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CONTENTS

Page

Agenda item 9:

General debate (continued)

Speech by Mr. Aiken (Ireland)	1
Speech by Mr. Winiewicz (Poland)	3
Speech by Mr. Sidikou (Niger)	7
Speech by Mr. Bourguiba Jr. (Tunisia)	11
Speech by Mr. Nilsson (Sweden)	16

President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAK
(Afghanistan).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)*

1. Mr. AIKEN (Ireland): In addressing the General Assembly a year ago, His Holiness Pope Paul VI said:

"... this Organization represents the obligatory road of modern civilization and of world peace The building you have made ... must be perfected and conformed to the demands world history will make." [1347th meeting, paras. 24 and 26.]

2. The most urgent need which confronts this Organization today is, I am convinced, to stop the further dissemination of nuclear weapons; to prevent their spread to countries not now possessing them and the endless multiplication of stockpiles in the nuclear States. Fundamentally what is involved, as I see it, is whether this most marvellous scientific discovery of all time is to be a blessing or a curse; whether we have the wisdom and the will to harness and control it to produce a better standard of life for all men everywhere, or whether we are to stand helplessly by while it becomes a rampant demon for our destruction. The Members of this Assembly and world opinion generally have come a long way towards appreciating the danger involved in the spread of nuclear weapons since the draft resolution aimed at preventing it was tabled for discussion in 1958^{1/}. But at our peril action must no longer be delayed. Already another nuclear Power has emerged, and several others will join the list if an international agreement is not concluded without further delay.

3. If the majority of the nuclear Powers act energetically, casting aside any relatively minor political advantages they see in further delay, and sign an agreement, it will be welcomed and signed by the overwhelming majority of our Members. I am confident that, once a formal agreement has been adopted, the

pressure of domestic and world opinion will prevent the Government of any non-nuclear State proceeding on the costly and hazardous adventure of manufacturing or otherwise procuring ownership or control of nuclear weapons. In this connexion, may I say that I strongly support the suggestion made by our Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization [A/6301/Add.1] that the impact and implications of all aspects of nuclear weapons should be explored and weighed by an appropriate body of the United Nations.

4. I can personally vouch that many wise and far-seeing men, in States technically competent and possessing sufficient resources to produce nuclear weapons, realize the vast difference in time and expenditure between developing a few provocative atomic weapons and mass-producing the huge arsenals of the sophisticated nuclear weapons and delivery systems necessary to protect their peoples against aggression by means of their own forces and equipment. These men realize that the attempt by a non-nuclear State to produce, or otherwise to acquire, a few atomic bombs might well bring about the very attack their Governments fear, and against which they hope to defend their countries. Far-sighted men in nuclear-competent States realize also that the acquisition of a national stockpile of nuclear weapons necessitates not only the diversion of skills and resources sorely needed to improve the domestic standard of life and to help their neighbours, but that the internal security of nuclear States is a nightmare to their Governments and demands ever-increasing hordes of highly-skilled intelligence agents.

5. I am compelled to concede that the retention of existing arsenals of nationally-owned nuclear weapons may be unavoidable in order to prevent the existing strategic balance from becoming unstable and touching off a nuclear holocaust. I have always believed that the nuclear States will not part with their nuclear arsenals until an effective collective system of world security has been evolved and has proved it can maintain peace. But to embark now upon a programme of acquiring nuclear weapons and the ancillary equipment is a fool's game for the poorer or smaller States. For their own safety and prosperity and for the peace and prosperity of the world, it would be better if the potential nuclear States firmly made up their minds to seek their security and prestige in improving the lives of their own peoples and those of their poorer neighbours throughout the world and in helping to build up reliable and effective United Nations conciliation and peace-keeping procedures.

6. It is, of course, dangerously easy to heap scorn on power blocs without suggesting acceptable and practical alternatives to the existing strategic balance

*Resumed from the 1432nd meeting.

^{1/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirteenth Session, Annexes, agenda items 64, 70 and 72, document A/C.1/L.206.

which would require time and patience to carry into effect. I am convinced that the answer to the problem of maintaining international peace is to be found neither in the extension or perpetuation of power blocs nor in their immediate dismantlement. Hence, I venture to repeat the suggestions I have frequently made for the establishment of what I have variously described as "regional neutrality", "areas of peace" or "areas of law and limited armaments".

7. I have dealt extensively with the concept of such areas of law in the General Assembly or in the First Committee every year since 1958. The basic idea was that, as we cannot hope to secure disarmament or the establishment of the rule of international law in all parts of the world in a single, quick and comprehensive operation, we should approach the problem area by area. I suggested that we should commence by encouraging and assisting groups of States, particularly in zones which are affected by great-Power rivalry and tension, to come together as neutral States and agree not to attack one another, to settle their differences peacefully and to limit their armaments to police level, on the condition that the United Nations, backed by the nuclear Powers, would guarantee them against aggression from outside or inside the area.

8. In 1960, after listening to the interventions of the representatives of Cambodia and Laos, I suggested in the First Committee that the organization of an area of law should be considered for a group of countries in South-East Asia.^{2/} At the 1411th plenary meeting of the General Assembly on 21 September this year, the President of the Philippines, Mr. Marcos, welcomed the peace agreement between Malaysia and Indonesia as bringing forth "a nucleus of peace and stability in a sea and an area of crisis and conflict". I fervently hope that this "nucleus of peace" will prosper and grow into a wider area of peace and limited armaments embracing the lands and seas of South East Asia including, of course, Viet-Nam.

9. In 1961, I urged [1075th plenary meeting] that the United Nations should enter into negotiation in the Far East for the purpose of securing peace between Peking and Taiwan and settling the question of the representation of both countries in the United Nations; indeed, a somewhat similar suggestion was made by the representative of Italy, Mr. Bosco, in the general debate at the twentieth session [1338th meeting].

10. I felt then and I feel now that if an independent Taiwan became a Member of the Assembly of the United Nations in its own right and left the China seat to be filled by the Peking Government, the establishment of an area of peace in South East Asia guaranteed by the United Nations and the nuclear Powers might be more acceptable.

11. May I also recall that, speaking in the general debate of the nineteenth session in 1964, I proposed that we should endeavour to negotiate an agreed settlement of the problem of the representation of China. I went on to suggest:

"...that the Secretary-General and the four nuclear Powers in the Security Council should be

asked to negotiate with Peking and Taiwan between now and the twentieth session to find out whether agreement could be arrived at on the following basis: that Taiwan would take a seat in the Assembly and that Peking would assume the position of a permanent member of the Security Council, accepting to be bound by the Purpose and Principles of the Charter, by a non-dissemination agreement and by an agreement that all other nuclear States would go to the assistance of a non-nuclear State attacked by a nuclear Power." [1295th meeting, para. 24.]

In present circumstances it might be more fruitful to have the question of the representation of China and Taiwan explored by the Secretary-General, and I am sure it would be generally agreed that the responsibility for the difficult negotiations involved could not be placed in better hands.

12. I wish to turn now to the critical state of the finances of our Organization and to the proposals made last year by the delegations of Ceylon, Costa Rica, Ghana, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Nepal, Philippines and Somalia,^{3/} to restore mandatory assessments for peace-keeping. These co-sponsors felt certain that if we were to allow mandatory assessments for peace-keeping to lapse, mandatory assessments would not last long for all other purposes of the United Nations. Let us remember, in approaching this subject, that the very life of this Organization is involved, and that it is the best hope, and perhaps the last chance, for mankind to mobilize the skills and resources of modern civilization to safeguard peace and to promote co-operatively the interests of all States and peoples. Like a super-sophisticated satellite, bereft of a source of energy to activate its equipment, the United Nations might orbit for a time, but it would do so aimlessly, if it were deprived of its essential source of energy—finance—to make good its decisions and exert a beneficent and fruitful influence on the affairs of men.

13. A similar draft resolution will be tabled again this year and I urgently appeal to all Member States to support it. And, in this connexion, may I recall that our wise and esteemed Secretary-General, in his speech at Windsor, Ontario, on 28 May last, said:

"For all these reasons Canada has, I know, a very great interest in helping to find the answer to a question which must be of the deepest concern to all who support the United Nations and who wish to see it become a more effective instrument for peaceful and constructive international co-operation. This is the question of the future of the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations—the question, in effect, whether the United Nations will find itself able to afford, both politically and financially, to undertake new operations of this kind when the need for them arises again, as it almost certainly will in our still dangerously unsettled world."

When considering these words of our Secretary-General, I would urge representatives to realize how relatively small a contribution they would have to make under our proposals. For a peace-keeping operation costing, say, \$100 million, the assessment

^{2/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, First Committee, 1096th meeting, para. 17.

^{3/} Ibid., Twentieth Session, Annexes, agenda item 101, document A/SFC/I.121/Rev.1.

on the economically less-developed Member States would be one third of one cent per head; on the developed Member States it would range from 4 1/2 to 12 cents per head; and on the five permanent members of the Security Council it would be no more than 13 cents per head if they all consented to the operation taking place—although the special position of this group could have the result of increasing their individual assessments with their consent.

14. Men of goodwill throughout the world seek peace, not only to avoid the horrors of war but as an "enterprise of justice", as a basis upon which to promote the economic, cultural and social progress of all peoples without distinction of race or creed.

15. In order that the resources of the world may be developed to the full, and that fair trading conditions and additional capital should be available to the lower-income countries, the volume of international money should grow in relation to the increase in output of desirable goods and services offered for sale on the world market.

16. On 28 September 1966, at the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund in Washington, D.C., my colleague, Mr. Lynch, Ireland's Minister for Finance, adverted to the fact that in 1965 the increase in the world's monetary reserves was only about half the annual average for the preceding decade. "The practical test", he said, "of the adequacy of liquidity—domestic and international—is whether finance is available to maintain the economic growth made possible by physical resources." Mr. Lynch went on to call attention to the high interest rates and to the shortage of long-term capital needed for the economic development of smaller nations and to point out that the present difficulties will be accentuated according as the two reserve currency countries bring their international payments into closer balance; and he urged that the planning and putting into operation of a scheme of rational creation of reserve assets should not await the achievement of equilibrium by the two reserve currency countries. Finally, he stressed that reserve creation is the concern of members of the Fund and that they should all participate in the distribution of newly created reserves. Mr. Lynch was speaking in the context of the communiqué issued by the Ministerial Meeting of the Group of Ten, which reported their agreement that deliberately created reserve assets, as and when needed, should be distributed to all members of the Fund on the basis of International Monetary Fund quotas or some similar objective criteria. This statement by the Group of Ten is, in my opinion, the best news that has been heard for a long time, and gives hope that, if peace can be maintained in the world, the standard of life of low-income nations can be raised significantly through a fair system of reciprocal trade and with reasonable aid from the high-income States.

