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President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAK
(Afghanistan).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. NYASULU (Malawi): Mr. President, the Government of the Republic of Malawi, which I have the honour to represent, is deeply grateful for the opportunity which has been accorded to me today to address yourself and the Members of this Assembly. It is not my wish to take up a great deal of the valuable time of this Assembly, and indeed that will not be necessary for the views of my Government on a number of important issues which were touched upon at the twentieth session of the Assembly in 1965 remain completely unchanged. There are, however, a number of new and important issues before the Assembly this year which have not been raised before, and it is my Government's wish that I should take advantage of this opportunity to place before yourself and my colleagues in the General Assembly as briefly as possible our views thereon.

2. Before I embark upon some of the more controversial issues, however, I should like to touch upon certain matters about which I feel sure there can be no diversity of opinion. First of all, Mr. President, I would like to convey to you my Government's most sincere congratulations on your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its twenty-first session. You come, Mr. President, from a country which, it is our regret, is little known to us in Malawi, but with which nevertheless my country has common interests and common bonds of friendship as fellow members of the great Afro-Asian family of nations. Your country's ancient heritage and long-standing traditions are examples of stability in an unstable world today of which your people may be justly proud and from which we have much that is good to learn. Your own eminence in the service of your country, Mr. President, is well known, and the sterling qualities which you have shown in that service are such as to make you, Sir, most eminently suited to preside over our deliberations at this session. Under your guidance, Mr. President, I am certain that, with this session of the Assembly facing, as it does, many vexing and complex colonial problems, Afghanistan's Presidency will go down in the history of this world body as one of the most outstanding.

3. I should like also, Mr. President, to pay tribute to your predecessor, Signor Fanfani, whose patience, impartiality and integrity in handling the affairs of this Assembly played a key role in the success of its last historic session. I feel sure that I am voicing not only the feelings of my own country of Malawi but of all Member nations when I say that we owe a deep debt of gratitude to Signor Fanfani for the contribution he made to the success of the Assembly's deliberations at a crucial period in its history.

4. I feel also that it is only fitting that I should add my country's tribute, along with those of many others, to the work of our Secretary-General, whose patience, hard work and untiring devotion to the cause of peace have been an inspiration to us all. It is a matter of deep regret to us all that his term of office comes to an end this year, but it is our sincere hope that this even will not bring to an end the valuable services which he has rendered to the United Nations over the past few years, and that we shall all continue in the future to benefit from the example which we have in him of a man truly dedicated to the cause of the United Nations.

5. What I have said so far has been confined to matters on which I am sure there is no dispute, no controversy and no divergence of opinion. I wish that that could be said of all the matters which will form the subjects of debate in this Assembly. Alas, human nature is such that that is hardly likely to be so; if it were, the world in which we live would be a better place and the task of the United Nations a simple one. As it is, the task of the United Nations is far from simple and the problems to which it must apply itself are most complex and difficult of solution—none, perhaps, more so than the problem of Rhodesia.

6. Rhodesia is our neighbour and many of its inhabitants are our brothers. Many of its leaders have known the inside of prison cells together with the leaders of my own country during the dark days of our struggle for freedom. Their fate under the present illegal régime in Rhodesia therefore is not a matter of indifference to us in Malawi; it is a matter of grave concern, and we in Malawi are as determined as any other nation to see restored to Rhodesia proper constitutional rule and a true non-racial democracy under which the rights of our brother Africans to freedom, justice and peace will be properly safeguarded. The links between us and those brothers were forged in the dark days of difficulty, and for that our determination to help them and to bring to an end the present situation is all the more enhanced. Let it not be thought that Malawi is in any way acquiescent in the present state of affairs in Rhodesia or that it holds any brief for the present illegal régime there. Rhodesia is not only a problem, it is a problem with which both we in Malawi and our brothers in Zambia have got to live, and we must be realistic in our approach to it.

7. We in Malawi hold very strongly the view that, Rhodesia being a self-governing British colony, the solution to the current problem there is primarily a British responsibility. But when I say "primarily", I do not mean exclusively. We, all of us, have a responsibility in this matter as well as Britain, and that responsibility is to help and not to hinder Britain in the task with which it is faced. I know full well that there are many nations, especially in Africa, which are becoming increasingly impatient with Britain and are angry that its policy of aiming to bring down the illegal régime in Rhodesia by the application of sanctions is not having the desired result as quickly as we would all wish. Britain, which must bear the responsibility for solving this problem, has chosen sanctions as the weapon to achieve its aims and objectives in Rhodesia. There are those who hold differing opinions about this and would advocate different approaches to this problem. Those differences, however, concern not the objectives but the means of attaining those objectives. Indeed, with very few exceptions, most nations of the world are fully agreed on those aims and objectives, namely, the establishment of a non-racial democracy in Rhodesia under which the men and women of Rhodesia may be able to live there in peace and harmony instead of in an atmosphere of war, friction and distrust. It is the duty of all of us to help and not to hinder the bringing about of that state of affairs.

8. Britain is confident that the result which we all desire can be brought about by the non-violent use of sanctions; it is equally confident that the use of force involving the loss of life should not and cannot be resorted to. We in Malawi share both those views: the first because we believe that, given proper support by all nations, the use of sanctions could be effective; and the second because we believe that the use of force and the shedding of blood is both wrong in principle and impracticable.

9. Let the advocates of force and violence think just for one moment not only of the horrors of violence and bloodshed but also of the practical difficulties lying in the way of effective resort thereto. Let us think rather of ways and means of helping Britain in its task and of making the weapon which it has chosen more effective. Sanctions, as we all know, provide a blunt-edged weapon if they are not backed by all concerned. Let us sharpen that weapon by collective effort, to ensure that those sanctions may be effective, by enforcing the economic boycott of Rhodesia's goods and supplies, by denying to it oil supplies, and by helping those who would seek to back Britain in doing just this but who themselves are immediately in difficulties when they seek to do so. It is not, however, easy to change the whole pattern of a country's economy overnight. The pattern of our economy and, to an even greater degree, that of our neighbour Zambia has, through an accident of geography, long contained an element of economic dependence upon Rhodesia, and that element cannot be eradicated overnight unless there is a similar element to replace it elsewhere.

10. To attempt to cut off all economic ties with Rhodesia would do us far more harm than it would do Rhodesia if other sources of supplies, other means of carrying on our essential export trade, were not available; but we can and will seek to reduce those ties. There are, however, other nations not so dependent upon Rhodesia for the survival of

their economies, which can, with little harm to themselves, do far more than they are doing at the moment to make economic sanctions effective, particularly by helping to deny to Rhodesia essential oil supplies.

11. It may well be that Britain will eventually turn to the United Nations for help in the application of further mandatory sanctions on a selective basis to assist it in its avowed aim and object; but the question of when it does and to what extent it does must be left to Britain to decide in the first instance. When it does do so, however, we must support it in its efforts; and Britain may rely upon Malawi's full backing, as far as its limited means permit, in whatever measures Britain decides to take and whatever requests it may lay before this Assembly or before the Security Council.

12. Above all, however, we must be realistic in our approach to this problem. We cannot expect Britain to commit economic suicide over it, nor can we expect it to use direct force against the inhabitants of Rhodesia. Not only are such measures impractical for military reasons; it would also be asking too much of human nature to expect Britain to turn the sword of war against its many innocent kith and kin residing in Rhodesia. Short of this, however, we expect Britain to do everything in its power to bring to an end the present state of affairs in Rhodesia and to set the pattern there for proper and orderly progress towards the establishment in Rhodesia of a true non-racial democracy. My Government believes in the sincerity of Britain in this respect, and we have faith that if Britain is allowed to resolve this problem as best it can, this will be in the best interests, in the long run, of our African brothers in Rhodesia.

13. The problem of South West Africa has already loomed large in our deliberations at this session of the Assembly and will continue to do so. We shall be failing in our responsibilities to the peoples of that Territory if we do not succeed during the next few months in finding a solution to that problem.

