

United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION

Official Records



**1563rd
PLENARY MEETING**

Friday, 22 September 1967,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 9:</i>	
<i>General debate (continued)</i>	
<i>Speech by Mr. Nilsson (Sweden)</i>	1
<i>Speech by Mr. Miki (Japan)</i>	4
<i>Speech by Mr. Gromyko (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).</i>	9
<i>Statement by the representative of the United States of America</i>	15

President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. NILSSON (Sweden): Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you most sincerely on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly at this twenty-second session. Your eminent qualities as an experienced European statesman are certainly well known to all of us. Your remarkable efforts in furthering international co-operation inspire great confidence in your Presidency.

2. This year has been a period of strain and stresses for the United Nations, a period of trial. Although our Organization has, on many occasions, clearly demonstrated its value as an instrument for peace, there is, in many quarters, a feeling of disappointment and impatience at what is seen as ineffectiveness and paralysis. It seems to me that it would serve a useful purpose if some part of this general debate could be devoted to a candid discussion of the role of the United Nations in the present world situation. What are the objectives, and what are the possibilities of constructive action? The debate might then allow us to discuss the road ahead and to determine the responsibilities of Member States.

3. It must be frankly admitted that the United Nations is subjected to much criticism. It is widely felt that the organs of the United Nations seldom arrive at clear-cut decisions and unambiguous positions on the really important problems. And even when decisions are reached they often remain on paper. Conflicts and crises which these organs are expected to solve take their course seemingly unaffected by warnings and demands of the United Nations. Situations which undoubtedly constitute threats to the peace or breaches of the peace—even a major war like the one in Viet-Nam—can continue for years without any United Nations intervention at all. Some Member States, like South Africa, can with impunity ignore injunctions of the United Nations supported by an almost unanimous world opinion. With the aid of some Members, amongst

them South Africa, the rebel régime in Southern Rhodesia has been able to withstand the pressure of mandatory economic sanctions decided upon by the Security Council.

4. No wonder there is disillusion. The question arises how the United Nations can retain the confidence of the peoples, in spite of the discrepancy which evidently exists between promise and accomplishment, obligations and factual behaviour, ideal and reality.

5. The United Nations reflects the international reality but it also affects that reality. This is evidently true with regard to the problems and conflicts which are placed on the agenda of the Organization and lead to debate and to resolutions. But it also applies to situations, such as Viet-Nam right now, which, for various reasons, we have not been able to discuss constructively with a view to reaching decisions. These situations cannot be seen as isolated from the United Nations. By its mere existence, the United Nations in manifold ways influences all situations which involve the peace of the world, and is in turn influenced by them. We see incessantly cases of violation or neglect of Charter principles. But we must not forget that, since the creation of the United Nations, the actions of all States can be, and are being, judged by the standards of the Charter. Government leaders become increasingly aware of this constant scrutiny and examination. When furthering their own national interests they are compelled to pay some attention to the international ideals as represented and expressed by the United Nations.

6. We might also note that many countries, including great Powers, are attempting to find solutions through the United Nations to problems which directly concern their interests. The United Kingdom sought the co-operation of the United Nations to combat the rebel régime in Southern Rhodesia and to lay the foundation for a future in independence and peace for the people of South Arabia. The United States requested that the Viet-Nam problem should be placed on the agenda of the Security Council. The Soviet Union took the initiative in convening the General Assembly to consider the grave situation in the Middle East. There are different opinions about the motives behind the decisions to request United Nations intervention on these and other problems. But there can be nothing but appreciation of the tendency to take the burning questions of our day to the United Nations and to subject them to the judgement of world opinion. It is not the violent debates in these halls, the sharp differences and the bitter accusations expressed here which jeopardize the continued existence and the influence of the United Nations. The real danger would be indifference, silence and passivity.

7. Turning to the disturbing situation in the Middle East, I should first like to express deep regret that it was not possible to prevent and to resolve the threatening crisis as it developed during the spring and clearly pointed to the risk of an armed conflict. Further, it is a matter of serious concern that during the fifth emergency special session all attempts failed to lay down guide-lines for the establishment of conditions of peace with justice in the area. This is all the more unfortunate as there was near unanimity on the principles themselves: non-recognition of any rights resulting from military conquest and recognition of the right to existence in security and peace for all countries in the Middle East. It seems to me that a realistic political solution, fair to all parties, would be greatly facilitated if these principles could be stated by the United Nations in some authoritative form.

8. Although it did not prove possible to prevent the outbreak of hostilities, nor to find a basis for a lasting solution, the role of the United Nations was, however, of essential importance and still is. It was in the Security Council [resolutions 233 (1967) and 234 (1967)] that agreement was reached on a cease-fire. It is through the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine that this agreement is made effective. And it is through contacts within the United Nations that it may be hoped, at some stage, to establish a situation of peace and justice in the area. The United Nations remains a truly indispensable instrument for this purpose. We must not forget that the United Nations during the last twenty years has been a moderating factor in the Middle East.

9. With respect to the problems in southern Africa it is equally important to view in the correct perspective the capacity of the United Nations to influence developments. There is disappointment and bitterness that a minority régime in South Africa can continue to pursue and to intensify a policy of racial discrimination explicitly condemned by the United Nations and described by a large majority as a threat to the peace. Appeals for freedom and independence for the peoples of South Africa, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the territories under Portuguese administration are left unheeded. But are we, therefore, compelled to give up our endeavours as doomed to failure?

10. My answer is a clear no. One reason is that the debates and the decisions of the United Nations have contributed to creating and maintaining a world opinion directed against racial oppression. That is essential. Looking back only some twenty or thirty years, one is struck by the dramatic changes which have occurred in the psychological attitudes of many peoples, including the Swedish people. It is of utmost importance that the younger generation all over the world should be educated to resist the mentality of fear and superiority which is at the root of racial discrimination. Many of the conflicts in the world today are caused or intensified by racial antagonism. Some of them threaten to develop into wars, civil or international. More information, more debate and increased contacts between the peoples are the necessary means to break this tragic trend which, if unchecked, can only lead to more injustice, more violence, more brutality, more wars.

11. Continuous education for greater understanding and tolerance between the races is of direct importance in order to hasten the abolishment of racial oppression in Southern Africa when the factual conditions for a change become ripe. Some of these conditions are the continued political struggle for freedom in the territories concerned and a strengthening of the economic and political power of the independent African countries. Seen in this perspective, the debates and resolutions here in the United Nations become meaningful. We are also made aware how important it could be to increase substantially the economic assistance to African countries, in particular those in the immediate vicinity of the countries where racial régimes still hold sway. I wish to say here that if such programmes can be worked out in the United Nations, Sweden would be willing to play its proper part in making them effective. I wish to add that we favour an increase in educational assistance to Africans from the countries concerned in order to strengthen the cadre of trained personnel who can give stability to those countries when freedom is achieved.

12. It is these two centres of conflicts—the Middle East and southern Africa—which will take up a considerable part of our attention, our patience and our energy at this session of the General Assembly. At the same time we are obliged to note that it is a third conflict in the world—not on our agenda—which constitutes the darkest cloud on the political horizon. The United Nations seems powerless to deal in a meaningful manner with the Viet-Nam conflict. This may lead to more doubts as to the usefulness of this Organization as an instrument for peace. So much the more important is it, therefore, that Member States should use this debate to express their opinions on the problem.

13. The war in Viet-Nam rages with increasing intensity. Bombs continue to fall over North Viet-Nam. In South Viet-Nam a total civil war is in progress. Viet-Nameese inflict death and destruction on each other. There is outside intervention on a massive scale. The sacrifices are such that one can well understand the feeling of millions of Viet-Nameese that their country's national identity and ancient civilization are at stake. This brave people, which has experienced the horrors of war for over a quarter of a century, should now at last be allowed to live in peace and dignity without foreign interference. This must be the dream of all Viet-Nameese. It is an aspiration with which we all sympathize.

14. It is now generally agreed that the war can be terminated only through negotiations, through a political solution as the United States representative, Mr. Goldberg, emphasized here yesterday [1562nd meeting]. How then is a beginning to be made to bring about negotiations? It has been said from the North Viet-Nameese side that talks could be opened if the bombing of North Viet-Nameese territory ceased unconditionally. It appears to me a matter of great urgency that this way of approaching the conference table be tried. Like Secretary-General U Thant, I believe that a cessation of the bombing may lead to a solution or to the beginning of a solution. No effort to bring this conflict to an end can be left untried. As long as the war continues the threat remains of

its spreading further in Asia, with unforeseeable consequences for world peace.

