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President: Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Lewandowski (Poland), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Statement by the President

1. The PRESIDENT: Before the General Assembly takes up the items on its agenda for this morning, I should like to read the following telegram which has been received from the President of the General Assembly:

"I am most grateful to you and to all delegates for your kind message: I hope to be among you again very soon and to resume in full my duties as President of the General Assembly. In the meantime I wish to convey to you, to the other Vice-Presidents, and to all delegates my best wishes for the activities you are carrying on to ensure the continuation of the work of the General Assembly. Amintore Fanfani."

AGENDA ITEM 23

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: reports of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/6041)

Mr. Natwar Singh (India), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee, presented the report of that Committee and spoke as follows:

2. Mr. NATWAR SINGH (India), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: I have the honour to present the report of the Fourth Committee [A/6041]. The Committee recommends that the General Assembly adopt the draft resolution on Southern Rhodesia contained in paragraph 9 of the report. The Fourth Committee adopted this draft as a matter of urgency in view of the repeated threats of the present authorities in Southern Rhodesia that they may immediately declare unilateral independence in order to perpetuate minority rule in Southern Rhodesia.

3. The Fourth Committee will continue its debate on the item and submit further recommendations as necessary during the present session of the General Assembly.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Fourth Committee.

4. The PRESIDENT: The first name on my list of representatives wishing to explain their votes before the voting takes place is the representative of Liberia.

5. Miss BROOKS (Liberia): In explaining the vote of the Liberian delegation, I wish to state that, as an interim measure, the Fourth Committee adopted yesterday, almost unanimously, the draft resolution on the question of Southern Rhodesia embodied in the report now before the Assembly, condemning any attempt by the Southern Rhodesian authorities to seize independence by illegal means in order to perpetuate minority rule in Southern Rhodesia.

6. Two, and only two, Member States of this Assembly voted against the draft resolution: Portugal and South Africa. Of course, this surprises no one, for these are partners in distress with the racist authorities of Southern Rhodesia led by Ian Smith. Mr. Smith has already expressed their committed support of recognition for a government which he expects to seize illegally and declare independent.

7. We know that Portugal and South Africa carry out repressions of the worst kind against the Africans under their control, and we know of the diehard apartheid policy of the South African Government. By the trends of history they have entrenched themselves in Africa, carrying out with impunity acts of repression against the Africans, bringing untold sorrows and sufferings to millions of Africans for no other reason than that they were created black. But it is well to warn that the tide of history has taken a different turn, and that the solidarity of the determination of the African peoples to live as equals with the rest of mankind will break the shackles which bind them and will set them free. No power to repress is as great as the will to be free.

8. The racist authorities of Southern Rhodesia, led by Mr. Ian Smith, should awake from their idealistic dream of white supremacy, as should their counterparts in Portugal and South Africa, and should recognize that, in solidarity, the Members of this world Organization, as well as world public opinion, are opposed to the commission of such a rebellious act in Southern Rhodesia. To seize independence in the way threatened by Ian Smith is repugnant and a threat to understanding with Great Britain, which in the last decade has exemplified a courageous spirit in decolonizing its territories within the spirit of the Charter and the principles of the Declaration of Human Rights. Further, such a rebellious action will constitute a threat to international peace and security.

9. Any act of violence which may break out in Southern Rhodesia concerns the world as a whole. It is well to state also that if Mr. Ian Smith carries out this threat against the majority African population, there is no guarantee that he will not endanger the safety of the minority white population which he seeks to protect. Africa cannot stand idly by and see such a rebellious act of oppression carried out against the Africans.

10. The delegation of Liberia wishes to take cognizance of the declaration of the United Kingdom Government to the effect that it would not accept a declaration of independence which does not give majority rule in Southern Rhodesia.

11. Finally, in commending the draft resolution for adoption by the Assembly, I wish to reiterate our position that the United Kingdom Government should use all possible measures to prevent a unilateral declaration of independence and, in the event of such a declaration, should take all steps necessary to put an immediate end to the rebellion with a view to transferring power to a representative government in keeping with the aspirations of the majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia.

12. Mr. PANT (India): I rise on behalf of my delegation to associate myself with the sentiments so lucidly expressed by the representative of Liberia. We have co-sponsored the draft resolution realizing the seriousness of the situation and its urgency. A unilateral declaration of independence by the usurper Power in Southern Rhodesia is going to set in motion a chain reaction that will imperil peace not only in Rhodesia but in all the neighbouring areas.

13. The reactionary racist group which is at this moment in the process of snatching power unconstitutionally and illegally from the hands of Great Britain would, we are afraid, defy the whole civilized world and would not care if it created conflagration all around it. It would not hesitate even to strangle the neighbouring nations by cutting off electricity and refusing transport facilities if this would help it to hold on to power and to defeat the forces of freedom.

14. The reactionary racist forces of the whole of Southern Africa, as well as those abroad, are concentrating themselves in an effort to perpetuate their hold on what they consider, perhaps, as the citadel

of their power. These forces know well that if Southern Rhodesia joins, as it must and as it will, the civilized world, the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and other areas under subjugation will soon be liberated.

15. At this hour, we understand the grave responsibility of Great Britain. Many times before Great Britain has faced problems of even greater historical significance with courage and determination. If Great Britain today would courageously join battle with the forces of reaction, racism and disintegration in Southern Rhodesia, all the nations of the civilized world would be behind it, as this draft resolution resoundingly proclaims.

16. Let us not, at this grave hour, misunderstand or minimize the seriousness of the situation. We all may be called upon to act beyond—much beyond—the range of this resolution, which the forces of racism and reaction are likely to treat as a scrap of paper. In this Assembly, and in the Security Council, we may be called upon to act with firmness and promptitude.

17. India stands against all forces of reaction, racism and disruption. Today we join our voice with the rest of the civilized world. Tomorrow, if called upon to do so, we will join most willingly in providing any help for the peaceful solution of this problem—but we would unhesitatingly continue to help the freedom fighters till final victory.

18. Can we, even at this late hour, hope that the pressure of the conscience of the world, as expressed through this Assembly, will bring about a change in the attitude of those who are acting contrary to the giant current of history?

19. It is obvious that the draft resolution before this Assembly is an interim resolution, dealing with a specific situation concerning a unilateral declaration of independence by the racist group in Southern Rhodesia. Many delegations, including my own, are aware that this does not tackle the main problem of the independence of Southern Rhodesia, but that matter will be taken up by the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly in plenary meeting.

20. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America): My Government, gravely concerned by the situation in Rhodesia, is gratified that we have before us this morning a draft resolution, adopted virtually unanimously by the Fourth Committee, expressing the concern of all Members of this Organization over the repeated threats by the present authorities in Southern Rhodesia that they may soon declare unilaterally the independence of Southern Rhodesia.

21. I note that this draft resolution is sponsored by forty African and Asian Members of this Organization and, on behalf of my delegation, I wish to applaud the speed with which they and the other members of the Fourth Committee have acted to make it unmistakably clear that we in the United Nations cannot and will not accept this illegal and unconstitutional action.

22. The United States Government has spared and will spare no pains to make it known to the authorities in Southern Rhodesia that we cannot condone any action taken by them in defiance of the responsible

power and expressions of the United Kingdom, and we are glad to do so again through the medium of this resolution. We cannot condone any action contrary to the principles of the equal rights and self-determination of all the peoples of the territory. We have sought to impress upon the Rhodesian authorities our profound conviction that any action which ignores the interests and rights of the majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia can have only the most tragic consequences for their gravely troubled country. We have sought to persuade them that it would not benefit even the small minority of Rhodesians on whose behalf they threaten to embark upon this perilous path.

23. The issue, for my Government, is simple. The United Kingdom, the sovereign authority, has long sought a responsible solution to the aspirations of Southern Rhodesians for independence, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and with the principle that the interests of the inhabitants should be paramount. No political solution prejudicial to the interests and rights of the overwhelming majority of the population, and acceptable only to the minority, could be consistent with the principles of the United Nations Charter or lead to stability in Southern Rhodesia.

24. It will be recalled that the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom has publicly stated that any unilateral declaration of independence made without the approval of the British Parliament would be an open act of defiance and rebellion, and that it would be treasonable to take steps to effect it. My Government shares fully the Prime Minister's analysis of the grave consequences which would ensue from such an action.