17. In conclusion, I should like to say a brief word about our distinguished Secretary-General. I have had occasion in the past to speak from this rostrum of his magnificent and self-sacrificing work. It was, therefore, with a feeling of anxiety for the future of the United Nations that my Government learned of U Thant's decision not to offer himself for another

term as Secretary-General. We understand, of course, the various considerations which prompted that decision, for we realize that the office makes quite exceptional demands of all kinds on the incumbent. At the same time, my delegation fully shares the views expressed by so many previous speakers. We have no doubt at all that it would be of immense value to the Organization, and it would be a source of deep satisfaction to the Irish Government, if the course of events should bring U Thant to feel that he can continue in office.

18. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland): Most speakers who have participated in the debate here have expressed their deep and well-founded concern over the war in Viet-Nam, which is steadily being intensified. This is also a concern of ours. The world is facing a serious crisis. Obviously, no discussion in the United Nations could fail to reflect this crisis, although for reasons only too obvious and well known the United Nations is not called upon to solve this problem. For precisely the same reasons it should refrain from taking any formal steps, adopting any resolutions or issuing any declarations on the matter.

19. We regret that not everything that has been uttered from this rostrum with regard to the question of Viet-Nam could be considered as a realistic—not to say fair—approach to the problem. We have heard statements which even distorted the very essence of the question. Thus the people of Viet-Nam, fighting for its legitimate rights to unity and independence, has been in fact labelled here as the guilty party in the conflict. Aggression committed by a great Power has been described as defence against aggression. Violations of the sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam through air bombing have been presented as actions intended to bring about negotiations; violations of the agreements which twelve years ago brought peace to Indochina, as fulfilment of international commitments; the imposition by force upon the people of South Viet-Nam of a military clique, as implementation of the principle of self-determination. The staging of mock elections is considered as a defence of democracy—the very elections which the Buddhist leader Thich Tri Quang called "a real swindle ... a defeat not only for Buddhists and for me, but for the whole Vietnamese people".

20. The United States representative submitted here allegedly new peace proposals [1412th meeting]. We could not, however, perceive anything new in them. Moreover, it has become a practice that each so-called peaceful move on the part of the United States is accompanied by increased military activities. Each step increasing the extent of United States involvement in its aggression in Viet-Nam has always been claimed to be the last. However, for years, each such step has paved the way to still more dangerous ones. This, indeed, is the mechanics of escalation.

21. Such a policy cannot but meet with growing opposition; it is doing so and will continue to do so. No wonder The New York Times, on 7 October 1966, had this to say:

"Can the United States steadily escalate the war in Vietnam ... and at the same time bring about peace negotiations with Hanoi? Peace offers

with one hand; killing, burning, defoliating, destroying, bombing with the other The old adage that 'actions speak louder than words' applies in Vietnam today as it has [done] at all times and everywhere."

22. We submit that the policy of the United States on Viet-Nam has no chance of succeeding. It will bring neither military nor political advantage. Peoples liberated from colonial domination will submit to no foreign dictate. In their struggle the Vietnamese people are receiving—and will continue to receive—ever-growing support and assistance from all those who cherish progress and peace.

23. May I further state that the policy of the United States on Viet-Nam leads nowhere. It certainly closes the door to peaceful solutions. For there can be no question of negotiations as long as the bombing continues or as long as a threat to resume it persists. Neither is it possible to bring about genuine negotiations as long as the aggressor tries to secure in advance the assurance that he will get at the conference table what he could not achieve through military means. Finally, no negotiations would be worthy of that name if they were not conducted with the real parties to the conflict—with the National Liberation Front and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. The National Liberation Front is indeed the only true representative of the interests of the Vietnamese people in the South. The Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is a sovereign State which has been wantonly attacked by the United States. And should not the demands of those whose rights have been brutally trampled upon by the aggressor be taken as the basis for any such talks?

24. The policy of the United States on Viet-Nam is a dangerous policy. It carries the menace of spreading the flames of war into new regions. Its moral and political consequences cannot but be harmful. A policy dictated from a position of strength, a policy conducted from the position of economic and military superiority of a great Power, sets an evil example with demoralizing and destructive effects. It encourages all over the globe cold-war and expansionist forces, all those who aim at maintaining international tension, as well as those who try to draw benefits from existing conflicts. Such a policy emboldens régimes based on exploitation and racial discrimination—for example, those in South Africa and Rhodesia. It makes it possible for the racist Government of the Republic of South Africa to defy the whole civilized world on the question of South West Africa. It leads to an extension of the network of military bases in foreign territories—including Non-Self-Governing Territories—contrary to the clearly expressed decisions of the United Nations. Last but not least, it runs counter to the aspirations of legitimate national liberation movements, recognized as such by the General Assembly of the United Nations. For United States intervention in Viet-Nam is nothing else but a war against national and social liberation.

25. With all this in mind, one has to agree that the crisis in South-East Asia could not have left the United Nations unaffected. It is against this background, besides all the other considerations which we appreciate, that one can better comprehend the reasons for the attitude taken by our Secretary-

General. U Thant has played a useful role in the United Nations and he could continue to do so enjoying the trust and confidence placed in him. The Organization would suffer a great loss if he were to relinquish the post of Secretary-General. For its part, the Polish delegation could only rejoice should he decide to continue in his office.

26. May I be permitted to say that we wish the American people well. Many chapters in its past history are filled with the fight for liberation and independence. In the sixties of the last century, the American people was engaged in a struggle against retrograde forces in its own territory. But Lincoln's work has not been completed as yet; there is still a great deal to be done at home. May the United States abandon the road taken in Viet-Nam. It is not one of glory. To withdraw might become a more convincing opportunity for greatness than to get stuck in the mud of the Viet-Nameese swamps.

27. Reason, which you, Mr. President, have so earnestly and rightly invoked in your opening statement [1409th meeting], implies the necessity to shed all illusions that the Viet-Nameese people could be subjugated; and political realism makes it imperative that the Viet-Nameese conflict should be solved in accordance with the Geneva Agreements so as to enable the people of Viet-Nam to shape their own destiny in peace, in freedom, and in independence.

28. And finally, let me say, the crisis in Viet-Nam confirms what we have been saying here for years: it is that today any attempts at resolving international problems by military means have become ineffective and self-defeating. Crises caused by the policy of acting from the position of strength cannot be solved or resolved by the methods used to pursue that same policy.

29. No less true is the principle that peace is indivisible. The crisis in Viet-Nam is an obstacle to the solution of many important political, economic and social problems of the world of today. Urgent as they are, they have, for the time being, been overshadowed by the conflict in South-East Asia. However, they remain weighty and important, and the responsibility for finding a proper solution for them rests with us. All the more urgent are the efforts aimed at eliminating the sources of conflict in other regions, and in good time.

30. The primary interest of my country in the problems of Europe hardly needs justification. The socialist countries have repeatedly stated that, should the North Atlantic Treaty Organization be dissolved, the Warsaw Pact will also cease to exist. At their meeting held last July at Bucharest,^{4/} the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty declared their readiness to agree now to the liquidation of the military organizations of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Europe's division into opposing military groupings should be replaced by an effective system of collective security. This is our aim, and we shall continue to do our best to achieve it. In this connexion it may be of interest to you here to recall the following passage from the

^{4/} Meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee, 4-6 July 1966.

Bucharest Declaration of the States members of the Warsaw Pact:

"The security and peace of every European nation should be truly guaranteed not through the existence of military groupings, which do not correspond to contemporary sound trends in international life, but through the establishment of an effective system of security in Europe."²

31. Of course, such a complex problem cannot be solved in a quick and easy way. As long as the armaments race in the West continues, as long as the danger brought about by the application of policies pressured from a position of strength persist, we in the East cannot weaken our preparedness for defence. We are therefore willing to move towards our aim patiently, by gradually implementing a series of partial, tension-reducing measures. Their importance and scope could be successively widened.

32. Hence the Polish proposals known as the Rapacki Plan and the Gomulka Plan for the setting up of a nuclear-free zone in Europe and for freezing nuclear armaments in that area [see 1301st meeting, paras. 63-65, and 1358th meeting, para. 172]. We maintain them; they remain fully valid today.

33. We have also been discussing recently with our friends, with our allies and with other European Governments, the possibility of reaching a regional agreement on the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons under an adequate system of control, and simultaneously considering the possibility of the reduction of troop strengths.

34. Two years ago we suggested from this rostrum the summoning of an international conference in order to discuss problems of security and co-operation in Europe [1301st meeting, paras. 61-62]. We were gratified that our proposal was greeted with interest and understanding by governmental and non-governmental quarters in many European countries.

35. In the exchanges of views and conversations which we of Poland have had on various levels and on different occasions—particularly during many meetings of our Minister of Foreign Affairs with Foreign Ministers of other European countries, including European neutrals—numerous valuable and constructive suggestions have been put forward concerning a European conference on security and co-operation. They concerned mainly the ways and means of its preparation as well as the broad outline of issues to be discussed. One thing may be put on record now: it has become clear that certain basic ideas could crystallize and acquire concrete shape as early as in the preparatory stages of such a conference. Encouraged by the results so far obtained, we intend to hold further consultations on the subject, and we beg for a proper understanding in this regard.

36. A European conference well and carefully prepared should concentrate, first of all, on a thorough consideration of the problems of security. An agreement reached at the conference could, *inter alia*, take the form of a declaration on co-operation in maintaining and strengthening European security.

