of "a crisis of confidence" in the United Nations.

212. What do we find in the Annual Report for 1965 now before us? The Secretary-General, in his Introduction, refers to past facts which have damaged "the effectiveness and dignity of the United Nations" [*Ibid.*, section I]. He stresses "the deterioration in the international situation generally" which has had "an adverse impact in the field of disarmament," as a result of which "no substantial progress has been achieved" and "the high hopes engendered by the agreements reached in 1953 have been greatly diminished" [*Ibid.*, section II].

213. Then the Secretary-General turns to economic problems, and writes: "a disturbing shadow has been cast, in the form of a worsening of the relative economic position of the developing countries", and he again underlines that "despite the progress made in the organizational and administrative field, however, the year has not fulfilled the hopes generated in developing countries by the agreements reached in Geneva" [*Ibid.*, section IV]. And so it seems to me that in such matters of paramount and decisive importance as disarmament and economic development of the under-developed countries, no progress or very little progress has been achieved by the various Powers, and we find the Secretary-General, as is his duty, expressing precisely the same preoccupations in 1962 and in 1965. There should be no wonder that there is an increasing awareness of the deep, general and serious crisis of the United Nations and of the diminishing confidence of the whole frustrated world.

214. For this, we could find many reasons. In the view of my delegation, however, the most important reasons stems from the fact that the Charter is not being respected and implemented. When we consistently ignore the law for a long time, or when we amend it through unconstitutional procedures, then we are actually killing it, and I fear that this is precisely what is being done to the Charter, as a result of decisions taken against the Charter by simple majority vote in order to meet the desires of occasional majorities.

215. But there are other reasons for the crisis and frustration of the United Nations. We should stress, in the first place, that the countries which, within the Assembly, formulate or initiate policies and support decisions in regard to some concrete problems are not those which have to pay the political price for the implementation of such policies and decisions, and also are not those which have the means to carry them out. Therefore there is a tremendous and widening gap between the fine points scored in the Assembly and the hard realities of life throughout the world. And we should also emphasize another important factor, and that is that the political forces which seem to and do rule the Assembly and command its decisions are not the real forces in the world. The fact that this has been lost sight of has resulted in an accumulation of resolutions which the political forces of the Assembly—that is the majority—have voted and approved but which have been ignored and filed away by the real world forces. When this happens for a long time, as it has happened, it only brings about a loss of effectiveness and of respect.

216. But I referred to violations of the Charter and this brings me back to the Introduction to the Annual

^{5/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, Supplement No. 1A.

Report of the Secretary-General, particularly to that passage where he himself points out the need to respect legality not only in the United Nations but in the specialized and technical agencies and in all international organizations as well. The Secretary-General writes:

"I must add that it is the feeling of the Executive Heads of all the organizations that a pre-condition for the continued success of economic, social and cultural co-operation on an international plane is the preservation to the greatest possible extent of the essentially technical character of such action. I have previously had occasion to observe that it would be a matter for regret on the part of the entire international community if important meetings dealing with these questions, and depending for their success on the vital element of international co-operation, were to fail to yield solid results because of the introduction of highly contentious political issues into the discussions and deliberations. The admitted difficulty of drawing a clear line between what is political and what is not must not be allowed to distract the Member States from their specific duty to respect the Charter, the conventions and the constitutional procedures of the agency concerned and from their general obligation to safeguard, in the common interest, the future of international order itself" [*Ibid.*, section I].

217. These weighty words of the Secretary-General are very important words indeed. They outline in a forceful and vivid way the whole picture of international co-operation and its very structure. And the Secretary-General tells us in substance that either there is the rule of law respected by all—or else international co-operation ceases to be at all possible. But in recent years, and in an increasingly louder fashion, the rule of law within international organizations and specialized agencies has been treated with utter contempt. Political issues, purely political issues have replaced and prevented constructive debate in the solution of scientific, economic or technical problems. I am not suggesting that political issues should not be discussed; but they have their proper forum, which is this Assembly or a regional political organization. But, for some time now, one has not been able to discuss international co-operation on education or labour conditions or telecommunications or fisheries or meteorological problems or airways or, in fact, anything, without first debating purely political issues for endless days.

