

United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

TWENTY-FIRST SESSION

Official Records



**1422nd
PLENARY MEETING**

Thursday, 29 September 1966,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

Agenda item 23:

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

Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland

Report of the Fourth Committee. 1

Agenda item 9:

General debate (continued)

Speech by Mr. Haekkerup (Denmark) 2

Speech by Mr. Nase (Albania) 5

Speech by Mr. Caglayangil (Turkey) 10

Speech by Mr. Murumbi (Kenya) 14

Statement by the representative of Cyprus 18

Statement by the representative of Japan 18

Statement by the representative of Turkey 18

Statement by the representative of Albania 18

*President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHwak
(Afghanistan).*

AGENDA ITEM 23

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

BASUTOLAND, BECHUANALAND AND SWAZILAND
REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/6448)

1. The PRESIDENT: The first item of business this morning is the question of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland: implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The question is before the Assembly at this time in view of the imminent accession of Bechuanaland and Basutoland to independence.

2. I now invite the Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee to present that Committee's report.

Mr. Esfandiary (Iran), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee, presented the report of that Committee and then spoke as follows.

3. Mr. ESFANDIARY (Iran), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: The Fourth Committee recommends that the General Assembly adopt the draft resolution on Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland contained in

paragraph 9 of the report. In view of the imminent accession to independence of Bechuanaland and Basutoland, and bearing in mind the continuous threat to the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the three Territories constituted by the policies of the present régime in South Africa, the Fourth Committee took this action as a matter of urgency. In operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution, the Fourth Committee endorsed the recommendations of the Special Committee *in toto*, as contained in its report to the General Assembly.

4. In this connexion, reference might be made *inter alia* to the report of the Special Committee, in which it recommends to the General Assembly:

"(i) That it reiterate its resolutions 1817 (XVII) and 1954 (XVIII) and again solemnly warn the Government of the Republic of South Africa that any attempt to encroach upon the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the three Territories following independence shall be considered by the United Nations to be an act of aggression; and any interference in their domestic affairs, including their economic affairs, and any hindrance of the movement in transit of persons and goods shall be considered a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter, with all the attendant consequences;

"(ii) In that regard, that it draw the attention of the Security Council to the threat which the policy pursued by the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa poses to the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the three States upon their attainment of independence;

"(iii) In addition, that it appeal to all States to refrain from any action which might encourage the Government of the Republic of South Africa to encroach upon the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the three States, or to interfere in their domestic affairs" [A/6300/Rev.1, chap. VII, appendix III, para. 14 (b)].

5. The problem of securing the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the three Territories has been of grave concern to the Members of the Organization, as is reflected in the aforementioned recommendations and in the various resolutions of the Special Committee and the General Assembly on this question.

6. Conscious of the fact that the economic and social situation prevailing in the Territories after decades of colonial rule leaves much to be desired, and recognizing their imperative and urgent need of United Nations assistance, the Fourth Committee, in operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution, "Appeals to all States

which have not done so to contributed to the Fund established by the General Assembly in paragraph 7 of its resolution 2063 (XX)". The primary aim of the Fund is to enable these Territories to improve their economic situation, and thus to discourage any interference in their domestic affairs.

7. In this connexion, many Members have expressed their deep appreciation of the initiative taken and the efforts made by the Secretary-General to assist in the attainment of the objectives desired by the Special Committee and the General Assembly concerning the future of these Territories.

8. On behalf of the Fourth Committee, I wish to express the sincere hope that the draft resolution herewith submitted will command the widest possible support of the General Assembly, which thus will be reaffirming its deep concern for the future of these Territories and its united and uncompromising stand against the annexationist designs of the racist régime of South Africa.

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

9. The PRESIDENT: I shall first call on the speakers who wish to explain their votes before the vote.

10. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): I merely wish to draw the attention of the Assembly to the fact that tomorrow the new country of Botswana will be independent. Next Tuesday the new country of Lesotho will also attain its independence. It is well known, and well recognized, that these two new countries face serious obstacles and special difficulties. We wholeheartedly wish them well in overcoming them.

11. It should and must be the purpose of us all to help them in their efforts, and my Government is ready and anxious to continue to provide economic and financial aid after independence. To the extent, therefore, that the draft resolution before us calls for support and help for these new independent countries, we welcome it.

12. We have had opportunities in previous discussions to explain the constitutional situation in these Territories and the need to take fully into account the views of their elected Governments. We are sorry that our emphasis on these factors has not been heeded. But it is now too late to go over this ground again. Rather, we should now join in welcoming, supporting and assisting these two new countries. This is not the time for recrimination; it is the time for constructive co-operation and for putting our good wishes into practical effect.

13. Mr. DIALLO SEYDOU (Guinea) (translated from French): I have asked for the floor, not so much in order to prolong a debate which has already taken up much time in Committee as to provide some explanations concerning the substance of the draft resolution which the Rapporteur has just introduced [see A/6448, para. 9].

14. The Assembly will of course understand the joy with which the African family sees two new countries—and before long a third—joining it. This joy has been very clearly expressed. But at the same time we shall

not conceal the disquiet which we feel at the time when these States are joining us. The cause of this disquiet is the geographical situation of these States, which border on South Africa, a country which has in no way changed its attitude towards the countries bordering on it. This disquiet has been further intensified by the fact that attempts at annexation have become more persistent in recent months. The fact that the United Kingdom has so ill prepared these three Territories for independence is another reason for disquiet.

15. The Fourth Committee considered it necessary to explain to the whole world the disastrous economic and social situation prevailing in these countries after such a long period of administration by a Power which we consider a great Power.

16. This therefore is a factor which we cannot disregard: South Africa, whose Government has been condemned by the whole world—or at least by all men of good faith, for there are others who will never condemn it since they have interests there—is determined to infiltrate into these Territories.

17. There is no need to revert to this matter here; the world is aware of the situation. But let me say once again that, while every one can understand our joy, they must also understand our anxiety as a result of this disastrous situation. At all costs these countries which are now acceding to independence must be prevented from falling into the clutches of these rapacious gangsters from South Africa. Indeed, the first act of one of these countries was to address greetings to South Africa through its leader Mr. Jonathan, whom we shall have the pleasure of welcoming here.

18. So we are anxious, and our anxiety is fully reflected in the draft resolution. That is why we are asking all States to help us so that Africa will not be disappointed, and so that people of good faith everywhere will understand the drama which is being enacted. We sincerely hope that the draft resolution will receive unanimous support; this would show that the international community is aware of this drama and the apprehensions felt by Africa, as well as by Asia and South America, which firmly supported our draft resolution.

19. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 9 of its report [A/6448].

The draft resolution was adopted by 84 votes to 2, with 19 abstentions.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

20. Mr. HAEKKERUP (Denmark): Like so many other things in a world of rapid development, world opinion on the United Nations is subject to the law of change. Today it looks as if two currents are converging. Those who from the outset adopted a reserved and sceptical attitude towards the potentialities of the United Nations are becoming alive to the significance of the world Organization; and those who saw in the establishment of the United Nations a guarantee for the solution of all problems, and, in their over-estimation of its possibilities, put their faith entirely

in the Organization, are now realizing that the United Nations, like all other work of man, is imperfect. Those two currents are today merging into a more realistic evaluation of the United Nations, its potentialities and its limitations. This is, I think, a very positive trend holding out good prospects for the future of the United Nations. And, speaking of the future of the United Nations, I wish to say that it is my Government's earnest hope that we shall not in the future miss Secretary-General U Thant's inestimable services to the Organization.

21. There are many questions on the agenda to which my country attaches importance and which we shall comment upon when they are taken up in the Committees. My remarks here will be confined to a few key issues.

22. When we look at the world situation and the prospects for continued peace, there is one question which overshadows all others—the conflict in Viet-Nam. This conflict cannot be solved by military means. This is a political problem, and only through negotiations will it be possible to reach a settlement that will secure lasting peace in South-East Asia and respect for the fundamental rights of the Viet-Nameese people.

23. Self-determination for the people of South Viet-Nam can be secured only by bringing all foreign intervention to an end. This implies a general ceasefire and the withdrawal of all foreign forces. General elections and, eventually, a free decision on the question of reunification must follow. These elections must be internationally controlled and organized by an administration in which all parties can have reasonable confidence.

24. The wider political issues require that the withdrawal be phased, balanced and controlled by some kind of international presence. A control machinery exists today under the Geneva Agreements, but it is conceivable that at some stage this machinery would have to be substantially reinforced and, perhaps, placed under a wider international authority such as the United Nations. If the United Nations is called upon to assume that role, I feel convinced that many Member States will be prepared to contribute personnel, equipment and money. Denmark will certainly be among them.

25. My Government agrees with the Secretary-General that three steps are required to bring about a situation congenial to negotiations. There are: the cessation of the bombing of North Viet-Nam; the scaling-down of all military activities in South Viet-Nam; and the willingness of all sides to enter into discussions with those who are actually fighting. Although my Government would have liked to have a more detailed definition of some points, we see in Mr. Goldberg's important statement a considerable approximation to the Secretary-General's three-point programme, which we support. The next step ought now to be taken by the Hanoi Government, and we join in the appeal to that Government for a positive response. At the same time, we appeal to those Governments that have friendly contacts with Hanoi to use their good offices in this respect.

26. One of the factors responsible for the inability of the United Nations to act in the Viet-Nam conflict is the non-representation in the Organization of the world's largest nation, the People's Republic of China. If the Peking Government had been admitted to the United Nations at an earlier time, that might have helped avert the developments we are witnessing in China today. China's isolation—whether it is considered to be a result of external pressure or to be self-chosen, or both—has created in China, where recollections of former humiliations are strong, a mentality which must be of deep concern to us all and revive memories of dark years in the history of mankind. If the crucial problems of the world are to be resolved, the isolation of China must be broken, and it is up to us to take the first step to break it. We can contribute thereto by recognizing the right of the 700 million Chinese to be represented in our midst. But that does not, in itself, solve the problem. It is essential that China herself recognize the importance of participating in world co-operation in the interests of humanity and peace.