37. At the same time, such economic problems as concern Europe as a whole could be discussed, for instance, mutual relationships and contacts among the three existing economic groupings in Europe. We of Poland remain persuaded that the development and deepening of economic co-operation among European countries, as elsewhere, on the basis of mutual benefits constitutes a particularly important element in easing tension, bringing about better understanding and fostering a rapprochement. The same applies to problems of scientific, technical and cultural exchanges, which should also be included in the agenda of such a European conference. The strengthening of a feeling of security, the deepening of co-operation among all European States—all States, with no exception—and the resulting relaxation of tension could make it possible eventually to deal with the controversial political problems which are so far unresolved. This, however, could not be done before the final stage of the course thus envisaged.

38. As to the problem of Germany, its solution—in the light of the historical experience of European nations—must be subordinated to European security. Its solution can be reached only as a result of a historical process—through the strengthening of European security, through the lessening of tension, through a rapprochement between the two German States and the normalization of relations in Europe as a whole. A number of speakers in our debate have voiced their agreement with precisely such an approach. Indeed, it meets with an ever-increasing understanding, even among those who have opposed it so far—the United States not excluded.

39. Those determining the present policy of the Federal Republic of Germany act in a different way. A smokescreen of various diplomatic notes and declarations cannot conceal the persistent and categorical "no" which comes from Bonn whenever constructive proposals are put forward in order to undertake a serious approach to the problem of normalization in Europe. Bonn's policy of attempting, in fact, to push Europe's problems into channels leading to a dead end has been echoed, regrettably, even in some statements heard from this rostrum. There have been few such statements, but they were all the more unexpected since their authors have so far never indicated any particular interest in the true essentials of European security—for which attitude the European nations have only too often paid the price in blood and in lives. Were they perhaps the result of the misleading propaganda of the Federal Republic of Germany? I prefer to leave this question unanswered.

40. It is not the existence of the two German States which constitutes the real cause of tension in Europe. The sources of this tension, as we in Poland see them, may be enumerated in the following order: first, the territorial claims of the Federal Republic of Germany against Poland and other neighbouring States, claims advanced twenty-one years after the unconditional surrender of Germany, after Potsdam, and based in the year 1966 on the pretence of the validity of the frontiers of 1937; secondly, the policy of non-recognition and the hostile attitude towards the German Democratic Republic, a State that has already won recognition in the world—and this cannot be denied—

² Declaration on Strengthening Peace and Security in Europe, issued on 5 July 1966.

and is playing a constructive role in international relations; thirdly, the maintenance by the Federal Republic of Germany of the absurd assertion that it is the sole representative of the German nation. This leads to the nonsensical extension by the Federal Republic of Germany of its internal legislation to territories and citizens of other States, a matter well worth studying; fourthly, the persistence with which the German Federal Republic attempts to obtain access to nuclear weapons. Only recently, on 23 September 1966, the Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany repeated this claim and even invoked, rather cynically, in this context, the Charter of the United Nations.

41. Finally, we have the revival in Western Germany of neo-Nazi forces, which has alarmed public opinion even in those countries of the West where, so far, this threat has been ignored or passed unnoticed. May I say, however, that it was the very policy of some of those countries towards the German problem which has resulted in the encouragement of extremist tendencies in Western Germany.

42. With all this taking place, we feel, indeed we are convinced, that it is high time to encourage and assist those forces in Western Germany which are striving for peace. We of Poland duly appreciate the existence of those forces, weak as they may seem at present. We encourage, through proper political attitudes and firmness, the prevention of trends which could only lead to a recurrence of the tragic events of the past.

43. Thus the time has come, may I submit, to discard completely the application of policies conducted from a position of strength, in Europe as elsewhere. Again, only deeds count and it is deeds that we expect.

44. Every step leading to the consolidation of European security and co-operation is of importance to the development of the whole world. Our globe is a system of communicating vessels. Though a European nation, we are not and hardly can be indifferent to problems of other regions. Our particular concern with European security and co-operation is, of course, organically linked with our deep interest in the creation of proper conditions for the economic growth and development of other continents, for their own security and for their own co-operation. Indeed, we do offer our support to regional, collateral measures aiming at détente and disarmament in other parts of the world, as well as to similar measures on a global scale; needless to say, our support of the cause of general and complete disarmament remains determined and faithful.

45. For years now have we raised our voice in favour of commencing the process of nuclear disarmament. No progress has so far been made on that issue, with which every nation and every man should be deeply concerned and which is so essential to our future, if not to the very survival of mankind; indeed, the contrary is the case. The armaments race is gaining speed. While negotiations on disarmament are being held, the danger of mass extermination is increasing, be it through a deliberate use of nuclear weapons or through sheer accident. One may perhaps ponder how to qualify in this context the recent statement of a former President of the United States, that nuclear

bombs should be used in Viet-Nam. And stories about hydrogen bombs accidentally lost over foreign territories have long ceased to be mere subjects for movie script writers.

46. The conclusion of a general treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons seems to us not only most urgent, but at the same time most capable of realization. Such a treaty should, of course, exclude proliferation in any form, and correspond fully with the requirements of the resolution adopted here last year [Assembly resolution 2028 (XX)]. There can be no loophole. The treaty cannot permit the creation, in addition to nuclear and non-nuclear Powers, of a third category of States which would have, through military alliances, physical access to nuclear weapons, which could keep the finger on the nuclear trigger or influence the decision to use those weapons.

47. On behalf of my Government I should like to assure this Assembly that we, on our part, shall spare no efforts to contribute constructively to the solution of the problems of disarmament. It is in this spirit that Poland is taking part in the work of the Eighteen-Nation Conference on Disarmament at Geneva and of many institutions and organizations, both governmental and non-governmental, dealing with those problems.

48. Only recently the 1966 Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs, at Poland's invitation, was held in our country (at Sopot, from 11-16 September 1966). There, eminent scholars from scores of countries discussed the problems of security, disarmament and peace. In our view, the voice of scientists on those questions is as important as that of statesmen and politicians. Equally, if not more important, seems to us the need to mobilize world public opinion in order to unite all efforts in the struggle against the threat of war. It is essential to make nations aware of the effects of weapons of mass destruction and strengthen their determination to achieve disarmament. We shall discuss this subject in detail in the First Committee. One of the draft resolutions which the Polish delegations plans to submit during this session, should circumstances, of course, permit it, will deal with this very question.

49. Some speakers in this debate did emphasize the need for the establishment of a United Nations peace-keeping machinery. Strangely enough, political shortcomings and failures of the United Nations have been ascribed by them to the lack of an institutionalized form of intervention by the United Nations in international conflicts. With all due respect, we are unable to subscribe to such views. It is rather as the frank and very interesting and outspoken annual report of the Secretary-General put it:

"The weaknesses and shortcomings of the United Nations lie not in its constitutional purposes, objectives and procedures but in world conditions at the present juncture of history It is in these realms, and not in the structure of the United Nations, that the roots of the troubles of the world lie." [See A/6301/Add.1, p. 12.]

50. The return to the Charter and to the full application of its principles should be therefore our greatest concern. Our efforts should first of all concentrate

on that. Let us look at the situation as it is. The principle of the universality of the United Nations still awaits its implementation. The refusal to admit the representatives of a great Power—the People's Republic of China—inhabited by one quarter of the world's population, while those from Taiwan who represent nobody and nothing are seated here, only does an injustice and an offence to the great Chinese nation. That situation undermines the authority of the United Nations and reduces in fact its effectiveness.

51. In accordance with the principle of universality, we support the application submitted this year by the German Democratic Republic for admission to the United Nations. Being a State of a highly developed economic potential, of a stabilized internal situation, and a State conducting a constructive policy of peace, the German Democratic Republic is rightfully entitled to its seat in this hall as a Member. And may I say that the application of the German Democratic Republic, the contents of which we all know here, also supports the admission to the United Nations of the other German State, the Federal Republic of Germany.

52. Every State should be permitted to take part in the work of the United Nations and its organs, at least through an observer. As the Secretary-General has so rightly stated, this would be beneficial both for the States concerned and for the Organization as a whole [see A/6301/Add.1, p. 14]. It is high time to abolish limitations that make the realization of this unquestionable requirement impossible.

53. The United Nations Charter prohibits interference in the internal affairs of other States. It provides for the observance of sovereignty and national independence, as well as for respect for the right of peoples to self-determination. Incompatible with those principles is the colonial system still maintained in large areas of our globe, as are the attempts to subject newly-emerged States to economic and other kinds of neo-colonial pressure.

54. Incompatible with those principles, too, is the specific situation in South Korea, whose occupation by United States troops makes peaceful unification of that country impossible at the present time. It is high time for us to do something about this situation.

55. Once an end is put to real violations of the Charter, once its provisions are fully observed and faithfully applied, the whole discussion on peace-keeping will become pointless, or, at least, lose its impact.

56. We have set forth the views, interests and concerns of the Polish delegation. We shall speak about the details of the issues on our agenda in the debates at plenary meetings and in the Committees. We shall do so in accordance with our deep and sincere conviction of the importance of the United Nations and the historical role it can fulfil. We shall act, as we have to act, in conformity with the fundamental principles of the foreign policy of our country, Poland: to serve progress, to struggle for the better future of mankind, to uphold the principle of peaceful coexistence, and to strengthen peace.

57. Mr. SIDIKOU (Niger) (translated from French): First, Mr. President, I should like to associate my country very sincerely with the tributes, offered by all those who have spoken before me, on the occasion of your election. Your outstanding qualities of heart and mind make it natural that you should be destined to guide our debates at an especially difficult moment in the international situation. Your well-known moderation, courage and equanimity will be more necessary today than ever before in helping us to accomplish our high mission.

58. We are grateful, too, to your eminent predecessor, the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Amintore Fanfani, who is well-known in my country for his qualities as a statesman and for the rare but precious combination of an oecumenical approach, unruffled courage and an acute sense of responsibility with which he but lately presided over our work.

59. Today, as always, the General Assembly is confronted with problems of two kinds: economic problems, which are permanent because they are connected with an imbalance in development and world trade; and political problems, which, although they are certainly current problems, nevertheless spring from matters which are the constant concern of our Assembly: I refer to decolonization, the sterile demagoguery of ideologies, the expansionist appetite of the great Powers and their will to power—these, alas, feed the short-term calculations of some and the spiritual surrender of others.