15. Therefore, we appeal to the most powerful party in the conflict to take the initial step. We appeal for a willingness to start the de-escalation process which can lead to peace for the people of Viet-Nam. We address this appeal to a nation whose ideals of liberty, shown not least during the two world wars, the nations of Europe have particular reason to remember with gratitude.

16. The efforts to make the United Nations better equipped to deal with threats to the peace and to contribute to the peaceful solution of conflicts must be energetically pursued on all fronts. This is part of the motivation of the Swedish Government's consistent position that the People's Republic of China should take China's seat in the different organs of the United Nations. If one wishes to give a realistic direction to the work of the United Nations, one must deplore that a country which holds one fifth of the population of the world still stands outside the Organization and appears to be becoming increasingly isolated from the outer world.

17. Further, my Government continues to give firm support to all endeavours to maintain and to develop the United Nations capacity to carry out the type of measures which have come to be called peace-keeping operations. We have been reminded by recent events in the Middle East of the characteristic features of these operations, which is that they are voluntary or, to use another word, consensual. This does not diminish their usefulness, but it does indicate that they are no substitute either for the ability of the United Nations to contribute to the solution of conflicts or for its capacity to act under Chapter VII of the Charter. However, the different organs of the United Nations, including the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Secretary-General, have shown wisdom and inventiveness in breaking new ground in the field of peace-keeping. Rich experience has been gained which constitutes a valuable asset for the future. It is our belief that all Member States, also those who up till now have been doubtful or negative, will become increasingly aware hereof. It is true that the endeavours to lay down guide-lines for the future have so far failed. This is to be regretted but need not lead to despondency as to the efficiency of the Organization. If and when the need arises for a peace-keeping operation, the ability of the United Nations to take the necessary measures will as hitherto hardly depend on any pre-arranged formulas. The Member States' willingness to make use of the opportunities that the Charter and the practices acquired over the years provide will in the end be decisive.

18. I wish to add that much useful work can be done, both nationally and internationally, to improve the United Nations peace-keeping capacity. Many countries, amongst them Sweden, have made practical preparations in the form of stand-by forces, courses for United Nations observers, etc. We plan to notify the Secretary-General, at some appropriate time, of these preparations and hope that other countries will do the same, thereby keeping him fully briefed

about the possibilities in respect of personnel and services that would be available in case of need.

19. Another central sector in our positive work for peace is the endeavour to advance along the road of disarmament. It is true that we cannot yet register any success comparable in importance to the partial test-ban Treaty of 1963. But the negotiations on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, which have been carried out during last year, have lately made progress. The identical drafts of a treaty recently presented in Geneva by the delegations of the United States and the Soviet Union^{1/} have been regarded as an important sign of a commencing reduction of the tension in the political climate in the world. The Swedish Government shares this opinion.

20. We all now wish to see these endeavours crowned with success. The Swedish Government has repeatedly emphasized its expectation that the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament would be able to submit a unanimous recommendation to the General Assembly on a non-proliferation treaty. We have tried, and will continue to try, to give constructive contributions towards achieving a draft text realistic enough to be acceptable to the States which are most important in this connexion. What we are aiming at is an effective, solid, international undertaking to check the trend towards a spread of nuclear armaments.

21. It is obvious to the Swedish Government—as I believe it is to the majority of the nations in the world—that one single agreement cannot be the final goal. In the search for world-wide disarmament—a balanced lowering of the guard—preparations must be pursued to meet the threat that the nuclear arms race entails. What we have in mind is, directly and concretely, the conclusion also of a comprehensive test-ban treaty and a cut-off agreement prohibiting the production of fissionable material for weapon purposes. A non-proliferation treaty may lead the way, but it has to be accompanied or followed by such other steps to which I have referred.

22. In his statement yesterday [1562nd meeting] the Danish Prime Minister suggested an inquiry into the question of some form of international system for registration of the trade in conventional arms. This may be a useful suggestion worthy of being seriously explored.

23. The gigantic and ever-greater resources invested in armaments make us realize that there is a need for haste in the efforts towards disarmament. Every day is costly. When the United Nations began to debate disarmament, the only three atom bombs then produced had already been used. Now, at enormous costs, the stocks have risen to thousands of even more devastating weapons.

24. In view of the tremendous resources invested in tools of destruction, we must greet—with relief and hope—even limited progress in the field of disarmament. It takes but little imagination to realize what even a relatively small reduction in armaments costs could mean in order to hasten our material contributions to the developing countries. To some extent—and perhaps to a very great extent—progress

^{1/} Documents ENDC/192 and ENDC/193.

in the field of disarmament may help us to solve, or at least to alleviate, the greatest humanitarian and political problem of today, the destitution and starvation among the rapidly increasing masses in the poor countries.

25. I have tried in this statement to discuss the difficulties with which the United Nations is faced. But I have also wished to demonstrate the basic usefulness of our Organization, both in dealing with problems that now beset the world and, hopefully, as a beginning of more effective arrangements in the future for the maintenance of peace.

26. I express the hope that the work at this session—where elements of deep worry are mixed with elements of confidence—will be characterized by moderation, patience and realism.

27. Mr. MIKI (Japan):^{2/} Mr. President, on behalf of the Japanese delegation, I extend my heartiest congratulations to you on your assumption of the Presidency of the General Assembly of the United Nations at its twenty-second session. Your profound knowledge and competence have become especially well known among the Japanese people since your very welcome visit to Japan last June. I confidently expect that you, as the first President of the General Assembly elected from Eastern Europe, will perform your duties giving such wise and fair guidance that this General Assembly will achieve significant successes and thus contribute to the furtherance of co-operation and harmony among nations.

28. May I take this opportunity also to express my deep gratitude to the former President of the Assembly, Mr. Abdul Rahman Pazhwak. It is my great pleasure to say that Mr. Pazhwak, who, as we know, presided over the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, the fifth special session and the fifth emergency special session, demonstrated exemplary leadership during a very grave and difficult period for the United Nations. He thus helped tide us over many difficulties and further enhance the prestige of our Organization.

29. I also wish to pay the deep respects of the Japanese delegation to the Secretary-General, U Thant. I particularly appreciate the Secretary-General's zeal and devoted efforts for the maintenance of world peace. I hope that the Secretary-General will continue as before to deal with our various problems with courage and resolution based on deep consideration and wide consultation, and contribute further to maintaining the authority of our Organization.

30. Since its inception in response to the yearning desire of mankind for world peace, the United Nations has lived through more than twenty years of meaningful history. Seeking ways always to avoid the calamity of a great war and to promote the general welfare of mankind, it has performed a valuable role which none of us should fail to appreciate. We can fully understand this to be a fact of history if we only visualize what the world situation might well have been had the United Nations not existed at all. In the light of this consideration, surely we should endeavour

to develop and strengthen the present United Nations into a more perfect Organization.

31. We are now entering the last third of the twentieth century. Both the first and second thirds of this century were marred by disastrous world wars. Should a new world war break out in the last third of this century, it would inevitably be a nuclear war spelling the destruction of all mankind. The great and solemn responsibility that we, the living, bear to future generations is to save the last third of the twentieth century from nuclear tragedy and to ensure that the doors to the twenty-first century, which holds out unlimited possibilities for the well-being of mankind, will open to an era of true world peace.

32. In order to discharge this responsibility, we must be fully aware that we are now living under the threat of nuclear warfare, that we are citizens of one world sharing a common destiny, that we are all, as it were, passengers in the same boat. At the same time, we must squarely face the stern reality of the existence of various causes which could ignite a world war and, with cognizance of the danger, make every effort to eliminate these potential seeds of war. In order to achieve this purpose, we must, first of all, move forward towards the ultimate objective of general and complete disarmament in both nuclear and conventional weapons, starting with the prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests and the prevention of the proliferation of such weapons. This calls for true international co-operation among all States.

33. Secondly, local disputes which could spread into a world conflict must be resolved without delay by peaceful means, so as to nip in the bud such causes of general war. In this sense, it is a matter of the utmost urgency that the armed conflicts in Viet-Nam and the Middle East be brought to an early settlement.

34. Thirdly, international co-operation for the elimination of poverty, ignorance and disease must be vigorously promoted. Further assistance from the developed to the developing countries is essential to adjust the economic disparities among nations.

35. The three points I have just mentioned cover the measures which the Japanese delegation considers to be indispensable to building and maintaining a secure world peace.

36. I should now like to dwell a moment on the question of the prevention of nuclear war. In order to prevent a nuclear disaster, there is a compelling need for all of us, realizing that we are citizens of this shrinking world and sharing a common stake, to eliminate the danger of nuclear weapons ever being used, by promoting better mutual trust and understanding among nations, and by thus bringing about an easing of world tensions.

