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President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHwak
(Afghanistan).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)*

1. Mr. ZEA (Colombia) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, knowing your skill as a statesman, your experience in dealing with international questions and your complete devotion to peace, which you have tirelessly propagated in the United Nations, the Government of Colombia believes that the General Assembly could not have made a better choice than it did in electing you as its President. May I therefore extend to you and to your great country my warmest congratulations and sincere good wishes for the utmost success in your difficult and complex task in the interest of the welfare of mankind and of the prestige of this Organization.

2. At the same time, I most respectfully extend the greetings of my Government to all the representatives gathered here. I am confident that their work at this session of the Assembly will be inspired by a common desire to strengthen peace and ensure the well-being of the human race. Colombia comes to these meetings in this spirit and with the unshakable resolve that justice preside over relations between peoples.

3. I also wish to express our deep satisfaction at the admission of Guyana as a new Member of the United Nations, and I accordingly extend our hearty congratulations to its Government and people and to the delegation that represents them. This young State has come to join the ranks of the Latin American nations, and we are sure that its contribution will be consonant with our continent's traditional policy of solidarity with the rest of the world. The admission of this new Member has a very profound significance for Latin America because it conforms to the anti-colonialist spirit of its inhabitants and their desire for that part of the world to be composed of free nations, the masters of their own destinies.

4. I have had the honour of representing my country in this Organization for four years. In hope and in

fear, I have lived through some of its most serious crises; on several occasions, we faced the appalling possibility of its dissolution, and on others, we noted its effectiveness in preventing catastrophes that might have been irreparable. All this has strengthened my conviction that whatever might be done by Member States to defend its existence, this is but little by comparison with what the absence of its beneficial influence on the lives of nations could mean for our own generation and even more for the generations to come. This would mean the disappearance of the principles which have been enshrined in the Charter with the aim of putting an end to the millennia of suffering endured by man since his appearance on this planet; it would, above all, deceive the hopes of the millions of human beings who are looking to the dawn of a better world free of the heavy burden of poverty and ignorance.

5. The general debate which is held in this Assembly each year is not merely an occasion for analysing the international situation and learning the views of each of the Member States; it must in addition, as in fact it does, provide an opportunity for analysing the shortcomings and possibilities of our Organization in carrying out its basic purposes. If, having reached the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, we now look back, we find that its achievements have indeed been great and positive. We have preserved world peace for more than twenty years, although vast sectors of humanity have been shaken by violence and cruelty from time to time. We have helped new States towards independence and aided them in the establishment of their institutions, and these States now act as a balance between the various blocs of nations and are a decisive factor in world decisions. We have provided economic, technical and cultural assistance to help overcome the phenomenon of underdevelopment, and even military assistance to alleviate tensions which at the time might have led to a new conflagration.

6. Our Organization has been going forward and has been growing stronger despite the wide ideological and political divergencies of the great Powers, and it has gradually taken on the character of universality which it must have. But, we must admit that it has not always been as effective for the solution of world problems as it should have been. Many of its best efforts have come to nought, and this should cause us to ponder the best way of overcoming the enormous obstacles which ignorance, ambition, greed or the thirst for power have placed in the path to peace, to a better understanding among peoples and to the satisfaction of basic human needs.

7. When the crisis which paralysed the nineteenth session of the Assembly was surmounted, we felt

*Resumed from the 1413th meeting.

great hopes for the future of the Organization. However, the results which we so ardently desired have not been forthcoming. The truth is that we are unable to exert any decisive influence on events which are unfolding before our eyes and which we can only watch with increasing anxiety. We are unable to stop the conflict in Asia, which is continuing with the greatest bitterness and which could lead to the outbreak of a world conflict. This in turn raises the question of whether the Organization does or does not have the means to operate effectively, at this stage of history, in order to achieve the purposes for which it was created.

8. What is more, however, those fundamental questions which have demanded the attention and concern of the United Nations during the twenty years of its existence are now in a discouraging state of paralysis. Take, for example, disarmament. Public opinion no longer expects any great progress to be made in the discussions which have been going on now for a number of years at Geneva in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. Because of the obstinate refusal of the great Powers to yield in matters which could be settled if they were analysed with a real and deep desire to find intelligent solutions, general and complete disarmament now seems a more unattainable ideal than ever. The same is true of the hope that the enormous sums being devoted to a mad and criminal armaments race might be used to fight under-development and to banish backwardness from vast areas of the globe.

9. The splitting of the atom and the discovery of nuclear energy have presented the world with the gravest of threats to the very existence of the human species, and there is a universal clamour that this threat, which may one day become a reality, should be banished forever. Ever since the first atomic bomb, with its lethal aftermath of radioactivity, was tested, the efforts of the Governments and people of all countries have been directed towards halting the ominous production of nuclear weapons. The Assembly has adopted innumerable resolutions urging the atomic Powers to cease their tests so that the terrifying power of destroying civilization might not be expanded or increased and that broad areas of America, Africa and Asia might be free of this peril. As a result, the treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water was signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963 and was welcomed with joy by the people of the entire world. Since then, however, there has been no effective progress, and it is now apparent that the tests are continuing as all people, including those whose Governments persist in carrying out the tests, look on with fear, indignation and horror.

10. The intention of our Organization as expressed in General Assembly resolution 2030 (XX) on the question of convening a world disarmament conference has so far been merely another vain hope. This was to be an opportunity for providing a universal forum where all the factors impeding the necessary understanding between the peoples of the world could be analysed with the participation of the nuclear Powers and particularly of those which are continuing to increase and perfect these weapons of destruction. It was to be an opportunity for starting a huge

movement of world public opinion that could bring pressure to bear on the atomic Powers. Today, the possibility of entertaining any illusion of this kind is remote, and hence we must also admit that the United Nations is incapable of dealing with this crucial and decisive question. The nuclear tests will continue and with them the horrifying prospect that, as the number of atomic Powers increases, the third world war will become inevitable before the end of this century.

11. There are, however, other events weighing down world peace, which are extremely grave and are related to one of the basic objectives of the world Organization, the second objective after the preservation of peace. The San Francisco Charter states that the peoples of the United Nations are determined "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small". This principle led to the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, but today we see how the repeated, shocking and inhuman violation of this instrument constitutes still another matter with which we have been powerless to deal.

12. There seemed to be some basis for believing that the abominable practice of a privileged minority dominating large subjugated majorities who were denied the most elemental rights might be restricted to one country and gradually disappear. We are alarmed, however, to see that Governments are arising in Africa with the same abominable characteristics. The continuance of this situation in the world of today is an affront to mankind and a cause for shame and reproach on the part of all of us seated here in this Assembly. The truth is that it has not been possible to solve this problem satisfactorily in the last few years and that it has now been aggravated by the situation in Southern Rhodesia and by the problem of South West Africa. The practices of apartheid must be completely stamped out. Colombia is willing to support, and even to sponsor, measures which might prove effective against such Governments. In this respect, my Government has adopted legislation to implement the relevant recommendations of the General Assembly and the Security Council regarding Southern Rhodesia, and with respect to the question of South West Africa, allow me to reiterate the view expressed at the last session of the Assembly that this territory should be placed under the administration of the United Nations.

13. At all events, the outstanding fact, the one that we must stress before this gallery of nations, is that what has been done so far has not been sufficient to restore in certain areas the effectiveness of those essential principles for which the United Nations was created to put into practice.

14. The old yearning of the international community, arising from the inability of the former League of Nations to maintain peace or, rather, to prevent war, was taken into account by the inclusion in the San Francisco Charter of Chapter VII prescribing what action should be taken with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression.

15. The provisions of that Chapter regarding the re-establishment of international peace and security by means of regular United Nations forces have remained words only. We must realize that all the urgent activities of the United Nations, even if completely successful, will be entirely in vain if we fail to endow the Organization with the power to prevent war. This explains the constant endeavour of the General Assembly to overcome the paralysis of the Security Council in initiating the actions assigned to it in this regard by the Charter. It was thought that resolution 377 (V), the "Uniting for peace" resolution—so ardently defended not only by some of the great Powers but also by the smaller countries, both when it was adopted and now—might be an adequate solution. The truth is that since then we have gone through a process of confusion and complexity so bedevilled by political interests that it can be said that we have not taken a single step forward since the adoption of that resolution, which, although well conceived and motivated by the best of intentions, has proved in practice to be completely ineffective. In spite of the praiseworthy efforts of its members, the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations, established under resolution 2006 (XIX), has been unable to reach any practical or concrete conclusions. The refusal of the socialist countries to participate in the financing of these operations, the disagreement among the other Governments on the amount of the contributions that should be paid and scepticism about the possibility of reaching agreements that would guarantee the effectiveness of the system are all indications that our Organization is still very far from being able—without major financial difficulties and without having to depend on the caprice of the great Powers, on political circumstances or on what may at the moment suit purely national interests—to exercise consistently and decisively its indispensable function of eliminating the danger of war, punishing aggressors and warding off threats to peace.

16. Some of the comments which I have with all due respect made before this Assembly were also made by Secretary-General U Thant when he indicated his decision not to offer his services for a second term of office. The document submitted by the Secretary-General in this connexion must be a matter for deep thought on the part of the Governments and people of the world. He who in the midst of innumerable and disquieting difficulties has handled with singular skill the grave international problems that confront the world today is without doubt the person best qualified to draw the attention of the United Nations to the fact that "no decisive progress has been made by the Governments of Member States in co-operative efforts which are essential if the Organization is to serve effectively the cause of peace and to contribute significantly to the economic development of the poorer regions of the world" [A/6400].

17. I wish on behalf of my Government to pay a tribute of admiration and gratitude to the Secretary-General. As the representative of Colombia, it was my privilege, at a time when the United Nations was going through one of its gravest crises, to co-operate in his felicitous appointment and to make known publicly on behalf of the Latin American group, the satisfaction

felt by our Governments and our continent at his election. Today we can say that the hopes placed in his administration have been fully justified. No major error can justly be attributed to him in the discharge of his duties. Hence, the Latin American nations did what was right in expressing the desire that U Thant would agree to offer his services and endeavours to the world community once again.

18. However, it would not be fair for us to demand this of him if Member States do not intend to take positive steps to change the circumstances he mentioned when he announced a decision which we all regret and which we hope will be revoked. I think there can be no doubt within this Assembly about the serious questions that would arise if we had to elect a new Secretary-General now. May I, on behalf of Colombia, express the wish that the Secretary-General will reconsider his position and reflect on how important these additional services we are asking of him may be for the cause of peace.

19. I should now like to reaffirm various views which I stated in this Assembly on behalf of my country a few years ago and which are still fully valid today. The world cannot continue to be divided into antagonistic blocs that cling to irreconcilable positions concerning the systems of government that will make their peoples happy. Nor can nationalistic feelings be allowed to prevail over the universal interests of living together in harmony. Peace must be built on something more substantial than the cold formation of international co-operation or the illusion which the socialist countries have called peaceful coexistence. The need for understanding and brotherhood among peoples grows more imperative each day. An awareness of peace must be inculcated in youth through an immense educational effort that will banish from their sight the tinsel glitter of military apparatus which fires the early imagination of children and develops in them an admiration and worship of war heroes, whose fame far exceeds that of the artist or the scientist. Only by discarding the nationalistic concepts which today are a basic ingredient of education and supplanting them by a loftier concept of the great family of mankind, will peace one day be established on earth.