60. In regard to economic problems, which are the keystone of international co-operation, it is no secret to anyone that, since the last two meetings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the gulf between privileged and under-privileged nations has steadily widened. It will go on widening until such time as the privileged third, enjoying 80 per cent of the world's resources, arrives at a more real and concrete sense of common cause with the two thirds of humanity living from common resources under the permanent shadow of hunger, disease, illiteracy and even, alas, thirst.

61. It is time, therefore—and we barely have time—to agree, courageously and in the common interest of our community, to reverse the present trade pattern, inherited from a nefarious trading system. It is no longer enough to restore a balance between primary commodities and manufactured goods: a new world economic order must be instituted, and very quickly. Reference has been made in this hall to the "organised pillage" of the resources of one third of the world. The remedy must be a bold one; in other words, it must be proportional to the gravity of that indictment.

62. That is why we deplore the stagnation of assistance to the non-aligned countries and the proposal made by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development for a sum of 1 per cent of the gross national product; the stagnation, after all, was foreseeable, for the great mistake was to set targets country by country, when it was rather the global aspect of the problem that should have been envisaged. In that respect the International Bank for Reconstruction

tion and Development, in its annual report for 1966, notes, not without concern, that:

"While the increasingly heavy debt burden of developing countries points to the need for funds on easier terms, recent legislative authorizations suggest that the average terms of total bilateral assistance may become less, rather than more, concessionary;"

And further, that:

"A major anomaly in the present system of aid lies in the inconsistency between the justifiable insistence by those who provide assistance that recipient countries formulate longer-term development strategy and policies, while they themselves can make no commitment of aid beyond a period of one year,"^{6/}

63. Indeed, with our increasingly well-organized reception structures, we could better prepare and apply our development plans if the countries supplying aid would give us a reasonable indication of the level of assistance to be expected during the period of implementation of our plans. We believe that one of the conditions for our orderly growth resides in the will of the industrialized countries to give priority to aid for the development of our young States. If we ask that aid be supplied under reasonable conditions, it is in order to enable us to break the vicious circle of unreasonable increase in the growth volume of assistance, while maintaining the transfer of real resources to the non-developed countries at a given level.

64. In regard to the problem of world trade, in order to be equitable we must in future look at it more from the standpoint of market organization. In the rich countries, for example, the State already guarantees farmers a sale for their products at prices described as attractive. With a little imagination and an effective spirit of solidarity, there would be no technical difficulty in extending this method and practising, on a world scale, a rational organization of trade guaranteeing today's poor countries a turnover of their agricultural and even their manufactured products at fair and rewarding prices. The organization of the edible oil market in the free zone and the more modest but promising experience of the sugar agreement among member States of the Common Afro-Malagasy Organization seem to us, despite their still limited character, to point the way for the future.

65. At present the evidence shows that more and more is being required from the developing countries in thus making common cause, but that their effort is still as ill-rewarded as ever, because of the selfishness of the rich countries and the deterioration in the terms of trade. In 1965, for example, there was a strikingly great increase in agricultural production, of the order of 50 per cent or more; yet our countries have never suffered greater losses on such products as, for example, cotton, than they did in that year.

66. The unfavourable effects of this fluctuation in the value of trade in primary commodities are important, particularly in the less developed primary

producing countries, for fluctuations in export earnings directly affect the stability of their domestic economies. This instability becomes a decisive additional factor aggravating the various factors inherent in under-development and seriously hampers the planning and implementation of economic and social development programmes. It is therefore becoming urgent to envisage effective compensation measures, whether in the form of currency reserves to reinforce the present action of the International Monetary Fund, or in the form of long-term credits, or in the form of an equalization fund operating at world level as an insurance fund for development; or, better still, by harmoniously combining the multiplying effects of these different modes of intervention. The prerequisite for all this to be translated into reality is international co-operation, resulting from frank and patient negotiations and the conclusion of a series of agreements between industrialized countries and under-equipped countries with an essentially agricultural economy; such agreements would have to cover both the terms of technical and financial assistance and the arrangements for trade relations.

67. In order to remedy the fluctuation of prices and the currency drain caused by it, and while awaiting the advent of this new world economic order for which we call with all our heart and strength, my country will continue to pursue and improve, realistically and discriminatingly, the consolidation of groupings among developing countries within an appropriate geographical framework.

68. If these regional groupings are to become dynamic, effective foci of rapid economic expansion, they must keep their doors wide open, first to neighbour countries, then to similar groupings on other continents and, finally, to international organizations. It is in the light of such concerns that one must understand our fruitful relations with the Special Fund and our effective association with the European Economic Community, which is setting an example of disinterested aid and a noble spirit of co-operation and strengthening our faith in the future relations between developed and developing countries.

69. These economic preoccupations, however, urgent and compelling though they are, are far from constituting the only concerns of the United Nations. With this twenty-first session the General Assembly reaches its majority. This is more than ever the moment for it to face the real problems besetting it—that is, courageously to find concrete solutions for those problems. World opinion will no longer be content with this escape route whereby resolutions pile up, no sooner adopted than forgotten. The hour for bold decisions has arrived, for in Angola and Mozambique, as well as in so-called Portuguese Guinea, the Lisbon Government, with the same obstinacy as in the past, is still resisting all development. Claiming that these colonies are on the same footing as metropolitan provinces, the Portuguese Government is keeping them in a state of strict dependence and, when their populations seek to emancipate themselves, it subjects them to rigorous repression. The Government of Niger cannot but deplore that obstinacy; it hopes that the inhabitants of the Portuguese colonies will before long be in a position to exert their right

^{6/} See International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; International Development Association, 1965-1966 Annual Report, p. 45.

of self-determination in a real sense. It is nothing short of a tragedy for the Portuguese people, once so attentive to the trend and lesson on history, to find itself today drawn by the blindness of its present leaders along the retrograde and anachronistic paths of modern colonialism, at a time when other European nations have for years been giving it lessons in progress and in the morality of relations among communities.

70. The illegal Government of Rhodesia gives us another example of blind obstinacy; for, despite the fact that it has been disowned by the entire world, with the exception, of course, of South Africa and Portugal, it is trying to perpetuate the domination of a minority of foreign settlers over the great majority of the country's inhabitants.

71. The sanctions applied by a number of countries represent a worthy but totally inadequate effort. Admittedly, they are inconveniencing Rhodesia, but everything leads one to believe that they cannot in themselves make Rhodesia give in, mainly because of the permanent violation of the blockade by South Africa and Portugal. It appears, therefore, that a new effort must be made by the United Kingdom; it is for that country to do everything possible and, if necessary to resort to force, to checkmate the Rhodesian rebellion. We have always maintained that the Rhodesian question is primarily a question for the United Kingdom. Our confidence in that great Power must dictate to it the measure of its responsibilities.

72. The recent assassination of the Prime Minister of South Africa has once again drawn attention to the sad situation reigning in that country, where, once again, a minority imbued with racist theories seeks to maintain indefinitely its domination over the rest of the population. World opinion must not tolerate such flouting of human rights in that part of our continent. Despite the small effect, so far, of the economic sanctions adopted against Rhodesia—but in view of the existence of those sanctions—a total embargo should be imposed on South Africa. It seems to us, moreover, that such measures would have greater force if they were applied to South Africa as well as to Rhodesia.

73. I now come to the particularly grave question of South West Africa. My Government profoundly regrets that the International Court of Justice, after so much procrastination, did not find it incumbent upon itself to adjudicate on the substance of the complaint submitted by Liberia and Ethiopia. For our part, no doubt is possible and it is not going too far to refer to this iniquitous judgement as frivolous. Be that as it may, my country, in the name of human rights, rejects the conclusions of a juridical formalism inspired by obsolete notions of race, colour or civilization.

74. For years South Africa has been defying international opinion, making a mockery of our unanimous resolutions and violating the mandate entrusted to it by the League of Nations by refusing, despite the opinion of the Court of Justice, to accept any United Nations supervision over its administration and by applying to that unfortunate Territory the nefarious system of apartheid. As was recently proposed by the Committee of Twenty-Four, we demand that the United

Nations General Assembly, the heir to the League of Nations, take back from South Africa the mandate entrusted to that country by the League. Measures of an economic order, identical with those which I have just advocated, should, of course, be immediately taken against the Pretoria Government in order to compel it, if that is still possible, to relax its hold on the international Territory of South West Africa.

75. To reject the apartheid policy in the name of international morality, of morality tout court, and at the same time to stand passively watching its systematic installation in South West Africa, is hypocrisy and blindness which nothing can pardon. The time has come for the United Nations, in face of the defiance and dilatory decisions of South Africa, to assume its responsibilities and vigorously take all appropriate measures, while there is still time, to remove South West Africa from the effect of the nefarious apartheid régime.

76. In regard to the new countries of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, we rejoice to see that the first two have achieved independence; but we well know the difficulty of their situation, surrounded as they are by South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal. We therefore ask the United Kingdom, in the first place, to do everything to ensure that their territorial integrity and independence are guaranteed.

77. No country is more anxious than Niger to see the United Nations, in keeping with its own fundamental principles, recover the universal character which the peoples of the whole world expect of it. That is why we welcome the return of the Republic of Indonesia, whose successive delegations and Permanent Representatives have always enriched our debates, to its legitimate place. We welcome with equal enthusiasm the arrival of the Republic of Guyana among us; its history of struggle, heroism and self-control is the guarantee of the positive contribution it will make to our work.

78. It is in the name of this universality that we are solemnly launching from this rostrum an anguished appeal, first to the peoples of Europe, then to all the peoples of the world, for an end to the absurd situation of a divided Germany. This anachronistic situation is keeping out of our Assembly the third greatest economic Power of the world and, moreover, is creating, out of the accumulated feelings of humiliation, frustration and injustice, an explosive situation in the heart of Europe. Whatever sufferings may have been endured not long ago, the scars of which are still far from healed, the future of peace and security on the old continent, and therefore in the whole world, demand a policy of reconciliation and interchange with the German people. Whether this is or is not to the liking of some, whether it causes one to rejoice or to deplore, the relaxation of East-West tension—indispensable to Europe today—depends on German unity. We who are glad to appreciate the blessings of self-determination, which we continue to demand as an inalienable right for the peoples of Africa, Asia and America, call for it in no less certain terms for the German people.