218. My country has been a very special target, and a victim of such disruptive behaviour. In fact, there has been no meeting of any specialized agency without political debate of and political attacks on certain Portuguese policies. And many times it takes on a ridiculous character. Recently in UNESCO, an African delegation, although acknowledging that Portugal is a full member of that agency, asked that the Portuguese delegation should be denied the office space which is allocated to every delegation; and in the International Agency for Civil Aviation another delegation requested, and was supported by a majority vote, that Portuguese airlines should be considered as non-existing and that Portuguese planes should be considered as non-flying. It may seem very easy, innocuous and harmless to

indulge in attacks against Portugal in the specialized agencies, to ask for its condemnation and to ask for its expulsion—in utter disregard of the law and of the basic charters of the various international organizations. It may indeed seem of no consequence at all. But I remind all those who think along those lines that if you violate the law once, you are bound to violate it at other times; that if you accept the violation of the law when it affects one country, then there is nothing to prevent future violations in respect of other countries; and that if you reject a country because you do not agree with certain of its policies, then tomorrow you may be rejecting other countries. That would be the end of international co-operation and of the diversity which characterizes the international community. There would be no security in international life.

219. Today Portugal is the one which is under attack; tomorrow capitalist countries may be asking for the expulsion of socialist countries; republics may not like to co-operate with monarchic States; and what seems now to be a very harmless attitude, because it is directed merely against Portugal, may very well backfire and turn against the very countries which now feel very happy to indulge in such a procedure. I therefore fully subscribe to the advice of the Secretary-General and appeal to all concerned to cease violating international laws and conventions, and to bring some constructive contributions to the community of nations and to this Organization.

220. However, this is just one aspect of one serious problem: the breakdown of international law and order. As a matter of fact, during the past few years a new legality has been or is in the process of being created; a new conception of law has been brought to international affairs; and a new legal structure has been ruling the life, or at least some aspects of the life, of the community of nations. The interesting point is that such a new notion of international lawfulness works in one direction only, for one purpose only and for the benefit of some only. We have two sets of countries in the international community: some are allowed anything they please, with any justification which may occur to them; other countries are not allowed anything, and they cannot even do what the first set can. And it does not seem valid to argue in favour of the legitimacy of actions as a result of the legitimacy of the purposes because the purposes are themselves an outcome of lawlessness. Besides, such an attitude would amount to saying that what is backed or supported by might becomes right. In other words, that would be the destruction of the rule of law.

221. But the breakdown of international law and order and the problems of international immorality and the double standard have found a glaring manifestation in recent weeks. I have in mind the conflict between Pakistan and India, to which the Secretary-General refers in his Annual Report, and which was debated in the Security Council in the past few weeks. As the Secretary-General points out, the conflict "broke out between India and Pakistan over the long-standing problem of Kashmir" [*Ibid.*, section XII]. The conflict is long-standing indeed, and it is also a part of the drive of the Indian Government to secure political unity in the sub-continent of India. As early as

18 October 1962, speaking before this Assembly, I stated: "The Indian aggression against Kashmir, a territory which rightfully belongs to Pakistan, is a further step of the drive I am referring to" [1155th meeting, para. 26]. I said this three years ago, and it seems that I was being only too accurate, because my country has direct experience of Indian aggression. The grab of Goa, against the will of its population and carried out through military aggression, was a first step. Other steps will follow if Indian imperialism is not checked in time. Indian aggression against Pakistan is just another example which should be taken by this Organization as a further lesson. But important as these aspects may be, there are other points which were brought out by Indian aggression against Pakistan which have implications of a general nature and which do have a bearing on other situations.

222. I shall mention only a few examples. Apart from invading Pakistan territory, which is not under dispute, the Indian Government also invaded that part of Kashmir which is administered by its legal owner. And what was the justification that the Indian Government put forward to excuse its action? The Prime Minister of India said that the bases where "infiltrators" were coming from had to be attacked and destroyed. So the Prime Minister of India is on record as stating that it is legitimate to attack and destroy bases in foreign territories if they are used by people who seek to infiltrate themselves into neighbouring territories. My delegation takes very good note of this, and hopes that the Prime Minister of India is not claiming a special prerogative but that he is setting forth a doctrine of which all Governments can avail themselves under similar circumstances.

223. Then the Prime Minister of India, in referring to the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations, has categorically stated that his Government would never allow any international force to be sent to Kashmir to supervise and ensure the cease-fire, because India would never tolerate foreign soldiers on Indian soil. Now, has the Prime Minister of India already forgotten that not very long ago India was an enthusiastic supporter of the sending of international armies to foreign countries? Has the Prime Minister of India already forgotten that his own country sent a very large contingent to the Democratic Republic of the Congo? Congolese soil is certainly foreign soil in so far as India is concerned. But that does not matter; for the New Delhi Government, Indian soil seems to be superior and more important than that of others. Be it as it may, we take good note that the Indian Government is now against the stationing of foreign soldiers on other people's soil.