27. My Government shares the regrets which the Secretary-General expresses in his annual report [A/6301] that the Organization's financial deficit has not been liquidated and that the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations reflects the continuing failure to agree on basic principles.

28. Concerning the financial situation of the United Nations, I shall say only this: it is well known that some nations, including my own, have already made substantial voluntary contributions, while others have not yet fulfilled their promises in that respect. We trust, however, that they will do so now that the ad hoc Committee has presented a detailed analysis of the Organization's financial situation and that a large measure of agreement has been reached as to the present deficit.

29. With regard to the basic principles for financing and initiating peace-keeping operations it appears that we shall have to continue for some time our studies and negotiations in order to reach broad agreement, but I wish to warn against pressing for a solution that could not meet with the approval of a large majority, including the permanent members of the Security Council.

30. Although the general situation is far from satisfactory, it may not be quite as bad as it looks. It is often easier to reach some kind of agreement on practical measures than on principles. I am confident that the existing discord will not prevent the staging in the future of any operation considered necessary by a large majority of the membership.

31. The peace-keeping efforts of the United Nations are not limited to peace-keeping operations in troubled areas. There is a much wider field of peace-keeping: in the matter of relations between States and in the peaceful settlement of disputes—activities from which the United Nations cannot and should not disinterest itself.

32. While this wider field may sometimes have been neglected, it has recently been taken up by a number of States. I am thinking of resolution 2129 (XX) last year, sponsored by Romania, on "Actions on the

regional level with a view to improving good neighbourly relations among European States having different social and political systems". I am thinking also of the proposal of Czechoslovakia on "Consideration of principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations".^{1/} And I am thinking specifically of the proposal of the United Kingdom concerning peaceful settlement of disputes. In our opinion all these proposals deserve careful consideration, and may I add that in spite of the regrettable halt in relaxation of international tensions which we have witnessed for some time, I feel confident that, in Europe in particular, there are good prospects for wiser co-operation.

33. I have no wish to go into detail here and now about conditions in the southern part of Africa, but shall confine myself to one or two comments of a general nature to explain the attitude taken by my country. Last year, Denmark voted in favour of a resolution [2054 (XX)] inviting the attention of the Security Council to the following three points: that the situation in South Africa constitutes a threat to international peace and security; that action under Chapter VII of the Charter is called for in order to solve the problem; and that universally applied economic sanctions are the only means by which to attain a peaceful solution.

34. May I say first of all that in voting for that resolution we did in no way depart from the principle of the Charter that action under Chapter VII can be taken only by the Security Council, not by the General Assembly. What happened was that the Assembly made its opinion on this question known to the Security Council and made certain recommendations. It is for the Security Council to decide whether it will endorse that opinion and take steps in accordance with the recommendations.

35. The second question on which I should like to comment is that of the means to be applied. We have made it clear that, in our opinion, the proper means are economic sanctions, as explicitly provided for by the Charter. However, we must make it quite clear once again that that road will be impracticable and that there will be no sense in applying sanctions so long as the major trading partners—in this case, of South Africa—do not co-operate. We shall get no further by just adopting resolutions. The countries which most openly and decisively called for sanctions must now turn their minds to the technical aspects of such measures. The expert committee set up by the Security Council (resolution 191 (1964)) to deal with this question made little headway because the experts were much too dependent on the political views of their Governments. We consider it important, however, that the report be considered by the Council in the near future.

36. A major obstacle to the implementation of sanctions is that they would inflict heavy economic losses on certain countries. It will get us nowhere to dismiss that argument. Whether we like it or not, it will remain a major political obstacle to the application of

sanctions, and we shall, therefore, have to deal with it on a technical basis. I suggest that the solution to that problem be found in the principle of an equitable distribution of burdens, and when I speak of the economic burdens I have in mind particularly the economic losses of those countries to which the implementation of a resolution on sanctions would mean the breaking off of important and long-established trade relations. If we sincerely wish to take a practical approach with regard to the implementation of sanctions, I suggest that the problem of the distribution of the burden be considered. Those countries which have made it their policy to call persistently for sanctions must be prepared to bear their share. My country will consider any proposal to that end in a most positive spirit.

37. Although the disarmament negotiations at Geneva during the past year did not lead to any agreement on halting the arms race, the differences were brought out clearly and a wealth of constructive proposals for overcoming them were presented as an appropriate basis for political decisions. To me, this proves once again how useful it is to have a standing disarmament conference being able carefully and thoroughly, and with technical expertise, to analyse the problems in all their aspects, thus preparing them for political decision.

38. There is one proposal which, to me, is particularly interesting and which I therefore hope will be followed by the Eighteen-nation Committee on Disarmament, and that is the proposal tabled at the unofficial conference at Scarborough in June of this year for a time-limited moratorium on underground nuclear weapon tests combined with the implementation, on an experimental basis, of the verification by challenge procedure suggested by Sweden.

39. Against the background of the clarification of positions which, in my opinion, the past session at Geneva has succeeded in achieving, I wish to make an urgent plea to the major Powers to agree, in a spirit of compromise, on the disarmament steps which are most urgently needed—agreements on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and on the banning of underground test explosions of such weapons. That would provide a substantial basis for relieving the world of the paralysing threat of atomic warfare. In the meantime, we would naturally support the proposal by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics contained in its draft resolution [A/C.1/L.368] which appeals to all States to refrain from any action which may hamper the conclusion of an agreement on non-proliferation.

40. In its efforts to discharge its responsibilities, the United Nations has in recent years trodden new paths and has thus nourished the hopes of mankind for a better world, based on law and order. The aims of the Organization must be pursued and the means to achieve them must be applied with vigour and persistence. But we must keep in mind that in the present form of international co-operation, political consensus is the vital precondition for achievements. Political consensus is not found, it can be created only through a constant probing of its limits and the application of equal amounts of realism and idealism.

^{1/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes, agenda items 90 and 94, document A/6165, para. 10.

41. Mr. NASE (Albania) (translated from French): I should like to tender to you, Mr. President, the sincere congratulations of the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania on the occasion of your unanimous election to the office of President of this session of the General Assembly.

42. The Albanian delegation also takes this opportunity, on behalf of the people of Albania and its Government, to hail the birth of a new independent State, Guyana. In welcoming Guyana to our Organization, we express to the people of Guyana our most sincere wishes for success in their struggle to eliminate all the after-effects of colonialism, to strengthen their independence and sovereignty and to create a happy and prosperous life.

43. The world is at present passing through a period of the greatest historical significance. The revolutionary movement of peoples for national liberation and social emancipation, which has brought about great changes in the map of the world and in the political and social structure of many countries, is spreading and is being constantly strengthened. The struggle against imperialism and colonialism has gathered unprecedented momentum and is accelerating the process of their downfall. Socialism and the national liberation movement have today become two decisive driving forces in the development of human society; they have awakened the conscience of peoples and have made them more determined than ever to obtain their fundamental rights, to become masters of their destinies and to play their rightful role in international relations.

44. Although events are developing favourably for the cause of the freedom of peoples, a complicated and serious international situation has arisen at the present time and one which is fraught with grave danger to the peace and security of the world. International tension has been heightened by the overtly aggressive activities of imperialism, headed by United States imperialism which, despite the defeats it is suffering, has not given up its dream of world domination. Hemmed in from now onwards by the peoples of the world, threatened on all sides by the rising tide of revolution, and gripped tightly in the implacable vice of insoluble contradictions, United States imperialism is waging a life-and-death struggle. It persists in its feverish intensification of the arms race, in committing open armed aggression, and in bringing into being and extending new theatres of war. It is making every effort to repress by fire and sword the national liberation movements of oppressed peoples; it resorts to blackmail and brandishes atomic weapons; it is assiduously making use of diplomatic ruses of every kind.

45. The United States of America has now become the citadel of the most savage reaction ever known to mankind. It intervenes without scruple in the internal affairs of other countries and it stirs up and supports the most sinister reactionary forces existing in the world today against the freedom, independence and progress of peoples. In Asia, Africa, Latin America and throughout the world, the United States imperialists are practising the policy of positions of strength, the neo-colonialist policy whose aim is the creation, by every means, of a great empire and the fulfilment of

what they call the historic missions supposedly "assigned to them by Providence" so that they can have the destiny of mankind under their direction and control. Wherever efforts are made to achieve freedom and national independence against imperialism and colonialism, in whatever part of the world it may be, they are to be found engaged in playing their role of international policeman. This situation is becoming even more serious because of the support given to the United States, directly or indirectly, by another great Power, which is daily drawing closer to United States imperialism and increasing its collaboration with it, to the detriment of the freedom of peoples and of peace, despite its loud proclamations in support of the struggle for the liberation of peoples. This policy is clearly proved by the armed aggression against Viet-Nam, Korea, Laos, Cambodia, the Congo (Leopoldville), Cuba, the Dominican Republic and other peace-loving countries.

46. The United States of America has let loose the most barbarous of wars in Viet-Nam. For about twelve years it has been waging a bloody war with the latest weapons in South Viet-Nam. In the last two years it has extended its aggression to North Viet-Nam which is bombed daily by the piratical United States air force. Its aim is to turn the whole of Viet-Nam into a colony and a bridge-head for its war plans against the People's Republic of China and the other countries in the area, but the heroic people of Viet-Nam have retaliated as the aggressors deserved and have gained a succession of victories over them.

47. In order to escape final defeat, the United States of America is striving, through an "escalation" of the war against North Viet-Nam, to compel the people of Viet-Nam to agree to the dishonest truck of "peace negotiations" in the hope of thus obtaining what it is losing on the field of battle. By their recent bombardments of Hanoi, Haiphong and the demilitarized zone between the North and the South, the United States imperialists have carried their aggression against Viet-Nam to a new and more serious stage.