79. But, by the same logic and with the same insistence we claim it for the peoples artificially and

dangerously divided in Korea, Viet-Nam and elsewhere. The permanent policy of my country in this connexion is nothing less than the application of simple, just and healthy principles: namely, free elections under international control, unification and self-determination, permitting these peoples freely to choose their own destinies.

80. Still in the name of the universality of our Organization, we are continuing to support the legitimate rights of the Republic of China, known as Formosa China, to sit with us as long as its foreign policy continues to be based on the sacred principles of international co-operation and scrupulous respect for the United Nations Charter.

81. Let our Assembly take care not to let itself be inveigled by the bias of formal juridical concepts on to the slippery slope of proclaiming a debatable principle, "one country, one seat", a principle which would not only deprive us of the effective co-operation of the Republic of China, to the advantage of countries which, unfortunately, do not hesitate to raise subversion, naked interference in the internal affairs of other countries and lordly contempt for small nations to the level of political dogma—and my country has suffered from that in its most frightful form, fratricidal war—but which also, if applied rigorously, would lead to a revision of the very composition of our Organization and would plunge it into a crisis far greater than any it has yet known.

82. Accordingly, as recent events have taught us, we must be wary, while there is still time, of certain protestations, apparently dictated by ideological rigidity, which are merely a mask for inordinate national pride, seeking to find allies rather than to promote general emancipation.

83. That having been said—and it had to be said forcefully from this rostrum—the Republic of the Niger would not be the last to rejoice at seeing the great Chinese people return to its age-old virtues of tolerance, hospitality and unshakable calm and at last take its proper place in the concert of nations.

84. In regard to the war in Viet-Nam, we very sincerely regret that the words of wisdom, moderation and experience pronounced in Phnom Penh by the President of the French Republic should have found no echo among any of the parties interested in varying degrees in that situation, with the exception of North Viet-Nam.

85. We shall go even further. In order to create genuine and sincere conditions for a dialogue and, therefore, for negotiation, in other words for an unconditional return to the Geneva Conference, it is not enough merely to have military de-escalation, although that would contribute decisively towards disentangling the present situation: in reality what is needed is reciprocal de-escalation—military, in the first place, followed by political and ideological. Everything is in fact happening as though the extinction of Viet-Nam as a State matters less than the triumph of ideologies or the self-esteem of other States. Everything that goodwill can do must be done simultaneously to prevent the infamy of a nation's disappearance in Viet-Nam and to avoid what for man-

kind as a whole is worst of all, the spectre of a third and perhaps final world conflagration.

36. In present circumstances it seems to me that we cannot hope for any good to come from what has been called the various appeals to intransigence; nor can we look for rationality in the attitude of those who, through lassitude or helplessness, cherishing the naive hope that time or a final calamity might make things go their way, are willing to put up with a situation in which the people of Viet-Nam, in the north and in the south, are dying. One might think, in view of the gamut of events, from the pitiless military escalation in Viet-Nam to the hate-inspired outbreaks of the Red Guards, that the final calamity had already started. No sane man can accept this or come to terms with it, for twenty-five years of war, ruin and every kind of devastation, with their accompaniment of tears, blood and corpses, are an experience that the martyred people of Viet-Nam can well do without. For the reasons I have rapidly enumerated, one does not have to be a sage in order to realize that the international situation, far from improving, has started dangerously to deteriorate. This calls for great calmness and clear-headed courage on the part of each of us and each of our countries. Today more than ever the hard but noble task of maintaining peace demands of those responsible the dedication of a fruitful imagination to the service of a sacred mission.

87. That is why the President of the Republic of the Niger, Mr. Diori Hamani, could write to Secretary-General U Thant:

"At a time when your mandate is coming to an end we are happy to send you our warmest congratulations; for your determination, your tact and, above all, your great wisdom have enabled you to keep our planet from plunging into the most frightful cataclysm.

"For us, whose permanent preoccupation is the struggle against under-development and all its evils—poverty, sickness, ignorance and illiteracy—our faith in the objectives and ideals of the Charter of the United Nations remains unshakable. We remain firmly convinced of the necessity of devising a new world system as soon as possible, one which will offer better prospects for peace and justice. We must continue to try and find ways of guaranteeing that peace and justice to all, no matter what differences may divide us.

"The world situation being, despite our wishes, what it is, we young nations have an interest in seeing you, Mr. Secretary-General, continue your high and difficult mission.

"For our part, we young African nations give you the assurance that you will continue to receive from us the same firm and loyal support as in the past."

88. However great our continuing respect for your decision and the scruples inspiring it, Mr. Secretary-General, you cannot give up your work for peace, nor the work you have so successfully started in another sphere of United Nations activity, one which is most important for us: the restoration to the French language of its legitimate rights, in order that the French-speaking delegations may be able to go on making a

steadily greater contribution towards building the ideal so wonderfully enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

89. So, despite clouds and difficulties, there is still hope for the future. The United Nations, which has weathered so many storms in the last twenty years, must triumph over present difficulties. The love of peace, which all men share, the future and the survival of the human race, demands this. It would be no small merit of our generation if we could, patiently but with confidence, open the way towards realizing the dreams of a species, the meaning of whose existence is enshrined in the fundamental principles of the Charter.

90. For we must, after all, accept the evidence: that today, more than ever before, we are all in the same boat, tossed by the winds in the once harmless, but today dangerously threatening eye of the atonic tempest, as we all strive to reach the same shore, the common haven for men of every race and every ideology.

91. Mr. BOURGUIBA Jr. (Tunisia) (translated from French): The Tunisian delegation has already had the opportunity, Mr. President, of offering you its congratulations on your election as President of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly. Nevertheless, I should like to express once again our satisfaction at seeing the General Assembly under your distinguished guidance. This choice is a recognition of your distinguished personal qualities, which we have had the privilege of appreciating many times in the past, and is a tribute to the great prestige in which you are held by the United Nations. It is also a just tribute to your country, Afghanistan, for the devotion it has always shown to the ideals of the United Nations. We rejoice all the more at your election because our two countries maintain particularly friendly relations; the honour extended to you falls at the same time on the entire Afro-Asian family. Your statement at the opening [1409th] meeting permits us to hope that, under your guidance, the work of the present session will make an effective contribution based on wisdom and reason, to the quest for solutions to the grave problems of our time.

92. I should like to express to Mr. Amintore Fanfani the deep appreciation of the delegation of Tunisia for the competence and distinction with which he directed the work of the twentieth session.

93. I should like also to pay a warm and friendly tribute to our Secretary-General, U Thant, who during the five years of his mandate has spared no effort that might help to put the United Nations in a position to play the full role assigned to it and fulfil the expectations of mankind. His self-denial, his devotion to the cause of the United Nations and his profound faith in the work he is doing have won him universal admiration and we wish to express to him our sincere gratitude for the outstanding service he has given to the United Nations and to the cause of world peace. His intentions not to accept a new term of office has aroused great distress in the world and, of course, in our own Organization. The reasons for his decision are cause for concern to all Member States of the United Nations. If he finds it possible to reconsider

his decision, the delegation of Tunisia will be fully content. But whatever his final decision, he will always be entitled to our grateful friendship and respect.

94. This year the United Nations welcomes a new Member, Guyana, and I am happy to extend our greetings to it. We are sure that Guyana will not fail to make a substantial contribution to our work.

95. We welcome also Indonesia's decision to resume its participation in the activities of the United Nations this year. We are all the more glad of this because our two countries maintain very friendly relations and we are sure that the prestige of this Organization will be enhanced by Indonesia's co-operation.

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

96. Two African countries have recently acceded to independence: Botswana and Lesotho. We hope soon to see these two sister countries among us here and we are certain that the United Nations will not fail to extend to them its assistance and the protection which, unfortunately, they need in view of their geographical position.

97. The maintenance of peace is mankind's fundamental problem, as well as its most noble aspiration. As such, it remains the central aim of our Organization and the vocation of this Organization as an instrument of peace must be strengthened and set firmly on the foundation of an effective system. The Special Committee for Peace-keeping Operations, to which we pay a sincere tribute, has settled down to its duties conscientiously and self-sacrificingly. But the nature of its mission has been such that its work has not yielded great practical results and its efforts have so far nearly defined the obstacles.

98. Despite the various proposals that have been presented, the differences persist and the future of our Organization as an instrument of peace is, unhappily, still uncertain. Yet it is imperative that the United Nations be enabled to continue its peace-keeping operations as effectively as possible on a sound and healthy financial basis. Such a function is necessarily costly and cannot be accomplished if recourse to voluntary contributions becomes the rule.

99. In this connexion I must pay a deserved tribute to the Ad Hoc Committee of Experts instructed to examine the finances of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies. That Committee has presented a clear and full picture of our Organization's financial situation. Its report should dispel the doubts some of us have about the financial situation of the United Nations and should make it possible for peace-keeping operations to be conducted under favourable conditions, in other words, conditions in which they would be effective and swift.

100. Tunisia, despite its limited means and restricted resources, has never stinted its assistance to the United Nations. It has helped every time it has been asked to do so, every time it has been able to do so, whether in the form of financial contributions, restricted though they have necessarily been, or, when it was a question of paying with our own flesh and blood, in military terms.

101. Until such time as the General Assembly specifically determines the scale of future peace-keeping operations, it is paramount, in view of the conclusions of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of Experts, that reservations be put aside and the laggards finally decide to contribute towards re-establishing the financial balance of the United Nations. While there is equivocation and uncertainty on these matters our Organization will not be able to acquit itself effectively in its role of peace-keeper. It will, in particular, remain incapable of discouraging aggression and imposing the peaceful settlement of disputes.

102. Our concern to improve the functioning of our Organization makes it obligatory on us not to neglect any aspect of our activities in this Organization. I shall try not to be too prolix in touching on some of the problems which appear important to the delegation of Tunisia.

103. Although administrative problems are not among our chief concerns this year, I should like to lay stress on a question of interest to a great many of us. I refer to the use of French in the United Nations. In the last ten years or so the number of delegations daily using French as a working language, Tunisia among them, has steadily increased and it is becoming essential to authorize the effort necessary to enable those delegations to make a more effective contribution to the Organization's work.