224. But as a result of this question of Kashmir, the Indian Prime Minister has made other very interesting points. Dealing with the suggestion that there should be a plebiscite in Kashmir, as decided by the United Nations fifteen years ago, the Indian Prime Minister said that such a suggestion is unacceptable. He seems to have forgotten that India at the appropriate time accepted the idea; but now he states that it is a dangerous idea to hold plebiscites at the request of outsiders, and that in any case Kashmir was part of India because it was so provided in the Indian Constitution.

225. We have here two points of the utmost importance: first, foreign countries or outside organizations cannot request that a plebiscite be held in a territory which is part of another nation; and second, integration by a constitutional provision or clause is considered to be legitimate and final, and should be so accepted by all. My delegation again takes very good note of this and hopes that the Indian Government will agree that its doctrine is valid for all and that other Governments are entitled to apply it.

226. But the Prime Minister of India also dealt with the question of the self-determination of the people of Kashmir. And then the Prime Minister stated that self-determination is brought about by participation of the people in general elections, in accordance with internal law, and that when people participate in general elections such people have achieved self-determination. In view of the position taken in the past by India in respect of self-determination, this new political posture of the Indian Government is bound to have wide and far-reaching repercussions. Let us see whether the Indian Government from now on will dare ask for the implementation of other and different criteria when other Governments are involved.

227. I mentioned Goa above, and the Foreign Minister of Pakistan also referred to Goa, as a glaring example of naked Indian aggression. The world wishes to conceal and tries to forget a dark chapter of recent history, but the people of Goa are every day reminded of that chapter, because for them it is an ordeal, and in their painful plight they appeal to the world to save them. They are human beings, but this seems to be of no consequence and of no importance to the great councils of the world such as this Assembly. And what is the situation today inside Goa? Unemployment is rampant; there is a general shortage of goods; corruption is deep in administration; poverty and misery are widespread; and movements are being launched in India to destroy the individuality of Goa. On 26 August 1954, speaking before Parliament, the then Prime Minister of India said in respect of Goa: "The special circumstances of cultural, social and lingual relations and the sense of a territorial group which history has created will be respected." Back in 1954, therefore, the Prime Minister of India recognized the special personality and individuality of Goa, which has no connexion with India. We now see how these promises are being fulfilled.

228. India tries to present itself as the liberator of Goa, assuming that role before the world. But only a few weeks ago, when called to account before the Supreme Court, the Indian Government, as reported in the Times of India, opposed, through its Attorney-General, that since Goa had been acquired by conquest, the new sovereign was not bound to honour the commitments of the former sovereign. Therefore, the action of the Indian Government could not be considered as liberation; Goa was now Indian by right of conquest—"by right of conquest", in the twentieth century.

229. The shock and dismay of the Goan population are deeper every day before the perspective of their utter destruction. I leave it to the General Assembly to judge whether Goa has been liberated or has been placed under foreign tyranny. All those who have looked into this problem have no doubts on the feelings

of the people of Goa, and although they do not dare yet to speak up, they do know that the Goans have not been liberated but enslaved. If this Assembly is truly concerned with human rights, individual freedom and the welfare of peoples, then a serious investigation should be made of the conditions in that territory so as to expose before the world a crying situation.

230. In the course of this debate and in the Secretary-General's report references were made to the various aspects of what is usually called the peace-keeping functions of this Organization. It seems that there are many delegations which appear to be very keen on this subject and support almost any kind of proposal empowering the United Nations to conduct such activities. Of course, my delegation, along with all or most other delegations, believes peace is essential and should be preserved if mankind is to survive and make progress. It is a deep-felt need of men everywhere. But in considering the peace-keeping activities or possibilities or powers which some of us would like to entrust to the Organization, we must be very careful, and we should consider the various implications of any decisions which this Assembly may take on the matter.

231. First of all, and as to financing such peace-keeping activities, my delegation is very happy to note that Article 19 of the Charter was not called into operation because such matters are clearly outside its scope, and Article 19 certainly has no bearing on the problem. And then there are other and very important considerations. Some seem to believe that a peace-keeping force should be established and act as a kind of fire-brigade to put down conflicts as and where they may arise. Now, we all know that there are many types of conflicts or of wars. There are the classical or conventional wars; there are the so-called liberation wars; and there is a type of warfare which works through subversion, infiltration, and attacks across borders or, sometimes inside countries.