20. That, however, presupposes an unqualified acceptance of the rule of justice, for so long as inequalities between nations and men become sharper instead of disappearing and so long as economic imbalance becomes more acute, it is quite impossible for violence to disappear from human relations. Such inequalities tend to create centres of disturbance throughout the world which prevent a calm and dispassionate analysis of problems and situations. Satisfactory solutions are thus impossible to attain and will continue to be so as long as they are subordinated to purely local interests or to the ambitions of the great Powers.

21. It has thus come to be realized that the true strategy of peace is to be found in the effective and harmonious solution of the grave economic problems in the various areas of the world. Consequently, the most urgent task which our Organization must undertake is to reduce, on the international plane, the everwidening gap which separates the rich countries

with a high per capita income from the developing countries, and, on the national plane, the gap between the small minorities who are well off and the large majorities who live in grinding poverty.

22. It is true that the efforts made to correct this situation have had some success, but here, just as in the situation that has already been analysed, there is a dangerous degree of stagnation, particularly as regards relations between the industrialized countries and those which make a precarious living either from basic commodities that are subject to the vagaries of the market or from fledgeling industries. Thus, wealth has continued to accumulate in a few nations which represent a small part of the world's population, while in the areas with the bulk of the population a scarcity of resources and of technical and economic assistance makes ever more difficult the task of the peoples who are striving to achieve a higher level of development.

23. As can be seen, the economically under-developed countries are the victims of a world situation which does not seem likely to change very soon. Many of them are far from attaining the 5 per cent increase in national income which is one of the goals of the United Nations Development Decade. On the other hand, the coolness with which the industrialized countries received the recommendations of the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development has been deplorable and hard to understand.

24. A further disturbing fact recently pointed out by the Secretary-General must also be borne in mind, namely, that while the national income of the developed countries is increasing, the proportion of that income allocated to international assistance for the developing countries is decreasing. In the case of several Powers that proportion has not yet reached the 1 per cent of net income called for by the 1964 Geneva Conference in accordance with earlier recommendations of the General Assembly. The contrast between this relative decrease in international aid and the growing urgency of the need for that aid constitutes one of the most tragic negative signs of our times.

25. In view of the need to intensify technical and economic co-operation through our Organization, more and more efforts and resources must be devoted to the United Nations Development Programme, to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and to the United Nations Industrial Development Organization. The final establishment of the latter, in accordance with the draft resolution prepared by the Ad Hoc Committee is, without a doubt, one of the fundamental objectives of this session.

26. It is clear from all I have said that there are grounds for optimism, particularly in the programmes of technical and economic co-operation which our Organization has fostered. But I have also mentioned certain negative factors, and an awareness of these should stimulate the developing countries to redouble their efforts towards making maximum use of their own resources and technologies, thereby overcoming the limitations of their present condition, and towards uniting with peoples in similar situations, so as to seek in economic co-operation and the exchange of experience the path to redemption.

27. It was with this in mind that, on 16 August of this year, the so-called Declaration of Bogotá was signed and issued officially by the Presidents of Chile, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela and Colombia. It was circulated as an official document of the United Nations [A/6410] in connexion with agenda item 42, entitled "Regional development". The text of the Declaration gives expression to the fervent desire of the peoples of America to achieve, through co-operative efforts, high levels of social well-being which, we hope, will gradually eliminate the desperate backwardness and ignorance of large masses on the continent.

28. Besides the statements of a strictly political character, this Declaration, reflecting the desire to strengthen the inter-American system, to strive for the consolidation of peace, to express solidarity with the peoples struggling for their own development, and to defend representative democracy as the essential basis for achieving liberty, progress and social justice, contains a clear, constructive programme for bringing about the integration of the Latin American nations into one great economic community. The President of Colombia, Mr. Carlos Lleras Restrepo, stated as much in words I would like to repeat before this Assembly, since they express so clearly the meaning and scope of this document, conceived according to the broadest definition of continental solidarity:

"We regard as indispensable the economic integration of Latin America and the furtherance of an international policy which will make the great markets of the world more accessible to our products. We defend the prices of the primary commodities which constitute the bulk of our exports while endeavouring to diversify these exports. We urgently need sufficient external income to acquire those valuable capital goods which are necessary for the acceleration of economic development; and we maintain that international financial assistance should be provided on a reasonable basis and in pursuance of a policy which in no way affects the independence or dignity of our countries. We want, not colonial economies—whatever semblance of prosperity they may offer—but nations which are masters of their own destinies, nations which can maintain normal economic relations with the rest of the world and ensure freedom for the movement of capital. We have therefore stressed the need for a foreign investment policy which will harmoniously and equitably combine the legitimate interests of the investor with the permanent needs of our nations, that is, with what we wish to be and must be."

29. During the last session of the General Assembly, Colombia participated in the drafting and discussion of resolution 2131 (XX) on non-intervention. This text, which, like many others, has become an historic expression of the Assembly's resolve to ensure international coexistence, must be zealously adhered to by the Members of the United Nations, for otherwise world peace will be gravely endangered. But, as is well known, frequent attempts are made to violate that lofty principle, affecting the security of our nations, and these may lead to extremes which could aggravate our present difficulties and hamper

the enormous efforts of our peoples and our Governments to conquer under-development. It is pertinent to recall the terms of that resolution, which was adopted unanimously, in order to contrast the principles embodied therein with the practices of certain countries, which unquestionably constitute open interference in the internal affairs of others. Operative paragraph 1 solemnly declares:

"No State has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State. Consequently, armed intervention and all other forms of interference or attempted threats against the personality of the State or against its political, economic and cultural elements, are condemned."

And the resolution continues:

"... Also, no State shall organize, assist, foment, finance, incite or tolerate subversive, terrorist or armed activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the régime of another State, or interfere in civil strife in another State."

30. Yet we have witnessed the convening of inter-continental conferences, attended by officials of the Governments concerned, whose primary objective, openly expressed, is to give moral and material support to subversive movements in various parts of the world, and particularly in Latin America. I ask you whether such support of armed subversion in other nations, directed against democratic institutions, like those in my country does not constitute an open, flagrant and totally unacceptable violation of the principles which I have just quoted.

31. Of course, the well-known attempts to penetrate our continent in order to destroy democracy and to implant totalitarian systems characterized by the brutal repression of all liberty and unconditional submission to extracontinental Powers have been unsuccessful, but have sometimes left in their wake a tragic toll of suffering and death. The international community cannot remain indifferent to these acts which contravene the resolution cited, which work against the self-determination of our peoples and which represent therefore clear-cut threats to the peace of America.

32. In making these observations—and Colombia has deliberately chosen to be utterly frank—our only purpose is to help meet one of the major needs of the present moment: the strengthening of the United Nations; for considering the difficult circumstances in which it must operate today, it lacks the influence it should wield over international events.

33. If this Organization cannot deal with the immense problems of the international community in these troubled times; if it cannot stop conflicts which might lead to the annihilation of the human race or to the destruction of the civilized world; if it cannot contribute effectively to the well-being and security of the inhabitants of this planet and to the attainment of at least moderate levels of cultural and scientific advancement in areas which today are deprived of the benefits of civilization; if, finally, it cannot achieve the goals set when it was founded, its prestige will

necessarily decline, and it may well disappear eventually in a cloud of melancholy ineffectiveness.

34. This is the grim reality we face; this is what our peoples as well as our Governments must realize. We must appeal loudly and clearly to the conscience and intelligence of the world's leaders in the hope that, through acts of understanding and great deeds, they may preserve, consolidate and strengthen this Organization, and make it a true instrument of peace, a forum where the claims of the dispossessed, the complaints of those who are suffering injustices, the voice of the persecuted minorities and of the peoples who are victims of aggression will be heard and answered.

35. The greatest responsibilities, of course, still fall upon those Powers which are privileged to hold a permanent seat in the Security Council. It is they above all who must abandon their antagonistic positions and give to the rest of the world an example of constructive and harmonious coexistence. It is they who must live up to the obligations of international solidarity, provide the developing countries with technical and financial assistance, and facilitate the construction of an egalitarian and progressive society in a disarmed and peaceful world.

36. There are many obstacles along the way. The greatest of these is lack of understanding, which breeds fanaticism and intolerance. Men themselves have sown the path of life with pain and sorrow. Human actions have produced a world in which only a few receive the benefits of health and knowledge, while the majority continue to live an obscure and hopeless life. This imbalance must be corrected. The labour of all must be paid for in the same coin—that is, there must be adequate compensation. A great deal of national pride and wealth will have to be sacrificed for the benefit of the majority. It has been said that inequalities do not last for ever, or, as one great President of this Assembly, Zafrulla Khan, put it, if one part of the organism is diseased, the whole will soon be diseased.

37. Colombia wishes to be a part of this co-operative and redemptive undertaking, which should consist, not of adopting recommendations of merely literary value, but of taking measures which can lead to the solution of our difficulties. We realize that we who have here united our wills cannot ensure that the positive results we seek will actually be achieved or will lead to new trends in international conduct. But at least we can expect those whose obligations towards the Charter are greatest to live up to and implement its principles. Herein lies our hope for a less troubling future.

38. Mr. DAVID (Czechoslovakia) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, permit me to offer you, on behalf of the delegation of Czechoslovakia, sincere congratulations on your election to an important and responsible position. I would also express the wish that, under your experienced guidance, the General Assembly will make progress in discharging the tasks of the United Nations, as the world community expects it to do in these troubled times.

39. Last year we emphasized in this Assembly that we consider the Charter of the United Nations to be

an important means of upholding the principles of peaceful co-existence in relations between States, since it expresses noble ideas of co-operation among all countries and points to the need for concerted efforts to maintain universal peace and security.

40. The period which has elapsed since the adoption of the Charter has demonstrated the soundness of the principles on which it was based. A particularly important lesson learned from experience while the United Nations has been in existence is that consistent compliance with the Charter has always led to favourable results and to an improvement in relations between States. Conversely, any departure from the Charter or breach of its principles has invariably worked to the detriment of friendly co-operation between peoples, of universal peace and of the United Nations itself.

41. To our great concern, we are bound to note that ever more flagrant violations of the basic principles of the United Nations Charter have been occurring lately. The main responsibility for this situation lies with imperialist circles in the United States which, in an endeavour to hold up progress in the world, are pursuing a policy that is making international tension steadily more acute. This is a policy of flagrant violation of the obligations that the United States assumed by signing the United Nations Charter—a policy which involves the deliberate use of force, and which means placing force above the basic principles of peaceful relations between peoples.

42. The most flagrant manifestation of the course of aggression pursued, with increased intensity, by the United States is the undeclared war which it continues to wage, with growing violence, thousands of miles from its own borders, against the Viet-Nameese people on their soil. This aggression presents an increasingly serious threat to peace and security not only in South-East Asia but throughout the world.