104. The United Nations, if it is really to be a place where its Members' efforts towards common ends are concerted, must fulfil its vocation as a universal Organization. It can be effective as an instrument of international co-operation only in so far as it is at the disposal of all States. A reaffirmation of its universality is one of the conditions of success for our undertaking, one of the foundations on which the whole of our action must be based.

105. This universality requires that all States, without distinction, have the right of access to our Organization. It is in this spirit that we consider the question of the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. In our opinion, the participation of the People's Republic of China in our deliberations is a major condition for finding a solution to the great international problems before us and for bringing about peace in the world. We cannot indefinitely refuse to face up to the realities of the modern world and deny a quarter of the world's population the right to make its contribution to the building of a better society.

106. Whatever objections many of us may have to the principles propounded by the People's Republic of China, whatever opinion some of us may have of its behaviour, the Tunisian delegation believes it is high time to allow that country, which now ranks as a great Power, as well as a member of the "atomic club", and plays an important role in the world, to take its place among the Member States of the United Nations. The Government of the People's Republic of China, however, must also show a spirit of co-operation and not impose unrealistic conditions.

107. By enabling everyone to participate, we are sure we should be helping to remove a major obstacle to the attainment of peace and stability in the world and the improvement of international relations. A

world in which antagonistic groups, armed with the deadliest of weapons, are pitted against one another exposes mankind to a precarious peace which can only give rise to instability and insecurity. There have been many appeals from this rostrum for an end to this balance of terror to which the world is subjected and for every State to realize the necessity for fruitful co-operation in order to build a more stable and prosperous society. Unfortunately, the deterioration of relations between the nuclear Powers and the widespread conflicts raging in many parts of the world do not encourage any immediate hope: they represent so many obstacles in the way of a true *détente* and their evil influence continues to affect all attempts at improving international relations.

108. Disarmament negotiations, in which two nuclear Powers are not, unfortunately, participating, are suffering correspondingly and we cannot but record our disappointment in this connexion. Since 1963 these talks seem to have been trapped in an impasse. The promising beginning which the Moscow Treaty on the Partial Prohibition of Nuclear Tests marked in the field of disarmament at that time has not, unfortunately, been followed up, with the result that today we have neither a treaty prohibiting nuclear tests in general, nor any guarantees against the proliferation of atomic weapons. Yet these are measures without which any hope of stopping the headlong arms race, particularly the nuclear armaments race, is mere illusion. My Government is deeply concerned about this situation and, unhappily, it seems to me unrealistic to expect any progress whatsoever in the disarmament field in the near future.

109. What is essential in the immediate future is that we should combine our efforts towards improving international relations and restoring peace in the world, particularly in that area where peace is suffering the worst violation, Viet-Nam. For Viet-Nam is still a theatre of increasingly murderous operations. The conflict has been raging there for a long time, demanding vast sacrifices and sowing desolation in a country which has not known peace for a quarter of a century. Not only is there a danger that this situation could end in a major conflagration, with unforeseeable consequences: it is also having the most disastrous effect on the international situation. In view of the policy of interference practised by North Viet-Nam, encouraged and supported by the avowed expansionist policy of the People's Republic of China, we cannot honestly reproach South Viet-Nam for calling upon its friends to help maintain its integrity. It is in the interest of peace that a solution which respects the legitimate aspirations of the Viet-Nam people in its entirety be found in negotiation, not in war.

110. We have noted with satisfaction the declaration made from this rostrum by the representative of the United States of America [1412th meeting], who assured us that his country was quite prepared to negotiate. We hope soon to see these good intentions meet with sufficient response to result in a beneficial dialogue. No just solution to this conflict can be found through military means and it is to be hoped that the pointless bloodshed will convince all parties concerned that the resort to force, to the dialogue of arms, cannot solve the problem.

111. On this subject the highest authority in my country, President Bourguiba, has said the following:

"In the end the parties to the dispute will have to make contact with one another, when they realize that there can be no solution through arms, no victory on the military level. We learned that in Tunisia, in Algeria and in Viet-Nam twelve years ago. I hope that moment will come as soon as possible and that Viet-Nam will recover its unity and independence vis-à-vis all the great Powers now exerting pressure upon it. I wish to see the people of Viet-Nam, as soon as possible, no longer needing anyone's help in ensuring the security and integrity of their country."

112. Tunisia was among the seventeen countries which, at the Belgrade Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries, launched an appeal to the parties involved to let negotiation prevail and to find the path of peace. That appeal was doubtless premature. But today the appeals are more numerous, more solemn, more anguished and more urgent, and I express the hope that the parties in dispute will listen to the voice of reason and try to find a satisfactory solution for this problem, in conformity with the principles of our Charter.

113. An important place has been reserved in our debates for the question of decolonization. We are happy to see our Organization unflaggingly continuing to work, despite the numerous obstacles it encounters, for the emancipation of peoples still under colonial domination. That activity has effectively strengthened the activity of the colonial peoples themselves and has made it possible for dozens of countries only recently under foreign domination to exercise their right to self-determination, regain their freedom and join the concert of sovereign and independent nations within the last decade.

114. While we have the happiness of seeing an ever increasing number of countries freed from the colonial era and joining our Organization, we must nevertheless not forget the agonizing fate of numerous peoples still suffering under the colonial yoke. The Charter of the United Nations places upon us the obligation of respecting and defending the inalienable right of peoples to decide their own destiny, and we regret to note that certain Powers, though Members of the United Nations, do not hesitate to dishonour their commitments and subject millions of human beings to the inhuman system of the exploitation of man by man. Neither the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted by our Assembly six years ago [resolution 1514 (XV)], nor the decisions of the Security Council and the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly seem to have the slightest effect on these colonial Powers, which persist in following only their own anachronistic policy and in taking into account only the profits and advantages they derive, or hope still to derive, from their exploitation of colonial countries.

115. That attitude, which we shall never cease to condemn, cannot be tolerated indefinitely. It could give rise to a situation which, if continued, would undermine the authority of our Organization and thereby encourage the colonial Powers to pursue their

policy and drive the colonial peoples to despair of international morality and seek to obtain their rights and the realization of their legitimate aspirations through violence. It would seem high time for the colonial Powers to put an end to such a situation by loyally opting for sincere co-operation with the United Nations and letting the idea of free co-operation among people prevail over the spirit of domination. They would be the first to gain thereby.

116. If, however, the colonial Powers cannot be brought to reason and to the speedy emancipation of colonial peoples, it would be useful to instruct the Special Committee to lay down some kind of calendar for decolonization. Our Organization cannot rely solely on the goodwill of the colonial Powers to hasten the process of emancipation and respond to the ever more insistent determination of the peoples to free themselves from the colonial yoke.

117. The Special Committee has done its best to discharge the difficult task entrusted to it. This year it has again held a meeting in Africa and has heard, in particular, the grievances of those still suffering the rigours of colonial law. The information it has given us is indeed alarming.

118. In Southern Rhodesia the situation becomes worse from day to day. Taking advantage of the passivity of the administering Power, the white settlers have usurped power for their own benefit and have imposed on the indigenous people a régime of oppression which is arousing world-wide indignation. Instead of implementing the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, instead of co-operating loyally with the United Nations in bringing this situation to an end and permitting the people of Southern Rhodesia freely to choose their own destiny, the administering Power has done nothing but repeat that the problems of that country lie within its competence alone. Neither the deterioration of the situation, nor the urgings of the United Nations, nor yet the stand taken by the African countries has brought the United Kingdom Government to recognize the wrong basis of its policy, adopt an attitude more in line with the wishes of the majority of the Organization's Members, employ more appropriate means to end the oppression in Southern Rhodesia and give the Rhodesian people the possibility of enjoying their legitimate rights and achieving their national aspirations. The economic and financial sanctions advocated by the United Kingdom seem not to have touched the political foundations of the Smith régime, nor, apparently, to have had any effect on the economic situation in Southern Rhodesia. There is still time for the United Kingdom to think again and resort to more appropriate measures for re-establishing power in Salisbury on a more legal, more democratic basis and rid Africa of a racist régime which is an affront to the conscience of the world.

119. In the territories under Portuguese domination a national liberation war has been in progress for many long years. But instead of recognizing the right of those territories to self-determination and independence, Portugal spends its time intensifying the repression of the peoples it dominates. Probably encouraged by the rather accommodating or passive

attitude adopted towards it by its friends, Portugal does not hesitate to defy the United Nations and flout international morality by pursuing a policy of inhuman repression.

120. Yet we know from experience that colonial Powers, whichever they may be, and no matter what means they use to repress the peoples under their domination, always end by resigning themselves to recognizing the inalienable rights of these peoples. The sooner such an attitude is adopted, the greater are the chances of establishing fruitful relations based on friendship and mutual respect with the former colonial territories. Portugal, unfortunately, does not seem to have started on that road and there is no indication of any change whatsoever in the policy it pursues in the territories under its administration.

121. We appeal to all States still giving financial assistance to Portugal to join in the effort at collective persuasion on which the other countries are engaged and to back that effort, if need be, with adequate measures capable of bringing the Lisbon Government to renounce its policy and grant the territories under its administration the right to self-determination and independence.

122. The situation in South West Africa is of the deepest concern to my Government. A few days ago, in the course of a debate specifically devoted to that question, the delegation of Tunisia put forward its point of view on this question [1431st meeting]. I hope that our Organization will be able to do what mankind expects of it and adopt the measures which are essential in order to save the people of South West Africa and enable them to enjoy their legitimate rights and fulfil their national aspirations in accordance with the General Assembly's Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV).

123. In South Africa a régime based on belief in the superiority of one race over another is keeping 13 million Africans in the condition of slaves in their own country. Although a Member of the United Nations, South Africa continues to ignore the decisions of the Security Council and the resolutions of the General Assembly. That attitude is an impermissible defiance of the United Nations and an affront to human conscience. Far from heeding our appeals and warnings, or even the advice of its friends, South Africa goes on reinforcing its military and police potential and practising, through its system of apartheid, a policy of brutal repression against the indigenous population. This situation must command our closest attention. Its full seriousness becomes clear if we consider the very close bonds which unite the régimes of Messrs. Salazar, Vorster and Smith and which are aimed at perpetuating their domination over the southern part of Africa. In view of the failure of all the peaceful attempts by the United Nations, it is high time to consider implementing more effective measures capable of putting an end to the apartheid policy practised by the Pretoria Government.