37. In this regard, it is of the utmost importance to control nuclear weapons themselves. My Government thus subscribes to the spirit of the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, now attracting the attention of the world. It is quite clear that the further spread of these weapons would only increase the danger of nuclear wars and jeopardize world peace. I am very glad to note that, after long and assiduous efforts by the United States of America and the Union of

^{2/} Mr. Miki spoke in Japanese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

Soviet Socialist Republics, a draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons has finally been submitted to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament in Geneva for concrete deliberations.

38. To attain the objective of this treaty, it is most important to ensure the participation of as many countries as possible, in particular all the nuclear-weapon and all the non-nuclear-weapon States with nuclear capabilities. I also consider it necessary for both the nuclear-weapon and the non-nuclear-weapon States to share equally and in a co-operative spirit the responsibilities and obligations involved.

39. From this point of view, I earnestly hope that some measures, which might be set forth, for example, in the form of a United Nations resolution, will be taken by the nuclear States to guarantee the non-nuclear States—especially those pursuing a policy of non-alignment—against attack or threat of attack by nuclear weapons.

40. Also of paramount importance is the question of nuclear disarmament. Inasmuch as the non-proliferation treaty aims at a world without nuclear wars and the furtherance of human security and welfare, it is not enough merely to curb the increase in number of the nuclear-weapon States. Upon the conclusion of that treaty, the nuclear States themselves should clearly express their intention to start taking concrete measures, beginning with whatever is feasible, for the realization of nuclear disarmament, the ultimate aim being the demolition of all nuclear weapons. Should that treaty end up as a mere device to establish a nuclear monopoly by the present nuclear States, then it would completely lose its moral basis.

41. Furthermore, the total prohibition of all nuclear-weapon tests is also an important aspect of the nuclear disarmament question. It would not only contribute to nuclear disarmament as such, but it would also be an effective measure to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. In all efforts to prevent nuclear weapon tests, including the so-called "detection club", my Government is prepared to extend positive support and co-operation.

42. Meanwhile, I strongly hope that both the People's Republic of China and France will heed and respond to the common desire of humanity by showing a co-operative attitude towards the partial test-ban Treaty of 1963 and the non-proliferation treaty.

43. There should be no loop-holes in the treaty. However, the peaceful use of nuclear energy offers limitless possibilities for future human welfare. The treaty, therefore, should not obstruct the sharing by all parties of equal opportunities to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, nor should it hamper research and development of nuclear energy for such purposes. There must be assurance that the non-nuclear States will not be placed at a disadvantage regarding the peaceful use of nuclear energy. At the same time, I strongly hope that the nuclear States, which have greater advantages in research and development, will be forthcoming in making their knowledge available to other States so that the treaty would serve as a prime mover of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. I hope the Member States of the Eighteen-Nation Com-

mittee on Disarmament will pay serious attention to the various observations which will no doubt be expressed by many delegations in the present session of the General Assembly, and that they will make further efforts for the realization of a just and equitable treaty. My Government is ready to co-operate fully and in a constructive spirit in international endeavours to achieve disarmament. That we may contribute more effectively to this purpose, my Government desires an opportunity to join other nations as an active participant in international organizations dealing with disarmament questions.

44. I should now like to express the views of the Japanese delegation on the principal problems, as we see them, confronting the various areas of our present world.

45. In Viet-Nam, the tragic loss of human lives and the destruction of property are going on relentlessly, without any prospect of a peaceful solution in sight. Japan, as a member of the Asian community, is deeply pained by the course of the conflict. I earnestly hope that all parties concerned will enter into talks as soon as possible in the high cause of humanity and peace.

46. Surely, neither of the parties wishes to prolong the conflict indefinitely. But fighting continues. If it is carried on in the expectation that the adversary would surrender in the due course of time, I would say that that is unrealistic thinking. The actual situation is such that it does not allow such optimism. Is it not time for the world to stop arguing that one side is right and the other wrong and in unison call upon the parties now locked in combat to move together towards the conference table? The conflict now raging, unless halted, contains the danger of further expansion. But if peace is to be realized, both parties must move in that direction. Is it not possible for both parties to find some points on which they can come together in order to pave the way for a peaceful solution? I believe that, as a first step, all the parties directly concerned should stop fighting and enter into talks on the basis and in the spirit of the Geneva Agreements of 1954. There seems to be no way to a peaceful settlement other than an arrangement to ensure the coexistence of South Viet-Nam and North Viet-Nam under some form of international guarantee and thus enable the eventual withdrawal of all foreign troops from the area. Once the situation becomes stable, the future of Viet-Nam should be left to the Viet-Nameese people itself. In order to find the threads to such a peaceful settlement, it is necessary most of all for the parties concerned to establish informal contacts between each other. Towards that end, Japan wishes to help in every way possible.

47. In this connexion I should like to pay high tribute to the Secretary-General for his sincere and arduous efforts to bring about a peaceful solution of the conflict in Viet-Nam. It is only natural that the United Nations, as an international peace-keeping organization, should be deeply interested in the question of peace in Viet-Nam. The United Nations is not a place for exchanging invective. I trust this Organization is upheld as a world forum for constructive discussions in the common quest for peace

to a climate conducive for the parties engaged in the conflict to come together.

48. An early solution of this conflict is necessary not only from the humanitarian point of view, but also because of the critical situation in Asia. In mainland China, the "Great Cultural Revolution", as it is called, is now in progress, and in such a manner that it is very difficult to forecast its outcome. That country is also making rapid progress in the development of nuclear weapons. Under these circumstances, if the People's Republic of China should perchance adopt a policy of force towards its neighbours with the intensification of the Viet-Nam conflict, Asia will face a grave situation fraught with extreme danger. Therein lies the urgent need for a prompt and peaceful solution of the conflict in Viet-Nam.

49. I have been closely following developments in South Viet-Nam since the recent elections. That is because I believe it is the desire of the people of that country to bring about a truly stable and democratic government through those elections and because I also believe that those elections may provide an opportunity for further steps towards an early termination of the conflict. It is the unanimous and very earnest desire of the Japanese people to see peace restored in Viet-Nam as soon as possible. The Japanese Government, therefore, desirous of the earliest possible restoration of peace, wishes to express its intention to exert every effort to that end.

50. There is no problem in Asia today that can be discussed independently of the question of China. We may well say that the China question is the key problem in Asia. One of the most important aspects of the question is the fact that the Republic of China in Taiwan and the People's Republic of China on the mainland, persistent in their conflicting positions, continue to confront each other. While in a sense this is a problem for the Chinese people to resolve, it is not their problem alone. It is actually an international problem of great complexity and far-reaching implications, affecting the peace and security of Asia and of the world.

51. That the question of Chinese representation in the United Nations remains an old, yet always new, issue is because of the complex and difficult nature of the China question itself. Unless the basic problem—the China problem—itself is completely resolved, we should not expect a full and satisfactory solution of the question of Chinese representation.

52. The Japanese Government has consistently taken the position that any proposal to change the representation of China is an "important question", under Article 18 of the Charter. We have not taken this position as a means of excluding the People's Republic of China from the United Nations. In fact, we have taken it because we are convinced that a proposal with such far-reaching implications cannot be treated as a mere procedural matter which may be decided either way by a simple majority. My Government firmly believes that this question is an important one which, like the problem of the Middle East and that of South West Africa and many other problems which are dealt with by the General Assembly, requires a two-thirds majority for decision.

53. One of the gravest international incidents in recent months was the aggravation of the conflict in the Middle East. It is deeply regrettable that the long-standing unstable relations between the Arab States and Israel again resulted in a renewal of hostilities. Thanks to the timely measures taken by the Security Council and also to the self-restraint of the parties concerned, a cease-fire has been effected. Nevertheless, the Israeli occupation of Arab lands still continues; and an international waterway vitally important for world trade remains closed. These and other related problems are unsolved and tension dominates the area.

54. The threat or use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any State runs counter to the Charter of the United Nations. My country firmly upholds the position that no aggrandizement of territory by means of the fait accompli of occupation is admissible. It is said by some that the fifth emergency special session produced little tangible result in solving the problem of the Middle East; but it is a fact that all Member States are anxious to see an equitable solution of the problem on the basis of justice and reason. Israeli forces should withdraw from the occupied areas without delay, but, at the same time, a lasting peace should be firmly established in the Middle East. I appeal strongly to all the disputing parties to heed the current of world opinion and draw close to one another with a view to achieving a just solution. My heartfelt sympathy goes to the Arab refugees for the hardships now afflicting them; and I earnestly urge that effective measures be taken as soon as possible for their relief.