48. The policy of force and oppression practised by the United States of America has received a severe blow in Viet-Nam, where hundreds of thousands of men in the United States armed forces have been immobilized and decimated. In Viet-Nam the global strategy of United States imperialism is being defeated by the efforts of the people. Through their heroic fight and brilliant victories the people of Viet-Nam have become a great source of inspiration and they are making an immeasurable contribution to the struggle waged by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. That is why all freedom-loving peoples and all those countries which are fighting for freedom and national independence have made common cause with the brave people of Viet-Nam in their just fight against aggression by the United States and for the salvation of their country. Faced with the alternative of defeating the United States invaders or of submitting to them, the people of Viet-Nam have resolutely chosen the way of victory and they will prevail. It is the duty of peace-loving countries to be vigilant and to resist all the stratagems and pressures of the aggressors and their accomplices, whoever the

latter may be and even if they are those pseudo-socialist Governments which shout from the house-tops that they are on the side of the people of Viet-Nam and strive hard to make people believe it but which in fact are serving the United States imperialists. In particular, peace-loving countries owe it to themselves not to have any illusions concerning the purposes which the United States Government and its main accomplices are seeking to achieve through the "negotiations" trap. In present circumstances it is the duty of every peace-loving State to call for the unconditional and immediate withdrawal of all United States forces from Viet-Nam, and to support by all possible means the just demands of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam as set out in their four- and five-point declarations.

49. As far as the United Nations is concerned, it is obvious that it has no right to intervene in the question of Viet-Nam. That would be contrary to the legitimate interests and to the rights, freedom and independence of the Viet-Nameese people. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam have rejected all attempts by the United Nations to interfere in the question of Viet-Nam. Member States must oppose all such attempts, from whatever side they may come. The Albanian delegation wishes to stress that any such attempt would be useless because it would fail in the face of the iron will of the Viet-Nameese people to fight on until victory is finally theirs, and would only be a new blow to the authority of the United Nations, which is already seriously weakened.

50. The Albanian people and Government have placed themselves at the side of the Viet-Nameese people and continue to do so; they firmly support their just fight to save their native land. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania fully supports the just demands of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and of the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam for the cessation of aggression by the United States of America and the unconditional and immediate withdrawal of all its armed forces from Viet-Nam. That is the only just way of settling the Viet-Nam problem; there is no other.

51. The United States of America, in collaboration with Japan, is constructing in South Korea a large number of military bases, aerodromes and outposts for war; it has converted South Korea into a bridge-head for aggression against a peaceful and heroic State, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. At the same time, other Governments are engaged in creating conditions favourable to the Japanese militarists and unfavourable to the Korean people.

52. It is well known that for some time past the United States Government has transferred the focal point of its world strategy for war from Europe to Asia. The reason is that the revolutionary liberation movement of the peoples of Asia is expanding very rapidly and has gained important victories over the United States policy of aggression and war. The great socialist country of China, through its revolutionary action and as a result of its exceptionally important international role as a powerful supporter of a just world peace and of the world movement

for national liberation and social emancipation, has become the main obstacle to the achievement of Washington's plans for the domination of Asia and the world. That is the reason for the intense enmity of United States imperialism towards the People's Republic of China, its many hostile intrigues against that country and its redoubled efforts to encircle it.

53. Since the conclusion of the Japanese-South Korean Treaty,^{2/} the United States of America has been endeavouring to create new military alliances, like the South-East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), which is directed against the People's Republic of China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the peoples of other peace-loving countries. A glance at the military dispositions of the United States in the Far East, its land, naval and air bases in the Pacific, the territories occupied by its forces and converted into colonies and bridge-heads—like South Korea, Taiwan and others—clearly shows that they are all directed mainly against the People's Republic of China. According to Washington's plans, all this is to be associated with the creation of a "holy alliance" against China, to be placed under its control and to which the great European Powers and the Asian Powers bordering on China are to belong, in order to complete what has been called the iron ring around China.

54. The implementation of the plans for the concentration of the military effort of the United States in the Far East is also related to the changes which have taken place in recent years in the political and ideological attitude of the leaders of a great European Power, changes which have led to policies of compromise and collaboration with the most aggressive imperialist Power and to new and dangerous deals between great Powers actuated by interests running counter to those of the freedom and independence of peoples and world peace. The transfer of the centre of gravity of United States strategy to Asia has been actively assisted by the leaders of that great European Power. It is common knowledge that, thanks to that assistance, some of the United States troops sent to Asia had been withdrawn from Europe. These leaders are at present following a standstill policy in Europe, so as to enable the United States of America to concentrate its forces on the war against the peoples of Asia. They claim that tension has now eased in Europe, and that there is a situation favourable to a pan-European meeting for the strengthening of peace in that area. It is impossible to speak of a satisfactory situation in Europe when the main post-war problems have not been solved; when the peace treaty with Germany has not been signed; when the United States of America, which has not abandoned its hostile designs against the socialist countries, has established its forces in the very heart of Europe; when it has set up a series of military bases in various European countries; when its Sixth Fleet is in the Mediterranean; when it is supporting by all possible means the revanchist regime in West Germany; when it has revived the German *Wehrmacht* and is seeking to provide it with nuclear weapons through the so-called "multilateral" force. How is it possible to speak of

^{2/} Treaty on Basic Relations between the Republic of Korea and Japan, signed at Tokyo on 22 June 1965.

conditions favourable to an agreement with NATO when the leader of that military bloc is the United States of America, the most aggressive imperialist Power, which is carrying out a policy of positions of strength and aggression, which has attacked freedom-loving peoples in the four corners of the world, and which is feverishly making preparations for a third world war? Such affirmations can deceive only the simple-minded. It is obvious that what we are dealing with here is a conspiracy with the United States imperialists against the peoples of the socialist and other freedom-loving countries and against universal peace. Peace is one and indivisible. That is a principle borne out by history and generally accepted by progressive people everywhere. There can be no true peace in Europe so long as war and aggression continue in Asia and in other parts of the world.

55. It is surely obvious, as a matter of elementary logic, that aggression by the United States in Vietnam and the war against the People's Republic of China and other peace-loving countries, for which the ruling circles in the United States are preparing, are closely and indissolubly linked, from all points of view, with the future of world peace; that they directly affect the great cause of freedom and independence of peoples and directly and inevitably jeopardize it. It follows that the solidarity of all freedom- and peace-loving peoples and countries is not just a matter of sentiment; it is in keeping with the objective laws of the process of development of human society and today more than ever it is an indispensable and compelling need.

56. The result of the ever more vigorous fight of the revolutionary liberation movement and of its brilliant victories has been to weaken the imperialist and colonialist Powers, to aggravate their rivalries and the competition between them and to introduce deep divisions among the western military blocs. The peoples note with satisfaction that within the western Powers there are instances of manifest opposition to the imperialist yoke of the United States which weighs even upon its former allies.

57. Although the international situation is today developing favourably for the cause of peoples that does not of course mean that the road which leads to the triumph of that cause will be smooth and free from obstacles. The victories of peoples are achieved by unceasing struggle and by sacrifice. It is a struggle which has its vicissitudes, its successes and reverses, but its final outcome is sure and irresistible progress towards victory. Whatever intrigues the imperialists resort to and notwithstanding all their desperate efforts, they are quite unable to alter the course of history; on the contrary, their aggressive actions cannot but give further impetus to the headlong struggle for liberation of the peoples of the world.

58. It is necessary to stress the fact that, precisely because of the present international situation, the vigilance of the peace-loving countries is of special importance. It is incumbent on the States Members of the United Nations which have the cause of peace and freedom at heart, to denounce forcefully all intrigues against that cause, whoever may be responsible for them and whatever the demagogic subterfuge with which they seek to disguise them.

59. The People's Republic of Albania has been and will always be in favour of security and the strengthening of peace in Europe. But, as in the past, it will never dissociate the guaranteeing of European security from international peace and security and from true world peace.

60. The disarmament problem has been among the foremost preoccupations of peace-loving peoples and States. Despite the interminable discussions which have been going on for more than twenty years within the United Nations, no progress has yet been made towards the settlement of this problem. The work done this year by the Committee of Seventeen at Geneva has likewise yielded no results, as most of the countries members of that Committee recognize.

61. While the Committee of Seventeen continues its endless academic debates on disarmament at Geneva, the United States of America is unceasingly intensifying the frenzied arms race and the result is that, according to its official figures, that country now has an annual military budget of approximately \$60,000 million; it has a network of thousands of military bases which it has established in various areas of the world; it is making every effort to keep in being the military blocs under its control and is endeavouring to create new aggressive blocs.

62. The United States of America is not in favour of disarmament. It is indeed inconceivable that it should renounce the arms race; this is perfectly understandable and in keeping with its political and social system which is fundamentally aggressive. The fact is that, from the beginning of the negotiations on disarmament until now, the great imperialist Powers have increased and are still increasing their stocks of weapons on an inconceivable scale. All the fuss made by the great Powers members of the Committee of Seventeen about disarmament is only a piece of trickery and demagoguery designed to cover up, however thinly, their arms race and to leave the small countries unarmed, in order to give themselves a free hand to carry out their schemes against the liberties and sovereignty of peoples and States. It is a well-known fact and it is essential that everyone should be aware of it, that United States imperialism and the other imperialisms which wish to dominate the world base their entire policy and diplomacy on armaments, so that it is a delusion to suppose that they will lay down their weapons and disarm. Member States and above all the small countries must draw the necessary conclusions from this situation; they have every right to take any measures they deem necessary for defence and security, for the defence of their territorial integrity and national sovereignty.

63. It is now obvious to all that the imperialists do not disarm of their own free will: they are forced to do so by the action and the united effort of all freedom-loving peoples and countries to compel them to disarm.

64. The purpose of the negotiations on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons which are at present taking place between the great Powers—although, to suit their purposes, these negotiations also take place within the Committee of Seventeen—is to concentrate in their hands the monopoly of these weapons for the domination of the world. "The non-proliferation of

nuclear weapons" is a trap set against the sovereignty of independent States and places serious limitations on their supreme prerogative of defence; it is patently opposed to the interests of international peace and security.