14. The problem of South West Africa has been before the world body for many years now with little having been achieved, and there were few of us who did not hope, or indeed confidently expect, that we were on the point of finding a solution to that problem through the rule of law. As a Member of this Organization which believes in the rule of law, Malawi lent full support to, and contributed very substantially towards, the cost of the litigation which our two sister States of Ethiopia and Liberia initiated before the International Court of Justice. Our disappointment at the recent outcome of that case was as acute as that of many other nations, especially the nations of Africa, which have a special interest in the matter.

15. I will not seek to argue the rights and wrongs of the decision¹ in that case, for to do so would be a waste of time; a decision has been made, and since there is no appeal therefrom we must accept that decision at its face value and consider where it places those who champion the cause of South West Africa. We are not, however, despondent, nor do we regard the decision as by any means the be-all and

¹South West Africa, Second Phase, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 1966, p. 6.

end-all of the matter. For that decision has not in fact decided anything in relation to the main issues at stake; all that it has done is to render null and void all the effort that has been put into this case over the past six years and leave us virtually where we began. It has most certainly not, as some people seek to claim, decided the main issue as to whether the respondent in the case is in breach of the terms of the Mandate originally given by the League of Nations in respect of South West Africa; it has simply left the main issue completely undecided. To us, the biggest disappointment lies in the utter waste of time and effort that has resulted.

16. We in Malawi share to the full the view that in applying to its administration of its Mandate over South West Africa the principles of the doctrine of apartheid, the Republic of South Africa is in breach of the terms of that Mandate, and we deplore such a state of affairs. The problem is, however, to find the most practical way of bringing that state of affairs to an end.

17. We are convinced that the course of action embarked upon by the petitioners on behalf of their fellow African States was well conceived and sound. I refer, of course, to the concept of obtaining from the International Court of Justice a judgement which could, with every justification, have been taken to the Security Council for enforcement action under Article 94 (2) of the Charter of the United Nations. Such action, we feel, stood every chance of achieving success and leading to effective action to bring to an end the present state of affairs under the Mandate. Such action, however, has been frustrated by a judgement, based on a purely technical point, which leaves the main issue completely undecided and which indeed immediately poses the question: where do we go from here?

18. The recent judgement of the International Court indicated quite clearly that in the view of that Court, the petitioners, Liberia and Ethiopia, had no legal interest in the matter sufficient to entitle them to bring the case. It leaves, however, completely unanswered the complementary question as to which States, if Liberia and Ethiopia did not have sufficient legal interest in the cause, do have sufficient legal interest to enable them to become petitioners instead. That seems to my Government to be the all-important question which should be answered, and it is our view that we should first seek to find an answer to that question before abandoning the legal approach to the problem altogether.

19. In our view, this important issue should not be thrown back into the political arena unless and until we are convinced that that question cannot be answered and that further legal action is impossible. We in Malawi are great believers in the rule of law, and we would not wish to see the search for a just answer to the problem through the rule of law lightly abandoned.

20. We recognize, however, that that may be an idealistic point of view and that, in practice, further legal action may be impossible, particularly because of lack of finance to support such action. If that be the case and if, as seems likely, the general consensus of opinion is that further legal action is impractical and the problem must necessarily be thrown back into the political arena, then so be it. But I must make one thing clear: the Government of Malawi

cannot and will not support any proposals, however idealistic in their aim, which are prima facie incapable of practical implementation.

21. My President has instructed me to make it quite clear that it is both his unshakable personal belief and the firm view of the Government of Malawi that under no circumstances should any resolution before this Assembly be supported unless ways and means of carrying it into practical effect can be envisaged. This is a basic principle in which we believe and which we are not prepared to set aside, for it is our view that resolutions of this kind reflect no credit on anybody and in the long term can only detract from the dignity and authority of the United Nations as a whole.

22. For this reason and this reason alone we have felt unable up to now to give full support to a resolution which calls for the revocation of South Africa's Mandate in respect of South West Africa and the handing over of the administration of that territory to a United Nations commission. I wish, however, to make it abundantly clear that my Government's stand on this should not be interpreted as implying that we hold any brief for the manner in which the Mandate over South West Africa has been administered, or that we are in any doubt as to the need for a radical change in the situation there. The position is simply that we do not see how such a resolution can be implemented, and therefore our principles will not permit us to lend it full support.

23. Malawi has no ready-made solution to this problem to propound, for we are no experts in these matters, but we are very ready to listen to practical suggestions and, if we are convinced that they are capable of implementation, to lend them our support.

24. As regards proposals which have been made for the enlargement of the International Court of Justice, Malawi supports such proposals on the grounds that a wider geographical distribution of representation thereon is justified because of the considerably increased size of the world body since the Court was established. We would not, however, support such proposals if they were based on a desire to see serving as members of the Court a greater number of judges which might be expected to show sympathy towards any one particular cause or point of view. No court that is worthy of the name should be composed of judges biased in any particular direction, and a court that has lost the confidence of those who appear before it is better dissolved than packed with sympathizers.

25. Having made mention of apartheid it is only fitting that I should also make clear my Government's attitude towards the principles of the philosophy that sustain that system. I need hardly say that our belief in a non-racial democracy is completely at variance with the principles of apartheid, and it is our earnest hope that one day the Government of South Africa will be moved to abandon its present policies in that respect, not so much as a result of threats and disapproval voiced by other nations as by the example which Africa herself has set.

26. The philosophy of apartheid is a philosophy of fear—the non-African's fear of the African—and it is only by example that such fears can be proved groundless and eradicated.

27. Country after country in Africa has proved beyond any shadow of doubt that it is possible for both African and non-African peoples to live in harmony and peace together and to pool their knowledge and abilities for the common good of the countries to which they belong and to which they owe their allegiance. Not least amongst such countries are Kenya and Malawi.

28. We look forward to the day when the authorities in South Africa may be persuaded that the non-African has nothing to fear from the African and thereby be persuaded, through the examples set in other countries where harmony between the races is so amply demonstrated, that the time has come to abandon their concept of apartheid. When that day comes my country will be glad to applaud the equitable act of a Member State for discarding that national philosophy which is so contrary to the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of the Declaration of Human Rights. May I express the hope that as better understanding among the peoples of Africa grows and fear and suspicion subside, that day may not be too far off.

29. To our deep regret, another year has passed without seeing an end to the bitter and distressing armed struggle in Viet-Nam. That fighting and bloodshed should be continuing in that unfortunate country reflects no credit on anybody and must remain a blot on the consciences of all of us. I do not propose to indulge in recriminations over the rights and wrongs of the conflicting ideologies which have split that country in two and thrown it into the pit of civil war, for there is upon the conscience of the whole world a far greater wrong—the wrong of war itself.

30. We cannot believe that anyone in this Assembly does not want to see peace in Viet-Nam, but peace needs goodwill on both sides; just as it takes two to make a quarrel, so too it takes two to make peace. Neither of the conflicting parties in Viet-Nam has the right, so long as bloodshed continues there, to stand upon its dignity and argue the rights of its political philosophies. Those rights and wrongs must be argued out around the conference table.

31. In the hope that all those on either side of the conflict with whom the power to bring peace to the peoples of Viet-Nam rests may pay heed to the voice of a small nation that believes above all else in peaceful coexistence, we appeal not just to one side and its supporters but to both sides to bring an end to this stupid and needless bloodshed and to come together around a conference table with a sincere and honest intent to find a modus vivendi which will bring to the unhappy peoples of Viet-Nam a release from their present suffering in the toils of war. In short, I cannot do better than echo the words of His Holiness Pope Paul VI in his recent appeal for peace in Viet-Nam when he said:

“We renew our sorrowful appeal for peace and concord, and we ask that every means be taken, every road followed, so that at long last that just and honourable solution can be achieved which is so ardently desired by all humanity.”

32. Malawi has been following with great interest the deliberations of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee. Whilst we are naturally disappointed at the lack of

speed with which that Committee appears to be reaching any concrete conclusions, we nevertheless believe that it is essential that those discussions should continue in the hope that, from the maze of proposals and counter-proposals, there will ultimately emerge a measure of agreement which might form a basis for general disarmament. As a non-nuclear State ourselves, we view with alarm the increasing proliferation of nuclear armaments. We wish to take this opportunity to appeal to those States with the power and the means to do so to channel both their wealth and their technological knowledge into the development of nuclear power for peaceful rather than warlike ends. With this in mind, I should like to pay tribute to the position adopted by the Government of India in refraining from joining in the nuclear armaments race, although I understand that it has the capability and the capacity to do so had it so wished.