55. To solve the Middle East problem there is need for direct talks between the parties concerned. Nevertheless, I would stress that the good offices of a third party to open the way to such talks would not only be useful, but necessary. Every possible means of attaining a peaceful solution should be explored, but in view of the historical background of the problem of the Middle East, my Government believes that whatever solution may be reached should eventually be approved by the United Nations and that the United Nations should continue to be responsible for implementing the solution. Furthermore, in the light of the important role hitherto played by the United Nations in the Middle East, we believe that any suggestion for strengthening the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations in the area deserves careful consideration.

56. The independence of many African nations and their dynamic emergence are remarkable developments which characterize history since the Second World War. Japan fully understands the aspirations of these newly independent nations and deeply sympathizes with them in their continuing efforts to carve out their future on their own will and by their own hands. Japan has endeavoured to promote friendly and co-operative relations with these countries on a bilateral basis; it has also co-operated with them within the framework of the United Nations when dealing with various African questions. I sincerely hope that these new States, having cast off the colonial yoke of many bygone centuries, will make steady progress in their nation-building and will achieve

the stability and the prosperity which they all seek to enjoy.

57. The problems of southern Africa pose extreme difficulties because of their historical background and perplexing nature. But at the heart there lies, I believe, the issue of racial discrimination. Thus, first of all, I appeal to those countries which administer southern Africa to realize that basic justice demands the abolition of racial discrimination and that the granting of independence to colonial Territories is the inevitable course of history. I appeal to them to have the courage to reconsider their policies and to align themselves with all the other members of the international community.

58. On the other hand, I also firmly reject the attitude that the end justifies the means, that force may be used to achieve that end. The United Nations should rightly be used as a forum for consultation and persuasion, not for condemnation and denunciation. The real solution of such grave and difficult problems can only be attained through the understanding, patience and co-operation of all countries concerned. The United Nations, under the principles of the abolition of racial discrimination and the independence of colonial Territories, should on its part make every effort to create an international climate that would be conducive to the kind of solution I have mentioned.

59. On the question of South West Africa, the fifth special session of the General Assembly adopted [resolution 2248 (S-V)] the joint proposal of the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries. I sincerely hope that the Government of the Republic of South Africa will recognize the competence and responsibility of the United Nations over the Territory of South West Africa and provide the necessary basis making it possible to discuss this question, so as to pave the way for the solution of this question.

60. On Southern Rhodesia, the Security Council adopted last December a resolution [232 (1966)] providing for economic sanctions against that Territory, and Japan is continuing to make every effort to achieve the purpose of that resolution in all sincerity. It would not be appropriate for us to conclude that the past actions of the United Nations have failed simply because the results achieved by the economic sanctions have so far been negligible. Japan earnestly hopes that the present abnormal situation in Southern Rhodesia will be settled peacefully as soon as possible.

61. So far, I have spoken at some length on the question of peace-keeping. I should now like to turn to the question of economic development, which in essence is the building of a foundation for peace. Stabilization of the livelihood and improvement of the welfare of people in the developing regions of the world are not only urgently required as such, but by removing the latent causes of conflict in these regions they contribute towards building a lasting peace.

62. Especially in Asia, plagued today by a host of difficult problems, it is essential, if peace and stability are to be secured in the area, to push forward vigorously with economic and social development. Asia has the largest population in the world.

According to United Nations statistics, there are a number of countries in the area where the per capita national income is still below \$100. In my view, it is not realistic to hope for peace and stability in Asia without first improving the sorry state of poverty there. The problem of development in these countries is not merely an economic or social question. Indeed it should be understood as a problem of building peace in Asia.

63. In Asia, regional co-operation for economic development is being actively promoted. A number of new organizations have been established for the purpose. These are indicative of the desire of Asians to achieve their common objective of overcoming poverty by their own efforts. We heartily welcome those efforts.

64. We all know that the prime prerequisite to development in developing countries is self-help and co-operation within the region. But at the same time there is necessarily a certain limit as to how much the developing countries can do for themselves, for development requires enormous capital and many kinds of modern technologies. Thus, aid from developed countries outside the region is also necessary. Unless these three factors, namely, self-help, regional co-operation and outside co-operation, are combined to function in harmony, the optimum results cannot be achieved.

65. At this juncture, I am constrained to point out that, partly because of its large population, Asia receives a smaller proportion of international aid compared to the other developing regions. The per capita amount of aid delivered to the developing regions during 1965 was \$4.20 for Latin America and \$6 for Africa, as compared to only \$3.30 for Asia. For eight United Nations member countries in South-East Asia, the aid figure was even lower—a mere \$1.60.

66. Japan, although beset with various difficulties at home, is doing its utmost to promote trade with the developing countries and also to strengthen its aid efforts to them in the firm belief that promotion of the development of these countries relates directly to the peace and prosperity of the entire world. The so-called "develop-and-import" schemes to increase our imports of primary products from developing countries; our pledges and contributions to the Asian Development Bank, the Agricultural Development Fund and other international organizations; substantial expansion of our bilateral financial and technical assistance programmes; our contributions to food aid programmes: these all represent our expanding efforts in the field of economic co-operation, and it is our determination to continue to strengthen our co-operation through both trade and aid.

67. At the same time, it is our earnest hope that the developed countries, in particular those in the Pacific area having direct concern with the stability and prosperity of Asia, will redouble their efforts to assist the development of the area. The time has come to tackle the problem of development of the Asian countries on an Asia-Pacific basis with a view to broadening the scope of mutual co-operation and strengthening solidarity among the nations of that great region. We, on our part, as an industrialized

nation situated at the contact point between the Asian and Pacific areas, will make our utmost contribution to establish a long-lasting, co-operative relationship between them.

68. The acceleration of economic development is not a problem of Asia alone. It is this century's foremost challenge to the world as a whole. That the United Nations, having designated the sixties as the United Nations Development Decade, is making serious efforts in this regard, is a matter of great historic significance. Nearly eight years of the Development Decade are already behind us. In the course of this period, thanks to the efforts of the member countries, steady progress has been achieved. We see this in the establishment of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization and the World Food Programme, and the expansion of the technical assistance programmes of the United Nations.

69. Yet for these important steps, the objectives of the Development Decade are far from being realized. There are cries of disappointment and dissatisfaction. But economic development, it must be remembered, is a vast undertaking that cannot be limited to just a decade but must be extended into the seventies and even beyond with determination and perseverance. What is required, therefore, is full co-operation between the developed and the developing countries in the search for truly effective means of development.

70. In this respect, I, for one, earnestly desire the developed countries to do their best to promote trade with the developing countries and to increase their development assistance. At the same time, I wish to appeal to the developing countries to make further efforts to consolidate the foundations for effective regional and international economic co-operation, in full recognition of the fact that the success of economic and social development depends primarily on the internal efforts of the aid-receiving countries themselves in such fields as the formulation of sound development programmes and mobilization of domestic resources.

71. In this regard, I place great importance on the coming second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. I am confident that, with a spirit of mutual understanding and co-operation among the participating countries, the meeting will be crowned with constructive achievements. My Government is determined to take an active part in the Conference.

72. I have expressed the views of my delegation on a number of important current issues, keeping in mind the fundamental objective of mankind to build and maintain peace. Finally, I should like to touch upon the present state of the United Nations and the problem of how best we can strengthen the Organization as the central agency for the pursuit of this fundamental objective.

73. Today, more than twenty years after the inception of the United Nations, various assessments and criticisms are being made about this Organization. Indeed, it may be said that the time has now come for a re-examination of the United Nations. Admittedly there is a certain limit to its capacity to settle

disputes, as we see in the case of the armed conflict in Viet-Nam and the Middle East. Nevertheless, it is also a fact, as I mentioned at the beginning of my statement, that the present world situation might very well have been much more unstable than it is, had it not been for the existence of the United Nations.

74. While being cognizant of the shortcomings of the United Nations as such, is it not the responsibility of the Member States to see how we can best correct its weaknesses and how we can best strengthen its peace-keeping and peace-building functions? If United Nations machinery is found to be inadequate, then it is necessary and possible to subject the Charter to a re-examination at an appropriate time. No matter how hard we try to perfect our machinery and its operation, real improvement cannot be expected unless accompanied by change in the attitude and way of thinking of the Member States towards the United Nations.