25. Moreover, the United States Government will not recognize any régime in Southern Rhodesia purporting to emerge from an illegal and unilateral declaration of independence, and the United States Government will take the necessary concrete steps, in concert with others, in support of that policy.

26. We shall vote for this resolution in the hope that those who threaten this catastrophic course will heed the warning of this Assembly and draw back before it is too late. I hope that all Members of the Assembly will join in expressing the view that the reckless and desperate step which is contemplated must not be taken. We are told that those who threaten to take these illegal actions in Southern Rhodesia are unyielding and determined. We must assure them here today that there are others who are equally unyielding and equally determined—unyielding in our conviction that self-determination must apply to all the people of Southern Rhodesia, and determined that the disastrous step of unconstitutional action will be vigorously opposed.

27. Mr. DE CASTRO (Philippines): The delegations that have already spoken have emphasized the urgency of the draft resolution before us. The delegation of the Philippines has co-sponsored that draft resolution because of the urgency of the situation that is developing in Southern Rhodesia. News dispatches state that Mr. Smith, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, has returned to Salisbury to meet with his Cabinet in order to decide whether or not to take unilateral action to declare the independence of Southern Rhodesia.

28. In the opinion of the Philippine delegation, if that should happen the situation in Southern Rhodesia will indeed become extremely serious. Such action will perpetuate minority rule in Southern Rhodesia and it will compound the oppression and repression of the non-white majority population—a situation that will inevitably lead to turmoil and bloodshed.

29. The draft resolution proposes to avoid the development of such a situation. The draft resolution calls upon the United Kingdom to use all possible measures to prevent that step which the Smith Government might take. We realize the great responsibility that the situation may place upon the United Kingdom; but that is its inescapable duty to the United Nations and the world.

30. In co-sponsoring the draft resolution, we hope to strengthen the position of the United Kingdom to prevent any unilateral action that might be taken by the Smith Government of Southern Rhodesia and thereby arrest the deterioration of the situation there, with all the attendant consequences. Furthermore, my delegation hopes that the Smith Government will listen to world opinion as expressed in this General Assembly and will avoid causing a disturbance in that area, with all the attendant serious consequences.

31. Mr. Socé DIOP (Senegal) (translated from French): The problem of Southern Rhodesia has assumed such tragic and vital importance for all the African States that the Organization of African Unity has instructed the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Algeria and Senegal to act as permanent observers on this problem in the Security Council. It is to fulfil this special duty assigned to Senegal that I am now speaking.

32. You are all aware of the situation in Southern Rhodesia. A minority of 250,000 white people possess all the privileges, all the political privileges and all the economic privileges, whereas a majority of 4 million black people have, in effect, neither real political rights nor any share in the economic control of the country; they are in the position of pariahs, exploited and colonized, like their brothers in the neighbouring country of South Africa.

33. This is the situation which Mr. Smith's Government would like to perpetuate; this is the situation to which that Government would like to give the force of international law by means of a unilateral declaration of independence.

34. This is the situation, and it is one which flouts the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in resolution 1514 (XV) and disregards the international sovereignty of the United Kingdom, which alone has the right to grant independence to all the people of Southern Rhodesia.

35. Southern Rhodesia, under British legislation, has been a self-governing colony since 1923. That same legislation, however, confers international responsibility, and the irrevocable right of granting independence to that colony, on the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom must therefore exercise its right of sovereignty; it must use very means to prevent a unilateral declaration of independence

by Mr. Smith's Government; it must suspend the 1961 Constitution, which was adopted by the Rhodesian Parliament and is therefore a constitution which cannot give independence to Southern Rhodesia, since international responsibility still lies with the United Kingdom. When this illegal Constitution has been suspended, the United Kingdom must arrange for the holding of elections by universal suffrage; a constituent national assembly must be elected by universal suffrage; only this constituent national assembly, elected by full and non-discriminatory universal suffrage, can lawfully ask the United Kingdom to grant legal independence to the colony of Southern Rhodesia.

36. If, despite everything, Mr. Smith's Government makes a unilateral declaration of independence, the United Nations will be bound, under resolution 1514 (XV), to intervene by every means envisaged in the Charter, but it is the United Kingdom, above all, which must oppose this rebellion by every means in its power.

37. Mr. CHAVENET (Haiti) (translated from French): No better date than today could have been chosen for discussing the case of Southern Rhodesia. It was on this day 473 years ago that Christopher Columbus landed in America. The date of the discovery of the New World is of special significance for Africans because, after the wholesale extermination of the Indians, millions of negroes were brought from Africa to work the land and mines of America.

38. Of those Africans, who had come from all parts of the great continent, those of the former colony of Santo Domingo rebelled and proclaimed the world's first black republic.

39. On behalf of the 5 million Haitians, who are true Africans, the Haitian delegation is glad to speak here this morning and to voice its indignation against the present racist policy in Southern Rhodesia. The representative of Haiti, on behalf of the 5 million Africans who live in Haiti, proclaims his indignation and declares that this situation cannot last, that self-government and self-determination must be granted to the population of Southern Rhodesia.

40. Today we must, with a single voice, make clear to Mr. Ian Smith that he will not prevail over the United Nations, that the voice of reason must triumph, that a racist minority cannot impose its will on 4 million human beings. That is why the delegation of Haiti fully supports the draft resolution [see A/6041, para. 9] submitted this morning.

41. The world's first black republic, the first black nation to defeat colonialism at a time when the colossus was still in its prime and still had all its ferocity, wishes to pay a public tribute to the part played by the United Nations in the matter of decolonization. How can we forget that in many of its resolutions the General Assembly has recommended the organization of plebiscites in Trust Territories, that in others it has proclaimed the permanent sovereignty of peoples over their natural wealth and resources, that in February 1957 it asked the Administering Authorities to accelerate the emancipation of Tanganyika, the Cameroons, Togoland and Ruanda-Urundi [resolution 1064 (XI)], and that in the

Declaration of 14 December 1960 [resolution 1514 (XV)] it called for the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples?

42. Thanks to the unceasing efforts of the United Nations, the silent peoples, the despised peoples of Africa and Asia, have taken their place beside their former masters and are today making a substantial contribution to the search for satisfactory solutions to the many problems which must be solved if mankind wishes to survive.

43. Today we must, once and for all, make the final attack on the fortress of colonialization. The African continent is almost entirely free but some rearguard battles are still being fought, particularly in Southern Rhodesia.

44. Today, by our unanimous vote, we must inform the last supporters of racism that they have lost the battle. No organization is in a better position than the United Nations to launch this last attack. Horrified by the tragic cost of two bloody world wars, terrified by the enormity of tens of millions of human bodies needlessly torn and crushed, appalled by the wholesale destruction of property, houses and works of art which had cost mankind centuries of work and patient effort, we swore, on 26 June 1945, two months before the fearful obliteration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, to maintain international peace and security at all costs, we decided to develop friendly relations among nations and we resolved to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character.

45. Like the trembling crew of a frail bark which has just miraculously escaped the terrors of the darkness, the roar of the tempest and the call of the abyss, we were only too happy to recognize in the United Nations Charter a lighthouse to guide our way and in the Organization itself a safe haven in which, in an atmosphere free of tension, we could at last combine our efforts in erecting an impregnable barrier against the ignoble human passions of selfishness, greed, hatred, intolerance and racism.

46. It is, in fact, against racism that we are this morning about to fight the last battle, launch the final attack. Forward, peoples of the United Nations! Forward, men of good will! Let us destroy the bastions of racism.

47. Mr. ADAM (Somalia): In co-sponsoring the draft resolution before the Assembly, my delegation wishes to give expression to the great anxiety of my Government over the trend of events in Southern Rhodesia and the constant threats which are being made by the minority Government that it will declare unilaterally and illegally the independence of Southern Rhodesia, in defiance not only of the wishes of the vast majority of the inhabitants of that Territory, but also in opposition to international public opinion and to those concepts of human rights which all here are pledged to uphold.

48. The position of the Somali Government is quite clear on this matter. It will never recognize any authority established under an illegal unilateral declaration of independence, and it will, in consort with

the efforts of other peace- and freedom-loving countries, provide whatever assistance is necessary to ensure that the African majority in Southern Rhodesia is given its right to decide its own destiny.