33. I cannot close without once again paying due tribute to the assistance which Malawi continues to receive from the economic, social and technical agencies of the United Nations. As a developing country, the assistance which we continue to receive from these agencies is of the greatest value to us and I should like to express my country's gratitude not only to the United Nations itself and its specialized agencies for that assistance, but also to those Member States of the world body whose generous voluntary financial contributions to the coffers of the United Nations have made the activities of its agencies possible in such large measure.

34. At the same time we are conscious of the fact that, whilst the needs of developing countries for assistance in the economic, social and technical spheres will continue to grow as the years go by, there can be no guarantee that the voluntary contributions from Member States will be able to keep pace therewith. This being the case, we feel that great caution must be exercised with a view to using to the best advantage such financial resources as are available. Every avenue must be fully explored with a view to effecting economies in this field, not by reducing the funds available for assistance to developing countries, but by ensuring the maximum co-ordination of existing activities to eliminate duplication of effort and the reduction of studies whose value is not so direct and immediate. We do not wish in any way to suggest any unnecessary curtailment of the activities of the United Nations in this field, but, by small countries such as Malawi, any increase in the over-all budget of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, and the resultant increases in the contributions thereto which we may be called upon to make, cannot but be viewed with concern.

35. I should like to extend, on behalf of Malawi, to the new Member States which have joined or will shortly be joining the family of the United Nations the same warm welcome as was extended to us two years ago. To Botswana and Lesotho we should like to extend a welcome as brother African States with which we share common problems and common difficulties stemming from our geographical positions. To Guyana—and, we hope in due course to Barbados—our welcome is extended as a sister State in that unique organization to which we are both proud and happy to belong, the Commonwealth. To give credit where credit is due, we feel that the presence of these new Members with

us now is clear evidence of the sincere desire of the Government of the United Kingdom to grant to its former colonies and dependencies political independence at the earliest practical moment. We should like to express the hope that the few remaining colonial Powers will not be slow to emulate that example.

36. Finally, we feel that an expression of welcome back into the fold of the United Nations is due to Indonesia. Although not in the strict sense a new Member of the world body, Indonesia has been absent from our midst for some time, but we in Malawi are most gratified to see that the root cause of its withdrawal last year has now been removed and that the Government of Indonesia feels once more able to play a part in the deliberations of this Assembly. We welcome the fresh approach to some of our problems which, I feel sure, the changed circumstances of its membership will bring and look forward once again to an era of full co-operation with its representatives.

37. Mr. BROWN (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I should like to offer you my hearty congratulations on your election. It is good to see the representative of one of the oldest independent countries of Asia presiding over our debates. In particular, I am pleased to see someone of your profound experience in United Nations affairs in that seat of great responsibility. I should like to join others in paying my tribute to Foreign Minister Amintore Fanfani, for what my colleagues tell me was his wise, effective and courteous presidency of the previous session.

38. There is perhaps little I can add to the expressions of deep appreciation of the dedicated work of our Secretary-General. For our part, the British Government welcomes the decision of the Secretary-General to offer to remain in office until the end of this session. We add our heartfelt wish that, in spite of the great burden that this will impose upon him, U Thant will decide to continue in office. The United Nations needs him, and the world needs him.

39. In the British House of Commons a new member making his first speech asks for, and is accorded, special consideration. I now ask you for the same. This is my first appearance on the international stage as the Foreign Minister of my country and I approach the task with both humility and confidence: the humility, which any human being must feel in addressing this world Assembly, which it is my profound hope may one day become an effective part of a world Government; confidence, because I know that my country stands for and personifies the ideals of freedom of the individual and international co-operation, and as such has always offered and will continue to offer its whole-hearted and indeed passionate support for the ideals and practical work of this Organization.

40. I speak to you as a Socialist and hence as an internationalist. I have breathed, lived and worked for social democracy from my early youth and I have been inspired by the international ideals of my faith. The principles of freedom, of equality and the importance of the individual which lie at the base of our philosophy of democratic socialism are not circumscribed by national boundaries. They are not limited in their application to certain places or countries or races. They apply universally throughout the world. Thus, I deem it a great honour, as a culmination of all that I have worked for, to be able to

address you today and to be able to play some part on this world stage in bringing about the ideals which have meant so much to me for so long. I do this without illusions, and without over-estimation of what the United Nations can achieve, but I should like to proclaim the faith of my country and myself in the United Nations and all that it stands for, and our determination to work in the most practical way for the fulfilment of its aims and its ideals.

41. I have read, as you too will have done, the Secretary-General's annual report [A/6301]. He is acting as the keeper of our conscience, recalling us to our duty and pointing out the tasks ahead. The report he makes is a disturbing one, but I believe he was right to make it. No one can honestly challenge the correctness of his diagnosis.

42. For my part I approach the United Nations in a mood of constructive discontent. The Secretary-General and I fairly clearly have been thinking along the same lines.

43. We today face problems of appalling gravity, but it would be strange if it were otherwise. For the United Nations is seldom called upon to intervene before a situation has proved to be beyond the resources of conventional diplomacy and beyond the wit of national statesmen. Had an effective United Nations existed in the past, it might have avoided many senseless conflicts and the insane massacres of two world wars. War has never been and never will be a solution; there are no victors in war. But no one of us seems ready yet to accept the logical consequences of this. For what do we see around us? The deep tragedy of the war in Viet-Nam; less publicized battles in Africa and Asia; tyrannies based on race, ideology or sheer lust for power, which deny the most basic human freedoms and the whole concept of the United Nations Charter. The pitifully slow progress towards peace-making and peace-keeping; the failure of the nations of the world to disarm; the contamination of underground tests and whole areas of the Pacific Ocean blanketed off for experiments with rockets and bombs; and, perhaps in its way most terrifying of all, the grinding and degrading misery of poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance. I was recently given a statistic, which I pass on to you, showing that there are about 250 million children of school age in the world today who get no education at all.

44. All this—and I do not mince my words—is to the shame of the human race. I know that had it not been for the infant United Nations, conflicts that have been contained would have spread with unforeseeable consequences; and the consciences of the more fortunate nations and peoples of the world might never have been awakened to their duty towards the whole of mankind. We have at least diagnosed the disease. We have even cured some of its serious symptoms, but we are still at the beginning of the beginning and we must recognize that brutal fact.

45. Even though the concept "United Nations" has a certain mystique, a certain intangible supra-national moral strength, and is the symbol of a great hope for a better future, it remains an Assembly of nation States. All those States pursue what they consider to be in their individual national interest. It would perhaps be vain to expect anything else at this stage. But there has so far been little or no inclination on the part of Member States to recognize that their national interest, indeed their greatest national

interest, is in fact the strengthening of this Organization. Many are still prepared to act in pursuit of what they consider to be their immediate aims. They do not even seem to mind if that leads to a weakening of this Organization. But the United Nations is vital to all of us. Without it we shall all go under. Thus its strengthening must be the supreme national interest, and the realization of this in a small way would be the beginning of wisdom for all Member States and could bring about a wondrous change in the prospects for world peace.

46. That change could be immediately effective in the peace-keeping and peace-making capability of the Organization. I greatly regret that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations has failed to reach any conclusions concerning the organization and authorization of peace-keeping operations in the future. Here we are not doing our job. We have failed to provide the sinews of peace. There is clearly a fundamental difference of view between Member States on this question; between those, among whom my country is proud to stand, who see an essential task of the United Nations as "keeping the peace" and are determined to get on with this, come what may, and those, on the other hand, who seem to wish that the United Nations should remain carefully circumscribed in its vital peace-keeping role. Clearly those differences of view cannot be quickly or easily removed. That is a fact of life, regrettable but true. The Secretary-General has reminded us that this present situation has the most serious implications for the United Nations and for its effectiveness as an instrument for peace in the world. It is indeed a near miracle that the Organization has been able to carry out a number of peace-keeping operations as effectively as it has. These have all been organized and financed on an entirely ad hoc basis which has placed a great burden on the Secretary-General and on those few who have contributed to the successful carrying out of the operations. While I share the Secretary-General's faith that the United Nations would in fact never find itself totally unable to respond to a need for peace-keeping, I also agree with his view that it might respond only haltingly and hesitatingly when matters had reached a grave and advanced state of crisis.