43. United States intervention in South Viet-Nam and its brutal acts of aggression against a sovereign State—the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam—are a glaring violation of the basic rules of international law, the elementary principles of humanity and the principles of the United Nations Charter, by which States should be guided in their relations with other States and peoples whether they are Members of the United Nations or not.

44. The actions of United States imperialism in Viet-Nam are based on an officially proclaimed doctrine under which it arrogates to itself the right to intervene in the domestic affairs of States in various parts of the world in order to force the peoples of particular countries to live in accordance with the ideas and interests of the United States.

45. There can be no denying the responsibility of the United States Government for starting, prolonging and widening the conflict in South East Asia and for the human suffering and material damage inflicted upon the Viet-Nameese people. This fact cannot be changed by the words of United States officials concerning alleged obligations towards the dictatorial South Viet-Nameese régime which the United States itself installed and which it forcibly maintains against the will of the overwhelming majority of the South

Viet-Nameese population. Nobody will be deceived by such transparent manoeuvres as the so-called "elections" in South Viet-Nam which, in preparation, conduct and results, bring into derision the fundamental notions of democratic expression of a people's will.

46. The United States will not succeed in deceiving the peoples by its repeated show of willingness to enter into so-called unconditional negotiations. The insincerity of its loud protestations is attested by the fact that they are accompanied by a ruthless escalation of the war through the bombing of the outskirts of Hanoi and Haiphong, the extension of hostilities into the demilitarized zone along the seventeenth parallel, a steady increase in the number of American units, the build-up of war material and the construction of more military bases in South Viet-Nam. All this indicates that the United States is planning for a long war and that it intends to remain in South Viet-Nam, which it wants to transform into a new type of United States colony—a bridge-head against the national liberation movement throughout the region.

47. In the light of these facts that all the world knows, we must indignantly reject all the attempts which the United States representative made here a few days ago [1412th plenary meeting] to relieve his country of its heavy responsibility for the aggression in Viet-Nam and even to pass off that aggression as an application of the principles of the United Nations Charter and the resolutions of the General Assembly.

48. Part of the responsibility is also borne by the Governments of certain allies of the United States, which are participating in the direct intervention in South Viet-Nam. The United States is also trying to involve the States members of NATO in its dangerous adventure, and it is a well-known fact that its efforts in this direction are being met halfway by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany.

49. The people and Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, together with other socialist countries—and this was stressed again recently in the Bucharest Declaration by the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty—stand firmly alongside the heroic Viet-Nameese people. We shall continue to assist the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam in repelling United States aggression and to support the people of South Viet-Nam in their struggle for freedom and independence. Whatever the aggressors may do, they cannot break the striking courage of the Viet-Nameese people or their unshakable will to victory in their righteous cause.

50. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic unreservedly supports the demands of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam, which derive logically from the terms of the 1954 Geneva Agreements^{1/} and which constitute a reasonable basis for the solution of the Viet-Nameese problem. The interests of peace and international security make it imperative that the United States Government should immediately and unconditionally cease bombing operations and military action against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and armed intervention in South Viet-Nam;

^{1/} Geneva Conference on the Problem of Restoring Peace in Indo-China, 16 June-21 July 1954.

that the armed forces of the United States and its allies should be withdrawn from South Viet-Nam; that the United States should remove its war material and dismantle all its bases there; that it should respect the right of the South Viet-Nameese people to settle their own affairs without foreign interference; that it should recognize the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam as the sole genuine representative of the South Viet-Nameese people; and that it should consistently abide by the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China. The United States should also desist from activities calculated to spread the war to the territory of Laos and Cambodia, should be guided in its relations with those States by the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962,^{2/} and should respect their sovereignty and neutrality. This is the only way to settle the dangerous situation in that area. The realization of the need for such action is penetrating ever more deeply into the world community, and even into that of the United States, and is also reflected in the position taken by realistically-minded statesmen in the West. The allegations, deliberately circulated by the aggressors, that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam refuses to take part in any negotiations for the peaceful settlement of the Viet-Nameese question are convincingly rebutted by the existence of that Government's just proposals.

51. All those who have the cause of peace at heart must take a resolute stand against the barbarous war waged in Viet-Nam by the United States, and in support of the Viet-Nameese people in their righteous struggle. The settlement of the Viet-Nameese conflict on the basis of the proposals made by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam would lead to the restoration of peace in South East Asia and would pave the way to the solution of other important world problems.

52. The aggressive course pursued, with increasing intensity, by United States imperialism is also heightening tension in other parts of the world where it is striving to make its own interests prevail and to stamp out the national liberation movement. Evidence of this policy is provided by the persistent intrigues in United States imperialist circles against the Republic of Cuba. Thus the United States is making more and more use of its military base at Guantanamo, which is maintained in sovereign Cuban territory against the will of the people and Government of the Republic of Cuba.

53. There are in the world today hundreds of military bases which are maintained on foreign soil by imperialist States—particularly the United States—which are serving the purposes of aggression, and which are often used for intrigues against young, newly emerging States. The existence of these bases runs counter to the interests of universal peace and constitutes a grave threat to international security. Therefore the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic fully supports the examination of the Soviet item entitled: "Elimination of foreign military bases in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America" [A/6399]. It is

imperative, particularly at the present time, that this question should be settled without delay.

54. The dangerous course which events are now taking in the world places greater stress than ever before on the role that must be played by the United Nations in maintaining peace and security. The United Nations must bring its full influence to bear and ensure strict compliance with the basic principles of the United Nations Charter.

55. The delegation of Czechoslovakia therefore considers it necessary that the General Assembly should first of all affirm, and emphasize in a solemn declaration, that States are bound unconditionally to observe the ban on the threat or use of force in international relations, and to respect the right of peoples to self-determination and their inalienable right to free and independent development. The Assembly should then condemn an attack by one State upon another, the bombing of its territory and any other use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of States as a crime against peace and humanity, and should brand such acts as a flagrant violation of international law, of international treaties and, in particular, of the United Nations Charter.

56. The General Assembly should also declare categorically that any act of aggression or intervention against peoples fighting for their independence and self-determination, and the use of force against States and peoples asserting these, their inalienable rights, conflict with the honour and conscience of nations and with the United Nations Charter and are illegal.

57. The General Assembly should address to all Members of the United Nations an urgent appeal to abide strictly by the above-mentioned principles, to cease immediately all activities and measures contrary thereto, and to bring their foreign policy and their activities into conformity with the interests of international peace and security. States Members of the United Nations should also be urged to take the necessary steps to halt and prevent the display of strength in relations among States and to lend their assistance and co-operation to States and nations which come under attack. The General Assembly must call upon States Members of the United Nations to make every effort to reduce international tension, to strengthen universal peace and security, and to support peaceful coexistence among States irrespective of their social systems.

58. In view of the fact that these fundamental principles are being flagrantly violated at the present time, the Government of Czechoslovakia has instructed the Czechoslovak delegation to submit for inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly's twenty-first session an item entitled: "Strict observance of the prohibition of the threat or use of force in international relations, and of the right of peoples to self-determination" [A/6393]. We expect the General Assembly to examine this urgent question in all earnestness, to take measures conducive to ensuring peaceful relations among States and to strengthening their security, and to support the struggle of nations for freedom, independence and independent development.

^{2/} International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question, 16 May 1961-23 July 1962.

59. The United Nations General Assembly, at its twentieth session, adopted an important Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty [resolution 2131 (XX)]. This Declaration, adopted in support of the basic principles of the Charter and of international law, is an important document by which States should be guided in their international relations. Current developments in the world situation indicate that some States are persisting in policies which conflict with this Declaration, and brazenly violating their Charter obligations and the rules of international law. It is therefore essential that, at its twenty-first session, the General Assembly should examine as a matter of importance and urgency the item proposed by the Government of the USSR on the implementation of the Declaration adopted last year [A/6397].

60. The sharpening of international tension is also observable in Europe. A growing conviction has been evident in Europe in recent years that practical measures are urgently needed to resolve outstanding questions which are impeding the development of normal healthy relations among European States.

61. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic considers that purposeful efforts should be made to develop these positive trends. An improvement in the situation in Europe is all the more urgently needed in that a favourable development in relations among European States may affect the general world situation for the better. There are, however, forces that do not find this process to their liking. Aggressive circles in the United States, relying on the forces of reaction in West European countries and first and foremost in the Federal Republic of Germany, are trying to preserve and even deepen the split in Europe, inciting to a further armaments race, and thus increasing the tension in that part of the world. The rulers of the Federal Republic of Germany are using this situation to gratify their nuclear ambitions with a view to fulfilling the aggressive yearnings of German imperialism. There is no need to stress the fact that those yearnings run counter to the interests of all European States and of world peace, and to the vital interests of the West German people themselves.

62. It must be obvious to any realistically-minded politician today that if the Federal Republic of Germany were to gain access, in any form whatsoever, to nuclear weapons it would attempt to use its nuclear status to gain its territorial demands from a position of strength and, relying on the principle of nuclear automatism, force its NATO allies to give it their support. Hence there can be no compromise on the question of access to nuclear weapons for the Federal Republic of Germany, because all European countries would pay dearly for any half-way solution and it might have an adverse effect on the destinies of peoples throughout the world.

63. This fact was given renewed emphasis by States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty at the recent consultations in Bucharest, and in their Declaration on strengthening peace and security in Europe they proclaimed their firm resolve to preclude any possibility of access for the Federal Republic of Germany to nuclear weapons in any form.

64. In an effort to obscure the unfavourable impression produced by its policy, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany transmitted to the Governments of many countries, in March 1966, a note which it seeks to pass off, with great fanfare, as a peaceful initiative on its part.

65. Yet it emerges clearly from the note itself that the West German Government is not abandoning its revanchist and nuclear demands. West Germany is the only State in Europe today which aims its policy at revision of the results of the Second World War. With this end in view it is building up a powerful army, equipped with modern weapons, which is being intensively drilled in rocket techniques and the handling of nuclear weapons. It is common knowledge that the Federal Republic of Germany is laying a broad scientific, technical and industrial base for the development of its own nuclear potential. The territorial demands of the West German revanchists against peace-loving European States are completely unfounded and have no prospects whatsoever. As was stressed at the Bucharest meeting of States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, the question of boundaries in Europe has been finally and irrevocably settled, and the European peoples will know how to bar the path of revanchism.

66. Ignoring the realities of the situation, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany arrogates to itself the right to speak for the whole German people, thus attempting to deny the fact that there are in existence two sovereign German States. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany is openly exerting pressure on all those States which intend, or which have already decided, to recognize the German Democratic Republic and is blocking all progress towards European security by pressing its demand that Germany should first be reunified according to its own ideas—that is to say, by swallowing up the German Democratic Republic.