49. My delegation considers that it is the duty of the British Government to make it clear in no uncertain terms to the minority régime in Southern Rhodesia that any attempt to take the law into its hands would entail the most serious consequences. My delegation feels that the British Government has an inescapable responsibility in this tragic affair, and it is incumbent upon that Government, before relinquishing that responsibility, to take decisive measures to prevent, by force of arms if necessary, the realization of a unilateral declaration of independence, and to ensure that the Territory of Southern Rhodesia is handed over at an early date to a Government which voices the aspirations and enjoys the support of the vast majority of the people there.

50. As the representative of an African country which is seriously concerned about events in Southern Rhodesia, I find it most heartening to note the vigour with which speakers before me have responded to the reckless and dangerous steps which are now being contemplated by the Smith Government in Southern Rhodesia.

51. Since time is of the essence in this matter, I do not wish to take the time of the Assembly by making a prolonged speech. I would, however, conclude this short intervention with the earnest hope of my delegation that the draft resolution before the General Assembly will receive the unanimous approval of this body.

52. Mr. DIAZ GONZALES (Venezuela) (translated from Spanish): It may appear unnecessary for the Venezuelan delegation to explain its vote. Our anti-colonial position and our position with regard to the problem of Southern Rhodesia, in particular, is quite well known: we cannot agree that a State's constitution may be based on discriminatory practices or, what would be more serious still, on the practice of racial segregation.

53. These practices have already caused enough unhappiness and suffering to the people of Zimbabwe. It is time for the minority of settlers who want to perpetuate their privileges and disregard the fundamental rights of 4 million Africans to realize not only the futility of their purpose but the senselessness of their attitude. Almost all the States Members of the United Nations are in agreement in condemning that attitude.

54. Venezuela has voted and will vote in favour of this draft resolution, in the hope that the Government of the United Kingdom will derive from it further support for continuing its efforts to find a peaceful solution to the problem in accordance with the Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples—in other words, on the basis of the legal and political equality of all the inhabitants of the Territory. We trust that it will also derive from the draft resolution support for maintaining and implementing the statements which the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom has repeatedly made.

55. We also hope that this resolution will serve as a further warning to Mr. Smith and the minority he

represents and that it will make him think carefully before attempting a unilateral declaration of independence which not only would lead to chaos in Southern Rhodesia but would have extremely serious effects on the peace and tranquillity of the whole African continent.

56. Mr. KAPWEPWE (Zambia): First of all, I wish to congratulate all the countries who have supported this draft resolution. They have given us, the people of Zambia, who are concerned with this problem, courage, and they have told the world that wherever democracy is at stake they will not stand by and see democracy being slaughtered. It is pleasing to note how people have come together so unanimously to defend the principles of democracy and to defend humanity in this particular question. If that is the way that the United Nations is going to move, I strongly believe that the future will be very bright.

57. This may appear to be just a small case, but it is a grave situation. It is a big case, because this situation, if not handled well, can cause bloodshed in Africa, and the world is conscious that Africa should not be set on fire. The peace of Africa is the peace of the world. Therefore, I wish to congratulate all the Members and the countries they represent who have spoken in favour of this draft resolution.

58. Zambia is very close to Southern Rhodesia, and we are very much affected. By the sheer accident of history, we are economically married to the economy of Southern Rhodesia. This being so, it is quite obvious that if Mr. Smith and his henchmen decide to take this government by force and act against us, we, the people of Zambia, shall find ourselves in a very grave situation. I should like to explain what I mean by this.

59. We share a power supply, since we jointly own the Kariba plant, but the installations of that power plant are on the other side of the river, and it would be possible for Southern Rhodesia to cut off our power. We depend on that power for our mining industry and other industries in our country, so that if it were cut off the economic life of our country would be completely destroyed and we could be dead in a few hours. Not only that, we own the railways jointly, but, being a land-locked country, we could easily be blocked, and our goods and commodities would not be able to go out of or enter the country.

60. Furthermore, there is the question of coal. Southern Rhodesia has the coal mines, since, although we have coal deposits in our country, the British Government chose to encourage coal mining in Southern Rhodesia. That being so, the working of our mines depends on this coal from Southern Rhodesia, and if the supply is cut off, our mines will be closed completely.

61. This, in short, is the picture of our situation, and it will show why Zambia is very much concerned. That is why Zambia has congratulated all the Members who have spoken, but may I make an appeal here to those who have supported this draft resolution to come to our support and help us if the situation becomes grave. We have appreciated the way you have voted, but we would appreciate it much more if, when things became bad, you came to our side.

62. May I say here that we in Zambia do not believe in discrimination. We do not believe in European or African supremacy. We believe that a man is a man, and we believe that we are servants of humanity and we will defend man wherever he is oppressed, whether it be in Asia, in Europe or in Africa. We in Zambia are prepared to defend the rights of man, wherever he is, and this attitude has also been illustrated by the Members of this Assembly.

63. Therefore I say this, that we are voting with you here not because we hate the Europeans in Southern Rhodesia or the Europeans in South Africa, but because we hate the methods of fascism, we hate the methods of oppression, we hate inhumanity, we hate whatever is undemocratic. In fact, with what you have done here today, and provided you are going to complete it through action, you will be doing a missionary's work to save those lost brothers, to save those Europeans who seek to maintain their supremacy. For a population that is only one-eighteenth that of Southern Rhodesia, it is not possible to suppress the majority. For so few people it is impossible and unworkable. It has been tried for many years back, but it has failed, just as it is going to fail in Southern Rhodesia, and South Africa. No one is going to sit idle in Africa or elsewhere; those who love democracy must come to the aid of these people and save the situation.

64. We are trying to put this right. We are trying to tell Mr. Smith and his country that he is wrong. We are trying to save his children, his grandchildren and his great grandchildren. The Europeans there are blind and cannot see forward into the future. They think only of themselves; they do not think of their children or of what will be the fate of their grandchildren.

65. We have proved in Zambia that we are a people that believes in democracy and that it is not impossible for people of different colours to live together, to share the same life and enjoy the economy of their country. We have proved this in Zambia and it can be proved in Southern Rhodesia, it can be proved anywhere. I see no reason whatever why it cannot be proved in Southern Rhodesia.

66. We want to make Mr. Smith see this point, that we are assisting him by assisting ourselves. You cannot allow anyone to make his bed on a volcano, because he is going to be burnt. Mr. Smith is trying to make a comfortable bed, even to build his house, on a volcano. You cannot put your house on a volcano. The volcano is going to erupt and you will be the victim of the eruption. We are telling Mr. Smith that this is dangerous; that you cannot suppress 4 million people, you cannot involve another 4 million people in Zambia, you cannot involve another 4 million in Malawi, you cannot upset the economy of the world. It is a well-known fact that we are one of the greatest copper-producing countries, and this being so, the markets even of Europe will be affected because the supply will be short; some industries, even some countries, will be short of supply. In other words, not only would there be this eruption, but there would be economic difficulties all over the world as a result.

67. May I end with this sad note with regard to the situation as I see it. Perhaps Mr. Smith will listen to the voice of the world, to the voice of the United Nations, and behave accordingly. But if he were to go further, if he forced the issue and it became, perhaps, necessary to employ force—which is quite likely, since Britain has already said that this would constitute an act of rebellion and, as we have all seen, you do not meet rebellion with explanations, you meet rebellion with force—if, as I say, force were to be used, whether by this Organization, whether by Britain, whether by African countries, new problems would be created for that area. If force is to be used by Africans in Southern Rhodesia, we must expect a reaction; that is, we would be producing a situation where Whites and Blacks are set into conflict. And if a conflict of Blacks against Whites is started, then we shall be starting a war in which the world is divided into Black and White, which we in Zambia would not like to see. This, perhaps, is what Mr. Smith cannot see, that that country can produce a racial war which could involve even the whole world, causing a most serious division of the world.

68. Knowing all this as we do and seeing it as we see it, I think it very important to say that you have voted in a spirit not merely of assisting Southern Rhodesia, not merely of assisting Zambia, but of assisting all of us, the whole world. When the bird of the air is hopeless, it runs to the nest; when the beast of the bush is hopeless, it runs to its den; and when man finds himself in a hopeless situation, he runs to his fellow man. And here we come. We say: please assist us, please stand with us, please defend democracy, please defend humanity. I am pleading that democracy be defended, that humanity be defended, not only in this case but in all cases that may occur hereafter. Mr. Smith is wrong and we have told him unanimously that he is wrong. I hope he will listen to the voice of the world.