75. What else would be left as a world peace-keeping organization should the United Nations become completely powerless? Is it not our high duty to endeavour to develop and strengthen the United Nations? Is it not essential for this purpose that every representative in this world body should take part in the work of the Organization, not merely in pursuit of his national interest, but rather in defense of the common interest of humanity, being fully aware of his dual responsibility as a delegate of mankind as well as that of his nation?

76. Is it not also our important duty to inculcate in the younger generation a sense of the common interest of mankind in maintaining peace and attaining prosperity throughout the world? From this point of view, I have been closely following the activities of the Peace Corps now being sponsored by many countries. The Peace Corps, as it is called, is an international service undertaking aimed at the social and economic development of the developing countries. No less important is the fact that the personal contacts established by it help to strengthen the mutual understanding among peoples and contribute towards the promotion of international friendship and co-operation. As a centre for harmonizing the efforts of nations in the building of world peace, could not the United Nations play a central role in advancing the concept of the Peace Corps? Would it not be most fitting for the United Nations to promote such international co-operation by young people, united in the common purpose of building world peace and inspired by the sense of being citizens of the world community as well as nationals of their own countries?

77. One of the principal objectives of Japan's foreign policy, ever since its admission to the United Nations, has been to co-operate with, to support and to strengthen this Organization. We have exerted our best efforts in this direction and we shall continue to do so in the future.

78. Mr. President, I firmly believe that, under your wise leadership, an active and frank exchange of views on the various important problems of the day will take place at the present session, and that that exchange will help to expedite their solution. I earnestly hope for the day when the United Nations will become a truly effective peace-keeping body to which we can

fully entrust the peace and security of the world. As I conclude my statement, I should like to reiterate my faith in the good will of the nations and in their ardent desire for peace, and my great hope in the future of this Organization.

79. Mr. GROMYKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): First of all, Comrade President, I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate you most warmly as the first representative of a socialist country to be elected to the high post of President of the United Nations General Assembly. I should like to express my conviction that your experience and tact, which are valuable assets to any politician, will have a beneficial effect on the work of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly. I should also like to pay a tribute to the endeavours and skill of the President of the preceding three sessions of the General Assembly, Mr. Pazhwak, the representative of Afghanistan.

80. Sessions of the United Nations General Assembly are always an event in international affairs. However, they are not of equal importance in the implementation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations. Some have been marked by the adoption of weighty resolutions strengthening international security and protecting the rights of peoples. Others have left no discernible trace. Acts of aggression and of interference in the domestic affairs of States, which have lately become more frequent, and for several outstanding international issues which still await solution, confront the twenty-second session of the General Assembly with tasks that are both formidable and responsible.

81. For the peoples of the Soviet Union, and for all those who feel sympathy or friendship for our country and who correctly assess its role in the international arena, this session is of special significance in that the fiftieth anniversary of the Soviet State is to be celebrated on 7 November of this year. I mention this here not only because we have a great celebration, but because the event that took place in our country fifty years ago has been exercising a tremendous influence on the entire course of world affairs.

82. If the United Nations Charter speaks of the determination of the peoples of the United Nations to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, if the idea that another world war can be prevented is penetrating the minds of millions of people and prompting them towards action, and if the principles of the equality of all States and of non-interference in their internal affairs are today recognized as rules of international intercourse, the starting-point for these historic gains of the peoples was provided back when, a few hours after the October Revolution, the second All-Russian Congress of Soviets voted in Lenin's Decree on Peace.

83. That historic document defined as annexation or seizure of foreign lands "the incorporation into a large and powerful State of a small or feeble nation without the definitely, clearly and voluntarily expressed consent and wish of that nation, irrespective of the time such forcible incorporation took place, irrespective of the degree of development or backwardness of the nation forcibly annexed to, or forcibly retained within the frontiers of the given

State and, finally, irrespective of whether the nation inhabits Europe or distant, overseas countries".

84. We read those words from the Decree on Peace today and we feel the breath of an entire era, brimming with profound transformations and bitter clashes with foreign enslavers, from the Nazi aggressors to the present-day colonialists, and we are brought face to face with the ideological origins of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

85. We accept as something that goes without saying that verbatim records are published of the meetings of the General Assembly and that radio and television broadcasts emanate directly from this hall. The same questions that appear on the agenda of the United Nations are debated in parliaments and are discussed at conferences and meetings of political parties, trade unions and public organizations and in the press.

86. But today's absence of secrecy in diplomatic actions and the ever-broadening participation of the masses in the solution of problems of war and peace also have their origins in the October Revolution. The very first foreign policy acts of the Soviet régime contained a new form of address; they were addressed not only to Governments, but also to the peoples. And it is from that time onward that the voice of the peoples has been heard with increasing clarity and has spoken with increasing firmness at the international conference tables.

87. The crucial foreign policy issue that confronted our country immediately after the victory of the Socialist Revolution was how it could and should establish relations with all the other States of the world which had an opposing social and economic system. The reply to this question was provided by V. I. Lenin and by our Communist Party—a reply whose perspicacity has been corroborated by the experience of half a century. It was: on the basis of peaceful coexistence.

88. In the face of attempts to misrepresent the premises of communist philosophy we repeat what we have said before: that the more progressive social system asserts its superiority over the system that is on its way out by revealing the opportunities vested in its economic system, by an increasingly full satisfaction of man's material and spiritual needs, by the genuine implementation of human rights and by the nobility and fairness of its ideals. To accomplish this, it needs not wars but the requisite conditions for the peaceful construction of socialism and communism.

89. Does not experience show that it is possible to improve relations between States with differing social systems if those States are really concerned with removing all obstacles to the improvement of relations and if they seek ways of bringing this about?

90. There is, however, one essential condition without which peaceful coexistence would become a farce, and this is that the principles of peaceful coexistence must be applied in equal measure to all States, large and small, in all regions of the world. Attempts to make arbitrary use of these principles and to restrict their application to the chosen few will go on meeting determined and vigorous opposition on the part of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

91. The United Nations, which was established on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems and which reaffirmed those principles in a number of resolutions, must say firmly to all those who have placed their signature under its Charter: You reserve the right to settle independently all the problems of your own country—therefore be good enough to recognize that right for others, too; you are counting on respect for your sovereignty and territorial integrity—therefore respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all other countries and peoples. Unless an end is put to acts of aggression, unless each nation is given freedom in the choice of a social system and a form of government, unless there is genuine recognition of the equality of all States and strict observance of international legality, there is and there can be no enduring peace or security for the peoples.

92. The most serious threat to peace today is the United States aggression in Viet-Nam, which has sharply aggravated the entire international situation and is impeding a solution of paramount international problems.

93. Gross violations of international agreements, the flouting of elementary rules of international law, disregard for world public opinion—all these manifestations of the policy of international brigandage are to be found in concentrated form in the actions of the United States in Viet-Nam.

94. The half-million strong army of the occupationists is trampling over the soil of South Viet-Nam and hundreds of United States bombers make regular raids on the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. Taking part in the intervention against the Viet-Nameese people are such allies of the United States as Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, South Korea and the Philippines. The aggressors are extending hostilities to Laos and carrying out provocations against Cambodia.

95. The war in Viet-Nam is being fought on the largest scale of any war since 1945. Its danger lies not only in the scope and intensity of hostilities but also in that the fighting can at any moment spread to other areas and draw other States into its orbit. In vain does Washington attempt to delude the public by making soothing statements. To do so means to tell a falsehood and to close one's eyes to the real danger to which the war in Viet-Nam exposes the entire world.

96. Attempts are made from time to time on the United States side to imply that the United States was not averse from making a "peace initiative" in Viet-Nam. In such cases the press is appropriately tuned up and Washington's emissaries begin touring certain capitals, while backstage meetings and talks are held in the United Nations, although the latter has nothing to do with the solution of the Viet-Nam problem. But each time such an "initiative" turns out to be a soap bubble intended now for domestic, now for foreign consumption.

97. What was the reply of the United States Government to the statement made on 28 January 1967 by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam that it was ready to begin negotiations on a

settlement of the Viet-Nameese problem once the United States stopped the bombings of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and other aggressive acts? The reply was barbarous bombings of residential areas in Viet-Nameese cities, the destruction of dams and irrigation systems and air raids on hospitals in the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, and the build-up of United States forces in South Viet-Nam.

98. Yesterday the General Assembly once again heard an exposition of the United States position on the Viet-Nam question [1562nd meeting], and once again it became obvious that it contained nothing new: those whose armed forces have invaded Viet-Nam have no intention of leaving, and even an end to the bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is, as hitherto, made contingent upon demands which are virtually ultimatums.