67. The establishment of normal relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and all the European socialist States would undoubtedly make for a healthier general situation in Europe. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, whose people harbour no hatred for the people of the Federal Republic of Germany and wish to live in good neighbourly relations with them, proposed to the West German Government on its own initiative a few years ago, that relations should be placed on a normal footing. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, however, still clings to its unrealistic doctrines and does not aspire to genuinely normal relations. Its spoken desire to improve relations with Czechoslovakia is as yet unaccompanied by deeds. The Federal Government still refuses to dissociate itself from the Munich Diktat, which was a crime against our Republic and an integral part of nazi aggression. By its refusal to acknowledge the invalidity of the Munich Diktat from the very beginning and to draw the appropriate conclusions from it, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, while mouthing slogans on the right of the so-called Sudeten Germans to their homeland and to self-determination, is inciting anti-Czechoslovak revanchist organizations in West Germany to action. It is high time the Bonn Govern-

ment abandoned once and for all its unrealistic policy toward the socialist countries and set out to develop peaceful co-operation with all States in Europe; that would serve the security interests of the European peoples and of the West German people themselves.

68. The fact that attempts to improve the situation in Europe come up against opposition from the forces I have mentioned does not mean that we should not go on making such efforts, and making them keenly. Quite the contrary. In our opinion it is essential, in relations among European States, to seek out and support those positive elements which create favourable conditions for a lasting and peaceful settlement of the European situation.

69. The Government of Czechoslovakia is convinced that the development of peaceful relations and co-operation among States on the political, economic and cultural plane is becoming an objective necessity. This would help to lessen international tension, to strengthen mutual trust and to create a firm foundation for a lasting peace. We believe that the application of the fundamental principles of peaceful coexistence to relations among European countries would be of substantial assistance in solving Europe's outstanding problems.

70. That is the aim pursued by the socialist countries in a number of proposals relating to the lessening of tension and the maintenance of peace in Europe. An important place among them, without any doubt, belongs to the plan put forward by the Government of the German Democratic Republic, and particularly to its call for both German States to renounce the production, acquisition and use of nuclear weapons and to refuse to harbour such weapons on their soil.

71. Another way to improve the situation in Europe would be to act on the proposals for the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of that continent. The specific proposals made to that effect by the socialist States have, as we know, met with a significant response. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic considers that the most important step at this time is the establishment of such a zone in central Europe, as proposed by the Government of the Polish People's Republic.

72. A practical road to security and peace on the European continent is charted in the Bucharest Declaration of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, which counterbalances the imperialist line of heightening international tension by putting forward a positive programme for the development of peaceful co-operation among European peoples based on the principles of peaceful co-existence among States with different social systems. The proposals made in the Declaration stem from pressing objective needs in Europe and are directed towards the establishment of a reliable system of European security based on treaties.

73. The Bucharest Declaration also charts a clear course towards a peaceful settlement of the German question; that course is to bring the two sovereign German States gradually closer together, and to conclude agreements on disarmament in Germany and in Europe. This can be achieved only if a healthier international climate is established in Europe.

74. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic regards the consolidation of peace and security in Europe as one of the main objectives of Czechoslovak foreign policy. In conjunction with other European socialist States, it is working actively to attain that objective. As Mr. Antonin Novotný, the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, stated recently, "We should be glad if it were possible to conclude, within Europe, agreements guaranteeing the security of all European peoples and giving them confidence."

75. A number of joint meetings held recently among representatives of West European and socialist States have confirmed that progress towards the solution of European problems is possible and essential, for it is in the interests of all European States.

76. Some considerations concerning the settlement of European questions have arisen in West European States, too, in recent years. In our view it would be useful for questions of peace, security and co-operation in Europe to be discussed at the general European conference which the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty propose should be convened. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic supports that proposal and declares its willingness to participate in such a conference at a time to be agreed upon with the other interested parties.

77. Every possible effort must be made to fulfil the immemorial longing of the European peoples for peace and to find the right path to our goal, which is to transform Europe into a continent of fruitful co-operation among peoples.

78. The aggressive course taken by United States foreign policy, particularly in Viet-Nam, has created a situation which directly threatens international peace and has a highly unfavourable effect on the disarmament talks. Although the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament carried on its discussions for a full six months this year, it achieved no positive results. All efforts made in the Committee by the delegations of socialist and non-aligned States to reach agreement on the individual disarmament issues under discussion came up against the negative attitude adopted by the delegations of the States members of NATO, particularly the United States.

79. It is plain that, if the United States Government continues to follow the dangerous course to which I referred, and which is inseparably bound up with the feverish arms race, it is no use expecting that Government to display any interest in, or to make any sincere efforts towards, reaching agreement on any effective disarmament measures.

80. This was fully confirmed during the examination of all the questions taken up by the Eighteen-Nation Committee at Geneva. The delegations of the United States and its NATO allies virtually declined to negotiate on universal and complete disarmament. They adopted a completely negative position on the proposal to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons and on the USSR proposal that, as a first step towards that end, the nuclear Powers should undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

81. Those States also declined to discuss questions relating to the proposals for the establishment of

nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world, the dismantling of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of foreign armed forces from the territory of States. When the proposals concerning the prohibition of underground nuclear tests and measures to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons were under discussion, the delegations of the United States and its NATO allies again adopted a position which made any progress impossible.

82. The negotiations which have taken place so far concerning the conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons have shown that the United States, deferring to the forces of militarism and revanchism in the Federal Republic of Germany, and in violation of the resolution adopted at the twentieth session of the United Nations General Assembly, is persisting in its efforts to carry out plans which would give the Federal Republic of Germany access to nuclear weapons within NATO. The negotiations on this important issue have thus reached a deadlock and there is a danger that more States will acquire nuclear weapons.

83. In these circumstances it is essential that every effort should be made to extricate from their present impasse, straight away, the negotiations on the conclusion of a treaty for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The delegation of Czechoslovakia therefore welcomes the Soviet Government's proposal for examination, at the present session, of an appeal to States to renounce actions hampering the conclusion of an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons [A/6398].

84. There are certainly no grounds for satisfaction with the results of five years' work in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. We cannot rest content with this situation. On the contrary, current international developments call for redoubled efforts to overcome the obstacles which have so far impeded the solution of this vital problem.

85. A significant factor in exploring new prospects and avenues for the solution of particular problems relating to disarmament would be the convening of a world disarmament conference in accordance with the proposal made at the 1964 Cairo Conference^{3/} and the resolution adopted at last year's session of the General Assembly [resolution 2030 (XX)]. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic therefore considers that efforts to convene such a conference should continue.

86. With the swift advance of science and technology, man is penetrating ever deeper into outer space. It is therefore becoming an urgent task to regulate the conditions in which States are to pursue their activities in this connexion. We welcomed the inclusion in the agenda for this session of an item concerning the conclusion of an international treaty on principles governing the activities of States in the exploration and use of outer space, the moon and other celestial bodies [A/6341 and A/6352/Rev.1]. We expect the General Assembly to do its share towards the solution of this vital problem.

87. The delegation of Czechoslovakia considers that the present world situation makes it an important task of the General Assembly to work out and proclaim the main principles of international law concerning the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems. The talks held so far, to which the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has contributed by its proposals, have elicited a wide response. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, therefore, seeking to fulfil the purposes of the United Nations, to make it more effective and to improve the international climate, will continue to support a declaration of principles of international law concerning the peaceful coexistence of States,^{4/} with a view to the strict and undeviating observance of those principles in international relations.

88. We believe that, in spite of the obstacles encountered by efforts to speed up progress in codifying the principles, this objective will be attained. We are ready and willing to co-operate, within the United Nations, with all States which, by their actions, prove their fidelity to the principles of the Charter and which press for full application of those principles. We would appeal to the General Assembly to redouble its efforts in this important area of United Nations activity.

89. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic considers that one of the foremost tasks of its foreign policy is to render all possible assistance in the struggle for the complete eradication of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

90. In the six years which have elapsed since the adoption of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)] colonialism has been forced to yield many positions. In spite of signal successes in the struggle for national liberation, however, some tens of millions of people are still suffering under direct colonial domination.

91. As in the past, we shall at this session give our support to every effective measure aimed at stamping out colonialism in Africa, the Near and Middle East, Asia, the Caribbean and other parts of the world, and at eradicating the racist policies pursued in the Republic of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and elsewhere.

92. It is, in our opinion, an especially urgent task at this session to hold a thorough discussion on the question of South West Africa, where the situation continues to be intolerable. We take the view that it is the collective duty of all States Members of the United Nations to put an immediate end to racist oppression in that part of Africa. In this connexion we would re-emphasize that we disagree with the decision handed down by the International Court of Justice^{5/} this year and that we refuse to accept it.

93. At this session the General Assembly should make a thorough study of all decolonization problems and take the necessary measures to make 1967 the

^{4/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 75, document A/C.6/L.505.

^{5/} See South West Africa, Second Phase, Judgment; ICJ Reports, 1966, p. 6.

^{3/} Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Cairo from 5 to 10 October 1964.

year of the final extirpation of every vestige and symptom of colonialism.

94. It is at the same time the General Assembly's duty to track down, with the utmost vigilance, all attempts to apply a policy of neo-colonialism, whose aim is to ensure that peoples who have already gained their independence are kept in *de facto* subjection to the imperialist Powers. The anti-colonial struggle must be taken to its logical conclusion in order that nations may live in freedom and independence without foreign interference of any kind.

95. One of the main problems at the present time is to remove the distressing consequences of the former colonial domination in the developing countries, and especially in their economy. The economic situation of the developing countries and their future prospects give cause for alarm, and will continue to do so until such time as the developed capitalist countries which are responsible for this situation take steps to provide aid commensurate with the developing countries' needs. The efforts of the developing countries to solve their economic problems, and in particular their endeavours to exercise to the full their inalienable sovereignty over their natural resources and to harness all domestic resources to economic development, will receive our support.

96. The all-round economic co-operation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic with the developing countries corresponds, and will now continue to correspond, to the requirements of their economic development. We recognize that an effective and long-range solution to their economic problems will entail structural changes in the economy both of the developed and of the developing countries. In the process of instituting a new system for managing the national economy, as the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is about to do, we shall see to it that the changes made in the structure of our internal economy create opportunities for intensifying our economic co-operation with the developing countries. In our relations with them we shall gradually select such forms of economic co-operation as will use an international division of labour to better advantage. We believe that this will be the best way for the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to do all it can towards eliminating from the economy of developing countries the distortions produced by enforced adaptation to the requirements of the former metropolitan Powers.

97. With regard to the economic activities of the United Nations, we shall persist in our efforts to ensure that those activities are focused on the main problems. We recognize the full significance of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development,^{9/} particularly in solving the complex economic problems of the developing countries. The Government of Czechoslovakia has adopted a number of measures which stem from the recommendations of the Conference and correspond to its aims. We are convinced that, if the Conference is to fulfil its purpose, it is essential that the principles which it laid down should be consistently put into effect, and that the Conference should become a genuinely

universal body dealing with all the problems of world trade and development, including relations between countries having different social systems. The principle of universality, thus construed, must also be given due weight in the autonomous United Nations organizations for industrial development which are in process of establishment.

98. We likewise attach great importance to the review of the programme and methods adopted by the United Nations in its social, cultural and humanitarian activities. We shall persevere in our endeavours to ensure that, in its work in these sectors, the United Nations aims to solve the urgent problems of our time and, in particular, to effect the swift elimination of the difference in social level between developing and economically developed countries, to eradicate all forms of discrimination and to create the conditions required for the extensive development of international scientific, technical and cultural co-operation.