65. We consider it our duty to appeal to Member States to reconsider their position on this question before signing an agreement which would gravely endanger the principle of the sovereignty and sovereign equality of States—the foundation of international relations; it would open the way still wider to nuclear blackmail and threats and it is a step that would imperil their national security and the cause of peace. We consider it the duty of all peace-loving countries to join forces in order to bar the way to nuclear blackmail and threats and to prevent the future of international peace and security from being left in the hands of two great Powers.

66. We have been, and we continue to be, in favour of the complete prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons. The Albanian Government reaffirms its full support for the proposal by the Chinese Government for a summit conference, in which all the countries in the world would participate, to consider the question of the absolute prohibition and total destruction of nuclear weapons.

67. At the direct instigation of two great Powers, the question of setting up a permanent United Nations force has again been placed on the agenda. According to their schemes, this force would be a convenient instrument for repressing the national liberation and revolutionary movements of peoples and for carrying out the aforementioned conspiracies and aggressive plans directed against peace-loving countries. In other words, the role of this force would be complementary to that of international policeman which the United States has taken upon itself. Do not forget the grave consequences that the use of United Nations forces has had for peace and for the inalienable rights of peoples; remember, for instance, how the financial aspect of the question was invoked in order to render futile, through blackmail under Article 19 of the Charter, the whole nineteenth session of the General Assembly. Our attitude towards this question has already been clearly stated and remains unchanged. We are firmly opposed to the setting up of such a force. We shall denounce and vigorously combat any bargaining behind the scenes for the establishment of an international United Nations police force, directed against sovereign States and freedom-loving peoples, whether that force be under the control of one great Power or two great Powers together. We believe that the majority of Member States will adopt the attitude necessary to ensure the failure of plans of this kind.

68. The national liberation movement of peoples has struck crushing blows at the colonial system of imperialism, which is now deeply shaken and falling into decay. The day is not far distant when we shall see the complete collapse of this hateful system which for centuries has caused indescribable unhappiness and suffering to hundreds of millions of human beings. Peoples still languishing under the colonial yoke, the peoples of Southern Arabia, Oman, Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, Puerto Rico, and others,

are engaged in a resolute struggle for their liberation, despite repression and organized massacres carried out with the most modern means by the colonial Powers, and despite the solidarity of those Powers, led by the United States of America, which is mainly responsible for the maintenance of this system for the enslavement of mankind. Peoples are today moving forward with assurance towards the goal of freedom and independence and their struggle has the support of all progressive human beings.

69. The Albanian people and its Government firmly and fully support the just struggle of dependent peoples. We have resolutely rejected the pretensions of those who, on the pretext of slogans about peaceful co-existence, have advocated the capitulation of oppressed peoples to the imperialists and colonialists. The struggle of peoples for freedom and independence is a just and sacred struggle. It represents a great contribution to the cause of peace.

70. But the question arises: what has the United Nations done to assist the struggle for national liberation of colonial and dependent peoples and countries? Have the countless resolutions of the United Nations on this subject really contributed to this end or have they rather aroused in peoples vain hopes which weaken their struggle? What has been the outcome of the numerous resolutions concerning the Portuguese colonies, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Oman, and others? As everyone knows, these resolutions have been tramped underfoot by the colonial Powers and no effective measures have been taken against them. And that situation will not change so long as the United Nations is directly manipulated by the United States and is used as a place for making deals to sabotage the struggle of peoples for national freedom and independence.

71. Faced with the great progress made by the national liberation movement and the struggle of various States to strengthen their independence and national sovereignty, the neo-colonialist Powers have worked out a whole series of crafty methods and devices, the sole purpose of which is to strengthen their domination. Taking advantage of the economic needs of a number of countries, the imperialists, headed by the United States of America and the pseudo-socialist Governments, with the help of credits entailing debt bondage and other forms of economic penetration, are making every effort to maintain their domination over these countries which are struggling to strengthen their freedom, independence and national sovereignty. These "credits" and this economic "aid" have political objectives and they are used as a means of interfering in the internal affairs of other countries and ruthlessly exploiting them.

72. It is the duty of peace-loving States to strengthen their co-operation with one another and to give unhesitating support to the just struggle of peoples for freedom and independence, a struggle which is all-important if the colonialist and imperialist yoke is to be shaken off; they must adopt a firm attitude towards all forms of pressure against their national sovereignty.

73. As a result of the manipulation of the United Nations by the United States, an abnormal situation

has been created in the Organization. One of the most flagrant proofs of this manipulation is the denial of the right of the great country of China—one of the founding Members of the Organization and representing about a quarter of the human race—to occupy its lawful place in the United Nations. This action constitutes a flagrant violation of the Charter and has made it impossible for the Organization to enter upon the performance of its tasks and to assume its proper role.

74. For more than seventeen years the seat of China in the United Nations, the seat of the largest State in the world, a founding Member of the Organization and a permanent member of the Security Council, has been usurped by the representatives of a gang of renegades who were driven out by the Chinese people and took refuge in the Chinese island of Taiwan, occupied by the armed forces of the United States of America.

75. This is an intolerable absurdity and one of the most characteristic manifestations of the crass and short-sighted policy of the United States Government and of its odious behaviour towards this Organization. Everyone knows there is only one China in the world, the People's Republic of China, and that its Government and its representatives alone can represent that country in international relations, in the United Nations and in all other international organizations. Without the participation of that powerful socialist country, the People's Republic of China, with its 700 million inhabitants, it is impossible to settle any of the important international problems of our time; without the participation of that great country, the United Nations cannot solve problems such as those on its agenda, nor can it possess the necessary authority and the indispensable confidence and support of the masses throughout the world.

76. It is common knowledge that the Chiang Kai-shek clique represents nothing, no people and no country, and that the seat which it has usurped, absolutely illegally, belongs to the People's Republic of China and to it alone. Yet, as far as the Organization is concerned, this outrageous anomaly, this intolerable absurdity, has been a reality for seventeen years. This grave situation within the United Nations, which cannot fail to affect the dignity of Member States, is one of the manifestations of the deep hostility and aggressive attitude of the United States of America towards the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people.

77. The People's Republic of China is a great socialist country; it is intensely peace-loving and it plays a very important part in safeguarding peace in Asia and in the world. It firmly supports the struggle of peoples for freedom and social progress and it is respected by the whole of progressive mankind. The slanders of the United States imperialists and their lackeys, in particular recent slanders, against the People's Republic of China are designed to distract the attention of world opinion from their policy of aggression and plots against peoples and peace and to sully the peaceful policy of China and the many and varied great achievements of the Chinese people.

78. Albania is one of the sponsors of the request for the inclusion in the agenda of the item relating to the

restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations [A/6391]. We shall have occasion to speak of this question in greater detail when the General Assembly takes up this item. But what we wish to emphasize now is that an end must be put to this situation without further delay if there is a genuine desire to take the first essential step to place the Organization on its feet again. The matter is all the more urgent when we take into account the grave international situation and the great problems of our time that are awaiting solution.

79. It is essential that the United Nations should become a universal organization, in conformity with the Charter, and that can only be achieved by granting to all peoples the legitimate right to be represented in this institution. In this connexion, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania supports the just claim of the German Democratic Republic to become a member of the United Nations.

80. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, guided by its policy of peace and international co-operation, has tried constantly and in all circumstances to make its modest contribution to the safeguarding and strengthening of world peace. It has been and continues to be in favour of the development of relations with all countries with different social systems, on the basis of the well known principles of peaceful coexistence, equality, non-interference in internal affairs, respect and mutual advantage. We have always supported the efforts of all those States which are devoted to the cause of freedom and independence for peoples, and to the best of our ability we have endeavoured to assist the United Nations to pursue a path which is in accordance with the fundamental Purposes and Principles of the Charter.

81. In the statement made by our delegation in the general debate at the last session of the General Assembly [1344th meeting], when speaking of the urgent measures that the Organization should take to this effect, we stressed as one of the essential conditions the need to reject the influences and manoeuvres of the United States of America within the United Nations, even if the influence is exerted and the manoeuvres are carried out in collaboration with some other great Power. This is an organization of sovereign and equal States, for which any kind of tutelage or *diktat* is unacceptable, irrespective of the form which it takes. It is obvious that, so long as the harmful influence of the United States over the United Nations continues, the Organization will not be in a position to take the necessary decisions and the appropriate measures for its own reorganization, which is essential in the present state of international affairs, nor will it be able to carry out its essential tasks of promoting peace and of respecting the right of peoples to self-determination, freedom and independence.

82. The Albanian delegation expresses the conviction that, through the concerted and resolute efforts of peace-loving States and of all the peoples of the world and through their co-ordinated action against imperialism and its lackeys, it will be possible to bring to nought all the plans and manoeuvres against

the freedom of peoples and the cause of genuine world peace.

83. Mr. CAGLAYANGIL (Turkey) (translated from French): I would like to join the distinguished representatives who have preceded me at this rostrum in extending to you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Government of Turkey and on my own behalf, warm and sincere congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly. The enthusiasm shown in selecting you for this office bears eloquent testimony to the distinguished reputation which you enjoy in the General Assembly, where for many years you have given irrefutable evidence of your exceptional qualities as a diplomat and a statesman. Your profound devotion to the cause of world peace, your impartiality, your moral rectitude and your skill in international diplomacy will be of great value to us during the deliberations of this session of the General Assembly, which will have to deal with very difficult problems of fundamental importance to the cause of peace.

84. We are the more gratified at your election because your country and mind traditionally maintain relations marked by deep friendship and cordiality which were forged at a time when Turkey was passing through one of the most troubled periods in its history. In paying a tribute to you and to your country, I am expressing the sentiments of the whole Turkish nation, which entertains feelings of lasting friendship and fraternity towards the Afghan people.

85. I should like also to pay a tribute to Mr. Amintore Fanfani, the outgoing President, who guided our work during the last session. We were all greatly impressed by his strong personality, his clear mind, his efficiency and, in particular, by his political wisdom, of which we stood in great need at an especially difficult time in the history of the United Nations.