47. I submit that this is a situation that we cannot allow to continue. I have noted the wise words of Mr. Paul Martin [1413th meeting] and the suggestions he has made. Would it not be simple common sense and prudence to concentrate in the first place on giving the Organization an effective peace-keeping capability and take the necessary steps to that end? What is required? First, that Governments must earmark contingents; second, that a common military doctrine is required so that the earmarked forces can work together; third, a planning organization here in New York at the centre; fourth, more countries coming forward with voluntary financial contributions. I would earnestly ask those who oppose those steps to take another long hard searching look at the problem. For our part we shall continue to do all that we can to try to ensure that the United Nations really can keep the peace and be ready to meet the crises before they are about to overwhelm us.

48. Just as important as peace-keeping is peace-making—that is, the settlement of disputes before they reach the stage of armed conflict, or the removal of the cause of conflict once it has broken out. This Organization has some

achievements to its credit, but not enough. We want to find out why. It remains our conviction that a great deal more work needs to be done. We shall need to take a new and thorough look over a broad horizon at all possible means of making peace. Last year we made a proposal for a step forward. It remains on the agenda today. I ask you to look carefully at it, to banish your unjustified fears and suspicions and to take steps in accordance with the Charter which will fortify, in all our interests, the long-term strength of the United Nations and enable us to build the peace.

49. I feel, too, with the deepest conviction that all the peoples of the world should be represented here. This is not a club solely for those who think alike. This is a place where all should meet, mix and exchange their ideas and bring them ultimately to some kind of harmony and agreement. I recognize that universality of membership may slow the pace of progress, but the progress will be surer, the foundations of peace will be firmer, if all the nations of the world are represented here. I welcome most heartily the return of Indonesia. One hundred million gifted people, commanding great natural resources, should not lie outside our membership. Equally, a way must be found, and found urgently, in my view, to seat the representative of the People's Republic of China so that the voice of 700 million Chinese may be heard in our counsels. There are, of course, other absentees who cannot be amongst us. As a European, I regret that a reunited Germany cannot yet add its political and economic strength to our Organization.

50. Having said that, may I turn for a moment to the economic and social aspects of our work. Having just ceased to be Minister of Economic Affairs in my own country, I clearly take a particular interest in the economic role of the United Nations.

51. We in the United Kingdom recognize that we have a moral responsibility, shared with other industrial countries, to help the new nations. We recognize also that it is in our own material interest to do so. We want their standards of living to rise and their trade to expand, because that will stimulate world prosperity, and also because we cannot accept or tolerate poverty in large areas of the world side by side with affluence in others. If we want to avoid the worst of all conflicts, the conflict between the haves and the have-nots—a conflict which would inevitably also be racial—we must make it possible for aid to be received with dignity and to be given without patronage. But we also have to find the means from which such aid can be given. Frankly, at the present time, our own economic situation does not permit us to do as much as we should like. But, in July, Her Majesty's Government took drastic measures to restore our economy. These measures are already having good effect. Our capacity to assist developing countries in the future must depend on the strength of our recovery. Our record to date has been a good one, and we shall make every effort to maintain the present level of our contributions to multilateral aid programmes. It is our determination that, at the proper time, we shall increase our assistance to developing countries.

52. I am strongly in favour of multilateral aid. The extent to which aid is channelled through the United Nations and associated organizations will depend partly on the degree of

confidence which their staffs can create amongst donor countries. The taxpayer who provides the money is entitled to be satisfied that that money is well spent. Public support from democratic countries will depend on this. I thought that on this point there was much that was positive and encouraging in the Secretary-General's report. The recommendations of the Committee of Fourteen [A/6343],² wisely set up at the initiative of the French Government, can help further, and we hope to see them put into effect.

53. This is not the time for me to attempt to cover the whole field of international endeavour in the economic and social field. But so important is that endeavour that there are some main principles and purposes to which I should like to give special emphasis.

54. I pay tribute to the effective work done and to be done by the Economic and Social Council and the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the Secretariat.

55. We support and we have made our contribution to the new United Nations enterprise now to be launched in the field of industrialization.

56. We trust that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) can play a progressively constructive role in the whole field of trade and aid and development, and we shall play our full part in the UNCTAD Conference in New Delhi next year. In particular, we hope that progress will be possible in working out proposals for supplementary financial measures which the United Kingdom joined in putting forward at the 1964 Conference, and in international commodity agreements leading both to an increase in consumption and a rise in living standards.

57. We wish too to see more vigorous action in the field of human rights. We have a duty to complete the long-awaited draft covenants of human rights. Most of all we welcome and support the United Nations fight against the evil of racial discrimination. A vital advance in this fight was the adoption by the General Assembly last year of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [resolution 2106 A (XX)]. I am glad to have the privilege of being able to say from this rostrum that the British Government warmly welcomes this Convention and will be signing it today.

58. In his annual report [A/6301], the Secretary-General rightly speaks of colonialism and points a finger at the colonial Powers. I share his views; I share his impatience. All my political life I have fought against colonialism, and I am proud of the part that we have played in the peaceful transition from dependence to independence and from Empire to Commonwealth. I hope that no one will try to reverse this process, and that there will be no "neo-colonialism" or interference with hard-won independence. For its part, the British Government is guided and will continue to be guided by the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of the territories for which it still has responsibility are paramount. Britain stands ready to give independence to territories that want it and can sustain it. But certain problems of decolonization remain. It is inevitable

that these are some of the most difficult. They cannot be settled by a mixture of theory and enthusiasm. They are practical problems which need practical solutions. We are happy to have your help, provided it is offered impartially in the true interest of the people concerned. Judge the problems impartially and objectively. It may be thought in some sectors that because our approach is liberal and humanitarian we can be forced into hasty and partisan solutions. That is not so. Our objective is clear, and we intend to reach it in an orderly and fair-minded way. Let this indeed be, as our President asked, the "Assembly of Reason".

59. I should like to go on from that to say a word about South Arabia. We have undertaken that South Arabia will become totally independent by 1968. If it is then to go forward into independence in a united and viable condition, fortified by international goodwill, it is essential that, in the meantime, the present dissensions should be ended and that its peoples should be brought to agree upon the ways in which they can peaceably settle amongst themselves the shape of their own future. It is, I believe, within the power of the United Nations to make a decisive contribution to the achievement of these aims.

60. Early this year we announced that we would be withdrawing our military base in Aden at the same time as South Arabia became independent. More recently we have announced our acceptance of the 1963 and 1965 General Assembly resolutions on Aden [resolutions 1949 (XVIII) and 2023 (XX)] - which, *inter alia*, called for our withdrawal from the base - and we have told the Secretary-General that we shall be glad to co-operate with a special mission from the United Nations to recommend practical steps for the full implementation of those resolutions. We hope it will soon be possible for the Secretary-General to find the right men to serve on this mission and that the mission's work will help not only to produce constructive results as South Arabia moves to independence but also to bring about a fuller understanding in the United Nations as a whole of the true state of affairs in that area of the Arabian Peninsula.

61. It would, I think, be natural for me to turn now to the question of Rhodesia. In our view, the meeting of Commonwealth leaders in London in September was of cardinal importance. We were united in reaffirming our determination to bring the rebellion to an end. We were united on the fundamental principles of non-discrimination between the races and the building of a just society based on equality for all.

62. The British Government made clear that the illegal régime must be replaced by a broadly based and representative legal government appointed by the Governor. That legal government would administer the country on an interim basis and would negotiate with the British Government a constitutional settlement directed to achieving the objective of majority rule on the basis of the six declared principles. That settlement would then be submitted for acceptance to the people of Rhodesia as a whole by appropriate democratic means. This test of opinion must be fair and free; and I must make it crystal clear that the British Government will not consent to independence before majority rule unless the people of Rhodesia as a whole are shown to be in favour of it. Meanwhile there

²Ad Hoc Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies.

must be freedom of expression. Political detainees must be released, and normal political activities permitted, provided that they are conducted peacefully and democratically without intimidation from any quarter. Meanwhile, too, the armed forces and the police would be responsible to the Governor.