99. There is no hiding the fact that the United Nations has fallen a long way short of meeting its obligations in the matter of preserving peace and peaceful coexistence. The main reason for this is that the profound changes wrought by post-war developments, which have drastically altered power relationships, are not adequately reflected in the Organization.

100. The point at issue is that the basic idea behind the Charter should be more fully applied in practice. The Charter is the foundation on which all activities of the United Nations must be built, and any attempt to circumvent it must be resolutely opposed. We cannot permit any by-passing of the vital provisions of the Charter concerning the exclusive competence of the Security Council in the matter of the use of armed forces. The role of the Security Council as the organ which, under the Charter, bears the main responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security should be strengthened. This would strengthen the United Nations as a whole and make it a more effective instrument in settling the burning questions of our time. It is a matter of eliminating certain legacies of the "cold war" period which are responsible for a lack of confidence in the Organization's ability to cope with threats to international peace and security.

101. The prestige of the United Nations is severely impaired by the fact that its name is still misused by the United States of America for the purpose of military occupation of South Korea. The Korean question is primarily a matter of re-unifying that divided country, and is consequently a domestic affair which must be settled by the Korean people themselves. The memorandum of 21 July 1966 by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea sets forth a reasonable basis for a just solution of that problem, which is of vital concern to the people in both parts of the country.

102. The first prerequisite for the settlement of the Korean question is the withdrawal of the United States and other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the United Nations flag. In addition, the illegal United Nations Commission for the Unification

^{9/} Held at Geneva from 23 March to 16 June 1964.

and Rehabilitation of Korea must be disbanded and the so-called "Korean question" dropped from the agenda of the General Assembly. On the basis of these well-founded demands, the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic joined in sponsoring an item which has been included in the agenda for this session of the General Assembly (A/6394). The examination of this item and the adoption of the appropriate decision would contribute a just solution of the Korean problem.

103. The time has come to put an end to the abnormal situation with regard to the representation of China in the United Nations. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic once again urges immediate restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, rejects the so-called "two Chinas" theory and calls for the expulsion of the representative of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which represents nobody and which illegally occupies the place of the People's Republic of China. It is necessary in the Organization's own interests that all States which express interest in membership and which fulfil the conditions required of them by the Charter should become Members of the Organization.

104. The United Nations has before it an application by the Government of the German Democratic Republic for membership in the United Nations [A/6283 and A/6443]. The German Democratic Republic is a sovereign State, and its Government is the lawful representative of its people in all matters. By the foreign policy which it has pursued to date it has proved that it not only subscribes to the principles of the United Nations Charter but also puts them into practice. The German Democratic Republic fulfils all the conditions laid down by the Charter for membership in the United Nations, and its application for admission should therefore be granted. We are also in favour of admitting the other German State, the Federal Republic of Germany, to membership in the United Nations.

105. Despite all the difficulties besetting our Organization, and despite the shortcomings from which it suffers, we regard the United Nations as an important international forum with responsible tasks to perform.

106. In this connexion I should like to commend U Thant, the Secretary-General, for his tireless activity over his past term of office, which has made a great contribution to the work of the United Nations. The Government of Czechoslovakia would welcome an expression of his willingness to remain in his responsible post for another term.

107. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, as one of the founder Members of the United Nations, is anxious to see the United Nations finally transformed into an effective instrument for strengthening international security and a genuine embodiment of the ideas of the United Nations Charter, which grew out of the historic and dearly bought experience of the peoples at the end of the Second World War.

108. The people of our country, who are making prodigious efforts to build a developed socialist society, are vitally interested in the consolidation of peace and the development of international co-opera-

tion. I can therefore assure the General Assembly that the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, for its part, will do everything in its power to ensure that the danger of war is removed and that a lasting peace prevails among the nations.

109. Tun ABDUL RAZAK (Malaysia): Permit me, at the outset, to offer to you, Mr. President, my delegation's sincere felicitations on your unanimous election as President of this historic Assembly.

110. My delegation has special reasons to be particularly happy with your election. First, you are a representative of a small nation like ours, pulling its full weight in international affairs—not ostentatiously, perhaps, but by no means ineffectively. The geographical position of your country has, over a long period of time, demanded conditions of peace in the area as a pre-condition for national survival. Like Malaysia, Afghanistan is a small country placed in the midst of much large ones.

111. Secondly, sir, you have long represented your country and have built up for yourself personally a reputation for moderation, common sense and a practical approach to international problems. You enjoy the great privilege of belonging to a succession of Asian statesmen who have in the past been elected to this high office. This long line of succession has included General Carlos P. Rómulo of the Philippines, Nasrollah Entezam of Iran, Madame Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit of India, Prince Wan Waithayakon of Thailand and Muhammad Zafrulla Khan of Pakistan. My delegation, therefore, looks forward with complete confidence to your wise guidance of the affairs of this Assembly.

112. May I also say a word of gratitude and thankfulness to Foreign Minister Amintore Fanfani of Italy for his efficient guidance of the last session of the Assembly. He had a firm hand on the helm and at the same time manifested a deep understanding of the rules of debate that are intended to guide rather than stifle the free expression of views by Member States participating in debates.

113. One may not forget that with this session—the twenty-first—the General Assembly, or, what is the same thing, the United Nations, has come of age. The United Nations in recent years has had its painful problems of adolescence. These were struggling years of growth when the important and the unimportant jostled for attention. That experience was the very condition for progress towards maturity.

114. Today, therefore, as we stand on the threshold of a new chapter of human history, may I be permitted to express the hope that all of us gathered here in this great Assembly of nations, representing our respective Governments, will renew our pledge to uphold the Charter of the United Nations and endeavour to realize the objective of co-operation among nations in a peaceful world of order, of law and of justice.

115. We in Malaysia have always based our foreign policy on the norms of behaviour as prescribed by the Charter. We desire above all to be friendly with all countries, regardless of their ideological persuasions and systems of government. We believe that it is just and right for each country to choose the system of government and way of life best suited to

it, for that is the essence of peaceful coexistence. We believe that each country has the right to be free from outside interference in any form, and that respect for each other's political sovereignty and territorial integrity is a pre-condition for peaceful living among nations. So long as there is mutual respect for each other's independence and sovereignty, we believe that the nations of the world, of whatever ideological convictions, can live together, not merely in passive coexistence but in active co-operation for the common pursuit of peace and economic and social well-being of the peoples of the world. In this spirit of positive international co-operation, we want to develop further ties of friendship with as many countries as are similarly disposed towards us.

116. Malaysia firmly believes that the United Nations has a major role to play in bringing about active international co-operation among nations. As the only universal organization available to mankind, the United Nations has vast potentialities as an effective instrument to harmonize relations among nations, to soften the edges of discord, and, in broader terms and as its ultimate objective, to evolve a peaceful and prosperous world order with freedom and justice.

117. Twenty-one years ago, this Organization began with a membership of fifty-one. Large segments of the human race were unaccounted for, or at least unrepresented. But the principle of universality was enshrined in the concept of the United Nations. Today, this Organization consists of 118 Members. That simple arithmetical fact alone emphasizes the growing strength of the Organization, as it also emphasizes how our problems have necessarily grown, not only in number but, inevitably, in complexity.

118. The present membership of our Organization so nearly embraces the entire organized and peopled surface of the earth that lack of universality has to some extent diminished the authority of the Organization. It is, therefore, the plain duty of the present Members of the Organization to encourage the hesitant few outside it to come in and thereby strengthen the authority of the United Nations so that it may be better able to achieve its ideals and objectives.

119. The absence of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations has often been cited as a glaring example of the lack of universality of the Organization. My country has always believed that the Chinese people, with their illustrious civilization, a people who number one quarter of the world's population, should be brought into association with the other 118 Member States of the Organization. It is a fact, however, that the People's Republic of China, by choosing to adopt critical and even hostile policies towards the United Nations, has created barriers in its own path which prevent it from joining the United Nations, unless the Organization is re-fashioned in a manner acceptable to it. We regret China's attitude to the United Nations—that this Organization should be completely reorganized and reconstructed in conformity with China's own pre-conceptions. That the Organization has, in the past, shown certain weaknesses and difficulties, cannot be denied, but no single State, however powerful or populous, can impose its will upon the United Nations.

No single State can remake the United Nations in its own image and likeness.

120. While my Government believes in the importance of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, it strongly feels, at the same time, that this can only be considered together with the question of the fate of the 13 million inhabitants of Taiwan. We have always held the view that these 13 million inhabitants of Taiwan must not be denied the right to pursue a separate destiny of their own, a right this Organization has prescribed and promoted in even the tiniest colonies of the world. My country believes that this Organization cannot deny the 13 million inhabitants of Taiwan their inalienable right to self-determination and that Taiwan should not be tied to the chariot wheels of the mainland State merely because of the latter's claim that it is an integral part of China. Therefore, in my Government's view, it would be unrealistic and unjust for this Organization to take a decision on this question involving the sacrifice of the rights of the inhabitants of Taiwan to the demands of mainland China. Taiwan should be allowed the right to remain a Member of the United Nations, while mainland China could be admitted to this Organization if it so agrees.

121. I have referred, in my earlier remarks, to the United Nations consisting of 118 Members. The number during the twentieth session was 117, but remained at 116 because of the voluntary non-participation of the Republic of Indonesia. Permit me to say a word now about that great State of Indonesia, a close neighbour of my country and inhabited by no less than 107 million people who are linked to my country by strong ties of history, race and culture. Members of the Assembly are aware of the unhappy differences which arose between Indonesia and Malaysia almost precisely three years ago. The events of the past three years have kept apart our two countries—two countries which have every reason to hold together and work closely together, and have no justification whatsoever for standing apart. It is a matter of great rejoicing, not only to our two peoples, but also to all peace-loving nations that this unhappy episode is now ended. The credit goes to both sides. It was a victory for both countries, a victory of peace and co-operation over enmity and confrontation. We in Malaysia have always believed in peace, co-operation and friendship among nations. That is why we are so happy that the new leaders of Indonesia have decided to bring an end to the confrontation.

122. I should like to pay my sincere tribute and that of my Government to the new leaders of Indonesia, in particular to the Chairman of the Presidium, General Suharto, and the distinguished Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Mr. Adam Malik, whose integrity, sincerity and patience have greatly contributed towards bringing about peace between our two countries. Now Indonesia and Malaysia can look forward to an era of peace, co-operation and friendship and my Government is determined to develop the closest and the most durable friendship between our two countries.

123. Since it was my great privilege to participate personally in the diplomatic negotiations leading to the resumption of friendly relations between Indonesia

and my country, may I be permitted to say, in all humility but with every satisfaction, that the restoration of peace in our part of Asia represents a major contribution to the progressive stabilization of the most turbulent region in the world today, namely, South-East Asia, and by their action Indonesia and Malaysia together have strengthened the stakes of peace, order and progress throughout the world.

124. The ending of confrontation came about as a result of direct contacts between the two countries in a sincere endeavour to bring about a peaceful settlement. As a result, it was possible to discuss our differences freely and frankly and in a spirit of friendship so as to find ways and means of bringing about the desired settlement. We hope that this will set a pattern for the settlement of disputes between nations. It is an outcome based on a sincere determination to find lasting solutions to differences and problems among nations by peaceful negotiations.