69. Before I leave this rostrum I would appeal to you all. We must not hesitate. This is not a question of kith and kin, it is a question of maintaining the principles of democracy, and if things go wrong we expect you to take much wider action than that for which we have voted. We want to see this vote backed by action if things go wrong in any way. But let us pray that Mr. Smith will listen to what the people of the world have said. We are not frightened in Zambia. I must say quite frankly that if Mr. Smith is expecting to see two graves after the fight, I think he is wrong: he is going to see only one grave, the grave of Southern Rhodesia, and Zambia is going to survive.

70. Sir Roger JACKLING (United Kingdom): As is well known, my Government has reservations concerning the competence of the United Nations in the question of Rhodesia. For this reason, my delegation will not participate in the vote on the draft resolution before us.

71. The responsibility for resolving the Rhodesian constitutional problem rests with the United Kingdom. We accept this responsibility. We shall discharge it. As to this, my Government made its position clear in the statement issued on 9 October. This was read in full by the United Kingdom representative at the 1523rd meeting of the Fourth Committee yesterday.

I wish nevertheless to quote from it on the point of responsibility:

"The [British] Government look forward to the day when Rhodesia will be able to take her place among the fully independent members of the Commonwealth, but Her Majesty's Government must insist that the responsibility for the grant of full independence rests with Parliament, that Parliament has a responsibility which cannot be abrogated towards all the peoples of Rhodesia and that the Government would be able to recommend the grant of full independence to Rhodesia only if certain conditions were fulfilled."

72. The statement, which has been made available in full to all delegations, goes on to state the essential points on which the British Government requires to be satisfied, and describes its position on the proposals made by the Rhodesian Prime Minister. The conclusion reached is stated as follows:

"In these circumstances no basis at present exists on which the British Government would feel justified in granting independence to Rhodesia."

The statement continues:

"In view of the public statements made by Rhodesian Ministers, the Prime Minister thought it right again to remind Mr. Smith of the grave consequences of unilateral action. There should be no delusions in Rhodesia about the ability or determination of the British Government to deal with the utmost firmness with any act of rebellion; or about the effects of the mass of international condemnation to which Rhodesia would expose herself. Having cut herself off from the Crown and from Britain, Rhodesia would find herself practically friendless in the face of the almost solid hostility of the world."

"It is now for the Government and peoples of Rhodesia to take serious stock of the position in the interests of the future of their country. It remains the wish of the Government to see Rhodesia achieve independence as soon as possible, through peaceful discussion, on a basis which is fair and just to all. They stand firmly by the principle of unimpeded progress to majority rule and the need to secure a settlement which is acceptable to the people of the country as a whole. They will continue to strive for effective negotiations towards independence on that basis."

73. I should be grateful if the fact that we are not participating in the vote could be reflected in the record of these proceedings.

74. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly has heard the statements of all delegations wishing to speak before the vote. We shall now proceed to a vote by show of hands, using the mechanical equipment, on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee [A/6041, para. 9].

The draft resolution was adopted by 107 votes to 2, with 1 abstention.

75. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those delegations that have requested to be allowed to explain their votes after the voting.

76. Mr. SEYDOUX (France) (translated from French): The French Government is in the same frame of mind as the delegations which prepared the draft resolution submitted to the Assembly and, therefore, those which voted in favour of it. We, too, deplore the existence at Salisbury of a racial minority government and the fact that the overwhelming majority of the population of Southern Rhodesia do not enjoy equitable representation. I have stated this in the Security Council and the trend of recent events has strengthened our conviction and increased our disquiet.

77. Although the French delegation has nevertheless abstained, it did so only because of the question of legality; we consider that the United Nations, in this as in other cases, should not interfere in the domestic affairs of States. If the United Nations wishes to remain true to its purpose and to be in a position to perform its duty of conciliation and peace, it has no choice but to act in accordance with the spirit and the provisions of the Charter. Nevertheless, we naturally hope that Member States—and in particular those most closely concerned—will do everything in their power to prevent an irresponsible act from aggravating the present situation, which is causing my country great concern.

78. Mr. PADILLA TONOS (Dominican Republic) (translated from Spanish): The Dominican delegation was unfortunately unable to be present when the draft resolution which has just been adopted here was discussed in the Fourth Committee. It therefore wishes to state that it has voted in favour of that resolution, since the Dominican delegation, representing a country which has fought so well to gain freedom and to make the will of the majority of the people prevail, could not remain indifferent to a measure for the defence of the majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia. Nor will it remain indifferent to the action taken by the United Nations to defend the legitimate rights of any country in the world, particularly when those rights constitute the basis for a genuine democracy and for peace and progress.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

79. Mr. APEDO-AMAH (Togo) (translated from French): It goes without saying that the Togolese delegation shares the general concern on hearing of the unfortunate accident which has befallen Mr. Fanfani, the President of our Assembly. Through you, Mr. Vice-President, and through the Italian delegation, my delegation would like to offer him our hearty good wishes for a speedy recovery. Although he is absent, Mr. Fanfani is still among us; I shall therefore not make any changes in my statement.

80. Like the speakers who have preceded me at this rostrum, I should like to take the opportunity of the general debate to express my delegation's deep satisfaction at seeing our work start normally under your Presidency, Mr. Fanfani. For the Togolese delegation this is a double reason for satisfaction.

81. Mr. President, your almost unanimous election to this high international office is a tribute to your human attributes and qualities and to your great

merits as a distinguished professor and an eminent economist, and does honour to your ability as an outstanding statesman of world renown. This honour that is done to you is done also to your country, Italy; it is an honour to Rome, the spiritual capital of Catholic Christianity and the political capital of Italy. All those who have spoken from this rostrum have welcomed the opportunity to emphasize what modern civilization owes to the Romans, both in the legal, constitutional and artistic spheres and in the literary field. When we speak of culture in general, we think of Athens but we cannot fail to think also of Rome.

82. Be that as it may, the General Assembly has elected you, Mr. President, to guide our work because we are all convinced that you will fulfil your difficult and delicate task with all the authority and the competence which have marked your career as a politician. And it is because you are from Italy, a country with which my Government maintains the most friendly relations, that my delegation feels a twofold satisfaction as this session opens.

83. Your role, Mr. President, will be difficult, because of the mistrust which prevails in international relations, the spirit of domination of some and of intolerance of others, the division of the world into zones of influences, and all the existing or latent problems which await a solution.

84. The arms race, is, of course, a product of these factors.

85. The budgetary difficulties facing our Organization did not arise yesterday. A recent speaker at this rostrum said that the financial situation of the United Nations had for long been a constant concern of the Secretary-General, and, emphasizing the expedients to which there had been recourse, stated:

"... for none of us has a really clear idea of what the financial balance sheet of the United Nations may be today. What with the expenses falling on the Organization, the debts of every kind that it has contracted on all sides, the distinction to be made between budgetary operations and treasury operations, taking into account what has been borrowed from one fund or another, whose resources, however, are definitely earmarked, I wonder what Member State could find its way about in this situation without hesitation?" [1341st meeting, para. 89.]

86. Thus however alarming the financial difficulties of the Organization may seem, they are neither surprising nor novel to any of us. The representative of France has analysed them, enumerated their causes and proposed a solution which has the full support of my delegation.

87. Yet it was on the basis of these financial difficulties that some Powers which call themselves friends of Africa unjustifiably launched a crisis that paralysed the work of the nineteenth session, which was presided over by a representative of Africa, and indeed of black Africa. Since these Powers were able to come to an understanding immediately, from the very beginning, to avoid a confrontation, because all of them had a major interest in keeping the United Nations in being, and since these Powers knew in

their hearts that they would eventually have to find an acceptable solution, why did they initiate such an absurd crisis?

88. The distinguished representative of a brother country has spoken here of a feeling of frustration. Should we not go further and say quite frankly that what Africa felt was humiliation combined with indignation?

89. But as President, Mr. Quaison-Sackey was able to draw, from the very sources of Negro-African standards of civilization, wisdom and authority to overcome the difficulties which some had seen fit to heap artificially in his way. We should like to pay a tribute to his qualities of diplomacy and tact.

90. If, however, black Africa has been able to draw its conclusions from the situation, the States of the third world have not failed to understand the meaning and the scope of the other objective of this crisis: namely, to force the General Assembly to become aware of the fact that the United States and the Soviet Union are the two essential pillars of the Organization and then to induce it, willingly or unwillingly, to accept the prerogatives of the Security Council as they are defined by the Charter twenty years ago.