63. The purpose of the recent visit which my colleagues, the Commonwealth Secretary and the Attorney-General, paid to Salisbury was to make those decisions known to all in Rhodesia.

64. My colleagues also made clear that, unless the illegal régime in Rhodesia was prepared to take the initial and indispensable steps whereby the rebellion would be brought to an end and executive authority vested in the Governor, certain related consequences would ensue. Given the full support of the Commonwealth representatives at the United Nations, the British Government would be prepared to join in sponsoring in the Security Council before the end of this year a resolution providing for effective and selective mandatory economic sanctions against Rhodesia, would withdraw all previous proposals for a constitutional settlement and, in particular, would not be prepared to submit to the British Parliament any settlement which involved independence before majority rule. One thing is quite clear. Britain and the Commonwealth are together determined to see this issue resolved on a basis which is both just and honourable to all. But time is running out.

65. In the same way, we seek such a solution for South West Africa. The debate on this issue is now proceeding in this Assembly. We are following it closely and will be ready in the course of it, very soon now, to make known our position.

66. I now come to the issue which troubles us all very much: Viet-Nam. Her Majesty's Government has watched the deepening conflict in Viet-Nam with the utmost concern. In my own case, as in the case of Mr. Gromyko, there is a further reason for personal concern in that we are the two Co-Chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference, which was meant to resolve the problems of Indo-China twelve years ago.

67. Let me try to set out clearly the essence of my Government's policy on Viet-Nam, which I put before my party at Brighton last week and was there so overwhelmingly endorsed. There seems to me to be one fundamental and inescapable fact. There cannot be, nor should there be, a military solution to this conflict. We believe that the only feasible solution is a political settlement reached through negotiations. It is to this aim that I should now like to address myself for a few moments.

68. I do not want to delay you by going back over past history or into allegations and counter-allegations. But, all the same, let us not delude ourselves. Hanoi has in fact blocked the way to progress through negotiations and a political settlement. President Johnson recently announced in Detroit his willingness to accept a time-table for withdrawal from South Viet-Nam if North Viet-Nam would do the same. So far I know of no response. Now again, at this twenty-first session of the Assembly, Mr. Goldberg [1412th meeting] has announced the willingness of the

United States Government to stop all bombing of North Viet-Nam the moment it received any assurance that the cessation would be met by a prompt reciprocal act of de-escalation from the other side. He also raised again the possibility of a time-table for a supervised phased withdrawal of all external forces from South Viet-Nam. So far we have looked in vain for a response. But, even so, I am convinced there is now common ground in the 1954 Geneva Agreements which both the North Viet-Nameese and the United States have said can be a basis for a settlement. This being so, I repeat to Mr. Gromyko from this world rostrum the invitation which I made to him from the Labour Party Conference in Brighton. I invite him to join with me in reconvening the Geneva Conference and I should be glad if he were able to do so today.

69. Bearing in mind the Geneva Agreements, I believe that a settlement should be possible along the following lines:

(a) A conference of the parties to the war and other interested Governments should meet as soon as possible. I see no reason why the National Liberation Front or the Viet-Cong should not be represented at the conference, and I welcome the United States assurance that this question is "not an insurmountable problem" from its point of view.

(b) As soon as the principle of holding a conference is accepted, the following measures should be carried out:

(1) The bombing of North Viet-Nam by United States and South Viet-Nameese aircraft should cease, and a pledge should be given that bombing will not be resumed unless and until the conference has met and failed and the war has restarted.

(2) The introduction of United States forces and military supplies into South Viet-Nam should cease, and there should be no further work on military bases.

(3) Equally important, the dispatch of North Viet-Nam troops and military supplies to South Viet-Nam should cease.

(c) As soon as is practicable the High Command of each side should simultaneously give orders that their forces will not initiate any new aggressive actions. This will be a preliminary to the cease-fire which it should be the first objective of the conference to achieve.

(d) While the conference is negotiating the cease-fire, it should also agree on the main principles of a political settlement for Viet-Nam. This should be based, as both the United States Government and the Hanoi Government have repeatedly insisted, on "the essentials of the Geneva Agreements of 1954":

(1) There should be free elections held in North and South Viet-Nam within a specified period, say two years.

(2) There should be an amnesty for all Viet-Nameese who have participated on either side and in any capacity, military or civil, in the war. Everyone should be guaranteed personal liberty, safety and civil rights.

(3) The Governments chosen in the elections should freely decide if, when and on what terms North and South Viet-Nam should be united as a single State. There should be no intervention by any foreign Power in that decision.

(4) North and South Viet-Nam should be neutralized, and should accept obligations not to allow any foreign troops or bases on their respective territories, and not to join any military alliance.

(5) The Governments of the United States of America and North Viet-Nam should agree on a time-table for the simultaneous withdrawal of their respective forces from South Viet-Nam, and for the liquidation of any bases they may have established there. A date should be fixed by which this operation will be completed. Again, two years after the ratifications of the political settlement which the Conference draws up would seem to be a good suggestion.

(6) The armed forces of North and South Viet-Nam should be reduced and limited by the political settlement drawn up.

(e) Now all the above measures, including the elections, the evacuation of American and North Viet-Name forces and the reduction of North and South Viet-Nam armed forces should be conducted under international inspection and control. There should be an international campaign for the economic and social rehabilitation of North and South Viet-Nam, with the purposes of repairing the ravages of war and of demonstrating the advantages of peaceful international co-operation.

(f) The present international Commission of Control, strengthened, if so desired, by the addition of representatives of other Powers, should be made responsible for the execution of the above measures. The Commission should have at its disposal an international peace-keeping force, similar to those in Sinai and Cyprus.

70. This is the kind of proposal I advocate. It is definite, it is specific and it is detailed. I ask that all should join together to adopt it now.

71. I come to one other major area. When we have said all about our problems, there is one outstanding question in front of us and that is the question of disarmament. In his introduction to his annual report [A/6301/Add.1], the Secretary-General has rightly stressed the great dangers which face the world at present. We have managed for twenty years to live with nuclear weapons and to avoid a world war, only because of the restraint of the two super Powers and because of their knowledge that each could destroy the other. But I think we must recognize that this situation may be changing and that new threats to the stability of the international balance are appearing on the horizon.

72. For one thing, China is developing a nuclear capacity. However limited China's capacity may now be in nuclear weapons, it is certainly determined to match to the utmost of its ability the power of the United States and of the Soviet Union.

73. Secondly, we all recognize the serious danger that in a few years more nations may have acquired nuclear weapons, with all the consequences for peace that that would have. But perhaps we do not always understand the risks which may arise from the rate of technological advance, particularly in nuclear weapons. We cannot stop the progress of scientific thought, nor should we try to; but we can already foresee a time in which the increasing

complexity of the machines associated with nuclear weapons may begin to remove that control from human influence.

74. To sum up, I think that in a world that is already bristling with weapons, and in which nationalism and mistrust are steadily increasing, the prospect is becoming more dangerous with every moment that passes.

75. This situation calls for imagination and for a readiness to take risks. Otherwise, we shall indeed soon be at the edge of the precipice. We all know that our long-term aim is that of general and complete disarmament under international control. We all want this to come about, but nobody in his senses thinks it is just around the corner. I suggest that there are three things we have to do at once. First, recognize that the most immediate risk is presented by the possible spread of nuclear weapons to countries which do not now possess them, and recognizing that, agree on the text of a non-proliferation treaty to bring that process to a halt. Secondly, extend the partial test-ban Treaty to include underground explosions as well in order to prevent the existing nuclear Powers both from developing these frightful weapons and also from devising even more dangerous systems. Thirdly, bring the Chinese People's Republic into the international community of nations and especially into regular and effective negotiations on disarmament. Of course there are serious difficulties in the way of achieving even these limited objectives. But I am confident that, if we look at the terrible dangers which confront us, we shall reach the conclusion that we have to solve the problems; they can be solved if we are ready to take some calculated risks and give up a little of the mistrust and suspicion which has characterized international relations for so long.