125. On behalf of my country I wish to take this opportunity to extend a formal welcome back to this Organization of the delegation of Indonesia, whose wise counsel in our debates had always been available to this Organization and which will again be available with fresh vigour and a new earnestness.

126. Coupled with our rapprochement with Indonesia, other equally happy events have recently taken place which bring profound rejoicing to us in Malaysia. I refer to Malaysia's resumption of diplomatic relations with the Philippines and also with Pakistan. With these happy developments, Malaysia can now look forward with the keenest anticipation to fruitful co-operation with these great Asian countries and neighbours in the pursuit of peace and the economic and social well-being of our peoples.

127. In this connexion, I should like to place in the records of this Assembly our deep gratitude and appreciation for the personal initiative taken and the painstaking efforts made by His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah [of Iran] to bring about the restoration of normal relations between Pakistan and Malaysia.

128. My country achieved its independence barely nine years ago. Since then we have devoted our energy and resources to development, but this process has been somewhat retarded because of the unhappy episode with Indonesia. With the return of peace to Malaysia we can now redirect our resources and redouble our efforts in the field of economic development and towards giving our people a fuller measure of happiness and prosperity.

129. It is also a cardinal principle in the policy of my country to promote and achieve on a regional basis co-operation in trade, economic and cultural matters. We firmly believe that regional co-operation is the logical starting point and indeed the basis for international co-operation on a wider global basis. It is desirable that States in particular geographical regions should get together on a co-operative basis to solve problems which, by their very nature, are common to them. It is, for example, obvious that one can more easily discover a common denominator and a common basis for action among States within a particular region, such as South-East Asia, than

seek to discover common ground between regions geographically placed as far apart as, say, South America and South-East Asia.

130. This is not to say that efforts should not be made to discover common factors among widely separated and disparate regions, for such an attitude would be contrary to the spirit, ideals and scope of the Charter. All that we in Malaysia plead for is a return to realism and common sense, a return to first principles. We in Malaysia believe profoundly that the development of world peace and world order is, in a very real sense, a process in which we should proceed, slowly but surely, from the particular to the general, from the part to the whole.

131. It is with this objective in mind that my Government, in association with the Governments of Thailand and the Philippines, has reactivated the Association of South-east Asia [ASA], which had more than its rightful share of teething troubles in its early years.

132. ASA has been revised and revitalized with a view to pursuing common economic and cultural objectives shared by the States of our region. Its specific, and only, objectives are to promote co-operation among its members in the economic and cultural fields. It proposes, by its inherent immediate strength and its long-term potential, to generate economic forces for development. It is not a power-bloc, but a peaceful bloc, powerful in goodwill, understanding and mutual co-operation.

133. We look forward to, and wish to work towards, a form of regional co-operation, and to extend the frontiers of such co-operation even with limited objectives in the first instance, that may bring the States of South-East Asia into co-operation with one another and, individually and collectively, with the other countries of Asia. We have much to contribute to each other's development and prosperity so as to facilitate progress towards a more stable and self-sustaining South-East Asia.

134. This is not to say that the States of South-East Asia must learn, and are now beginning, to look inwards rather than outwards. This is only by way of changing the emphasis, and I wish to reiterate that our dedication to the Charter ideals of universal peace in conformity with the principles of justice and international law is not subject to any reservations or qualifications. The Preamble to the Charter bids us live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and the virtue of neighbourliness can first be proved and given effect by those who are neighbours.

135. But we cannot afford to live isolated lives as South-East Asians, and we are deeply aware that events occurring in other parts of the world necessarily affect us in South-East Asia to a greater or lesser extent.

136. Among the problems of world-wide importance is that of disarmament. It is a problem shared by all nations, from the greatest and most powerful to the smallest and weakest. The frenzied increase and improvement in armaments, both nuclear and conventional, involve the whole world, not merely the great Powers, since a general war would

not discriminate between the guilty and the innocent in the casualty lists. Every State, large or small, has therefore the right and the duty to call a halt to this insane competition among the great Powers who seem determined to increase and perfect their potential power of destroying themselves and the entire human race.

137. It is a matter of no small significance that the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, functioning with seventeen members, has not been able to stem the aspirations of other States in their prestigious desire to enter what is known as the "Nuclear Club".

138. Nuclear proliferation has also become a new ideological arena for conflict between the great Powers. Nuclear military science has produced a new language and a new jargon of controversy that is all but meaningless to the rest of the world. The protagonists in this controversy use the same terminology to indicate diametrically contradictory concepts. But the people of the world are demonstrating that they will not be deceived or confused by this verbal smokescreen. With this in mind, my delegation has, in common with many States, like Sweden, consistently urged that non-nuclear Powers should get together as soon as possible in order to enter into a convention pledging absolutely and for all time that they will not accept, either by gift or sale, possession, participation or custody of any nuclear weapon from any nuclear Power. The urgency of such a move has been underlined by the recent proceedings of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, which emphasize the danger posed by the attitude of certain States which possess the potential of a nuclear arsenal. These States have made it clear that their present attitudes should not lead to the assumption that at a later stage they would be willing to adhere to a non-proliferation treaty. As a country in South-East Asia, Malaysia cannot afford to forget that it lives under the shadow of an Asian nuclear Power. Malaysia's interest in the problem of disarmament cannot be merely academic, since its very existence is at stake. Therefore, we strongly urge an early solution to this problem, whether under the auspices of the United Nations or otherwise.

139. I now turn to the problems of trade and development. More than two years have gone by since the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Its second Conference is hopefully expected to take place next year. But we shall only be deluding ourselves if we tend to regard that mere passage of time as having in any way contributed to the progress to which the first Conference had looked forward.

140. It must be admitted that the problems which cried for solution then remain with us still. If anything at all, they have grown in extent, and have enlarged in their dimensions. The gap between the developed and the developing nations is consistently and predictably growing wider on a scale that renders it less and less easy to bridge. Capital outflow has not significantly increased and technological skills are getting more and more beyond the reach of the developing nations. The rate of growth, ironically in the United Nations Development Decade, is slower than it was in the preceding decade. Per capita food

production in the ECAFE region has moved backwards—and it is here that the greater part of the world's population continues to reside and grow—and this situation threatens to engulf all problems.

141. I have no doubt that we shall—whenever the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development next meets—expend more millions of words in a variety of languages, in order to take stock and endeavour to move forward. But I venture to think that, instead of waiting hopefully for any positive action by the developed countries, a more useful endeavour will be for the developing countries themselves to meet and re-examine their needs and discover whether they cannot help themselves, even in limited spheres of economic activity.

142. In this connexion, I should like to inform the Assembly that it is with this objective that my Government has planned a Seminar on Development to be held next month in my own country's capital, Kuala Lumpur, at which several African-Asian guests will meet and exchange their knowledge and experience in the field of planning and development. We believe that this Seminar will produce positive results towards helping the countries taking part in it to implement their respective development plans for a faster rate of economic growth for the benefit of their own peoples. In this context also, the newly created Asian Development Bank, of which my country is a member, will become a most useful instrument for development in our region.

143. My Government has for some time been engaged in promoting economic co-operation and facilitating trade among countries in South-East Asia, and the clouds of political upheavals which for a time had thrown shadows across our path have happily lifted, and we are moving forward again. My delegation naturally welcomes, in this connexion, the creation of the United Nations Organization for Industrial Development, in which we hope to participate to the full limits of our capacity.

144. There are a variety of other problems that confront us at this session and that require urgent solution. They include the financing of peace-keeping operations, the persistence of the evil, anachronistic policy of apartheid in South Africa, the extension of apartheid into the mandated territory of South West Africa—a process by no means discouraged by the recent regrettable decision of the International Court of Justice relating to that territory—the denial of self-determination to the vast majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia, the intransigent colonial policy of Portugal in Angola, Mozambique and other smaller territories in Africa and Asia, the movement for independence in South Arabia, and the denial of the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine. My Government's policies on these issues are well known and my delegation will have the opportunity at the appropriate time at this session to elaborate on them in detail.

145. However, I cannot allow this occasion to pass without expressing the grave anxieties of my Government about recent developments in the affairs of southern Africa and the increasing disappointment and disillusionment of the coloured nations and

peoples at the apparent acquiescence of the Western countries in these developments. May I, therefore, address myself directly to the Western States concerned and, in particular, to the major Powers, and most earnestly urge upon them the need for prompt and positive action to arrest this trend which has the most dangerous implications for the future of relations between the white and the coloured nations and peoples of the world.

146. May I also be permitted to speak a little on Rhodesia. My Government continues to regard with grave concern the Rhodesian situation and urges that effective steps be taken to bring to an early end the rebellious and illegal régime of Ian Smith. We cannot for one moment accept a situation which involves the suppression of the African majority by the white minority régime. Our policy on the Rhodesian situation has remained very clear and very consistent. We firmly believe that this British colony of Rhodesia must not be granted independence before majority rule has been established on the basis of universal adult franchise, that is, one man one vote. The Smith régime in Rhodesia, by seizing independence illegally, has made it the duty of every Member of the United Nations to see that this illegal régime is removed and replaced by a constitutional and democratic government. The recent meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Minister^{1/} has given a solemn and categorical warning to the Smith régime. If this warning is not heeded, we must urge that effective mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations be applied firmly and vigorously so that the people of Rhodesia may be ensured their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

147. I should now like to refer to an important matter that very closely concerns us in Malaysia and indeed all of South-East Asia: the continuing conflict in Viet-Nam, in which many, including our distinguished Secretary-General, U Thant, have seen the seeds of the third world war. To us in South-East Asia, the Viet-Nam conflict poses a real and proximate threat to the peace, progress and security of the whole region. We in Malaysia have on a number of occasions made it clear that we would like this conflict to be brought to an end as speedily as possible and that those directly involved should be helped to resolve their differences by peaceful negotiations across the conference table. Malaysia has taken and will continue to take every necessary and appropriate initiative open to it on a comprehensive all-Asian basis to seek an Asian solution to this problem. It should be left to the parties involved to find a formula to solve their problems and our efforts should be directed solely to bringing them together, not to suggesting—and much less to imposing—a solution. We have always held the view, in accordance with the Charter, that every country has the right to an independent existence without interference from any other country in its territorial integrity or political independence. We can only hope that our efforts will succeed.

148. May I use this solemn occasion, standing here at this rostrum, to invite all States, large and small, represented in this Assembly to give us their help in

bringing the parties immediately concerned to the conference table. An end must be brought, and brought early, to this most unfortunate of conflicts, so that the people of all Viet-Nam—North and South—may be released from the cruel realities of war from which they have suffered continually for more than two decades.

149. We are acutely conscious that there are great and fearsome obstacles to the promotion of peace in Viet-Nam from within this Organization. Therefore, we cannot but regret that it has not yet been possible for the co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference to convoke a conference so that a solution to the conflict can be sought and found outside this Organization, if necessary.