232. Is the peace-keeping force to be used in all the above circumstances? If not, in respect of what type of warfare are we going to use the peace-keeping force? And if there is to be some discrimination and choice, who decides what? And then one should also be very careful so as to avoid putting the aggressor and the victim in the same category and under the same "treatment". This has been a tendency that is increasing in recent years. It usually goes under the name of "political solution". That means that someone is able to start aggression or to try to solve a problem through military means; then there is a reaction from someone else in self-defence; and there we at once have a general outcry for a political solution which means peace under terms dictated by the opponents.

233. But there is a still more serious considerations connected with or arising from such peace-keeping activities. No force established on a more or less permanent basis or hastily gathered at random can be used against the great Powers, even if they start an aggression themselves, because the great Powers have the military means to resist such a force, and if such a force should be backed by the force of another great Power, that would simply mean general war. On the other hand, such force, if applied against a small Power or a group of small Powers, could

operate only with the agreement or the consent of a great Power or of a group of great Powers. Presumably, the great Powers would not give their agreement or consent unless the peace-keeping forces are used in accordance with or in furtherance of their own policies and national aspirations. That means that small Powers become mere pawns in the game of the great ones. But when we come to such a situation, then the peace-keeping force becomes useless and unnecessary.

234. We have a very recent example of this. The war between India and Pakistan was stopped, at least for the time being, and a cease-fire was imposed without any intervention of any international peace-keeping force. Why? I leave it to the Assembly to find the right answer; but agreement to that effect among some great Powers was certainly not an indifferent factor. And I think we should be more modest and above all more realistic before we herald the cease-fire on Kashmir as a triumph for the Organization and a victory for the small Powers, because both have had nothing to do with such a success.

235. Finally, one has to be very careful as to the areas in which the peace-keeping forces may intervene. Certainly not in national territories; certainly not to replace national forces; certainly not to carry out any duties or assume any functions which belong only to the local sovereign State; and when they are used along international borders, then a prior condition should be the consent of the neighbouring countries involved. Nothing should prevent or in any way limit the right of self-defence in respect of national borders against any aggression, be it a classical military operation, or be it a subversive infiltration, starting from foreign bases in contiguous territories and disguised under the name of "wars of liberation". We have ourselves been the victims of such infiltrations which find support in foreign soil and in foreign bases, where they are organized and receive all sorts of help. We shall defend ourselves, and my Government is happy to see that the doctrine of self-defence in such circumstances, including the right to destroy and eliminate those foreign bases located in foreign territories, is gaining widespread acceptance among the community of nations. Certainly this is not the privilege of some; it is a doctrine valid for all.

236. I am ending my remarks. In the course of this debate my country has been subjected to accusations and criticism in connexion with our national policy. The accusations are unfounded; the criticism is baseless; and what is presented as facts has been either imagined or distorted. But my delegation does not wish to take more of the time of the Assembly, and I shall therefore refrain from replying to those accusations. In any case they do not deserve our attention and should be treated with contempt.

237. My delegation believes that we should dedicate ourselves to higher preoccupations and should try to solve the real problems of mankind. Disarmament with proper safeguards and under-development are among them. But we cannot make substantial progress if we go on ignoring the law. We all agree that we should strive for world peace. We all agree for world peace. We all agree that we should strive for the welfare of peoples and for better international co-

operation. In so far as we are concerned, I can state that my country is ready to do its utmost for such purpose. We are ready to co-operate with all countries, but more specially, as it is only natural, with those with which we have more affinity and common traditions and with those with which we have common borders in Africa. We stretch out our hand and again we offer our full co-operation to them. If we cannot agree, at least for the time being, on some political problems, nothing should prevent us from a close co-operation in every other field, such as transportation, communications, economic matters and trade, technical assistance, common development and exploitation of natural resources for the common good. We hope that our neighbours in Africa will increasingly realize the usefulness of such a co-operation in both directions, and the benefits to be derived therefrom, and that they will also realize that anything solid and lasting can be built only through sincere and full co-operation. Nothing is achieved through sterile hostility and violence. But peace is essential, and there is no world peace without world law. Slogans and double-standards are not a substitute; they only raise con-

fusion and misery. We cannot buy peace with lawlessness. Such a policy would not succeed and mankind may have the misfortune of being led into a world war by an Organization meant to defend world peace. It is the duty of all to try to prevent the United Nations from becoming the betrayed Organization.

238. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I have been informed by the Chairman of the Fourth Committee that that Committee has just approved a draft resolution on the question of Southern Rhodesia. The Fourth Committee has authorized its Rapporteur to submit the report on that item to the members of the General Assembly as an urgent question. The report of the Fourth Committee on this item will be available to the members of the General Assembly tomorrow morning in all languages. Consequently, if there are no objections, we shall take up that report tomorrow morning, in plenary session, as the first item of the agenda.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 7.10 p.m.