91. These are the political realities of the crisis, which has by no means been overcome by the resolution submitted by the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and adopted by the General Assembly at the end of its nineteenth session [resolution 2066 (XIX)].

92. The club of the great Powers, not to say their directorate, deliberately turning its back on the great revolution which has taken place in international relations during the last twenty years, is stubbornly trying to protect privileges which the necessary development of relations between States proscribes.

93. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of France stated on 29 September 1965:

"The United Nations is first of all a statute, a law, which is called the Charter. It is next a policy, entailing the need to judge, i.e., to seek, to determine, not only what is desirable but also what is possible. The Charter itself foreshadowed this policy in the balance which it established between the various organs and in the precautions which it took with respect to United Nations action.

"Indeed, such action was wisely reserved to the Security Council alone, and the oft-invoked resolution [377 (V)] that was improvised during the 1950 crisis has been unable to affect this rule." [1341st meeting, paras. 94 and 95.]

94. Although there were slight differences in the statement made on this matter on 23 September 1965 by the representative of the United States, it was in the same vein. He said that the General Assembly should intervene to initiate action only "when the Security Council is unable to act" [1334th meeting, para. 81]. But when can it reasonably be said that the Council is unable to act?

95. It has become quite clear that the permanent members of the Security Council stubbornly refuse to recognize the principal reality of the last twenty

years, namely, the admission of more than seventy-one new States to membership of the Organization and the need to rationalize the Charter on a fairer basis. In these circumstances, how can the overwhelming majority of Members of the United Nations feel bound by the financial consequences of an action which is decided upon by a small minority, even if that minority thinks that it has special responsibilities in the world? My Government finds that disturbing. But for Africans, however distressing this situation is, it is of minor importance compared with what is going on in Rhodesia.

96. Are we not entitled to ask what the real motive of the United Kingdom Government was when in 1960, at a time when decolonization was proceeding rapidly in black Africa, it entrusted to a minority of white settlers the absurd power to tyrannize over the black majority? We refuse to interpret the admirable decolonization carried out by the United Kingdom elsewhere in Africa as a golden curtain designed to hide the replica in Rhodesia of the iniquitous constitutional precedent of South Africa.

97. The United Kingdom cannot evade its heavy responsibility before world public opinion by sheltering behind a pretext of non-intervention in the internal affairs of a territory which, legally, is still a Crown Colony.

98. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Senegal referred in the Security Council, and recently in this forum, to the evils of the inhuman policy of the white adventurers in Rhodesia and invited the United Kingdom Government to act, as he puts it, "before it is too late" [1334th meeting, para. 131].

99. The United Kingdom knows perfectly well that, in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence, the threat of economic sanctions alone or of non-recognition of the so-called Government of Salisbury will not be calculated to disturb Ian Smith. In the opinion of my delegation, only force will be able to bring the Rhodesian adventurers to reason in this matter. General de Gaulle showed political realism and wisdom by acting in this way in Algeria.

100. In addition, the Government of the United Kingdom has itself just established a precedent. On 25 September 1965, Her Britannic Majesty's Government suspended the Constitution which it had given to Aden on 1 October 1962 and invested Sir Richard Turnbull, the High Commissioner, with full powers to enable him to take direct charge of the administration of the territory. In this connexion, a communiqué published by the Foreign Office is significant. It stated:

"Following the rapid deterioration of the situation in Aden in recent weeks, the United Kingdom Government has felt compelled to resort to the suspension of the powers of the Ministers and the Legislative Council of the Colony."

101. Since the United Kingdom Government found it possible to remember that Aden was still a Crown Colony, are we not entitled to ask that country to recall that Rhodesia has the same legal status and that, in view of the deterioration of the situation in that territory, it can and must act with the same rigour? There is still time.

102. I now come to the problem of South Africa. I shall not say much on this subject, since the Special Committee on Apartheid has been dealing with this question for many years and has emphasized the atrocities committed against the African population day after day by the demented Pretoria authorities. I shall confine myself to expressing the indignation that my delegation feels at seeing among us, seated with impunity, the representative of a country which has declared, with us, its "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women", which has freely accepted all the provisions of the Charter, which systematically refuses to respect its obligations towards the Organization and to comply with the injunctions in the various resolutions condemning the policy of apartheid and which denies United Nations missions the right to visit the territory of South West Africa, which is under its trusteeship.

103. Obviously, if the great Powers did not place their trading interests above their solemn undertakings to the United Nations and if they had applied the provisions of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly concerning apartheid, the reactionary Government of Pretoria would undoubtedly have abandoned its infamous policy long ago. My delegation will therefore enthusiastically support any resolution advocating the severe punishment of the Afrikaners and, if necessary, the expulsion of the Republic of South Africa from the United Nations so long as that country has the misfortune to be afflicted with a non-representative Government.

104. For the same reasons, my delegation is ready to support any draft resolution recommending the merciless application of sanctions against Portugal, whose Government has the audacity to claim that Angola and other African countries are in Portugal.

105. Let us quickly leave that question, which remains the shame and ignominy of mankind, and come now to one of the basic objectives of the Charter: "to maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace ...". How can we attain such a noble and broad objective, which responds to the supreme aspirations of humanity and how can the action of the United Nations be truly effective when the country with the greatest population in the world remains outside the Organization?

106. The argument put forward by certain representatives that the People's Republic of China cannot be admitted to our international family because of its bellicose or imperialist policy and its aggressiveness does not stand up to analysis. Obviously, if Communist China consents to become one of us, it will doubtless be because it will have accepted the fundamental principles of international morality: peaceful coexistence, establishment of friendly relations based on respect for the principle of equal rights of peoples and their right to self-determination, respect for sovereignty, and so on.

107. Should we not be frank with ourselves? Has there ever been any question of excluding from the United Nations Member States which have violated the provisions of the Charter and used force to settle

their disputes whenever their interests appeared to be endangered? The People's Republic of China is not a Member of the United Nations. That being so, how can we blame it if it feels free to settle its problems in its own way? How could China consent to consider itself bound by decisions taken in its absence by an Organization of which it is not a member?

108. In my delegation's opinion, wisdom demands the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, and the sooner the better. Each day its continued exclusion increases the threat to peace. In other words, my delegation favours the admission of the People's Republic of China but my Government will defend this position only in so far as it will not result in the exclusion of another Member State, namely, Nationalist China.

109. Togo remains faithful to its friends but it also considers that the universality of our Organization is incompatible with ostracism and exclusion. The admission of a new State enriches and strengthens the Organization; the exclusion of a Member weakens it and makes it poorer.

110. My delegation would therefore like to take this opportunity to welcome the Gambia, Singapore and the Maldiv Islands to our ranks. On behalf of my Government, I offer those countries my warmest congratulations and my best wishes for the prosperity and happiness of their peoples.

111. I should not like to end this part of my statement, which is concerned with the political problems that are still unsolved, without saying something of my Government's attitude towards the formidable questions of the reunification of Germany, Korea and Viet-Nam. Article 1 (2) of the Charter stipulates that the purposes of the United Nations include the development of "friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples ...". Since the principle of the self-determination of peoples has been accepted by all Members States, should it not be applied to peoples who have been arbitrarily divided for reasons which may once have been honourable but which today cause them serious hardship? These men and women of the same race, the same language and common traditions are crying out for reunification.

112. My delegation, basing itself on the provisions of the Charter and remembering the sorrow and indignation felt by all the Togolese people during the iniquitous and arbitrary division of my country, will vigorously support any draft resolution requesting that free elections should be held as soon as possible on the basis of universal adult suffrage and under United Nations supervision, in Germany, Korea and Viet-Nam so that these divided peoples can decide their own destiny. The United Nations would thus be performing an act of justice.

113. The attitude of my delegation towards the People's Republic of China leads me quite naturally to speak briefly about the problem of peace, and more specifically the problem of disarmament. Voices of greater authority than mine have spoken of this grave problem for many years and have tried in vain to find a final solution to it. In fact, it is like squaring

the circle; the main obstacle is mistrust and fear. The great Powers mistrust one another and the small States fear the big States. How can one State disarm without the assurance that a rival State does not remain armed? Mistrust and fear are engendered by the vanity of nations, by their thirst for hegemony and domination, and hence for power. As long as such a state of mind exists, disarmament conferences will merely be a dialogue between deaf people.