150. Before concluding, may I be permitted to say a word about our Secretary-General? I do not wish to repeat what has been said from this rostrum, and from outside, about the absolute necessity of having him continue as Secretary-General, at least in the years immediately ahead. My country, both individually and collectively with other Asian States, has joined in this process of persuasion and gentle pressure. However, I am not unmindful of the difficulties that, fairly and legitimately, he has set out in detail as standing in the way of his offering to continue to serve. May I not now invite him to consider the fact that the States which have already addressed urgent pleas to him include those that may be regarded as being directly or indirectly involved in those difficulties, and that they have, by the very fact of their plea, morally committed themselves to a solution of those difficulties? In any event, I regard his letter of 1 September [A/6400] as meaning no more than that he will stand aside for the moment so that the Security Council may feel absolutely free in making its recommendations to this Assembly, unhampered by any embarrassments that the Security Council might feel should he offer to stay.

151. This is one matter on which this Assembly has expressed its wishes with complete and rare unanimity. U Thant, as we all well know, has rendered great and distinguished service to the cause of the United Nations and of world peace. Now, more than ever in its history, this Organization needs him. There are still many problems besetting this Organization to which he has drawn attention. Let us urge every priority for these problems and pledge ourselves to finding solutions to them. With these words, I hope and trust that U Thant will find it possible, in the interests of this Organization and of international co-operation, to meet the wishes of us all and agree to continue in office.

152. Mr. SALVADOR-LARA (Ecuador) (translated from Spanish): The opening of each yearly session of the General Assembly is a source of inspiration for the human spirit. It is proof that there is continued hope of fulfilling the aims of this noble international organization, despite all the adverse circumstances which have brought sorrow and bloodshed, and it is especially proof of the desire to secure and maintain peace. I would like to associate myself with those who have already spoken in this general debate and to compliment Mr. Pazhwak, firstly on his election—the culmination of a life rich in service—and secondly

^{1/} Meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government, held at Lagos, Nigeria, 11-12 January 1966.

because his election also marks the beginning, for the President and the Organization alike, of fresh struggles for the welfare of mankind. I should also like to mention the outstanding contribution of the distinguished statesman who presided over last year's General Assembly, Professor Amintore Fanfani. His name has happy associations, which are not confined to Latin and Latin American circles.

153. It is true that not all prospects are encouraging as this session opens. Poverty, hunger, disease, suffering and ignorance are in evidence in the world. The magnitude of the problems is such that nothing seems to have been accomplished at all. Unhappily, we also see violence, lawlessness and terrible injustices between nations and individuals alike. Worse still, we detect the menacing presence of war. All this might give rise to pessimism, but, as the President said, optimism is a duty. Forgive me for drawing your attention to what would be happening in the world at this very moment if the United Nations did not exist as the supreme instrument for the promotion and maintenance of peace through the rule of law and international understanding and as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of common fundamental ends in the service of mankind. That is a further reason why this Organization must be defended, strengthened and perfected, for as that wise and noble "expert in humanity" Pope Paul VI said, during his historic visit to this international forum on his pilgrimage of peace: "The peoples turn to the United Nations as to the ultimate hope for harmony and peace" [1347th meeting, paras. 24 and 25]. How awesome then, gentlemen, is your responsibility and ours.

154. It is thus that the Republic of Ecuador, whose people and Government I now have the honour to represent, once again expresses, through me, its faith in the principles of the Charter. It does so with greater earnestness because, as a small country, it takes no part in the conflicts of interest between the great Powers which seem to be the fundamental cause of the tensions and dangers now besetting mankind.

155. Ecuador likewise reiterates its support for the noble principle of the sovereign equality of States which overrides all differences, whether economic, social, political or of any other kind, so that all are members of the community with full and equal rights and duties.

156. At the same time, this principle, which we endorse and defend, alerts us to those differences which still threaten peace when the great Powers, in the perilous confrontation in which they habitually involve us, attempt to exploit their might and their high degree of development in the conduct of international relations. I therefore share the view that while the responsibility of the great Powers is decisive, that of the smaller countries is no less so since they must encourage the former to consider the issues calmly. Consequently, I could not but welcome the enlightened speech which, less than a month ago, was given by the Secretary-General at the University of Chile and in which he recalled that the developing countries could strengthen the Organization by giving it the cohesion which it still largely lacked, particularly

in view of the serious differences between the great Powers. He said that the future of the United Nations rested to a considerable degree with the small nations—on their sense of responsibility, their independence and objectivity, their dedication to the principles of the Charter and, above all, their collective determination to help attenuate and bring an end to the dangerous tensions which have affected international relations so adversely during the last twenty years. He added that a constant effort, year in and year out, on the part of all nations, both large and small, was essential to build a lasting peace.

157. That important speech clearly and objectively points to many of the causes of tension in the most recent international crises and to the factors delaying fulfilment of the objectives of the Organization.

158. In the former League of Nations, unbridled "power politics" was the major factor in the outbreak of the war. The Secretary-General regretfully recognizes that that policy continues to be a threat. The Ecuadorian representative who is currently Chairman of the First Committee remarked, in a statement which he made at the seventeenth session of the General Assembly in 1962, on the great step forward which had been achieved when the simple concept of a league was replaced, in the United Nations, by the concept of a community, which makes it imperative for the "power politics" denounced by U Thant to be replaced at last by a policy of co-operation.

159. The fact that we have still not achieved full international co-operation is proved by the failure of the great Powers to reach any final agreement on disarmament. The arms race has not ended even in Latin America. Ecuador, of course, gives its fervent moral support to the efforts being made to end the arms race and joins in the appeals which have been made to all Powers to release the untold resources which they are devoting to destructive weapons of war and to use them instead for the benefit of mankind in the fight against disease, illiteracy and hunger. As Pope Paul VI so rightly stated early this year in his letter to the Secretary-General:

"There is no denying the fact that each passing day shows more clearly that no lasting peace can be established among men without an effective general and controlled reduction of armaments. Each passing day also heightens the painful and tragic contrast between the huge sums squandered on the manufacture of weapons and the immense and growing material distress of more than half of mankind, who are still waiting to see their most elementary needs satisfied."

160. Ecuador condemns all forms of violence because it believes in spiritual values and in the subordination of physical force. It therefore holds that any aggression, however slight, is an offence against the human race and a useless waste of lives and material resources which would be better employed if they were devoted to the raising of cultural levels, the betterment of moral values and the eradication of poverty. My Government feels compelled to appeal to the sense of responsibility of the more developed countries by pointing out how paradoxical and illogical it is for them to express support for major programmes of technical and social co-operation and at the same time

to devote the greater part of their energies to an arms race that is incompatible with the principles of social betterment and the spirit and wishes of the peoples of the world.

161. Further evidence of the lack of a policy of full co-operation is the nuclear testing that is conducted for military purposes. The Moscow Treaty was signed three years ago and seemed to offer fairly good guarantees of avoiding new nuclear testing. Yet that Treaty still allows underground testing and, what is more, not all the nuclear Powers have acceded to it. My country condemns all testing of nuclear devices for military purposes. It acceded to the Moscow Treaty considering it to be a necessary step although still incomplete and imperfect until all nuclear testing for military purposes has been abolished. Ecuador regards all explosions of nuclear devices as a threat to peace because they foster the power politics which inevitably lead to war.

162. For all these reasons, Ecuador, like other countries, deplored the latest nuclear tests, the dangers of which cannot be scientifically disproved.

163. We are concerned at the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the danger that technological advances in this sphere will be used for the purposes of war; we are also concerned at the increase in membership of the exclusive nuclear club. In this context, and in order to safeguard peace, the Latin American countries have held a number of meetings for the purpose of drawing up a denuclearization treaty. Ecuador's position has, as always, been clear and constructive and designed to bring about the signing of a mandatory instrument to eliminate nuclear weapons and the use of them from Latin America. This is an objective which we continue to pursue and to which we will devote our most vigorous efforts, inviting the nuclear Powers to respect, from now on, Latin America's desire for denuclearization.

164. I must say on this occasion that the painful prolongation of the war in Viet-Nam is a source of anguish to the peaceful spirit of my country, for we believe that peace in the world is indivisible. So long as there is tension or armed struggle in any part of the globe, the maintenance of international peace and security is compromised. If we are truly a community, suffering and bloodshed anywhere on earth cannot but distress us all. We would therefore remind the great Powers of their responsibility for the events in Viet-Nam. While we condemn communist aggression, we also reject the continuation of the fighting. The will of the Viet-Nameese people must be respected. Would that all obstinacy should cease and that the parties should agree to negotiations without insisting on conditions which would make peace impossible. I fervently hope that the war in Viet-Nam will end.

165. The news from the Middle East is disturbing and indicates that a grave threat to peace might be developing there. The Middle East is in any case one of the current danger spots, and I hope that the tensions there will abate.

166. I take this opportunity to reiterate Ecuador's firm rejection of war as a means of settling international disputes. War does not solve conflicts but incites and multiplies them as in a chain reaction.

Ecuador supports and proclaims the view that the only positive way to understanding which will permit the development and betterment of peoples and by which all States are legally bound is the solution of disputes by the peaceful procedures provided by law without under any circumstances resorting to the illegal expedients of war, violence or threats.

167. The total prohibition of war as a solution to disputes is a necessity bound up with the very existence of mankind. In Latin America there has existed as a legal ideal, unfortunately not always realized in practice, the principle that victory creates no rights. This ideal has been incorporated in the principles of the world Organization as well as of our own regional organization. We believe, however, that theoretical declarations are not enough unless ways are found to remedy injustices and to re-establish violated rights by peacefully restoring the spoils of armed conquest.

168. Within the inter-American sphere, Ecuador's attitude has been reflected in numerous proposals for the establishment of suitable machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes. Ecuador has consistently urged that effective provision should be made for such machinery within the regional system, and we shall continue to work towards that objective. Ecuador's attitude within the international sphere is identical and is based on the provisions of Article 2(3) of the Charter.

169. This attitude was also evident when the Netherlands took the auspicious step of submitting to this Assembly an interesting plan for the establishment of a body to determine what acts might lead to international conflicts.

170. We must insist that the conquest of territory or the gaining of advantage by force of arms is repugnant to the legal conscience of the world and devoid of all legal force and institutes a permanent hotbed of discord which prevents neighbouring peoples from embarking on the tasks necessary for their progress in a spirit of brotherly co-operation.

171. It is for all these reasons that the item concerning the peaceful settlement of disputes, which was suggested last year and is to be discussed at this session, is of singular importance, and that is why Ecuador, a peace-loving country *par excellence*, requests that this item be studied with great interest.

172. In order that breaches of the peace may be prevented, it is most important that recourse to regional or world organizations and machinery by one of the parties to the dispute in the peaceful quest for a legally acceptable solution should gain universal acceptance. There is also a need for some means by which the international community can take cognizance of and co-operate in solving those conflicts which a policy of looking the other way seeks to ignore. These are the cases where one party has imposed an unjust solution by force and attempts to make this act of coercion legitimate by the simple expedient of denying it.

173. The United Nations International Law Commission has stated the principle that treaties imposed by force are invalid. It could not be otherwise, for

to recognize the validity of instruments signed under obvious pressure which makes free consent by one of the parties impossible is a legal and ethical absurdity incompatible with peace and justice. Such instruments cannot really be treaties because they are void ab initio; what is void from the beginning is non-existent, and what is non-existent can never have any legal effect.