86. All the representatives who have preceded me at this rostrum have stressed the grave international problems which will be overshadowing this session and have expressed their deep anxiety concerning the implications of these problems for world peace. As we gather here, our minds are troubled by the grave threat which the war in Viet-Nam and the unfortunate developments in Africa constitute for the world. People are asking themselves in anguish whether the United Nations will succeed in averting the danger of a nuclear catastrophe or an outbreak of unprecedented racial violence. More than ever before, it is incumbent on us to conduct our discussions calmly and objectively, with the sole purpose of achieving something constructive, of contributing as much as we can to the improvement of the international situation, and of mobilizing all our resources in order to pave the way for constructive action for the restoration of peace and the just settlement of existing conflicts. I can assure you that it is in this spirit that the Turkish delegation will participate in the work of the twenty-first session.

87. At this critical period through which we are passing, we have learned with regret of the Secretary-General's decision not to accept another term of office. We are all deeply grateful to him for his services to the Organization and to the cause of peace. He has carried out his task with a devotion, an

efficiency and an integrity which have earned him the gratitude and confidence of all Member States. We have welcomed his decision to continue in office until the end of this session with relief, because we are sure that his contribution will, as always, be of great value. We are none the less convinced that in these difficult times the United Nations needs a Secretary-General who has won universal respect and who has given proof of his ability to carry out his work with energy and in the true spirit of the Charter. I therefore associate myself whole-heartedly with all those who have expressed the hope that U Thant will reconsider his decision.

88. Today the war in Viet-Nam constitutes the most serious threat to world peace. Inherent in this war, the scale of which is increasing daily, bringing with it ever more terrible human suffering, is the danger of a fatal "escalation" which could plunge the whole world into the abyss of a nuclear conflict.

89. It is the primary duty of all of us to make every effort to bring this bloody war to an end. We are grateful to all those countries which have already made many efforts to bring the parties together around a conference table, as well as to the Secretary-General, who has spared no effort, within the means available to him, to help to restore peace. In the introduction to his annual report to the General Assembly [A/6301/Add.1], the Secretary-General rightly stressed the tragic plight of the people of Viet-Nam, a people which for more than twenty years has known nothing but the dreadful suffering caused by war, and which has an imperative need for peace. Military action can only bring the Viet-Nameese greater misery and devastate the whole country, and it may well lead to an extension of the conflict. Moreover, no one can deny the right of the people of Viet-Nam to decide their own political future free from all foreign intervention.

90. What can the United Nations do to end this tragedy? We do not of course have the means for direct action; but we must redouble our efforts and bring all our influence to bear to restore peace.

91. There is no point in discussing here the origins of this conflict or in attempting to apportion responsibility for the present situation. Such a course would lead us nowhere. The problem cannot be resolved without an agreement which would reconcile, on a just basis, the legitimate interests of all the parties. This being so, the only possible solution is the limitation and mutual cessation of hostilities and negotiation with a view to reaching a peaceful and honourable settlement. It is towards this end that we must direct our efforts and make an urgent appeal to all the parties.

Mr. Khalaf (Iraq), Vice-President, took the Chair.

92. We have carefully studied the statement by Mr. Goldberg, the representative of the United States [1412th meeting]. We note with satisfaction that he reasserted the determination of the United States to try to limit the war and to engage immediately in negotiations in any forum.

93. We learned with deep satisfaction of the settlement of the conflict between Indonesia and Malaysia. The

agreement ending the state of armed confrontation between these two countries is not only an outstanding victory for reason, but also demonstrates that any dispute, however serious, can be resolved by peaceful means once the parties to it act with determination and good will. This is a precedent which could be usefully followed for the settlement of the conflict in Viet-Nam. I should like to express my country's appreciation of the spirit of conciliation and moderation displayed by Indonesia and Malaysia in eliminating a source of disputes in that part of the world. Another gratifying event in the same context is the return of Indonesia to the United Nations. It gives me particular satisfaction to stress the pleasure which my delegation feels at seeing Indonesia resume its place in our Organization; in any case we had never considered its departure as final.

94. Peace in Asia also depends in large measure on relations between India and Pakistan. Last year all of us welcomed with joy and relief the ceasefire and the Tashkent Declaration,^{3/} which brought to an end the armed conflict between these two great Asian countries. But the peace cannot be a lasting one so long as the disputes which divide the two countries, and in particular the Kashmir problem, continue to disturb relations between India and Pakistan. It is our fervent desire to see a just and agreed solution for this problem which would take into account the resolutions of the Security Council on this matter.

95. We note that at the present juncture the historic process of decolonization is nearing its end and that the world is about to enter the era of the sovereign equality of all countries, large and small, as provided for in the Charter of the United Nations.

96. We know, however, that, although so much progress has been made in this direction, there still remain obstacles which, though they may be the last, are difficult to overcome. Colonialism is still rampant, not only in its traditional form but also in different guises, such as racial discrimination and apartheid, which are incompatible with the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The countries which still impose the yoke of colonialism and those which hold freedom and the dignity of the human person in contempt must realize that the course of history cannot be reversed and that their policy only degrades them before world public opinion, while at the same time constituting a grave threat to peace. The United Nations must never relax its efforts to eliminate colonialism and policies of racial oppression completely.

97. Turkey, for its part, will unreservedly support the efforts of the United Nations in this matter, for it upholds the principles of independence for all peoples and equal rights for all nations and races. It is only when all the oppressed countries have been emancipated that the United Nations, having thus enlarged the sphere of its activities, will be able to make its full contribution to the strengthening of world peace and to the progress of mankind.

98. We must give particular attention to the problem of apartheid and to the situation in Rhodesia, where a minority has usurped power in order to oppress the majority. In both cases we are confronted with the abhorrent notion of the superiority of one race over another. We cannot countenance this affront to the dignity of the human person, not only because it deeply offends our conscience, but because it threatens the stability and peace of an entire continent and is thus a threat to the peace of the world also.

99. On the question of Rhodesia, we deplore the lack of progress during the past year. The sanctions applied so far have proved insufficient and the illegal régime has continued to defy the appeals of the United Nations, even introducing new measures aimed at intensifying the pressure on the majority of the population. It is highly regrettable that countries which have an interest in supporting the illegal régime in Rhodesia in order to preserve their own oppressive régimes, have been able to continue to defy the resolutions of the Security Council with impunity. We must consider the possibility of taking more vigorous action to ensure that the relevant resolutions of the United Nations are put into effect.

100. In considering the questions of Rhodesia, South West Africa—on which I gave our point of view the day before yesterday [1419th meeting]—apartheid, and the survival of colonialism in certain countries, we must always bear in mind one basic fact: Africa cannot be divided into two parts, one free and the other subjected to colonialism and slavery. Moreover, the longer the solution of these problems is delayed, the more recourse to violence and force will become inevitable. This is not a problem for Africa alone; it affects the peace, harmony and stability of the whole world.

101. Other disputes which have remained unresolved for years continue to affect peace and stability in a number of areas. In the Middle East, the Palestine question is an obstacle to the establishment of lasting peace and is causing a dangerous armaments race. Over a million refugees are living in precarious and deplorable conditions, a situation prejudicial to the economic and social development of the Middle East. This problem, in all its many and various aspects, both political and human, continues to await a settlement consonant with law and justice.

102. The question of Cyprus still disturbs the peace and stability of the Mediterranean region by prolonging the distress, the acute anxiety and the hardships of the Turkish community. The question is still before the Security Council and it is because of the presence of the United Nations forces that a precarious peace is maintained. I wish first to pay a tribute to all those countries which have placed military contingents at the disposal of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus or are contributing to the cost of that force. I also wish to express our gratitude once again to the Secretary-General for his constant and untiring efforts to remove the causes of tension on the island and to promote a peaceful settlement of the dispute. Lastly, may I be permitted to express our gratitude to the United Nations Force which, in extremely difficult circumstances, is unsparing in its efforts to re-

^{3/} Declaration signed on 10 January 1966 by Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, Prime Minister of India, and Mr. Mohammad Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan.

duce tensions and maintain peace between the two communities.

103. There has been no improvement in the situation in Cyprus since last year. The Turkish community is still deprived of its most elementary rights. The lives and safety of the Turks are constantly endangered, their economic activities are paralysed and the movement of goods and people is subject to vexations and arbitrary restrictions. Yet, despite this oppression, the Turks of Cyprus, who are proud of their traditions, refuse to be reduced to slavery and are not prepared to give up their historic constitutional rights.

104. Right from the start of the crisis in Cyprus, Turkey has sincerely sought the achievement of a peaceful solution by agreement. It has always held that the continuation of the crisis was bound to increase tension both in the island and outside it. It has always stated that it was ready to enter into negotiations with all the interested parties.

105. At present, Turkey and Greece, as co-signatories of the treaties governing the status of Cyprus, are engaged in confidential discussions with a view to finding a peaceful solution acceptable to all the parties. We consider that the very fact that we have succeeded in beginning these discussions is encouraging and we earnestly hope that they will result in our finding a basis for agreement which will bring this tragic conflict to an end and pave the way to harmony and reconciliation between the two communities and between Turkey and Greece. We are convinced that time is on no one's side and that we all stand to gain a great deal from an honourable settlement which would safeguard the legitimate principles of all the parties. But we must also realize that, if a solution is not found, the present situation cannot continue. Failing a solution, there would have to be a genuine return to normal conditions on the island, so that the Turkish community can lead a life free from threats and military and economic pressure and enjoy their human rights to the full. It would therefore be necessary to keep the United Nations Force in being for an indefinite period and also to create conditions in which the Force would be able to carry out the task entrusted to it by the Security Council resolution [186 (1964)] without hindrance.

106. If after this review of the situation in other continents we turn our attention to Europe, we find that the situation in that part of the world is obviously different. In Europe today there are no serious crises carrying with them the threat of war. Despite the increased tension resulting from the crisis in Viet-Nam, intercourse between the countries of the East and the West in economic, technical and cultural matters is constantly growing. Turkey is glad to be able to make its contribution to this healthy development, which is likely gradually to eliminate mutual distrust and to pave the way to a general understanding that would put an end to the division of Europe. However, we must not forget that the main problem in Europe is still that of the reunification of Germany. It is our view that Germany should be freely reunited in conformity with the rights of peoples to self-determination, within a general system which would

effectively safeguard the security of all the countries of the region.