99. Every State which really seeks to bring about an end to the war against the Viet-Nameese people should be clearly aware of the fact that peace can be brought about in Viet-Nam only if the aggressors withdraw. Attempts to excuse the aggressor, half-hearted censures and whispered exhortations merely increase the temptation to seek a way out of the predicament in ever more reckless and dangerous escapades.

100. That is why it is so important that everywhere in the world, including the rostrum of the General Assembly at its twenty-second session, condemnation of the United States aggression in Viet-Nam should ring out loudly and that the peoples, including the people of the United States, should see that a wall of moral and political isolation is rising around the aggressor.

101. Every decent man in the world and, first and foremost, every man in public life, must, if he is honest with himself, admit that the Americans have come with weapons in hand to a distant foreign land and are attempting, by force of arms, to impose an order that suits certain quarters in the United States; that they are trying to drown in blood the unquenchable desire of the Viet-Nameese people to be independent and free. The farce of elections that is enacted at the bidding of United States generals and envoys in South Viet-Nam merely make still plainer the criminal designs of those who unleashed the Viet-Nameese war. All this must be condemned, and condemned decisively.

102. The Soviet Union, together with other socialist countries, renders and will go on rendering the fraternal people of Viet-Nam the increasing support and diverse assistance necessary to repel the aggression. The Soviet Union fully supports the position of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Programme of the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam (the only genuine representative of the South Viet-Nameese people) which are in conformity with the Geneva Agreements and constitute a just basis for the settlement of the Viet-Nameese question. The people of Viet-Nam are fighting for their freedom and independence; they are fighting heroically and we are convinced that their just cause will triumph.

103. This is not the first time that the General Assembly has been convened this year. This same hall has been a meeting place for the emergency

special session which discussed questions arising out of the aggression by Israel, encouraged by the larger Powers backing it, against the Arab States. These questions continue to face the world today.

104. Israel is still occupying sizable territories of the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan, where it is installing an occupation administration. Its troops are deployed along the eastern bank of the Suez Canal and the Canal itself is out of action. Many thousands of Arab refugees have been driven from their lands. The danger that war may again break out remains.

105. Can a solution be found to the problem of eliminating the consequences of Israel's aggression? Undoubtedly it can, and the United Nations has a part to play in finding it. Owing to the stand taken by those countries which encourage the policy of conquest, first and foremost the United States, the emergency special session of the General Assembly failed to solve the problem of eliminating the consequences of Israel's aggression, and above all, the withdrawal of Israel forces from the Arab territories seized by them. But it is well known that the overwhelming majority of States in one form or another condemned the aggressor's actions and defended the rights of the Arab States. The Soviet Union is in sympathy with the initiatives and efforts undertaken of late, notably in the capitals of Arab States, aimed at eliminating the aftermath of the Israel aggression.

106. While condemning that aggression, the Soviet Union sees the solution of the question in promptly securing the withdrawal of Israel's forces behind the lines they occupied prior to 5 June 1967. Further, the Arab States—the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan—must be compensated for the material damage inflicted upon them by Israel's aggression and by the continuing occupation of parts of their territory. Israel must comply with the United Nations decisions on Jerusalem [resolutions 2253 (ES-V) and 2254 (ES-V)], otherwise the Security Council will have to take a decision on sanctions against it. The Soviet Union will be ready to participate in the implementation of such a decision.

107. There are other questions, too, which in one way or another relate to the situation in the Middle East. The Soviet Union is in favour of all the States of this region, directly contiguous on the southern boundaries of our country, being guaranteed peace and security. It is impossible, however, to move in this direction until the first step has been taken, and that is to free Arab lands from the forces of the Israel aggressors.

108. Israel's attack on the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan gives added urgency to the question of the attitude to be adopted by the United Nations towards the policy of aggression: should the United Nations allow the invaders to use the occupied territories as a political bargaining point and thereby reward them for their crime, or should it demand the immediate withdrawal of the invading forces? To curb the aggressor or to condone the aggression—such is the choice with which the logic of events has confronted the States Members of the United Nations.

109. The Soviet Union is prepared to do its utmost at the General Assembly and in the Security Council

to bring about the prompt elimination of the consequences of Israel's aggression—a requirement that is profoundly just and in accord with the interests of peace in the Middle East.

110. Among the geographical names mentioned in connexion with armed clashes in various parts of the world there are none today from the European continent. Does this mean that the current situation in Europe offers grounds for complacency?

111. Most of the Members of the United Nations are non-European States. Yet, they too cannot fail to be concerned over the problem of Europe, where both world wars began. No country, even far away from Europe, can divorce the concerns of the European peoples from its own, or from the common concern for international security. That would be a great mistake—a statement as indisputable today as it was in the past.

112. Demands for a recarving of the political map of Europe are being advanced again, as if there had not been a Second World War or a victory of the anti-Hitler coalition over Nazi Germany.

113. No sooner is a responsible statement about the realities of present-day Europe or about the inviolability of its present boundaries made in Moscow, Paris, Warsaw or Berlin, than a revanchist witches' sabbath takes place in West Germany. No sooner does any State, including a non-European one, give some indication of adopting a realistic attitude to the fact of the existence of two German States—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany—than Bonn resorts to every means of political blackmail and economic pressure to bolster its absurd claims to represent "the whole of Germany".

114. In the memory of the peoples, Munich has become a symbol of criminal collusion with an aggressor and with the rape of the Czechoslovak people; yet Bonn continues to cling to the Munich Agreement, refusing to recognize that it was void from the outset.

115. Even many of the allies of the Federal Republic of Germany in the NATO military bloc do not support its absurd claims to West Berlin. Yet Bonn continues to advance those claims.

116. Finally, the legitimate concern of the peoples, particularly those which suffered from Nazi aggression, is aroused by the attempts of revanchist quarters in the Federal Republic of Germany to gain access to nuclear weapons.

117. If I were to characterize briefly the Federal Republic's policy, I would say that it is a policy that has both feet firmly planted in the past. One foot rests on the platform of "Germany with its 1937 boundaries"—that is to say, a Germany that is no more and will never be again; the other rests on the defeated designs and doctrines of the "cold war". And, despite the juggling with ostensibly peaceful phraseology, this policy is unable to shift towards recognition of the true situation in Europe today.

118. The danger of the revanchist policy of the Federal Republic of Germany is aggravated by the support it receives from the United States of America, which is becoming even more closely and openly

allied with the Federal Republic of Germany in the international arena, although a mere quarter of a century ago the United States, in a coalition with the Soviet Union and other European States, was waging a struggle against German militarism, on whose predatory and revanchist plans the leading circles of West Germany are increasingly patterning their own policies.

119. Like many other European States, the Soviet Union is convinced that it is possible to have a Europe in which security for any one State or people would at the same time mean security for all. This conviction of ours is borne out by the growing trends towards friendlier relations between the East and West of that continent and towards the development of mutually advantageous co-operation among European States in various fields. The specific proposals to that effect submitted by the Soviet Union and the European socialist countries are well known.

120. The USSR Government has already drawn the General Assembly's attention to the dangers inherent in the division of the world into opposing military-political groupings of States. Repeated statements to this effect have been made jointly by the States members of the Warsaw Treaty. A similar statement was made at the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties held at Karlovy Vary in April 1967.

121. These apprehensions are rapidly mounting because of the fact that the Power that plays the leading role in NATO has unleashed a war against the Viet-Nameese people, is protecting the aggressor in the Middle East and has strewn its military bases practically all over the world.

122. There would be a noticeable abatement in international tension if military blocs were dissolved. These blocs are not an invention of ours. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are proposing the simultaneous disbanding of the North Atlantic Alliance and the defensive Warsaw Treaty concluded to counter-balance it, or else, as a first step, an agreement to dissolve the military organizations of both alliances.

123. The entire course of international development indicates that the greatest danger to the cause of peace today is to be found in the increasingly frequent acts of armed aggression against sovereign States, in the bombing and seizure of their territory, in attempts to suppress the national liberation movements by armed force, and in calls for retaliation. It is the direct duty of the United Nations to curb the policy of aggression wherever and however it may manifest itself.

124. How feasible is this task? Comparisons are sometimes drawn between the thirties and the sixties of this century. The argument runs approximately as follows: at that time the aggressive forces directed the course of events, from aggression against Ethiopia and the Anschluss of Austria to the dismemberment and occupation of Czechoslovakia, from the conquest of Manchuria to the invasion of Northern and Central China. That is how the Second World War crept up on the nations.

125. Today the balance of power in the world is different. Today the main line of world events is

increasingly determined by the policy of peace and of repelling aggression. To continue to ward off another world war, as well as to paralyse the forces of aggression and militarism in their attempts to achieve their goals through local wars, requires still greater cohesion and solidarity among all peace-loving States and all groups and movements upholding the cause of peace, and still greater action on their part in the international arena.