76. So much of what we have discussed is a formidable and awe-inspiring story. We none of us expect that the United Nations will be able to find solutions to all these problems in the next year or even the next five years. All any of us can ask is that the Organization, and all of us who are Members of it, should go at our tasks with courage, with practical sense and with idealism, but entirely without illusions. We must see what the Organization can bear and not place intolerable burdens upon it. We must not think that a resolution which has no connexion with reality is a substitute for action. The United Nations has, of course, its role as a sounding board for world opinion, and it is in the true spirit of democracy that all should declare their beliefs here frankly and fearlessly. Let us say what we think honestly and straightforwardly, and let us proceed to solve the problems that face the world in a practical and in a humane way. Let us really try to make the United Nations a centre for harmonizing the interests of its Members. Let us discuss our differences, but let us try to see the other man's point of view. Let us work in the lobbies and in the committee rooms to reach solutions. Let us never take up rigid public positions from which there is then no retreat. Our job is the peace of the world and the happiness of the human race. More than that, it is to save people not only from the chance of battle, but from the certainty of poverty and hunger. Our business is to bring all that to an end.

Mr. Waldheim (Austria), Vice-President, took the Chair.

77. Mr. BELOKOLOS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, first permit me to congratulate you on your election as President of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR wishes you success in this high office and expresses the hope that in entering the third decade of its activities the General Assembly, under your guidance at this session, will succeed, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, in so acting as to make a tangible contribution to the performance of the tasks confronting it.

78. The general political discussion, in the course of which the Governments of the States Members of this most authoritative international Organization present their positions and their points of view on the world situation, provides an opportunity for more or less accurately taking the pulse of the political life of our planet and sampling the international atmosphere in which the peoples and States are living at the moment in question.

79. The last two decades have been marked by changes of vast scale and depth in the social and economic life of many peoples and in the relations between States and peoples. In our day almost all the peoples of the world have become active participants in international life. More favourable conditions have arisen for the systematic conversion into reality of the principles of sovereign equality of States, equality of rights and self-determination of peoples, good-neighbourly relations, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and peaceful coexistence of States with different social and economic systems.

80. Nevertheless, those who are trying to impede the process of the world's social and political rejuvenation and to undermine the national liberation movement of its peoples are gambling on a policy of force and are even resorting to armed aggression and to acts of war. They are thereby demonstrating their desperation and inability to understand aright the relationship of forces in the world arena.

81. In its vain and doomed attempts to rescue the ruling clique of its Saigon hirelings the United States has grossly and unceremoniously interfered in the internal affairs of South Viet-Nam. Having broken the 1954 Geneva Agreements, the United States went to Viet-Nam as an aggressor to strangle the freedom and independence of the Viet-Nameese people. The interference of the United States in Viet-Nam was subsequently converted into open, armed aggression, which the people of Viet-Nam have countered with their own unshakable will to defend freedom and independence. That people is invincible, for there is today no force which could overcome the sacred striving for freedom and independence.

82. In carrying out their aerial bombardment of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the leaders of the United States are assuming a heavy responsibility for the escalation of the war in Viet-Nam and for all the possible consequences thereof.

83. We wish to declare, clearly and categorically, that by its attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam American imperialism has thrown down the gauntlet to all socialist countries. The Viet-Nameese people, by their determination and resoluteness, are not only defending their

national rights, but are also making an important contribution to the struggle of the countries which belong to the world socialist system and of all peoples for peace, independence, democracy and socialism. The help given by the socialist countries to heroic Viet-Nam is and will continue to be given in the form and on the scale which the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam deems necessary.

84. The people of the Ukraine, who lost several millions of their sons and daughters in the war against the Hitlerite invaders, understand the feelings of the freedom-loving Viet-Nameese people and expresses to them their fraternal solidarity. The Government and people of the Ukrainian SSR fully support all the measures taken by the Government of the Soviet Union in giving support and comprehensive assistance to the Viet-Nameese people in their struggle against foreign aggression and we regard our contribution to that assistance as our international duty.

85. By its actions the United States has not only encroached upon the independence and freedom of the Viet-Nameese people, but is also creating an increasingly serious threat to world peace. In the course of the present debate we have once again heard the demand of the peace-loving peoples for an end to the United States aggression, for the elimination of the hotbed of war in South-East Asia, for the relaxation of tension and for the normalization of international relations.

86. The United States has of late been talking hypocritically about "unconditional" peace negotiations. The international community has more than once had an opportunity of realizing that each "new" variant of such proposals is put forward at a time when Washington is getting ready for the next stage of escalation.

87. Nor, in recent days, has there been any lack of statements by representatives of the United States—some of them from this rostrum—about alleged United States efforts at negotiation. The United States representative has spoken here about the next "peace" initiative; but Mr. Goldberg had hardly left this rostrum when another statesman of his country, the Secretary of Defense, Mr. McNamara, announced a 30 per cent increase in the production of military aircraft. We ask whether this simultaneous timing is accidental; or have these new aircraft perhaps become necessary in order to deliver to Viet-Nam the olive branch of peace which was recently produced with such pomp by the United States representative in this hall? The world knows very well what the American aircraft are delivering to Viet-Nam.

88. Calls for a breakthrough and for raising the blood stakes in this insane gamble have been issuing with increasing frequency of late from the mouths of influential politicians and military leaders in the United States. Things have come to such a pass that there are calls for the use of atomic weapons against the Viet-Nameese people, for a blockade of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, for a "drive to the north" to be started, and so forth. As for the United States Government, the impression is being created that, as it loses its international prestige and falls into a state of international isolation, it is trying to rely on extreme right-wing adventurist circles and is ever more frequently being led along by them. But to act like this

means taking the road of further recklessness and exposing the whole world to a most serious menace.

89. The United States has recently been making a great deal of noise about the coming conference in Manila; but, if we bear in mind that only countries which are in one way or another involved in the aggression of the United States of America against Viet-Nam will be taking part in that conference, it can be asserted beforehand that this will be just a conclave of aggressors meeting to devise further plans for waging war in Viet-Nam.

90. Yet there does exist a just political basis for a genuine solution to the Viet-Name question: it is contained in the well-known proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and of the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam, proposals fully consistent with the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

91. As the Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam declared on 2 September 1967: "Our people are profoundly dedicated to the cause of peace, but genuine peace, not peace on the American model, under the heel of American aggressors. Our people understand full well that genuine peace can ensue only when independence and freedom have been secured."

92. We are convinced that the heroic people of Viet-Nam, supported by the peoples of all the socialist countries and by the freedom-loving peoples of other countries, will ultimately be victorious, will free their land from the domination and interference of the United States imperialists and become sole master of their own fate.

93. The Government of the Ukraine and the Ukrainian people attach great importance to the problem of ensuring lasting peace and security in Europe, where the conflagrations of world wars have twice broken out in our century.

94. Today, as thirty years ago, the land in West Germany is again quaking under the caterpillar treads of the tanks and under the gun-carriage wheels of the resurrected Bundeswehr, already numbering more than half a million officers and men.

95. This, the most powerful army in Western Europe, provides the military backing for a policy of revanchism and revision of the results of the Second World War. As Mr. P. E. Shelesta, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, stressed in his report at the Party's Twenty-third Congress: "The Bonn rulers officially proclaim their intention of abolishing the German Democratic Republic, brazenly call for the revision of the existing boundaries in Europe and openly lay claim to parts of Polish, Czechoslovak and Soviet territory. The West German militarists, with the support of the United States of America, are straining after nuclear armaments. These intentions reflect the criminal plans of international imperialism to unleash a new world war."

96. The Government of the Ukrainian SSR draws attention to the fact that the revanchists in the Federal Republic of Germany are referring to the western parts of the Ukraine as a kind of bargaining counter. The Ukrainian people, which along with the peoples of all the socialist countries, have achieved the unification of all their lands,

firmly declare that the question of their boundaries in Europe has been finally and irrevocably settled.

97. The reckless plans of the Bonn revanchists are openly supported and encouraged by the governing circles of the United States of America. The world has been witness to the formation of a new military-political axis between Washington and Bonn. This is one of the factors most dangerous to the cause of peace. At one end of that axis lies the atomic bomb, at the other the unappeased revanchism of the German imperialists.