107. Problems and disputes abound; we all get the impression at times that the United Nations has not succeeded in acting as the Charter intended it to do, and that the Organization has not been able to exercise a constructive influence for the maintenance of peace and the settlement of disputes. But the United Nations cannot do more than what its Members wish, and political facts often prevent it from undertaking effective action in extremely serious cases. Has not the Charter itself imposed certain limitations by entrusting a special responsibility to the Security Council and by making action by the United Nations subject to the agreement of the permanent members of the Security Council? Nevertheless, what gives the United Nations its real strength is its moral influence, its ability to mobilize world public opinion, and the principles of the Charter. The Charter gives form and body to the vision of a world free from the fear of war, a world where disputes are settled by peaceful means and where all Members are able to concentrate their energies, individually and collectively, on the achievement of political, economic, social and cultural advancement. If we wish to achieve this ideal, we must faithfully discharge our duties under the Charter, both within the Organization and in our bilateral relations. Within the Organization, it is incumbent on us to uphold and enhance the prestige and moral strength of the United Nations by scrupulous respect for the letter and spirit of the Charter and by directing our efforts towards constructive ends. The resolutions which we adopt in the General Assembly should, as far as possible, express a consensus. Only if they do will our recommendations carry the necessary weight and make a real contribution to the solution of the problems which arise. Otherwise, there will be a useless accumulation of resolutions to which no effect will be given, with the result that the moral authority of the United Nations will be seriously impaired and Member States will increasingly seek to settle their difficulties outside the United Nations.

108. We must also try to create conditions that will allow the principle of universality embodied in the Charter to become a reality and thus enable the authority and influence of the United Nations to be exercised in every part of the world.

109. Peace-keeping operations are another vital way in which the United Nations can make a substantial contribution to preserving and strengthening peace. We are quite sure that the United Nations has rendered a very great service to the cause of peace each time it has been able to organize such operations, as a result of which tension has been reduced, the opposing parties have been separated, and conditions favourable to a search for a peaceful solution have been created. If the United Nations were to renounce this responsibility because of differing views about the rules which should govern one carrying out and financing of such operations, it would lose all possibility of taking effective action when faced with dangerous and explosive situations. Such a state of affairs would not only be prejudicial to peace, by making it easier to resort to force and by helping to perpetuate disputes, but it would also deal a fatal blow to the moral prestige

of the Organization, by depriving it of all means of bringing its influence to bear on international conflicts and situations threatening the peace. It is surely not in the interest of any Member that the United Nations should be condemned to such impotence and paralysis. If we have faith in the United Nations, if we wish to maintain its moral influence, if we want it to be able one day to undertake all the duties assigned to it in the Charter, we must overcome the difficulties facing us in connexion with peace-keeping operations and find an early solution to this all-important problem.

110. During this session, we shall once again be called upon to discuss the question of disarmament, certain aspects of which have become extremely urgent. We must give first priority to the question of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Indeed, we have reached a turning-point in the history of the arms race, for there is a danger that it will spread rapidly to an ever-increasing number of nuclear Powers. Should this happen, the possibility of nuclear confrontations would be immeasurably increased, and as a result it would become more and more difficult to prevent recourse to nuclear weapons on a regional or global scale. Very large resources, which might have been devoted to constructive purposes such as economic development or social progress, would be used instead for the acquisition of weapons of mass destruction. It would then be even more difficult, if not impossible, to halt the armaments race and to make progress towards general and complete disarmament.

111. To prevent this catastrophe, we must act without delay and make a concerted effort to put an effective stop to the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The difficulties that arose during the discussions in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament need not be insurmountable. If we agree on the main point, if we are aware of the deadly danger to all mankind of the unrestricted spread of nuclear weapons, it should be possible to reconcile the differences of opinion concerning certain clauses of the draft treaties submitted by both sides. We are convinced that it is in the interest of all of us that the work of this Committee on non-proliferation should be completed quickly. Concurrently with, or following upon such an agreement, other related problems should of course be solved, particularly the provision of effective guarantees for the security of countries which renounce nuclear weapons and the adoption of measures to limit and end the nuclear arms race between countries possessing such weapons.

112. The Moscow Treaty of 1963 partially banning nuclear weapon tests has still not been supplemented by a treaty banning underground testing. An agreement on the banning of all nuclear weapon tests should also be one of our principal objectives, since the very existence of such an agreement would limit the proliferation of nuclear weapons and at the same time slow down the nuclear arms race between the nuclear countries themselves. Here, the difficulty is the question of verification, for there is no doubt that a treaty which was not strictly enforced by all the parties would fail to achieve its purpose. Verification is therefore an essential element in any treaty on this matter. Recent scientific progress and the possibilities

opened up by the various suggestions made at Geneva have already considerably reduced the area of disagreement on the nature of the controls to be established to ensure that a treaty on the banning of underground testing of nuclear weapons is being carried out. We hope that in future discussions it will be possible finally to settle this question.

113. I believe that as long as we show ourselves to be incapable of stopping the nuclear arms race, we cannot feel optimistic about the outcome of our efforts to achieve the supreme objective—general and complete disarmament. My Government feels that the conclusion of agreements on the banning of all tests of nuclear weapons and on the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons would do much to improve the climate of international relations and thus create more favourable conditions for proposals to reduce both nuclear and conventional armaments through a balanced disarmament programme under effective international control. The priority we are giving to nuclear weapons tests should not, however, distract our attention from the fact that a reduction in conventional weapons is just as important and that actually all the wars that mankind has experienced have been fought, and are still being fought, with conventional weapons.

114. Before concluding my statement, I should like to say a few words about another equally important aspect of the activities of the Organization, namely economic questions and more particularly those related to the economic growth of developing countries.

115. Problems of economic development continue to be of the greatest concern to us. It must be acknowledged that, despite the measures taken at previous sessions of the General Assembly, the results achieved during the first half of the United Nations Development Decade have been discouraging. The gap between the industrialized and the developing countries has continued to widen to the detriment of the latter. The rate of growth in the developing countries and the amount of international aid to those countries has not reached the targets set. Not only has international aid slowed down during the current year, but the terms on which that assistance is provided have not improved. The share of developing countries in total world exports continues to decline. The terms of trade remain unfavourable for those countries. The prices of most commodities are still falling while those of manufactures are constantly rising.

116. In order to remedy this situation, the flow of capital to the developing countries should be augmented, on more favourable terms, and at the same time a sound basis should be provided for increasing the export earnings of those countries, so that they can finance their development projects. The industrialization of the developing countries, which is an integral part of the process of economic development, is another problem for which we must constantly seek workable solutions. Although they should not belittle the importance of the agricultural sector, the developing countries should at the same time make every effort to speed up their industrial development by giving priority to export industries and to industries providing substitutes for imports and thus enable the production of essential industrial goods to be increased.

117. At present the United Nations has at its disposal quite a wide range of different organs to promote the economic development of developing countries and to achieve the targets set for the United Nations Development Decade.

118. In this context the establishment of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) was an historic event. Indeed, this new body, whose formative period has ended, has now entered upon a phase of intense activity and is devoting its attention to finding satisfactory and practical solutions for problems affecting commodity trade, trade in manufactures and semi-manufactures, the financing of development, and invisibles.

119. The Turkish Government attaches the greatest importance to UNCTAD as a body responsible for promoting international trade and development. It is also keenly interested in the second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which is to find means of remedying the present unfavourable world economic situation.

120. Another vitally important achievement of the United Nations Development Decade was undoubtedly the establishment of the United Nations Organization for Industrial Development (UNOID) [see resolution 2089 (XX)], another practical step taken by the international community in its efforts to promote development. The establishment of this permanent body has provided the United Nations system with a new instrument for promoting industrialization, which is the key to economic progress in the developing countries.

121. Furthermore, we are convinced that the merging of the technical assistance programmes and the Special Fund to form the United Nations Development Programme will help to make technical assistance and pre-investment activities more rational and effective. We also hope that the financial target of \$200 million set for this Programme by the General Assembly at its last session [see resolution 2093 (XX)] will be reached.

122. The problem of under-nourishment is reaching dangerous proportions in various parts of the world and there are, unfortunately, indications that this problem will become still more serious in the near future. All of us, developed and developing countries alike, must turn our attention to increasing agricultural productivity in developing countries and give vigorous support to the work of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations to this end.

123. In the same context, I should like to commend the activities of the World Food Programme, which have made it possible to assemble and distribute, through an international organization, food surpluses in developed countries to assist the economic and social advancement of other countries. My Government is happy to note at this juncture that the Programme has acquired a permanent character. We sincerely hope that countries which are in a position to make a substantial contribution will continue to give it their maximum support.

124. Greater efforts must be made to hasten development in the agricultural sector and the application of

science and technology in the developing countries must be accelerated.

125. To conclude this part of my statement, I should like to make it clear that it is the will of all States Members of the United Nations which, in the final analysis, will determine how far the bodies we have set up will be able to provide machinery capable of finding practical, satisfactory and prompt solutions to the problems encountered by the developing countries in the economic and social fields.

126. Finally, I wish to express my faith in the future of the United Nations. It is true that, at present, the Organization is passing through a difficult period, full of dangers which, if it does not pay heed to them, may cause it to come to grief. However, I am convinced that these difficulties will be overcome. The ship, in the expert hands of its helmsman, will weather the storm and avoid shipwreck. Once again it will sail on a calm sea and reach its destination—the establishment of peace, well-being and progress throughout the world.

127. It is on this note of optimism and faith that I wish to end my statement.

128. Mr. MURUMBI (Kenya): Mr. President, permit me to congratulate you on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. My delegation is convinced that, under your leadership, the twenty-first session will make a significant contribution towards the reduction of international tension and the strengthening of friendly relations among States. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay my tribute to the Foreign Minister of Italy, His Excellency Mr. Amintore Fanfani, for the great skill and statesmanship with which he guided the work of the twentieth session.

129. I should now like to turn to the various issues which the present session will be discussing. On behalf of the Government of the Republic of Kenya, I shall examine African issues and some international questions about which my Government feels strongly. I shall begin with the African issues.