114. The international situation today, however, is such that we can no longer discuss disarmament without the participation of Communist China. For that reason, my delegation, without any illusions, voted in favour of resolution DC/224 calling for a world disarmament conference.^{1/} If such a conference were convened, it would at least allow of the necessary confrontation of divergent views and thus throw a clearer light on the magnitude of the difficulties. But would anything positive emerge?

115. Togo is among the sponsors of resolution DC/225^{2/} because this resolution assigns to the Eighteen-Nation Committee clearly defined tasks, which are: "... to develop a treaty on general and complete disarmament under effective international control ... consider as a matter of priority the question of extending the scope of the partial test-ban treaty to cover underground tests ... also accord special priority to the consideration of the question of a treaty or convention to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons" and to convert "to programmes of economic and social development of the developing countries a substantial part of the resources gradually released by the reduction of military expenditures".

116. The partial test-ban treaty is a step forward along the path to disarmament, but another step could be taken in the field of nuclear disarmament if agreement could be reached on the proposal submitted last month by the Soviet Union Government to the Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency.^{3/} The immediate measures proposed by the Soviet Union may be summarized as follows: first, abstention from the use of nuclear weapons; secondly, the adoption of immediate measures with a view to concluding an international agreement concerning the prohibition of the use of atomic weapons; and thirdly, efforts to further the success of negotiations concerning the elimination and prohibition of atomic weapons, and total disarmament. The advantage of the Soviet Union proposals lies in the fact that they would render the production of atomic and thermonuclear weapons useless, since their employment would be prohibited.

117. While the Togolese people are happy and proud to have succeeded, without bloodshed, in achieving freedom and dignity, in a word, political independence, they are convinced that economic independence is the *sine qua non* of national independence. We have therefore become engaged in the battle for the development of our resources and their maximum utilization. A five-year plan has already been launched and will soon

^{1/} See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965.

^{2/} Ibid.

^{3/} Ninth regular session of the General Conference (Tokyo, 21-28 September 1965).

be submitted to all friendly States which are willing to give us their assistance and support without any political conditions. Our appeal will be addressed to the private and public sectors, both foreign and Togolese.

118. The open-door policy followed by my Government in economic and customs matters is perfectly compatible with the smallness of Togo's territory and allows all States, without discrimination, to enter into trade relations with us. Moreover, the Togolese investment code, together with our political stability, which is the result of the wise policy of national union and reconciliation followed by President Grunitzky, guarantees the security of invested capital.

119. But this is only part of the battle. Under-development constitutes the major handicap of most non-aligned countries and the problems to which it gives rise are therefore common to all of us.

120. Because of the disadvantages inherent in the operation of a national economy within a narrow market, the African States will turn more and more towards regional arrangements in the search for an integrated and complementary economy based on a more extensive market. At the same time, as the representative of Senegal so eloquently pointed out in his statement [1334th meeting], the highly industrialized countries must embark upon a more dynamic and more realistic economic policy which will include the organization of the markets for raw materials, the progressive industrialization of under-developed countries, together with its essential accompaniment, more substantial aid to development. In my opinion, only such a policy, through the spirit of international solidarity which it generates, will be able to create among States, both rich and poor, a better climate of understanding and co-operation based on justice and peace.

121. At the beginning of my statement I dealt with the existing or potential problems which are still awaiting a solution. Speakers who have preceded me at this rostrum have drawn up a balance-sheet for the United Nations. I shall not dwell on that subject but the failures which have been noted enable us to appreciate more deeply our successes, which are due not only to the Members of the United Nations but above all to the constant and untiring efforts and devotion of the Secretary-General, U Thant, who has the full sympathy and support of my Government.

122. In conclusion, I should like to recall the statement made on behalf of the Togolese Government by our Permanent Representative on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations. He said:

"Twenty years of constant, unremitting efforts to persuade men to understand each other better, to respect each other, to love one another. Twenty years of efforts to lead peoples from the state of dependency to international sovereignty. Twenty years of efforts to impart to this Organization its oecumenical character. The essential objectives are admittedly far from being attained. Certain sovereign States should already have become Members of the Organization. Peoples are still suffering under the foreign yoke. The armaments race persists, and so does international tension. Prejudice

and intolerance have not been disarmed. But the Organization represents for humanity progress and an ideal—an ideal of justice, an ideal of peace. It is and will remain for States the supreme tribunal for the settlement of international difficulties. Finally, it is for mankind a hope and a promise. Its vision of the total man, the man of flesh, the man of the spirit, whose great needs must be progressively satisfied, tends to diversify its activities and make them more universal. Henceforth, nothing that is human is foreign to it ...

"The Republic of Togo, which yesterday was a Trust Territory, is today a sovereign State and acknowledges what it owes to the efforts of the United Nations. Today, as yesterday, it affirms its devotion to the United Nations.

"The Government and people of Togo believe in the ideals of justice and peace of the United Nations and will everywhere and at all times support and assist it."

123. Mr. ALLIALI (Ivory Coast) (translated from French): The Ivory Coast delegation and I myself, Mr. Vice-President, were very sad to learn of the accident suffered by the President, Mr. Fanfani, as a result of which he will be temporarily unable to take part in our work. My delegation asks you to convey to him our sincere wishes for his speedy recovery. We also extend to him our warmest congratulations on his election as President of the twentieth session of the General Assembly and we sincerely wish him every success in the performance of his important duties.

124. That is no doubt also the dearest wish in the hearts of men of good will who have placed so much hope in the outcome of the work of this Assembly. We should like the President to know that the members of the Ivory Coast delegation, and I personally, will spare no effort to help towards the accomplishment of his task and will give him our fullest co-operation.

125. My delegation also wishes to welcome to our midst all the newly independent countries: the Gambia—and we are proud to have sponsored its admission in our capacity as African member of the Security Council—Singapore and the Maldives Islands. The Ivory Coast wishes their people happiness and prosperity.

126. It is a happy sign that the twentieth session opens in a mood of concord, profound meditation and determination. It opens in a mood of concord because we have succeeded in agreeing to avoid at this session the pitfalls that beset the nineteenth session. It opens in profound meditation because it has just received the beneficent imprint of the message of peace delivered by His Holiness Pope Paul VI [see 1347th meeting]. It opens in a mood of determination, because during this year, which the United Nations has designated as International Co-operation Year, each of us must see to it that our actions conform to the basic principles and objectives laid down in the Charter of our Organization.

127. My country, which won independence peacefully but at the cost of great sacrifices and whose foreign policy is directed towards international détente, peace and co-operation, would like, through me, to give

evidence here of its modest contribution to the consideration and solution of the present world problems.

128. The first among these problems is that of decolonization. All States Members of our Organization should unremittingly denounce the remaining colonial Powers until they apply to the full the terms of resolution 1514 (XV)—the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples—adopted by the General Assembly on 14 December 1960 and the resolutions of the Security Council on the territories that are still dependent.

129. As we know, the Portuguese Government refuses to grant independence to Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, and turns its back on the implacable verdict of history. Such an attitude clearly represents a threat to the peace in Africa.

130. As regards Southern Rhodesia, a conference should be convened in all urgency to draft a new constitution under which the country would attain complete independence; its administration would then be lawfully restored to the African majority—the 4 million Africans—and would never again be in the hands of the white minority. This requires a prior release of all the present political prisoners. A mere readjustment of African representation under the present shabby Constitution can provide no guarantee for the Africans.

131. It is essential that Mr. Smith should not be so imprudent as to proclaim the territory's independence unilaterally within the framework of the present Constitution. To prevent this, the United Kingdom must use all its power to compel the white minority Government to take the path of wisdom. The United Kingdom must not, directly or indirectly, be the accomplice of another South Africa.

132. South West Africa as it exists today is an unfortunate illustration of the odious policy of apartheid practised in South Africa. We really believe that apartheid not only vitiates the relations between the African peoples and the Government of South Africa but is a permanent threat to security in Africa and in the world. Here, as in Southern Rhodesia, the deterioration of the internal political situation is such that one may fear a bloody struggle which no legal fiction can contain. Such an outbreak of violence would be fraught with incalculable risks and consequences. It is indeed inconceivable that the African nations, which have fought so hard for their independence, would remain indifferent to the fate of several million of their brothers or deaf to their appeals. The growth of an armed conflict in the heart of Africa would not fail to bring about a profound shift in alliances.