98. It is said that the problem of European security has many components; but essentially it reduces to the creation in Europe of an agreed system which would not permit the outbreak of a new war.

99. An important problem in the achievement of European security is the peaceful settlement of the German question, i.e., the signing of peace treaties with both the German States existing in the centre of Europe, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. The existence of two German States on the European continent is a political reality of post-war Europe and there is no escape from it.

100. A realistic programme inspired by concern for the security of peoples and the strengthening of peace in Europe and throughout the world was put forward at the Bucharest Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty States. The socialist countries advanced the following constructive proposals: the simultaneous dissolution of the military alliances existing in Europe or, at least, as a start, the dissolution of the military organizations of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty; the abolition of foreign bases and the withdrawal of troops from foreign territories; an agreed reduction in numbers in the armed forces of both German States; the creation of nuclear-free zones; the denial to the Federal Republic of Germany of access to nuclear weapons in any form; the recognition of existing boundaries in Europe; the continuation of efforts to seek a German peace settlement based on recognition of the existence of two German States.

101. To anyone familiar with the situation on the European continent it must be obvious that this is a constructive and business-like programme, formulating in a reasoned and clear manner the principal means of strengthening security in Europe. We note with satisfaction the growth of a trend in Europe towards removing the obstacles of the development of Pan-European co-operation and settling controversial questions in a spirit of mutual understanding. If all the European States were to show their readiness to reach mutually acceptable solutions, the problems of collective security in Europe could be solved.

102. The aggravation of the international situation brought about by the aggressive actions of the United States of America in South-East Asia, and the intensification of West German revanchism and militarism, which is straining after nuclear weapons, have inevitably had their effect also on the course of negotiations in the whole field of disarmament. The Ukrainian delegation wishes to point out that the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament has, for that reason, failed this year again to yield any encouraging results. We have come to the

conclusion that the Western Powers participating in the work of that Committee have not shown that they are anxious for constructive negotiations about disarmament. There is, in particular, convincing evidence of this in the position of those States on the question of concluding a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

103. The Soviet draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons indicates the right way to solve this problem. The chief merit of that draft treaty lies in the fact that it closes all loopholes for the further spread of nuclear weapons. It provides not only for prohibition of the transfer of nuclear weapons to the national control of non-nuclear States, but also for the closing of all channels for the proliferation of nuclear weapons, either directly or indirectly, in any form whatsoever.

104. The greatest danger in this respect lies in the Bonn revanchists' atomic pretensions, encouraged by the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom. Precisely this is the main reason why to this day the world still has no agreed treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

105. In this connexion it is extremely important to call on all States not to take any steps which would hinder the attainment of agreement on this most important and urgent matter. It is here that the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR sees importance and value in the draft resolution proposed by the Soviet Union, on the renunciation by States of actions hampering the conclusion of an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons [A/6398].

106. The prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons would to some extent limit the nuclear arms race and create the possibility of reducing the threat of a nuclear war. A point of great significance is that the solution of the problem of non-proliferation could offer a promising start towards the solution of other disarmament problems.

107. One of the aspects of disarmament is the problem of dismantling military bases and withdrawing foreign troops from territories. These bases and armed forces are used in interests alien to peace, as a means of exerting pressure on peace-loving States and often also as a means of direct armed intervention in their internal affairs. Recent events have shown that the aggressive actions of the United States on the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, in Latin America and in other parts of the world are intimately connected with the use of American armed forces and military bases on foreign territories, in particular on the territory of South Viet-Nam and in Taiwan, Thailand, Okinawa and the Caribbean region.

108. The network of American and British military bases stretches many thousands of miles from those countries. These bases are strong points of colonialism and neo-colonialism and create a threat to the security and freedom of peoples.

109. The Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Cairo in October 1964, declared its full support for countries striving to achieve the evacuation of foreign bases from their territories and called upon all States maintaining troops or bases in other countries to withdraw them without delay.

110. The idea of dismantling foreign bases was reflected also in resolution 2105 (XX) adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its twentieth session, on the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which contains an appeal to all colonial Powers "to dismantle the military bases installed in colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones".

111. The Ukrainian delegation considers that the proposal of the delegation of the Soviet Union regarding the dismantling of foreign military bases in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America deserves most serious consideration. Agreement on this proposal would be an important contribution towards strengthening peace on our planet and would create favourable conditions for the solution of other problems of general and complete disarmament.

112. The world felt the direct threat inherent in the existence of foreign military bases even more acutely after the recent disaster involving an American bomber, with nuclear bombs on board, near the Spanish village of Palomares. What happened near the Spanish coast could, in certain circumstances, become the starting point for the development of extremely serious events. The actions of the United States Air Force are creating a risk of a purely accidental explosion of an atomic weapon.

113. Despite the Palomares incident, the United States is today still continuing the practice of flying strategic aircraft carrying nuclear weapons outside its own boundaries. Such flights must be discontinued, for they create a threat not only to the populations of the countries over which they are made, but also to many neighbouring States.

114. The aggravation of international tension and the growing risk of an outbreak of thermonuclear war accentuate even more strongly the necessity of solving the problems of disarmament. The peoples of the world expect, not a repetition of the past, but a movement forward; they are looking for practical action. They are not looking for vague documents which do not go beyond general appeals and pious wishes, but for concrete, tangible action.

115. Nearly six years have gone by since the General Assembly, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. They have been years of rapid disintegration of the colonial system under the pressure of the liberation struggle of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The United Nations has played a definite role in this by giving political and moral support to the struggle of the colonial peoples for their freedom and national independence.

116. New States have recently emerged in Latin America and Africa: Guyana, Botswana and Lesotho. The Ukrainian SSR congratulates the peoples of those countries on having established their national independence and wishes them success in building a new life for themselves.

117. While noting the indisputable achievements on the road to decolonization, we cannot but note at the same time that at present the tempo of liberation of peoples from colonial oppression has perceptibly slowed down, by comparison with the year when the Declaration was

adopted. There are still many millions of people under the colonial yoke.

118. Colonialism is feverishly resisting and in several parts of the world has gone over to the counter-offensive. The colonialists of Portugal and South Africa are showing particularly stubborn resistance to the peoples' struggle for independence. They have taken shelter in the last ditches of colonialism and now, with the recklessness of the doomed, they are challenging the imperative of our time and the conscience of mankind.

119. In their aggressive, colonialist activities against the peoples, the imperialists are bound together by mutual guarantees. Portugal and the racialists of South Africa are getting help and support from NATO and particularly from the United States of America and the United Kingdom. Mr. Wilson's Government, with the support of the United States, is taking the line of intensifying British "responsibility East of Suez". While holding forth about this "responsibility", the British colonialists are carrying out one punitive operation after another in Southern Arabia and Oman and are putting into effect their plans for the conversion of a number of islands in the Indian Ocean into military bases.

120. As for the Southern Rhodesian adventure, it surely proves that there is a conspiracy of imperialists and colonialists that goes far beyond the conspiracy between London and Salisbury. Relying on their last bastions in Africa—the Republic of South Africa and the Portuguese colonies—the imperialists are now extending this reserve of the "free world" by incorporating Southern Rhodesia into it.

121. In its resolution 2105 (XX), the General Assembly at its twentieth session declared colonialism a crime against humanity. The present session of the General Assembly must clearly and unequivocally proclaim that the further existence of colonialism is a direct negation of those lofty ideals and purposes which this Organization was created to achieve and that the policy of colonialism contradicts the spirit and purposes of the United Nations and is therefore a direct violation of its Charter.

122. Colonialism is a crime not only against humanity, but also against peace. Our Organization has declared, in many of its resolutions, including those of the Security Council, that colonialism threatens peace and security, violates peace. The very fact that the Security Council is involved in considering colonial problems is surely evidence showing that colonialism brings with it the aggravation of international tension, a threat to peace and the actual violation of peace—that is, aggression.