124. Only serious economic sanctions, seriously applied, are likely to persuade those responsible in Pretoria to show a little more wisdom and thereby to give Messrs. Smith and Salazar cause to reflect. The African countries have difficulty in understanding

why certain great Powers hesitate to apply economic sanctions against South Africa. They understand even less how the same Powers can continue to supply South Africa with assistance which results only in consolidating the racialist régime of Pretoria and thereby reducing the chances of emancipation for the indigenous inhabitants.

125. Another problem arising from colonialism, the situation in Aden and in the south of the Arabian peninsula, continues to be a matter of concern to my Government. The cause of peace in that region would gain from a search for a lasting solution acceptable to the whole people and granting those territories effective exercise of their rights and fulfilment of their aspirations.

126. We were very happy to learn recently that the French Government intends to permit the people of French Somaliland to exercise its right to self-determination and independence before 1 July 1967. The solution proposed by the French Government does honour to France and we are convinced that, whatever the consequences of that decision, the two countries will go about consolidating their relations within a framework of free and fruitful co-operation founded on friendship, mutual respect and a clear awareness of common interests.

127. The Palestine tragedy, a permanent threat to peace in the Middle East, is still unsolved. Far from moving towards an equitable settlement, the situation in that region is deteriorating day by day. This is a human and political tragedy for which there are few precedents in history. The creation of a Zionist State in Palestine by force has obliged the people of that country, whether Muslim or Christian, to take refuge in neighbouring countries and to live on United Nations assistance, already inadequate and threatened with reduction every year, on the very borders of their own country. This situation has existed for nearly nineteen years; it has created in the region an atmosphere of insecurity which has repercussions on neighbouring States and threatens to degenerate into a grave crisis, the consequence of which we dare not predict. Time cannot justify the Zionist aggression nor quash the right of the Arab people of Palestine to its homeland. There is still time for our Organization to find the equitable solution which is imperative in accordance with the principles of the United Nations and in implementation of the decisions it has taken.

128. We are faced with a purely colonial problem, which it has not been possible to solve because of the obstinacy of an unscrupulous aggressor that pays scant respect to the decisions of the United Nations. But it is very dangerous to the prestige of our Organization and to international peace and security for Israel to flout United Nations resolutions with impunity and, by continuing to ignore decisions which do not suit its interests and intentions, to bar the way to any just settlement of the Palestinian problem. This defiance of our Organization is all the more insolent in that it emanates from a State that owes its very existence to the United Nations.

129. The United Nations has the obligation to put an end to such a practice, to take the necessary steps

to make sure that its decisions are respected and to impose the solution which best meets the legitimate aspirations of the Arab people of Palestine.

130. The reluctance shown by the United Nations in making the colonial Powers respect the principles contained in the Charter has encouraged those Powers to pursue their policy and to flout the conscience of the world. This reluctance, moreover, encourages further dangerous ventures in the world. We are witnessing the development of a new form of interference in the affairs of third countries; I shall call it micro-imperialism. This form of interference is aimed at imposing a certain line of policy on weak, small, or even developing countries through intimidation, blackmail and slander, depriving, or trying to deprive them of all freedom of action and placing them under foreign hegemony.

131. It was in reaction against this unhappy trend that the Government of Tunisia found itself under the painful obligation of putting an end to what remained of the ties between Tunisia and Egypt, for Egypt, not content with trying to run the League of Arab States, nursing its claim to keep the Arab peoples under its wing and actually waging war in the Yemen, is arrogating to itself the right to conduct campaigns of denigration based on slanders and insults against any Head of State who, like President Bourguiba, refuses to follow the dictates of Cairo. No Arab Head of State has been spared. It is obvious that such a practice is incompatible with the maintenance of relations of any kind whatsoever. We are nevertheless anxious to make it clear that we shall spare no effort to maintain the ties of brotherhood which bind us to the Egyptian people, whatever attitudes their leaders may strike.

132. The world economic situation continues to be the constant concern of all States Members of the United Nations, particularly those engaged in the hard struggle against under-development. This concern is all the greater this year because the prospects do not seem to give much reason for optimism.

133. The report of the Economic and Social Council [A/6303] leaves the reader perplexed. No advance seems to be expected in the international economic situation. It looks as if the poor countries are becoming a little poorer and the rich countries much richer. The flow of capital towards the developing countries has scarcely quickened, the terms of trade have scarcely improved and the monetary situation in the countries of the Third World remains precarious. The forecasts for the United Nations Development Decade seem to be a long way from fulfilment and the enthusiasm aroused by the 1964 United Nations Conference on Trade and Development has given way to a certain bitterness. The hope of some day seeing the countries of the Third World integrated in a development process becomes less certain every day. The needs of the developing countries are admittedly immense and diverse, but the efforts made so far are still inadequate to remedy this serious situation. Whether it be on the plane of commerce, of industry, or financial and technical assistance, many studies have been made, numerous formulae have been proposed, but we do not get beyond the stage of discussion

and negotiations; necessary though these are, we sometimes wonder whether they have not been deliberately and interminably prolonged. International solidarity requires that all States, rich and poor, developed or under-developed, have the will to remedy a situation of imbalance which, in the long run, threatens to upset the balance and peace of the world.

134. For their part, the developing countries have mobilized all the human and material resources on which they can draw; they have imposed on themselves huge sacrifices in the satisfaction of their most elementary needs; they have reorganized their structures and sought to co-ordinate their activities both on the national and on the regional plane. But their efforts would be vain without the support and encouragement of the more developed countries within the framework both of bilateral and multilateral relations. Bilateral relations between developed and developing countries do not sufficiently take into account the situation of the developing countries.

135. Credits, for example, are difficult to obtain and, when obtained, are accompanied by many conditions. They are nearly always connected with the supply of equipment at costs which, if no speculative, are at least very high. In regard to trade, the flow of products from developing countries invariably comes up against customs barriers, quota barriers and competition, difficult to withstand, from the products of more developed countries. Within the framework of multilateral relations the good intentions of developed countries are not yet as much in evidence as they should be. The second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development will soon take place, without that body's having made noteworthy progress in implementing the recommendations of its first session.

136. I nevertheless dare to hope that this period has been devoted at least to setting up the necessary structures for the new organization and preparing studies and solutions which will enable the second Conference to make a new start. I express the hope that the developed countries will realize that it is less a question of finding palliatives than of re-designing the root structures of international economic relations on the commercial, industrial, financial and monetary levels.

137. Within this somewhat gloomy, negative picture I am nevertheless glad to be able to mention the efforts still being made, through the United Nations Development Programme, for the advantage of countries in need thereof. The amalgamation of the Special Fund and the Expanded Technical Assistance Programme, decided upon in 1965 [resolution 2029 (XX)], have made the new body more efficient. But here again the contributions announced have not made it possible to achieve the aim proposed.

138. Lastly, I should like to pay a tribute to the work of the Ad Hoc Committee on the United Nations Organization for Industrial Development, which has drawn up a constitution permitting that new organization, we are sure, to start functioning and to remedy the absence of the United Nations from the field which today is so important for countries seeking to develop and embark on industrialization.

139. The United Nations is thus setting up little by little the necessary structures for co-ordinating the development of world economy. It depends on all of us, particularly the developed countries, which are so far ahead of the others, to allow these bodies to function efficiently and accomplish their mission, which is, in accordance with the Charter, "to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic" and "social ... character" and "to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations".

140. Such are the considerations which my delegation wished to put forward today. In its participation in the work of this session my delegation will be guided by the earnest desire to make its modest contribution to the study and solution of the problems before the Assembly and to join its efforts with those of other delegations with a view to establishing an era of peace and progress for everyone in the world.

141. Mr. NILSSON (Sweden): As this debate proceeds, two dark menacing clouds dominate the political horizon: the war in Viet-Nam and the situation in Southern Africa. Against this background, it is only natural that we should discuss these matters here as extensively as has been the case. If the United Nations is to continue as an effective instrument for international co-operation aiming at increased security for all Member States, then we must face squarely every situation that endangers peace.

142. The war that now rages in Viet-Nam brings untold suffering and destruction to the people of that country. Villages fall into ruins. Wreckage, ashes, burning crops, mutilated, homeless human beings—this is the face of war. This tragic conflict also constitutes a threat to peace in all Asia and possibly in the whole world. How are we to break this chain of events which accompany and provoke each other with the terrifying logic of a Greek tragedy?

143. This debate has developed into a veritable poll of international public opinion. The result is an overwhelming "no" to a continuation of the conflict and an affirmative reply in favour of a return to the basic principles of the Geneva Agreements, now reinforced by guarantees that they will, in fact, be honoured by all parties concerned.

144. On one point everybody seems to be agreed. It is for the people of South Viet-Nam themselves to decide their own future, their form of government and social structure. The question of the unification of the whole country should be kept open to be decided by the people themselves. The difficulty is, as we all know, to bring about conditions which will ensure that the result of a popular consultation is recognized by all as a true expression of the popular will. No real consultation can take place with credible results in the presence of foreign troops and in circumstances of intimidation and terror. The crux of the matter, in my view, is that the North is unwilling to engage in talks with the other party until it trusts the sincerity in the American declarations about willingness to withdraw and to respect the neutrality of South Viet-Nam once peace has been restored. The Americans on their side are unwilling to commit themselves to a time-table for withdrawal without previous guarantees that the people of South Viet-Nam are allowed to express their own

will freely and under appropriate international supervision. It is this vicious circle of mistrust that has to be broken.

145. As to the concrete conditions for bringing about a situation where negotiations may prove possible, we share the views repeatedly expressed by the Secretary-General. First of all, the bombing of North Viet-Nam must cease. It is evidently difficult for the opponent to go to the conference table while subjected to a continuous pounding from the air. Since a cessation of the bombing might provide a key to a peaceful solution, that key must be tried again.