126. Even before the outbreak of the Second World War the Soviet Union sought to organize a collective effort to repel aggression. In those years our country rose unhesitatingly on more than one occasion in defence of the victims of aggression and demonstrated by its deeds its abhorrence of the policy of conquest and enslavement. The Soviet Union proposed that the Powers capable of resisting the Nazi aggressors should set up a mighty barrier to their predatory plans and unite their efforts to deal a rebuff to Hitler and his allies and to prevent the impending war. We believed even then that the struggle against aggressive designs would be facilitated by the elaboration in international law of a precise definition of aggression, and we pressed for this. But the Governments then in power in a number of Western nations, having decided on collusion with Hitler and Mussolini, frustrated the elaboration of such a definition.

127. The representatives of those nations at international conferences displayed exceptional ingenuity in inventing every conceivable loophole so as to evade a clear-cut definition of what is aggression and what is defence against aggression. Even when tanks marked with swastikas were already rolling over frontier markers, when the troops of the Nazi aggressors were marching through the streets of certain capitals, and when the names of independent States were beginning to vanish from the map one by one—even then there were some politicians who pretended they had not the foggiest idea of what constituted aggression. The results of that political blindness, or, to be more precise, of that deliberate policy of connivance with the forces of aggression, shall never be erased from the memory of the peoples.

128. In the present situation too, the task of defining aggression confronts us in all its magnitude. But unfortunately, for two decades now the United Nations has seemed quite unable to muster the strength to work out such a definition. If that suits anyone at all, it certainly does not suit the peace-loving States. The absence of a definition of aggression is a serious deficiency in international relations and international law. To make good that deficiency would strengthen the effectiveness of the United Nations in its efforts to prevent and stop aggression, and especially the effectiveness of the Security Council, in which is vested the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace. It would then be more difficult to hinder the branding of aggressive actions as aggressive, and of the States that undertake them as aggressors.

129. The immense experience amassed by mankind in the course of its history and the time-honoured and time-tested rules of international law allow of a precise definition of the terms aggression and aggressor.

130. If, let us say, a State or group of States, with or without a declaration of war, invades the territory of another State with its armed forces, bombs that territory or sends land, naval or air forces inside that State's territorial limits without the permission of the State's Government, or if it sets up a naval blockade of the shores or ports of another State, can there be any doubt, in any such case, as to whether this is aggression and as to who is responsible for it?

131. But if, nevertheless, anyone is still not sure whether or not certain actions constitute aggression, such uncertainties should be cleared up in advance, done away with once and for all, so that no room is left for any doubt. Fewer will then be tempted to attack other nations under cover of cunningly continued pretexts, which is the present practice.

132. It is, of course, to be expected that the forces which are not interested in strengthening peace will, as they did decades ago, obstruct the preparation of a definition of aggression and will once again resurrect the arguments that we heard in the League of Nations and, later, here in the United Nations, to the effect that it is impossible to pinpoint aggression or to draw the line between attack and defence against attack. Who knows, they may well refer once again to the ideological differences which allegedly make it impossible to reach a concerted opinion on this topic.

133. If States take an objective and honest approach to what is happening on the international scene, and they are guided by a desire for peace, there will be no problem in distinguishing between those who are trying to break into a house and the inhabitants who are defending their home regardless of the political views of the household and the assailants.

134. To take any other view would be to encourage aggression and to make common cause with those who use weapons as an argument in a clash of ideas and who are ready to shoot down an unacceptable ideology, naturally shooting down at the same time those who profess it—entire peoples, if necessary.

135. The ups and downs of the discussions on the definition of aggression are closely linked with the struggle between the various concepts and views concerning war and peace. The Soviet Union, which pursues a foreign policy based on respect for the rights of nations big and small, and which is a consistent and firm advocate of effective measures to consolidate peace, believes that the completion of work on the definition of aggression should be put off no longer.

136. It will be no exaggeration to say that, in the question of defining aggression, the United Nations is deeply indebted to the peoples of the world. I would remind the Assembly that, as far back as the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, the USSR delegation, on the instructions of its Government, introduced a proposal that in drafting the United Nations Charter the question of a definition of aggression should be decided upon at the outset, so that all States would henceforth be guided by the definition. We regret that our allies in the anti-Hitler coalition did not accept our proposal. The attitude which they then took has seriously hampered the work of the United Nations.

137. Guided by all these considerations, the USSR Government is submitting to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session the important and urgent item entitled "Need to expedite the drafting of a definition of aggression in the light of the present international situation" [A/6833].

138. We urge the States Members of the United Nations to consider that proposal in a duly responsible manner.

139. Acquisitive aims in foreign policy are alien to the Soviet Union and to the community of socialist States. Therefore, we have no need for armaments save to defend our sovereignty and territorial inviolability and the gains of the socialist system, and to protect our friends and allies and the peaceful existence of peoples. Nor are there in socialist society any social groups which would derive material advantage from an arms race.

140. That is why, ever since the 1922 Genoa Conference, at which representatives of the socialist and capitalist systems met for the first time at an international negotiation table, our country has consistently advocated general disarmament.

141. That is why, ever since nuclear weapons made their appearance, the Soviet Union has been firmly advocating their prohibition and destruction.

142. That is why we also urge the speedy implementation of such measures to curtail the arms race as the banning of all nuclear testing, the elimination of military bases in foreign territories, and the establishment of non-nuclear zones in various regions.

143. We mention this today not because, on the eve of a great jubilee, we should like once again to demonstrate that the Soviet Union's policy is peaceful and humane. We are bound to raise anew the pressing question of disarmament at this session of the General Assembly because, unless we intervene in a most determined way in the sphere of the nuclear arms race, one which poses an immense threat to the destinies of all mankind, all pledges of dedication to the ideals of peace proclaimed in the United Nations Charter will remain a dead letter.

144. Either we follow the Charter, which embodies the experience of the peoples that bore the brunt of the Second World War—in which case all States must show the highest sense of responsibility and find ways to eliminate the most destructive of all weapons, nuclear weapons—or the Governments will prove themselves incapable of taking a responsible attitude and the entire affair will, as on so many previous occasions, boil down to a repetition of solemn phrases and to the adoption of well-meaning but useless resolutions. The world has reached a stage where no State can evade this choice.

145. Of all the measures which today could contribute to a containment of the nuclear arms race, one which, in our view, is urgently called for is the conclusion of an international treaty to halt the spread of nuclear weapons. We are gratified to note that some progress has now been made towards a solution of the problem of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

146. A treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons would not only place no obstacle in the way of

the peaceful use of atomic energy by non-nuclear nations; it would actually open up new prospects for them in that respect.

147. There is no doubt that not only our contemporaries but our descendants also will praise the conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons—if this important matter is concluded—as an act of great realism and far-sighted concern for the vital interests of the world's peoples.

148. Six years ago the United Nations adopted a resolution which declared nuclear war to be a crime against humanity—the Declaration on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. That resolution reflected the natural desire of the overwhelming majority of States to mitigate the threat of nuclear war and to ban a force which runs counter to human nature and to humane principles. Unfortunately, however, the provisions of that Declaration have not been formalized by a treaty.

149. Why is this so? Surely all States, nuclear and non-nuclear both, and all their peoples, would stand to gain from an international undertaking never to use nuclear weapons. The vast difference between a situation in which nuclear bombs are actually marked "ready for use" or "fit for launching" and one in which prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons has become international law under a treaty is only too obvious.

150. History shows instances when certain types of weapons were not put into action because their use had been banned by international conventions or agreements. Poison gas and toxic agents which took a toll of tens of thousands of human lives in the First World War were not used in the Second World War, for by that time there existed the Geneva Protocol banning the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons.

151. Who today objects to banning the use of nuclear weapons? Is it those who are working for peace? No, only those who regard world wars as an inescapable concomitant of human existence advocate the legalization of nuclear weapons. It is they who are attempting to hypnotize people by all sorts of magic formulas, saying, for example, that it is better not even to try to ban nuclear weapons, since the question is much too serious, immeasurably complex and almost hopeless. As if it were not the contrary—the more vital the problem, and the more profoundly it perturbs the actions, the greater the need to bend every effort to solve it.

152. The peoples of the world curse war and those who, by their actions and policies, have twice plunged them into world conflict. In Europe there is probably not a single yard where the bones of the slain are not mouldering, and where the soil is not soaked in the blood of the war dead. Armies numbered in millions have time and time again swept from one country to another, from west to east and from east to west. This has happened in other continents as well. So if I mention Europe in particular, it is only because the decisive battles of the Second World War were fought on its soil and it was there that passed the flaming Juggernaut of war, albeit Europe was not alone to be scorched.