133. The people of the Ivory Coast have been unanimous in expressing their unshakable determination to do all in their power to help the oppressed countries to regain independence and dignity. We think it deplorable that the recommendations of the United Nations should have remained a dead letter. In the face of the criminal persistence of Portugal and South Africa in maintaining an anachronistic situation and a historical misdirection, my country has joined with the body of African nations in asking for the necessary sanctions to be decreed and applied. In

so doing, the Ivory Coast is consistently pursuing the objectives to which it pledged itself, once and for all, when it unreservedly subscribed to the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the charter of the Organization of African Unity, in the drafting of which it participated at the historic Addis Ababa Conference of May 1963.

134. The last of the colonial Powers, recognizing the dangers to which they expose the world, should henceforth follow the path of universal reason. Then a new era will dawn, an era of construction of a multiracial community in Africa, in whose destinies all free African peoples, all nations, will participate actively on a basis of equality and mutual respect. Then we shall be able to speak of the unity of the African continent and fruitful co-operation among all nations: a unity which is the first step towards a glowing political and economical future, the role of an Africa which to become great must remain neutral, completely neutral, a peaceful and confident Africa, fully open to all discussion, to all constructive ideas, to the contacts and dialogues which are the surest guarantee of true conciliation and lasting peace.

135. When, in 1945, at the close of an inhuman conflict, the great Powers of the world resolved, in the face of such horrors, to ward off the threat of a war which could be fatal to us all, only three African countries—Ethiopia, Liberia and Egypt—were among the nations represented. Since then, not a year has gone by without one or more countries achieving independence and today thirty-six independent African States are seated in this Assembly. Consequently the need has arisen to adapt the structures of the Organization to the changes that have occurred in the world since 1945.

136. The Ivory Coast accordingly joined with all the developing countries in appealing to the great Powers to enlarge the membership of the principal organs of the United Nations, particularly the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, so that the geographical representation of the non-permanent members should be more in accord with the political realities of the world of today and better adapted to its requirements. It is therefore with great satisfaction that we welcome today the adoption of this reform in the structure of the United Nations. This development, which was necessary in many respects, is a further proof of the viability and vitality of the Organization and should enable it to discharge its difficult tasks more effectively by giving the young States an equal share in its responsibilities.

137. Regarding the representation of the People's Republic of China, the position of the Ivory Coast is well known. We consider that tolerance is one of the essential conditions for the maintenance of peace. In Africa each country has chosen the political régime and economic system best suited to the temperament of its people and most likely to ensure their well-being. The objective of the régime chosen, which is to raise the level of living of the African people, demands scrupulous respect and the co-operation of all Governments. The People's Republic of China, on the pretext that conditions in Africa

are ripe for revolution, is fostering subversion in our countries. Perhaps it respects the Governments it likes, although these Governments are beginning in their turn to pay the price of its underhand, pernicious and bellicose activities. But it pays murderers and trains them to seize power by assassination and to overthrow the Governments it does not like. Our attitude in the matter is governed by these considerations. Accordingly, this year, as in the past years, our position on this question remains unaltered.

138. I must now take up another burning question of our time, disarmament. It is hard to comprehend why this modern era, which is one of progress and should therefore be one of human well-being and happiness, should carry in it the threat of man's destruction.

139. The moment we accept the idea of nuclear armament, we must also accept the fact that the existence of our planet and of its inhabitants may be threatened by the countries which are prosperous enough to afford costly armaments. To give up all hope of a general denuclearization is to admit that behind the fiction of a peace imposed by the balance of power, a peace which incidentally seems illusory to us, a possible and probable upsetting of that balance could unleash those forces, and it is hard to see how they could be contained. To give up this hope is also to give free rein to inordinate ambitions, to coercion and to the ideological or economic imperialism of a few militarily superior Powers.

140. Faced with a situation whose outcome seems to become more hazardous each day, the peoples who have neither the means nor the desire to undertake or engage extensively in atomic research for military purposes, but yet feel themselves directly concerned by the threats of devastation which hang over all mankind, raise their voice on behalf of mankind, the majority of which they represent, and appeal to the strong and weak alike to see that every possible means is used to bring about a genuine agreement for the control and destruction of existing armaments, both conventional and atomic, and to convene a world disarmament conference as soon as possible.

141. These States, the non-nuclear Powers, whose only weapon is their good will, their weakness and their desire to live, have never ceased to exert moral pressure, both inside and outside the United Nations, in order to make the voice of reason heard. The spontaneous accession of more than ninety Governments to the nuclear agreement is eloquent proof of their desire to live in peace. They can only hope that the same desire will be sincerely shared by the nuclear Powers.

142. Yet at the time when these young nations were not yet represented in the United Nations, the originators of the Organization, who adopted the Charter and who are also the great Powers, pledged themselves to divert only a minimum of the world's human and economic resources to armaments.

143. There is something preposterous about the fantastic sums of money and the extraordinary efforts expended on devising ever more powerful means of destruction.

144. With one half of mankind desperately trying to raise itself out of poverty, the other half has em-

barked on a course whose possible outcome is the annihilation of everything and everyone. And what means have we to prevent this from happening? We have an international organ whose powers are limited by the Charter, which approaches the problems of disarmament with timidity; we have agreements prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons which are not only powerless to stop or even to slow down the arms race but have serious gaps both as regards the spatial limits of tests and the production of propulsion devices and as regards stockpiling, we have a body of proposals and resolutions which often remain without effect and which condemn but never settle anything, even when the resolutions are adopted unanimously; we have, lastly, a majority which paradoxically is powerless to ward off the danger.

145. How can we look calmly to the future when universal anguish, the fear of destruction and the threats and pressures which we feel with each lessening of tension and each crisis—wondering if it will be the fatal one—impel the poorer nations to acquire means of destruction at the cost of their development?

146. When we examine the record of the past twenty years, we note that, despite the efforts that have been made, the results achieved, however encouraging they may appear, fall far short of the objectives that might have been obtained. The inescapable conclusion seems to be that ultimately the real solution lies in a world-wide recognition of the problem and in constant and appropriate contacts based on mutual respect and mutual concessions, on an understanding which we must build up patiently and resolutely, for the truth is that the road to wisdom is long and difficult.

147. In these circumstances let us consider what methods might be used to settle conflicts. Action to control, reduce and destroy the most terrifying weapons can have no real meaning unless it is buttressed by a genuine and universal determination to suppress the conflicts which break out here and there in the world. Such upheavals are doubly inhuman and injurious because they often pit the poorest countries against each other, causing them to spend their last forces on an action which, being hostile and fratricidal, is profitless. All of us, members of the third world, feel concerned for two reasons: first, because the situation entails risks for international peace and secondly, because it means an erosion and weakening of the political and economic forces of the third world as a whole. The proliferation of such conflicts can only play into the hands of those who, for obscure reasons, secretly desire the perpetuation of a situation which threatens to ruin our prestige and perhaps even our future. Others see in it a convenient means of gaining a foothold amid the disorder or of experimenting on handy battlefields with weapons which, though conventional, are none the less formidable. We must put an end to this wave of disturbances, which may at any time spread and degenerate into one vast chaos in which our dearest hopes would quickly founder.

148. Confronted with this immense problem which hangs over the world—the problem of peace—it is

our duty to make a constructive effort at co-operation, not only in the technical sense of the term but also, and above all, at the human level, by initiating and developing complementary ideological and cultural trends, by pooling our aspirations and our faith.

149. With that in mind, let us now consider what we mean by co-operation between developed and under-developed countries.

150. Malnutrition, low incomes, extensive under-employment, ignorance, bad health conditions—in other words, general poverty—and the economic and sometimes political subordination which result from them, create a vicious circle which deprives the developing countries of any hope of ever achieving prosperity through their own resources.

151. In many cases these countries, although poor, are not lacking in agricultural or industrial raw materials. The best proof of this is that their natural wealth has been, and still is in some cases, the prize competed for by the great colonial Powers. Neither are they lacking in men of courage, for in most cases the limited use they make of their human resources is due, not to the refusal of local communities to become part of the process of modern living and to accept its consequences and responsibilities, but to traditional economic and social structures that are utterly unsuitable.

152. Today it is, of course, commonplace to say that a country is poor because it has not enough roads, factories and schools and yet cannot build all these things because it is poor. This trite description of frightful poverty nevertheless offers a terrible threat to the prosperity and peace of the entire world. If these factors of instability are to be corrected and this great threat removed, the richest countries, in order to preserve their very existence, must co-operate in this great humanitarian work of fighting poverty and suffering.