146. Secondly, further escalation of the war must be avoided and a gradual reduction of military activities be initiated. The United States has offered to withdraw its forces as others withdraw theirs. That is an offer that must be seriously considered by all concerned. We have held for a long time that a military de-escalation must begin at some stage as a preliminary to, or an accompaniment of, a meaningful dialogue between the parties. In view of the special nature of this war it must be recognized that the difficulties are formidable, if one asks for exact symmetry as to timing and numbers. Is it unreasonable to suggest that the party disposing of a clear numerical superiority take the first step? Is it then unreasonable to suggest that a response be given by the other party?

147. Thirdly, it is obvious that all belligerent parties, thus also the National Liberation Front, should participate in the negotiations if these are to lead to a durable solution.

148. The important statement made by the representative of the United States in this debate [1412th meeting] encourages me to believe that a solution along those lines will ultimately prove to be within the realm of the possible. The United States has expressed its desire to see the conflict ended. If the conditions mentioned by the Secretary-General are fulfilled, then the hope will grow that peace in freedom will some time come to the people of Viet-Nam who now only know the horrors of war. In their interest and in the interest of the whole world, an end must be put to this cruel war.

149. Inevitably, in any discussion of the situation in South-East Asia, one has to remark on the fact that the Government of the People's Republic of China is not represented in the United Nations. It cannot be in the interest of our Organization that a Government that for almost two decades has ruled the mainland of China should not also be allowed to take China's place in the United Nations.

150. I now turn to the other heavy cloud looming over the political horizon: the situation in southern Africa. We are confronted with a set of interrelated problems arising from developments in that entire area. If the illegal Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia had not been able to count on understanding and sympathy from the white minority in South Africa, it probably would not have dared to break openly with the United Kingdom Government. If Portugal had not had friends in Pretoria, the possibilities of convincing the Lisbon Government that its colonial policy belongs to a bygone era might have been greater. If the South African Government had not been so blind in its racial policy,

the problem of South West Africa would not have reached such a tragic and critical stage.

151. The various problems of southern Africa must be tackled in turn, using the means at our disposal. With regard to Southern Rhodesia, we find it inconsistent with our ideas to call for the use of force in order to solve a difficult problem of international significance. But we do consider that the weapon in the United Nations arsenal called economic sanctions could and should be used fully, something which has not yet been the case. When the Security Council recommended sanctions against the Smith régime after its illegal declaration of independence [resolutions 217 (1965) and 221 (1966)] my Government, immediately and as a matter of course, complied with that recommendation. Sweden at once broke off all relations with the Rhodesian régime. This reaction followed from our conviction that sanctions must be applied completely and consistently if they are to succeed. Furthermore, Sweden had since the beginning of the crisis found it justified to describe the situation in Southern Rhodesia as a threat to international peace and security, that is to say as a situation which might call for action under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

152. Obviously the slow effect of the sanctions recommended by the Security Council is due to the fact that the recommendation has been largely ignored by South Africa and Portugal and that it does not seem to have been consistently applied by a number of other countries. There is little chance of achieving a satisfactory result if we content ourselves with the present recommendation. The Swedish Government maintains its opinion that the Security Council would be justified in deciding upon mandatory economic sanctions in the case of Southern Rhodesia.

153. With regard to South West Africa, the Swedish Government contends that South Africa by its deeds has forfeited every right to administer that Territory. We also consider that the time has now come for the United Nations to draw the proper conclusions from this and to revoke the Mandate. How the United Nations should act thereafter to fulfil in actual practice its responsibility for the Territory, until the population there can exercise its right to self-determination, is, in our view, a question that should be carefully studied and considered.

154. The common denominator for all problems in southern Africa remains, however, as I have just said, the policy of racial repression that the South African Government has made into a dogma. While the rest of the world has realized the necessity of equitable and harmonious relations between different races, the ruling minority in South Africa clings to the belief that remnants of old-time colonialism can be preserved in southern Africa. The United Nations places this question prominently on its agenda not only because it is a source of tension and disquiet in an important part of the continent of Africa; what is at stake is in reality something even more serious—coexistence in the future of different races in the whole world, a world where the population explosion will create a continuous and rapid increase of contacts between all races and nations. Against that background, my Government is of the opinion that the

problem of apartheid must be considered as a threat to international peace and security.

155. I should like, therefore, to emphasize once more how necessary it is that the Security Council should tackle the problem anew as soon as possible and try to find a solution. The report of the Expert Committee on sanctions^{2/} has been before us for over a year now. It should be considered as a matter of urgency by the Council. In particular, a study should be made of the problem of equitable sharing of the economic burdens resulting from sanctions and falling heavily on certain countries. The Swedish delegation has already focused attention on this problem, last year. I believe that we are dealing here with a question of central importance, if we wish to increase the United Nations capacity to remove threats against peace. We all know that in the case of South Africa large economic interests are involved. I am convinced, however, that it would be possible, through international co-operation and solidarity, to overcome the economic consequences. In a universal perspective, these economic obstacles do not appear insurmountable.

156. The efforts undertaken by the United Nations for helping the victims of apartheid and for training deserve the whole-hearted support of Member countries. Sweden is prepared to continue and increase its contributions to these activities. Along with the other Nordic countries, we shall make proposals regarding co-ordination of the various programmes in order to achieve the highest possible efficiency.

157. We are glad to note that in spite of the increased international tension, caused largely by the war in Viet-Nam, no raising of the political temperature in Europe has been registered. The present situation in Europe is characterized by increased mobility and rapidly increasing contacts between all countries, not least between the Eastern and Western European peoples. We in Sweden consider this trend desirable and worth encouraging.

158. In another field also, efforts to achieve a détente are being carried on. I refer to the problem of disarmament. During the past year, the question of non-dissemination of nuclear weapons occupied most of the time and efforts of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament at Geneva. The principal remaining question, that of nuclear sharing within military alliances, remains unsolved, but the respective positions have become more clearly defined. We hope that further progress will be possible, perhaps even during this session.

159. The non-aligned delegations in Geneva have concentrated their efforts on certain other partial measures which might be of importance in stopping the further spread of nuclear weapons as a form of national production and which would at the same time involve certain obligations on the part of the nuclear Powers also. National production of nuclear weapons would, of course, become impossible if there were a test-ban treaty covering all tests and a ban on production of fissionable material for military purposes.

^{2/} Official Records of the Security Council, Twentieth Year, Special Supplement No. 2 (document S/6210 and Add.1).

160. Much of the preparatory work for a comprehensive test-ban treaty is already completed. My country has worked together with seven other non-nuclear Powers to bring about an international exchange of seismological data. We think that this work might significantly facilitate the completion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

161. We have noted with disappointment that the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament has again not been in a position to report any concrete results. We are convinced, however, that that committee is a valuable forum for technical discussions to prepare the ground for agreements, and an instrument for reminding the great Powers of their particular responsibilities. In other words, we suggest that its mandate be renewed.

162. Only two nuclear bombs have ever been used in war. But the memory of these events is still strong. As time passes and a new generation grows up, however, there may be a tendency to forget or underestimate the horrors of a nuclear war. The true nature of the danger that threatens us must be known and understood. We therefore think that the Secretary-General has acted wisely in proposing an extensive study of the impact and implications of nuclear weapons against the background of the rapid development of modern technology [see A/6301/Add.1, p. 4].

163. I should like to say a few words specifically about the subject of peace-keeping operations. The Special Committee that was set up last year [see resolution 2006 (XIX)] to review the whole question has not reached any result. Its proceedings have reflected a certain amount of apathy and, in any case, considerable reluctance on the part of the smaller Powers to commit themselves on questions where the opinions of the great Powers differ. All this is surely disappointing. It is the view of the Swedish Government that the General Assembly, and also other organs of the United Nations, should devote great and continued attention to this matter and make new attempts to improve the capacity of the United Nations to work actively in the interest of peace. The timing and the setting for such attempts should be carefully considered. What is important above all is that nothing should be done to detract from the fund of experience and practice acquired during many years. If we were to let it be understood that no new peace-keeping operations were ever possible, or even desirable, we should be depriving our Organization of one of its most valuable instruments in promoting the cause of peace. In particular, the smaller States might come to regret such a development.

164. For the proper and effective functioning of the United Nations in all fields—not least that of peace-keeping—the office of the Secretary-General occupies

a vitally important position. We are fortunate to have in this office a man of rare skill and deep wisdom, enjoying the respect and affection of all. It is the sincere hope of the Swedish Government that U Thant will find it possible, and that all Member Governments will do what they can to make it possible for him, to continue in office.

165. In the debate concerning the activities of the United Nations, public attention is mostly focused on the more dramatic moments. At the same time, it is a fact that four fifths of the staff of the United Nations are active in the field of economic and social development and that the overwhelmingly greater part of the financial contributions from Member countries is spent on such work—and very rightly so. The gap between the standards of living of the richer and the poorer countries widens more rapidly than ever. The population explosion in large parts of the world threatens to nullify all endeavours to raise, even to a modest extent, the per capita income. It is essential that efforts be intensified to assist the developing countries to reach as soon as possible the stage of self-sustaining growth.

166. It is often said that the United Nations right now is in a crisis. In one sense that is true. Our Organization is indeed faced with gigantic and almost super-human tasks. We have to take effective action to put an end to developments in southern Africa which spell the threat of racial war. We must achieve control over the means of destruction, the use of which can mark the end of civilization. We must at long last advance on the road to disarmament and direct our efforts towards the establishment of a world economy capable of providing all nations of the globe with fair and truly humane living conditions. We must today, above all, try to contribute to a peaceful solution of the Viet-Nameese conflict, which limits and paralyses the possibilities of progress in other fields. We must maintain and strengthen the peace-keeping capacity of the United Nations. These are immense tasks, and there are moments in history when a few throws of the dice determine its course. Greater and heavier than ever is the burden of responsibility resting on those statesmen who are entrusted with the destinies of their peoples. Even if it is not possible to master all these problems in the near future, this need not imply that the United Nations is in the midst of a crisis. The real crisis will come on the day when we no longer discuss such issues. As long as Member States, great and small, make use of the United Nations for consultations and for joint action, the hope remains that our Organization will step by step develop into a decisive force for peace.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.