174. An order based on void instruments is no order at all; sooner or later—unless a peaceful way to international justice is found—it will crumble under the tide of events. Instead of safeguarding peace, all that such instruments have succeeded in doing is to lay the foundations for permanent conflict, since they perpetuate the original duress. Among the lofty principles enshrined in the inter-American system are the invalidity of territorial agreements imposed by the use or threat of force and the commitment, on the part of the American States, not to recognize gains acquired by such means. In reality, however, these positive norms remain at the mercy of injustice and pressure unless they are complemented by the machinery necessary to make them viable. The deplorable fact is that, through the play of interests, situations involving conflict are allowed to continue in being even though they are known to be contrary to right and justice. Thus is demonstrated the paradox of enunciating principles, reducing them to rules and then, in practice, violating them. Ecuador, which has itself suffered the impact of such circumstances to the detriment of its territorial heritage, will continue consistently to advocate the restoration of law and the search for peaceful means to remedy injustice.

175. Ecuador, in conformity with the American spirit in its broadest sense, is in favour of Latin American integration as an effective means of bringing about an improvement in living conditions. That is why it participated a short time ago in the meeting of the Presidents and presidential delegates of five nations in the city of Bogotá. That meeting was not prompted by any self-seeking purpose of forming special blocs; the declaration made there is a valuable instrument. It described the meeting as a practical contribution to regional economic integration with the aim of increasing co-operation among all the nations of America; as an effort to attain the level of economic and social development to which those nations are entitled and which is a common goal and need [A/6410].

176. Among the problems discussed there, one that is a cause of deep concern for the developing countries is the imbalance between the industrialized and the less developed countries. Ecuador is gratified at the intense efforts being made by the world Organization, through specialized bodies, to overcome that lack of balance and to find means for close international co-operation in this regard.

177. Referring once again to the high authority of the Secretary-General, I should like to stress what he said in his recent speech at Santiago. On the basis of what was taken to be the very modest target of a 5 per cent rate of growth in the gross income of the developing countries, he pointed out that for one sixth of the world's population, which includes most of the Latin American countries, the time required to reach the

present-day level of the average per capita income in western Europe would be two centuries. If these alarming figures are compared with the almost astronomical growth in the world expenditure on armaments, the outlook for mankind is hardly encouraging. A short time ago, one of my country's most astute observers of the world political scene made the following comment:

"If the basic concept of the United Nations is that it constitutes the organization of the international community, then only co-operation for development will enable the world to live in peace. Instead of this, we have the industrial aggressiveness of the developed countries, which not only try to pay low prices for the raw materials and foodstuffs produced by the developing countries but even try to produce these goods themselves so as to lessen their purchases abroad. This policy being pursued by the leading political and economic Powers of the world reminds me of the well-known expression about the blind leading the blind."

178. Ecuador, like the other developing countries, has advocated and defended in all international forums the need for fair treatment for basic commodities because of the high degree to which its economy and development plans depend on the income derived from commodity exports. It has therefore encouraged and participated in the preparation of multilateral agreements, such as that on coffee, regarding them as a means of obtaining equitable and stable prices that will enable the worker to be fairly compensated for his toil.

179. Regrettably little has been achieved in practice and a striking disproportion still exists as between the ever-increasing rise in the prices paid for manufactures imported by the developing countries and the stagnation and, in many cases, decline in the prices which those same countries received for the commodities which they export. The picture is one of a large number of developing countries which work harder and export more but earn less and of industrialized Powers which have found ways of earning more by working less, although at the expense of the less developed countries.

180. Moreover, the procedures being followed in giving effect to the International Coffee Agreement do not seem to be either the fairest or the most appropriate because they lead to conflict among the less developed countries, which, after all, are the ones that should receive preferential treatment in keeping with the spirit of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the documents of the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

181. A price-support policy that results in strangulation of the weaker economies is by no means the fairest and does not accord with the principle of the legal equality of States on which the international community is based. That, however, seems to be the policy of those who control the International Coffee Organization through the power of decision and veto which the present voting system gives them. If that unrealistic policy remains unchanged, the survival of the 1962 Agreement seems somewhat doubtful, and the countries affected by it will have to ponder

seriously before deciding whether to renew their participation in it.

182. In any event, Ecuador lends its full support to the Trade and Development Board and, as a member of the group of seventy-seven countries, expresses the hope that the machinery established by the Board will elicit closer co-operation from the industrialized nations. My country has also given its full support to the United Nations Development Decade. It has prepared a general development plan and effected substantial reforms in taxation and agriculture. As yet, however, it has not achieved the target set by resolution 1710 (XVI) of 19 December 1961, and its situation seems to be similar to that of other less developed countries. It is necessary, therefore, to set up new machinery for accelerating the process, and my country will continue to make every effort toward that end.

183. Ecuador reiterates its unwavering stand in favour of decolonization. It likewise maintains its adherence to the principle of the self-determination of peoples, provided that the application of that principle does not impair the independence or territorial integrity of States. Although there has been considerable progress in recent years towards independence for peoples who did not formerly have it, I wish to state that Ecuador will continue to lend its full support to the complete implementation of resolution 1514 (XV), which has rightly been called the Magna Charta of decolonization.

184. As an expression of our sympathetic feelings towards the new African States, we would like to initiate and maintain firm diplomatic relations with all of them. For the present, Ecuador has accredited a diplomatic representative to Ethiopia in consideration, among other reasons, not only of the ancient culture of that free country but also of the fact that Addis Ababa is the site of the headquarters of the Organization of African Unity.

185. The Government of Ecuador was deeply concerned over the decision of the International Court of Justice on the case brought before it by Liberia and Ethiopia against the Republic of South Africa in defence of the rights of the immense majority of the population in South West Africa. The Judgment of the Court, of a purely procedural character, denying the right of Liberia and Ethiopia to submit their claim, does not satisfy Ecuador and the other free countries which for many years have taken a firm stand in favour of the oppressed population of South West Africa.

186. We condemn every form of racial discrimination wherever it may exist. We expressly condemn the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

187. I must in a special way reaffirm my country's stand in favour of respecting and upholding human rights and our complete support for the completion and implementation of the covenants designed to safeguard them. We are also favourably disposed towards the proposal to set up international machinery which will guarantee respect for those rights. The adoption last year by the General Assembly of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination marked a further

important step towards the attainment of this objective. That instrument, which is open for signature and ratification or accession by Member States, represents the most significant advance in the last eighteen years on behalf of human rights and the dignity of the human person. I am very happy to announce that Ecuador is the first Latin American country, and the fourth in the entire Organization, to have acceded to this Convention. I express the hope that other States will do likewise, so that this instrument may come into force.

188. I must also state my country's support of the Spanish claim with regard to Gibraltar. Not long ago, twelve former Foreign Ministers of Ecuador, in a letter addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations,^{8/} expressed their just and legitimate interest in a solution of the problem of Gibraltar under United Nations auspices. At the General Assembly's twentieth session, Ecuador was a co-sponsor of resolution 2070 (XX), in which the Governments of Spain and the United Kingdom were invited to begin without delay talks concerning a satisfactory solution of the problem. When those talks were announced it expressed the firm hope that they would lead to the most beneficial results for Hispano-British relations and for world peace. I am sure that there is no Spanish-American who does not view sympathetically and adopt as his own the claim made by Spain. For this reason I applaud the willingness of Spain to work for a peaceful settlement and its receptiveness to a solution whereby justice may be established without humiliation or resentment in either side. I express the wish for a speedy and successful conclusion to the talks which have begun.

189. I also wish to express Ecuador's support, in view of the close ties between our two countries, for the claim made by the Argentine Republic with regard to the Falkland Islands (Malvinas).

190. Ecuador is deeply concerned over the situation resulting from the announcement made by the Secretary-General, U Thant, concerning his resignation and over the grave and profound reflections contained in that document, which must give pause to us all. My country hails the fruitful work for the maintenance of peace carried out by this outstanding exponent of understanding and co-operation among men. I wish, on behalf of my Government and the Ecuadorian people, to reiterate our confidence in him, which has already been expressed by the Latin American group. For the sake of world peace and the continuation of the work he has begun, I hope that U. Thant will accept the sacrifice of re-election for a second term. My Government believes, however, that it is not sufficient to make an appeal to so renowned a world citizen. Our Organization, and each one of its Members in turn, must reflect carefully on the dangers and threats, the uncertainties and anxieties of the world in which we live. We must ask ourselves, in a severe examination of our consciences, whether the United Nations and each individual State must not change its course and mend its ways.

^{8/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes, agenda item 23, document A/5959.

191. In making this statement I must add that neither the Ecuadorian people nor its Government is imbued with a spirit of pessimism. We prefer to express a firm belief in man and in his capacity to live in peace. This healthy optimism does not, however, prevent us from making an objective assessment of a world in which not only do injustice and poverty exist but also—and this is more serious—in which the more powerful countries are frequently led to fight injustice and poverty from materialistic rather than idealistic motives when such action can be directly linked with their own interests. We cannot continue to stand by while injustice, hunger and illiteracy are of interest only because their eradication promises some sort of political or material profit to the great Powers. This observation is of practical importance, and I therefore take the liberty of inviting all nations to consider the spiritual transcendence which the fight to spread culture and a fairer enjoyment of wealth should have. We are all witnesses, sometimes participants and even to some extent beneficiaries of the efforts made by the industrialized countries to carry out assistance programmes for the developing countries. But, while gratefully applauding those programmes for what is positive in them, I feel bound to say that they will not be proceeding in the right direction and will not produce long-term benefits so long as their principal aim is the pragmatic one of reconciling the duty to help needy peoples with a self-seeking desire to expand consumer markets for manufactures. Nor will these programmes fulfil their aim of promoting co-operation if, through them, disguised attempts are made to limit the sovereignty of States under the pretext of assisting them to achieve prosperity.

192. I should like, therefore, to emphasize here the words of the illustrious statesman who today is President of Mexico, which he pronounced at a solemn moment, and if I paraphrase them and extend them, on behalf of Ecuador, to apply to all of Latin America, I am sure that they will be endorsed by all the developing countries which are contending with the conditions to which I have referred. He said in effect that if one day Latin America were to face the terrible choice between prosperity and freedom, the Spanish-American, true to his deepest instincts, would choose freedom before prosperity, because we Spanish-Americans prefer to live and die poor but free, rather than prosperous and enslaved.

193. I could not end this statement without calling to mind that voice of wisdom, a voice of idealism and faith, of guidance and brotherhood, of humility and nobility, which was heard in this very hall a year ago, when His Holiness Pope Paul VI addressed his message to the United Nations, a message of light and a message of love for all mankind. In this difficult hour, and despite the year that has elapsed, these words of the Supreme Pontiff have lost none of their relevance but have on the contrary taken on even greater force and have been strengthened by further appeals from him. Ecuador wishes to stress his words and give them its full support, as being those of a selfless and sure guide pointing out the way which all peoples must follow to attain universal peace.

The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.