153. The conditions for success can be reduced to the achievement of two essential purposes: to produce and to consume. These young countries must first be provided with the means of solving the problems of laying down an infrastructure which will enable them to attain the degree of industrialization required for their launching phase. It is for this purpose that the technical co-operation of the developed countries is essential to them. They must then be given access to commercial markets for their raw materials and manufactures on conditions which enable them to restore the balance of their terms of trade and to form national capital, because the effectiveness of the assistance provided by co-operation in the form of equipment and technical experts is to a large degree dependent on the application of certain parallel and complementary measures designed to stabilize the prices of primary products from the less-developed countries. In fact, the gap between the rising cost of manufactures and the prices of raw materials is constantly growing, to the detriment of the primary producers. The inevitable result of this unfavourable situation of the terms of trade between the developed countries and the developing economies is a series of problems all of which affect the process of capital formation.

154. The developing countries, unable to cure their chronic balance-of-payments deficits, are finding it increasingly difficult to repay their debts and loans, the alternative being to resort to foreign public or private investment which, by its very nature, often has serious political implications and sometimes involves the risk of remaining in or reverting to a position of economic subordination similar to, and quite as evil as, colonialism. Hence, paradoxically, the under-developed countries are reluctant to accept unconditionally certain forms of investments or loans, either because they might endanger the balance of their economic structures or because they are accompanied by conditions which are incompatible with their idea of independence.

155. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development brought to the forefront a number of phenomena and concepts the truth and rightness of which were formerly disputed. The Conference was the occasion of a new mutual awareness among the richest and the poorest countries, which, working together, assessed their common needs and interests and recognized that mutual international aid was not so much a charity as a matter of justice.

156. In their resolute but long and difficult advance from a subsistence economy to a market economy, the youngest and least fortunate nations need more markets and additional resources every day, as the traditional framework, no longer strong enough to contain their youthful vitality, disintegrates. It is because they are young and weak, because the balance and freedom which they are seeking are often fragile, that they place higher hopes than others on the establishment of firm economic relations among peoples for the purpose of fruitful international co-operation.

157. The real role of the United Nations is to co-ordinate a process of genuine and disinterested co-operation among all countries, to intensify it and plan it on a world scale. The Geneva Conference marks the first important step in that process. International solidarity was manifest throughout, in the fixing of quantitative targets for imports, in the willingness of some nations to facilitate access to their markets for primary or manufactured products from the developing countries, and in the elimination of quantitative restrictions and discriminatory tariffs.

158. Nevertheless, population increase, on the one hand, and the decline in the terms of trade, on the other, are creating an ever-growing gap which it has hitherto proved impossible to bridge. The trend towards disproportionate wealth and poverty is becoming more marked and increasing the suffering and impatience of the needy countries. The gap between the prosperous nations and the nations that are hungry continues to grow, while material resources are diverted from their useful purposes and directed to the destruction of human resources.

159. Stable market prices, which have already been achieved for products such as rubber and tin, should be extended to all other products. This method represents the only reliable protection against the collapse of international market prices and the only one which could ensure fair and remunerative prices.

160. Yes, an important first step has been taken but we must consider the immensity of the task that remains to be done. This is not, of course, to minimize the genuine and very courageous efforts which have been undertaken but to throw even greater light, if possible, on the terrible effects of poverty, which reflect the disparity between the needs and the means of relieving them.

161. In this context, any waste or diversion has particularly dramatic repercussions. In the era of thermo-nuclear energy and space flights, we cannot but be proud of the steady progress of science, but to those who are hungry and cold and who suffer, the need for any effort which is not directed towards relieving their poverty and suffering is secondary. If the choice has to be made between happiness and reaching the moon, are those to whom poverty has taught the wisdom of unhesitatingly choosing the first to be blamed? If the greatest and wealthiest wish to arm themselves against men, another section of humanity claims the sacred right to arm itself against poverty.

162. The PRESIDENT: I have two delegations on my list that wish to speak before the end of the meeting this morning in exercise of their right of reply.

163. Mr. FUENTEALBA (Chile) (translated from Spanish): Certain references in the statement made during yesterday's general debate [1355th meeting] by the distinguished representative of Bolivia compel me, very reluctantly, to divert the attention of the delegations from the important matters before the Assembly. I have to do this, however, because those references involve charges against my country which, although they have been disproved on other occasions from this rostrum, I cannot allow to remain in the records without our having refuted them.

164. The representative of Bolivia said that the land-locked situation of his country was imposed on it—I quote—"by armed aggression followed by territorial mutilation". This statement is at variance with the circumstances of the conclusion of the 1904 Treaty between Bolivia and Chile.^{4/} That instrument was signed twenty-four years after the cessation of hostilities between the two countries, was approved by a large majority in the Bolivian Congress and was freely ratified by that country. The Bolivian people repeatedly demonstrated their confidence in those who concluded the Treaty. General Ismael Montes, who had made the conclusion of the Treaty the main issue in his campaign for election to the Presidency of Bolivia, gained an overwhelming victory and, when he became President, concluded the Peace Treaty with Chile. In 1913 General Montes was again elected President of Bolivia. His Minister for Foreign Affairs at the time of the Treaty, Mr. Eleodoro Villazón, became President of Bolivia in 1910.

165. The Treaty granted Bolivia full and free transit in perpetuity for persons and merchandise through the territory and all the ports of Chile. This free transit is applicable to all types of merchandise at

all times, without exception. Moreover, Chile undertook to carry out large-scale public works for the benefit of Bolivia, an obligation which it duly fulfilled. During the last sixty years various agreements, which supplement or extend those facilities, have been concluded between Chile and Bolivia. It would take too long to go into details, so I shall merely say that no transit country grants such full and generous facilities for a land-locked country's access to the sea. They go much farther and, as I hope representatives will note, they are much more generous than the provisions approved by the Conference of Plenipotentiaries on the Transit Trade of Land-locked States held at Headquarters, New York, on 7 and 8 July 1965.

166. We do not agree with the statement that Bolivia's land-locked position is the cause of its under-development. This has not been so in other land-locked countries; their geographical position has never been an obstacle to their progress and development. Economic development is achieved mainly through the organized efforts of a country's people under a stable political system, supplemented by such co-operation as may legitimately be obtained from outside sources. Our country, which suffers more often than any other from natural disasters and earthquakes, is now striving to achieve economic development and its success is due to the great efforts of all its people and the guidance of the new Government led by His Excellency Mr. Eduardo Frei, which aims at increasing participation of the people in every form of national activity. It is true that when disaster has struck our towns or our coasts international solidarity has come to our assistance spontaneously and we are deeply grateful for this, but we did not go about lamenting our misfortune in order to secure this international reaction. We are determined to achieve these national goals and to maintain peaceful co-existence and complete solidarity with our neighbours with no loss of our own dignity and independence.

167. Finally, far from considering that the Treaty is an obstacle to the economic development of our sister-nation, we are convinced that the advantages it represents and the heavy sacrifices it imposes on my country, Chile, are a very important instrument in Bolivia's advance along the road of progress and social justice.

168. We sincerely hope that we shall not have to refer again to a matter which was settled as long as sixty years ago by the means available to us under international law.

169. Mr. ORTIZ SANZ (Bolivia) (translated from Spanish): I am only too well aware of the time and of the inconvenience we are imposing on all of you by this short incident which has been occasioned by a right of reply. I shall be extremely brief and extremely objective—as I always endeavour to be.

170. Shortly after the Pacific War, which deprived my country of its coastline, a Chilean diplomat, Abraham König, Minister Plenipotentiary, dispatched to the Bolivian Government a note containing two statements: first, the Bolivian coast is very valuable—we should not have occupied it had it not been; secondly, we have occupied the Bolivian coast by right of force, by the right of victory, which is the supreme law of nations.

^{4/} Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Commerce, signed at Santiago de Chile, on 20 October 1904.

171. I should like to know whether there is one representative in the Assembly who still believes today that the right of force is the supreme law of nations.

172. The PRESIDENT: Before adjourning the meeting, I wish to remind members that the flag of the Maldives Islands will be raised in a ceremony in

front of the delegates' entrance this afternoon at 3 o'clock. The plenary meeting of the General Assembly will be convened immediately after the ceremony.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.