130. Southern Africa today is the most critical area on our continent. The problem of Southern Africa is threefold: (a) colonialism in Rhodesia and the Portuguese Territories of Angola and Mozambique; (b) the Mandate over South West Africa; and (c) apartheid in South Africa.

131. The Court decision on South West Africa was an attempt to avoid the substantive matter. We all know the manoeuvres which led the President of the International Court of Justice, Sir Percy Spender, to act in the way he did by casting his vote against the plaintiffs. It is interesting to examine some of the methods which were employed in order to disqualify some of the Judges that should have taken part in making a decision on this case. United Nations legal experts could usefully undertake this exercise to ascertain whether the Judgment of the International Court makes it now necessary for the United Nations General Assembly to ask the Court to give an opinion on the actual merits of the case.

132. Apart from the necessity of a legal opinion, action is simultaneously required to seek the approval

of the General Assembly to revoke the Mandate. This is why Kenya, in collaboration with Afro-Asian and other friendly countries, has co-sponsored a resolution to this effect. Once this is done, Kenya would like to see effective machinery established by the United Nations which will guide that territory to independence.

133. Before leaving this question of South West Africa, my delegation would like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the composition of both the International Law Commission and the International Court of Justice. Kenya supports the enlargement of these two bodies to reflect geographical representation. But much more important than this enlargement, Kenya would like to emphasize that when the time comes for the General Assembly to elect the new Judges, efforts should be made to ensure that men of the utmost integrity are chosen. We must try to avoid electing to the International Court of Justice Judges whose decisions will be influenced by policies of their national Governments or ideological considerations. We are surprised to find that the Government of Australia is determined to put up another candidate for election to the International Court of Justice.

134. The next question which faces the General Assembly is that of Rhodesia. It is nearly a year since Smith and his followers rebelled against Her Majesty's Government. The General Assembly has had occasion to discuss the Rhodesia question. At the time when the Smith régime seized independence illegally Kenya and other African States advocated a certain course of action. We wanted to see full economic and mandatory sanctions applied. If these failed, we said that force should be used to bring down that illegal régime. But Britain refused to co-operate. Today, this unilateral declaration of independence is still with us. This is why it is important that a proper solution should be found to this question if the problem of race relations in Africa is going to be solved.

135. Recently, Mr. Harold Wilson, the British Prime Minister, said:

"Constitutionally and legally, the problem we face is a problem of a colony in revolt."

The British Government has, in the past, faced many revolts and has not failed in almost every instance to use force. One instance of this was the War of Independence when the American colonies revolted against Britain. The British Commonwealth countries and the Organization of African Unity have exerted enormous pressures on the British Government to find a solution to the revolt in Rhodesia.

136. The Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference in London ended, on 14 September 1966, with the following decision on Rhodesia:

"(a) After the illegal régime is ended a legal government will be appointed by the Governor and will constitute a broadly based representative administration. During this interim period the armed forces and police will be responsible to the Governor. Those individuals who are detained or restricted on political grounds will be released and normal political activities will be permitted provided

that they are conducted peacefully and democratically without intimidation from any quarter;

"(b) The British Government will negotiate, with this interim administration, a constitutional settlement directed to achieving the objective of majority rule, on the basis of the six principles;

"(c) This constitutional settlement will be submitted for acceptance to the people of Rhodesia as a whole by appropriate democratic means;

"(d) The British Parliament and Government must be satisfied that this test of opinion is fair and free and would be acceptable to the general world community;

"(e) The British Government will not consent to independence before majority rule unless the people of Rhodesia as a whole are shown to be in favour of it."

Further:

"The British Government have also agreed at the London Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference to seek further support from the Security Council for the application of selective mandatory sanctions."

137. The only hope now is that in the event that Smith's régime rejects the British proposals, pressure through all forms of mandatory sanctions should be exerted to bring down the illegal régime. Limited economic sanctions are unlikely to succeed unless the British Government is prepared to face the full consequences, even to the extent of the disruption of its trade with South Africa, which is said to amount to £250 million annually.

138. The blame for the Rhodesian crisis lies fairly and squarely on the British Government. For the time being the British Government has succeeded in gaining time. But sooner or later that Government must come to a choice between betraying the Africans or adopting stronger measures to topple the Smith régime. Mr. Wilson's failure to use mandatory sanctions, and even force, when the Smith régime carried out the unilateral declaration of independence, restricted his freedom for manoeuvres. The Smith régime, with the assistance of South African and Portuguese Governments, is determined to consolidate its illegal control.

139. Independent African States cannot tolerate this situation. These African States have expressed their views on Rhodesia in the United Nations and through the Organization of African Unity. The African States are not prepared to see the continuance of this form of independence in Rhodesia and, therefore, the extension of white domination in Southern Africa. The situation that obtains in South Africa today is an anachronism in the eyes of the world. And we will not allow the extension of a similar system of oppression and suppression to the African people of Rhodesia.

140. We are told by apologists for the Smith régime that the problem in Rhodesia is made more difficult because of the presence of two communities—African and European. But the fact that we have a mixed community in Rhodesia should not be an excuse for refusing to take decisive action. I speak as a representative of a country that has a mixed population—

African, European, Asian, and Arab. In Kenya the European was led to believe, as his Rhodesian counterpart does today, that he would rule Kenya for ever. This led to a terrible conflict resulting in a war that lasted seven years. But, because of a change in policy by the British Government at that time, the decision was made that Kenya should be free and ruled by the majority of its people. Once this decision was made, the diehard Europeans, who were not prepared to live under a democratic rule, decided to leave the country. This paved the way for a harmonious multi-racial community. Independence was therefore granted to my country under majority rule. And this is what we want for Rhodesia.

141. Today, in Kenya, we have respect and co-operation among the various communities. The British Government must therefore convince the 4 million Africans in Rhodesia that the United Kingdom sincerely believes in and will implement a policy which will give the people of Rhodesia as a whole the right to govern themselves democratically.

142. The problem of race relations in Southern Africa will never be solved until apartheid in South Africa and Portuguese colonialism in Angola and Mozambique have been brought to an end. Today it is the white racialists in South Africa and the Portuguese colonialists who maintain the Smith régime in Rhodesia. We have reached a time in human history when Africa must ask those Powers in the Western world which support and sustain the régimes in South Africa and Portugal by apology and rationalization to declare unequivocally whether these Western Powers are on the side of democracy and human decency, or whether they will remain supporters of the oppressors of the African people. Kenya will continue to work with other independent African States until colonialism and racialism are removed from the face of Africa.

143. The international situation has not changed for the better during the past year. In some ways the situation has become worse. The Viet-Nam war is now being fought with renewed fury. Kenya believes that this war could lead to a third world war, which would be fought with some of the most devastating weapons known to mankind. My delegation feels that the General Assembly cannot, and should not, remain passive when world peace is being threatened. This is why my delegation would like to see the General Assembly make an appeal to, or even call on, all combatants to stop fighting and negotiate a peaceful settlement on the basis of the Geneva Accords of 1954 and 1962.

144. This is no time for apportioning blame while thousands of Viet-Nameese are being killed. My delegation would like to see the American offer to stop bombing North Viet-Nam and withdraw all foreign troops under international supervision taken up and considered seriously. We believe that there is no military solution to this problem in sight. Since the war has turned into an ideological battle, the alternative to negotiations can be only more suffering.

145. The big Powers, when engaging in ideological conflict, do not seem to have time for the sufferings of many innocent people who become the victims of such a conflict. I should like to appeal to all Viet-

Nameese leaders to think of their country first. Secondly, I wish to appeal to the Powers directly involved in this conflict to think of the human sufferings which their actions, direct or indirect, are inflicting on the Viet-Nameese. I appeal to them to scale down their war activities so that peace may return to that unhappy country. Thirdly, let me appeal to the General Assembly as a whole to speak out in clear terms as to where this body stands on the Viet-Nam question. It is the belief of my delegation that all representatives who speak during the General Assembly session could influence the events in Viet-Nam for the better.

146. Disarmament and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons have been the subject of discussion in this Assembly and by the Eighteen-nation Disarmament Committee for some time. The attitude of my Government is that all the five nuclear Powers—Britain, the People's Republic of China, France, the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—should take part in the negotiations. Secondly, we are opposed to the spread of nuclear weapons beyond the five countries which already possess them. Thirdly, we would like all non-nuclear States to be protected against nuclear blackmail by a treaty accepted by all the five nuclear Powers.

147. My delegation would like to record its disappointment at seeing that the Eighteen-nation Disarmament Committee has not made much progress from the time it was asked by the twentieth session of the General Assembly to resume its work of negotiation. We should like to see that Committee do more and produce more significant results before the next session. The future of mankind hinges on an agreement which will allow all States, big and small, to live in peace without fear of nuclear attack.

148. A problem which I hope this Assembly will take note of is the large-scale dumping of arms by the big nations, which is causing anxiety in many small countries. That attitude among the big nations in some cases stems from the belief that force can and will inevitably succeed. That totally disregards the moral principles of right and wrong. Some small countries seem to regard guns more essential than butter. History has recorded the failure of such a theory.

149. Kenya fully subscribes to the principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States. It does not need any crystal-gazing to realize that no peace can be secured without respect for the principle that States shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State. It is equally imperative that States should resolve all their disputes by peaceful means. Cases where there is unsolicited and unwarranted intervention in the domestic affairs of another State generate friction and ill-feeling which eventually assume the sinister form of being a threat to world peace. Unless States co-operate with one another at all levels in this world of interdependence, and unless good faith is demonstrated in inter-State dealings and transactions, the objectives of the United Nations Charter can never be achieved. Furthermore, it is futile to believe that peace, justice and friendly relations can be promoted when millions are still

under racist minority servitude. We cannot reverse the tide of history by perpetuating the existence of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

150. It is true that the legal content and scope of some of these principles is controversial and lacks universality. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Government of Kenya enthusiastically welcomed the establishment by the General Assembly [resolution 1966 (XVIII)] of the Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. Although the Committee in its sessions in Mexico and New York covered a lot of ground on the legal content and scope of those principles, consensus of a partial nature was reached only in relation to the principles of sovereign equality of States and of peaceful settlement of disputes. The Government of Kenya hopes that further progress, which is bound to be slow and gradual if past experience is considered, will be reached at future sessions of the Committee if the General Assembly decides to renew its mandate.