123. Our Organization has recognized the legitimacy of the struggle waged by peoples under colonial domination for the attainment of their right to self-determination and independence. It has also proposed to all States that they give material and moral help to the national liberation movements in colonial territories. That appeal must be heeded. It must be supported by all who genuinely stand for the freedom of peoples and oppose oppression. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR considers that the United Nations must assist the colonial peoples to win their freedom and independence.

124. We are not among those who cherish the illusion that the imperialists will voluntarily give up intervening in the domestic affairs of other States. By its very nature imperialism stands in the way of the sovereignty of States and peoples, and the policy of intervention, which is carried out in various forms, derives from the very essence of imperialism. But the peoples of the whole world can and must, through their struggle, build insuperable obstacles to the struggle against imperialist intervention and must uphold the principles of the equality of rights and the sovereignty of States. This, as we see it, was the Soviet Union's purpose in raising at this session of the General Assembly the question of the status of the implementation of the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States [A/6397], approved by the General Assembly in 1965 [resolution 2131 (XX)].

125. We have already referred to the consequences of American imperialist intervention in the domestic affairs of the Viet-Nameese people. Another example of armed intervention by the United States was provided by the well-known events in the Dominican Republic. The United States occupation, thinly veiled as assistance by the so-called inter-American armed forces, again showed the true value of the demagoguery about respecting the independence and sovereignty of countries "south of the Rio Grande".

126. The United States is still carrying out its economic blockade of revolutionary Cuba, sending saboteurs and murderers to the island and committing armed provocations against Cuba in the region of the American base at Guantanamo. Cuba is offering resolute resistance to United States intervention in its internal affairs. On its side it has the sympathy and support of peoples throughout the world including the Ukrainian people, which is bound to the heroic Cuban people by close ties of friendship and revolutionary solidarity.

127. In the countries of Latin America intervention by the United States takes a wide variety of forms. The resolution of the United States House of Representatives of 20 September 1965 "legalizes" both indirect and direct intervention in the internal affairs of other States and peoples.

128. Intervention in the internal affairs of other States has become a common phenomenon in the foreign policy of the United States of America. Appeals for intervention in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples are heard from the lips of prominent statesmen and politicians of that country. We have in mind, in particular, their speeches at meetings of traitors to the Ukrainian people who fled, together with the German fascists, from Ukrainian soil and found a haven in the United States of America and in Western Germany. In such speeches they express "solidarity" with the actions of war criminals, the erstwhile servants of German fascism, who committed grave crimes against the Ukrainian people during the Second World War.

129. No less shameful, no less ludicrous, are the annual sessions of both Houses of Congress, when they glorify the attempt to establish, with the bayonets of foreign interventionists, the odious system of exploitation which the Ukrainian people threw on to the rubbish heap of history, once and for all, nearly half a century ago.

130. We mention this, not because such musical-comedy representatives constitute any threat to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Such commotions, worthy of Mark Twain's satirical pen, do not in the least disturb the Ukrainian people, which, together with the other peoples of the USSR, are building communism. We mention it only in order to show how thoroughly permeated United States foreign policy is with the philosophy of intervention in the domestic affairs of other States and to what extent this has become a commonplace phenomenon for a considerable number of politicians and even for the supreme legislative body of the United States of America.

131. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR will support all proposals aimed at further strengthening the standards laid down in the United Nations Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty.

132. The cause of the peace and security of peoples will gain only if all States Members of this Organization strictly observe the basic principles and provisions of its Charter. In this connexion the Ukrainian delegation declares its full support for the proposal of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic concerning strict observance of the prohibition of the threat or use of force in international relations, and of the right of peoples to self-determination [A/6393].

133. The General Assembly has before it a number of economic and financial problems for its consideration. Of particular importance are the questions of international trade, including trade between East and West and the strengthening of the economies of the developing countries.

134. We believe that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development should play a positive role in this matter. Unfortunately, the recommendations of the 1964 Conference are not in fact being implemented by the Western Powers. It is even being suggested that the decisions of the first Conference, including the principles it approved in the matter of international trade relations and policies, should be revised.

135. The Ukrainian SSR is in favour of the most rapid practical implementation of the principles laid down by that Conference and of its recommendations. We believe that the forthcoming conference on trade and development should consolidate the achievements of the first Conference and reject any attempt at revision of the principles already approved. We are still in favour of universality for that organization.

136. The Ukrainian delegation likewise considers that the United Nations should take the most radical measures to strengthen the sovereign control of developing countries over their natural resources. It is our conviction that the United Nations would thereby provide those countries with the necessary support in their struggle for the right to be masters of their own national resources; for the economic and social progress of the developing countries depends largely on how effectively they can exercise sovereignty over their natural resources.

137. Our delegation has read with great attention the report of the Ad Hoc Committee of Fourteen on financial matters [A/6343]. We consider its conclusions highly

interesting and we hope that the Committee's useful activity will promote greater co-ordination of activities among the institutions and organs of the United Nations family and greater economy in the use of budgetary resources.

138. The Charter of the United Nations links measures for strengthening world peace with the development of friendly relations among States on the basis of equality of rights and self-determination of peoples. Genuine universality of international organizations, and in the first place of the United Nations, would be a guarantee for the objective solution of international problems. Since the strengthening of peace and the development of friendly relations are obligations incumbent on all States, participation in international organizations should not be denied to a single State which has a policy directed to the achievement of those ends.

139. The admission of the German Democratic Republic to membership in the United Nations would, beyond all question, increase the possibilities for the United Nations to act in the name of the world and would serve the interests both of the German people and of all peace-loving peoples; for the German Democratic Republic occupies an important place in the system of international relations and is an important factor for peace in Europe. It has long been necessary to put an end to the discrimination practised against the People's Republic of China, to admit its lawful representatives to participation in the activities of the United Nations and to expel from this Organization the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which represents nobody at all.

140. To improve the effectiveness of the United Nations in strengthening peace means, first of all, putting an end to violations of the Charter of the United Nations, once and for all freeing the United Nations from every vestige of the cold-war period and creating in the United Nations a climate conducive to the collaboration of all States on an equal footing.

141. One of the left-overs from the past, from the cold-war period, is the presence of the so-called Korean question on the agenda of the General Assembly. The purpose of that question is somehow to cloak the occupation of South Korea by United States troops in the United Nations flag.

142. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR, together with the delegations of Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania and the Soviet Union, has submitted for the consideration of this session the question of the withdrawal of all United States and other foreign troops from South Korea and the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea [A/6394]. We believe that consideration of this question would help to redress the injustice done to the Korean people and to put an end to the foreign interference, carried on in the name of the United Nations, in the domestic affairs of that people. Such a step would contribute to the strict observance of the United Nations Charter and would help to enhance the role of this Organization as an instrument of peace and international co-operation.

143. In stating from this tribune our views concerning the activities of the United Nations and its place in international affairs, the Ukrainian delegation would like to stress the prominent role played by Secretary-General U Thant and to declare that, if he were to express his willingness to remain in office for a further term, that decision on his part would meet with the support of the Ukrainian SSR.

144. This year the Ukrainian people are starting to implement a new five-year economic development plan. I shall quote only two figures to show how high we have set our targets: during the five years of the plan the mean annual volume of industrial production will increase by 50 per cent and that of agricultural production by 25 per cent. Our Republic is now producing more pig-iron, steel, rolled iron, iron and manganese ore and natural gas than any other West European country. The completion of the new five-year plan will raise our national economy to an even higher level.

145. Next year our country will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The 1917 Revolution led to the Ukraine's conversion, in a short interval of historical time, from a backward agrarian

country into a leading industrial and agrarian State. The Republic has become a country with great metallurgical, chemical and engineering industries, a country of developed agriculture, advanced science and flourishing culture.

146. Everything we are building and creating, everything on which our workers and collective farmers, our engineers and scientists, all the working people of our country are labouring—all this is being built and created for peace on earth, for the triumph of free labour, in the name of the ideals of democracy, fraternal friendship and co-operation among all peoples of the world, for man and for mankind as a whole.

147. Permit me to assure the General Assembly that the Ukrainian SSR, as in the past, will give its full support to the principles and purposes enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. As in the past it will regard the United Nations as an arena for active political struggle against imperialism and aggression, for the cause of peace and the security of all peoples.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.