153. No one who is not anxious to keep the world in a state of war fever, in which the machinery of destruction is perfected from day to day and from year to year, can question the need to come to an understanding without further delay on a complete and final prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. The existence of immense stockpiles of such weapons, which are continuing to grow, and the incessant complications and military conflicts in various parts of the world, serve to emphasize the urgent need to complete this task.

154. Inspired by a desire to strengthen the feeling of security and confidence in the future, the USSR Government is submitting for consideration by the General Assembly at its twenty-second session the important and urgent item entitled "Conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons". At the same time we are submitting the draft of such a convention [A/6834].

155. The USSR Government proposes that every State signing the convention should undertake to refrain from using nuclear weapons, from threatening to use them and from inciting other States to use them.

156. It also proposes that every State party to the convention should undertake to make every effort to arrive as soon as possible at agreement on the cessation of production and the destruction of all stockpiles of nuclear weapons in conformity with a treaty on general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

157. These are the key provisions of the draft convention which the USSR Government is submitting for the attention of all States Members of the United Nations. The gist of them may be expressed more briefly still: the Soviet Union proposes that nuclear weapons should be abandoned politically and that a further effort should be made to scrap them physically.

158. Sometimes the question is raised: would it not be preferable to come to an immediate agreement to eliminate nuclear weapons completely? That would indeed be better, much better, and our country is prepared to take such a step. It is not we who fear radical solutions which would completely remove the threat of nuclear war. The Soviet Union has repeatedly put forward proposals for complete nuclear disarmament, and we are prepared to take immediate action to that end. It is others who fear such decisions, and who they are is well known.

159. In these conditions, to make prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons conditional on their complete elimination would be tantamount to renouncing both. To take the stand of "all or nothing" is pseudo-radicalism, and in effect amounts to reluctance to move closer to a solution of the problem of nuclear disarmament.

160. We foresee that every effort will be made to sidestep our proposal to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons. In their day, such personalities in the League of Nations as Lloyd-George and Tardieu, Simon and Politis devised the most refined procedures in order to sink any viable disarmament proposal. The main gambit was to establish a number of useless committees and sub-committees and to cast them adrift

without any instructions or clear directives. As a result, their discussions merely echoed the discord in the League of Nations itself. The history of post-war disarmament negotiations shows that there is still no lack of practitioners of such methods, which resemble nothing so much as funeral rites over any reasonable proposal, performed according to the rules of diplomatic protocol.

161. All the greater is the responsibility resting upon the Governments that realize how events may develop unless the nuclear arms race is halted; all the more important it is for the General Assembly at its twenty-second session to adopt a clear resolution approving the proposal to conclude a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and emphasizing the vital importance of the matter.

162. The Moscow Treaty banning nuclear weapons testing in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water was followed by a Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space [resolution 2222 (XXI)] which declared outer space and celestial bodies out of bounds for nuclear weapons. Today there is a chance to conclude a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. If yet another step is taken and an international convention prohibits the use of nuclear weapons, the possibility of taking practical action to purge our planet of weapons for mass destruction would draw much closer.

163. My delegation expresses the hope that all the States represented at the General Assembly will give due attention to the consideration of our proposal.

164. The Soviet Union has always directly aided those who at the cost of bitter fighting, have been demolishing one colonial prison after another. Today, the only areas remaining under the colonial yoke are a small part of Africa and some island territories scattered over the oceans. All the other colonial peoples, which were but recently denied their natural human rights, have freed themselves and founded their own independent States, whose representatives occupy seats in this hall in full equality with all the rest.

165. But the nearer draws the day of the final elimination of colonialism, the more stubbornly do the colonial Powers resist the completion of the historical process of national liberation. At its twenty-second session, the General Assembly is called upon to take further measures to ensure the prompt elimination of the vestiges of colonial slavery.

166. Guided by a desire to promote the consolidation of peace in the Far East, the Soviet Union and a number of other socialist countries have submitted for consideration by the General Assembly the item entitled "Withdrawal of United States and All Other Foreign Forces Occupying South Korea under the Flag of the United Nations" [A/6696 and Add.1-3]. The United States occupation of South Korea creates a dangerous source of international tension. The United States has transformed South Korea into a military training ground, has dragged it into the aggressive war in Viet-Nam and is obstructing a peaceful solution of the problem of Korean unification. The withdrawal of United States and all other foreign troops from South Korea is absolutely essential. The so-called United

Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea should be disbanded. It should certainly have been scrapped long ago.

167. The Soviet Union regards the United Nations as an important instrument in the struggle to ensure the security of peoples, and attaches great importance to the strengthening of the Organization and the elimination of all shortcomings in its work. We have consistently endorsed the idea that the United Nations should become a truly universal international organization. We cannot reconcile ourselves to a situation in which several sovereign States, which have been in existence for more than one decade, remain outside the United Nations. Here we have in mind first and foremost the German Democratic Republic, a peace-loving socialist State of German workers and peasants. The Soviet Union advocates the earliest possible solution of the question of admitting the German Democratic Republic to the United Nations. We have no objection to the simultaneous admission of the other German State, the Federal Republic of Germany. It is also necessary to settle at long last the question of restoring the rights of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations.

168. The Soviet Union places its entire influence as a major world Power and a Member of the United Nations behind the struggle for peace, freedom and social progress.

169. The main trends and aims of the Soviet Union's foreign policy have been laid down by the twenty-third Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and our country is steadfastly translating them into reality. This means the bringing about, together with the other socialist nations, of favourable international conditions for the building of socialism and communism. It means strengthening the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, their friendship and brotherhood. It means support for the national liberation movement and comprehensive co-operation with the young developing States. It means consistently upholding the principle of peaceful co-existence of States with differing social systems, repelling aggression and saving mankind from another world war.

170. Guided by these aims, the Soviet Union is ready to develop and improve its relations with all States which, for their part, work towards the same ends, and to co-operate with them in seeking solutions to present-day international problems.

171. The USSR Government calls on the Governments of States Members of the United Nations to unite their efforts and achieve at this session of the General Assembly, results which will serve the interests of peace.

172. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I now give call on the representative of the United States who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

173. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America): I shall not abuse this great forum by attempting to compete with the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gromyko, in ritualistic name-calling. I persevere in the hope, thus far unrealized, that some day, sooner rather than later, the Soviet Union will outgrow that cold-war habit and contribute constructively to our debate.

174. It is enough for me to deny once again the very stale and totally false charges which he has made against my country, several countries of Asia and the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as our policies in Viet-Nam and the Middle East.

175. In reference to Viet-Nam, let me simply say this. My Government's main purpose in addressing the Assembly yesterday was to open the way for a dialogue leading towards peace. To that end we hoped to encourage each party and each responsible Power to assume the responsibility proper to itself. And we made it clear that the United States would not shirk its own responsibility.

176. As for the Soviet Union, I am revealing no secret when I say that we had that great nation very much in mind when we asked, in reference to the proposed cessation of bombing, what the friends of Hanoi would do, and how they would then use their influence and power in order to move the Viet-Nam conflict promptly towards a peaceful resolution. We had in mind the fact that, in addition to being a principal supplier of the North Viet-Nameese war effort in South Viet-Nam, the Soviet Union is also Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference, and that that Conference can be reconvened only with its consent. I do not have to recall to the Assembly that the other Co-Chairman, Great Britain, has for a long time indicated its willingness to join in a call for a reconvened Conference.

177. Our Government's motives have been impugned by Mr. Gromyko. I should like to say that there is an excellent way to put my Government's professions to the test: begin the dialogue which we proposed leading to a political solution and reconvene the Geneva Conference.

178. Peace-keeping and peace-making are not games of solitaire. All sides must co-operate. All sides must help to create the atmosphere for a constructive dialogue. All must then join in the dialogue and exert honest efforts to make their essential contribution to a solution.

179. On the Middle East our comments are in the same spirit: not one side, but both sides must contribute to peace, as my Government sought to make clear from this rostrum yesterday [1562nd meeting]. Every State, in proportion to its power and influence, has a responsibility to foster this peace-making process. Exhibitions of outworn partisanship and inflammatory one-sided appeals do no good for either side, and do harm to the cause of peace.

180. Finally, we note that the Soviet Union is submitting an item on aggression [A/6833]. We are prepared to discuss it, fully recognizing the special expertise of the Soviet Union on that subject.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.