151. I should like now to make a few observations on economic matters. We have reached the midpoint of the United Nations Development Decade. It is therefore timely to assess what progress has so far been made.

152. Before doing so, let me state my Government's views on the question of development in developing countries and economic aid from the developed countries. Kenya would like to see a greater part of development undertaken by developing countries themselves. We in the developing world must learn to make some self-sacrifice. Whatever the amount of economic aid we might receive from the developed countries will make no difference, for unless this aid is put to proper use there will be very little development. Our task should therefore be to do as much as we can for ourselves and then ask for aid and trade. I would go further and suggest that the trade between developing countries should be further expanded to maximize self-help on our part.

153. We in Kenya would like to see the developed countries help in two important ways. Since most of the developing countries are primary producers, it is important that the prices for our goods should be stabilized. This can be done through an international agreement. Secondly, we should like as much as possible to receive aid from any country provided such economic aid is free from political strings. One way of removing the political strings would be to channel as much aid as possible through the international multilateral agencies.

154. Having said this let me revert to the question of the Development Decade. The General Assembly in 1961 launched the Development Decade and two basic goals were set:

(a) The achievement of a growth rate of at least 5 per cent a year in the national income of developing countries by 1970; and

(b) An annual transfer of development capital and assistance to developing countries equivalent to 1 per cent of the gross national product of the developed countries.

155. Those were lofty and notable declarations of intent. Let us look at the performance so far. According to the experts, the rate of growth in developing countries is lagging behind the target and the aid received from the developed countries is far from 1 per cent of their gross national product. That means that both the developing countries must redouble their efforts and the developed countries should have a look at their aid programmes again. Talking about aid programmes, I wish particularly to pay tribute to the Governments of Canada and the Scandinavian countries which are evolving aid programmes that are bound to prove beneficial both economically and politically to the developing countries.

156. My delegation feels that a large measure of responsibility for the failure to achieve the goals of the Development Decade can be placed on the developed countries. Experts, again, say that affluent countries have been getting more affluent. During the past four years, for example, the combined output of goods and services of the developed countries has increased by 32 per cent, whereas, during the same period, the economic aid from those same countries to the developing countries has remained static.

157. The United Nations Development Programme Administrator repeats the same story of lack of capital for development. He has estimated that in 1965 there was an effective net flow of \$6,000 million of capital and assistance from the industrialized to low-income nations. Although that figure might look impressive, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has pointed out that the developing countries could have usefully absorbed another \$3,000 million or \$4,000 million. There is still a big gap.

158. It is the view of my delegation that the various United Nations agencies should receive support from all nations. They are best suited to help the developing nations because of their international character. The creation of the United Nations Development Programme during the last General Assembly session was a step in the right direction. It has already demonstrated that it is out to help. The Committee on Shipping, an offspring of the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, has also undertaken vital studies on freight rates which will have important consequences. And this session of the General Assembly is due to take an important final step in launching the United Nations Organization for Industrial Development. This is international co-operation which we should like to see take shape. It is because of the belief that the United Nations agencies are bound to lead to constructive development and international co-operation that my country has offered to house the headquarters of the United Nations Organization for Industrial Development in the capital city of Nairobi.

159. Before concluding my speech, I should like to refer to three other matters.

160. First, I wish to welcome on behalf of my delegation the new State of Guyana. Kenya is always delighted when the area of freedom and national independence is extended. We therefore salute the new State. We also look forward to welcoming the States of Barbados, Botswana and Lesotho when they attain

their independence this year. It is the hope and desire of the Government and people of Kenya that, by the end of this decade, all forms of colonialism will have been defeated everywhere. Let the General Assembly redouble its efforts.

161. Secondly, I wish to state that Kenya will support the candidature of U Thant, should he reconsider his decision. We in Kenya understand his feelings and assessment of the international situation. We believe that he should be allowed to make up his mind. And once he has done so the General Assembly will be able to elect a Secretary-General for the coming period.

162. And finally, I wish to reiterate the position of my Government and one of the questions appearing on the agenda—that is, the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. Kenya will support the admission of that country inhabited by 750 million people. It is the view of my country that all independent States, regardless of their social systems, should be Members of the United Nations. It is only after we have achieved this universality of membership that we shall become a truly United Nations.

163. The PRESIDENT: Before adjourning the meeting, I shall call on representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

164. Mr. KYPRIANOU (Cyprus): I wish to reply to a statement made by the Foreign Minister of Turkey with regard to Cyprus. I do not intend to engage in polemics. This is not the right time to do so. The Assembly was able to discuss and examine the merits of the Cyprus question at the last session, and it pronounced itself on those merits.

165. At this time I would simply register my disagreement with, and indeed my strong objection to, the specific reference made by the Foreign Minister of Turkey to the internal situation in Cyprus. Again, I do not wish to start an argument. The real situation is well known to all; it is reflected in the records of this Assembly and in the records of the Security Council; the truth can be found in the various reports of the Secretary-General and of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus.

166. The Foreign Minister of Turkey spoke, unfortunately, of oppression. If he had been referring to the oppression of a certain part of the Turkish minority by another part of the Turkish minority, I should have agreed with him. But my feeling is that he was referring to oppression on the part of the Government of Cyprus at the expense of the Turkish minority. That I reject.

167. I do not wish to say anything further. As I have said, the situation is by now well known to all. In any case, anyone who wishes to find out for himself can visit Cyprus; he will be welcomed by us.

168. Mr. MATSUI (Japan) (translated from French): In the exercise of my right of reply, I should like to deal with a point raised this morning by the representative of Albania, in connexion with which he referred to my country. If I understood him correctly, the representative of Albania seems to have directed an attack against my country by asserting that Japan, in collaboration with the United States of America, is

maintaining military bases in South Korea. Furthermore, he tried to criticize the conclusion of the treaty between Japan and the Republic of Korea by associating it with an alleged attempt to form a new military alliance in Asia.

169. I should like to point out that the Treaty between Japan and the Republic of Korea, signed in June 1965, is no more than the culmination of nearly fifteen years of effort by the Korean and Japanese peoples to restore normal friendly relations between two neighbours linked together by a long history. If the text of the Treaty is examined carefully, it will be obvious to everyone that it was concluded only in the interest of peace.

170. It seems to me pointless to try to reply in detail at this stage to all these allegations, since they are completely without foundation. I simply wish to ensure that a categorical denial of all these accusations appears in the record of this meeting.

171. I may wish to revert to this point in due course after I have studied the text of the statement in question.

172. Mr. CAGLAYANGIL (Turkey) (translated from French): I regret that, despite its objective nature, that part of my statement relating to the question of Cyprus should have given rise to the statement by Mr. Kyprianou which we have just heard. It is quite easy to refute the allegations made by the representative of Cyprus point by point. However, I prefer not to do so, not only because I do not wish to overtax your patience, but also because the arguments and the facts, as Mr. Kyprianou has just said, are set out in the numerous records of the debates of the General Assembly and are well known. In the circumstances, it would, in my view, be unjustifiable to reopen a controversial discussion.

173. There is, however, one point in Mr. Kyprianou's statement which calls for a reply by me.

174. Mr. Kyprianou asserts that the pressure felt everywhere on the island is the pressure of one part of the Turkish community against another part of that community. The Turks, men, women and children, are continually molested and subjected to the worst kind of harassment; the foundations of their economic life are being undermined; their lives are threatened; there are murders every week; incidents occur which serve as a pretext for establishing a blockade which still further jeopardizes the economic life of the Turkish population.

175. Can it be maintained that these upheavals and pressures on the island are the result of strife between two peoples of the same origin? I do not wish to strain your patience, nor do I wish to engage in polemics. I merely wanted to describe the situation existing on the island, and I say that that situation cannot continue.

176. Mr. NASE (Albania) (translated from French): The representative of Japan was displeased with the reference which we made in our statement today to the role played by Japan in the implementation of the aggressive policy of United States imperialism in Asia; so he found it necessary to reply to us and to deny the incontrovertible facts which we had mentioned in this connexion.

177. In our statement we merely made a very brief reference to the dangerous policy pursued by Japan, which is contrary to the interests of the Japanese people and of peace in Asia. We did so in conformity with our policy, which is based on principle and on frankness.

178. If, however, there is the slightest doubt concerning what we said on this subject today, I could, to reassure everyone and to remove any misunderstanding, recall here the actual statements made by Mr. Shiina, the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, on 24 and 25 March 1966, in which, among other things, he explicitly said: "the Security Treaty between Japan and the United States could also be applied to Viet-Nam, China and Korea". He likewise said, "Since the United States has undertaken certain action in Viet-Nam, the war being waged there concerns Japan."

179. Such bellicose statements need no comment. Peace-loving Member States cannot afford to ignore such admissions. The reference is to plans which have been agreed upon by the United States of America and the Japanese militarists, the object of which is to involve Japan in the war against Viet-Nam and even to use the Japanese as shock-troops in the aggression for which United States imperialism is

preparing in Asia, particularly against the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

180. We therefore deem it our duty to draw the General Assembly's attention to the threat to peace in Asia and throughout the world posed by this policy of complicity, which constitutes a serious violation of the obligations laid upon Japan as a result of the Second World War and of those devolving upon it as a Member of the United Nations.

181. Mr. KYPRIANOU (Cyprus): I do not wish to reply to the second statement that was made by the Foreign Minister of Turkey. I do not know what he meant when he said that he did not want to reply to my statement point by point. In fact, I did not make any points; I simply objected to what he had said.

182. With regard to his allegation that Turks are being killed every week in Cyprus, I would be prepared to agree to a request for a special report by the Secretary-General on this particular question, if the Foreign Minister of Turkey would also be prepared to make such a request.

The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.