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President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

AGENDA ITEM 9

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. BELOKOLOS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): Comrade President, please accept our sincere congratulations on this occasion when you, a representative of a fraternal socialist nation, have been elected President of the United Nations General Assembly. We are confident that you will honourably discharge the strenuous duties of this high and responsible office. I am also pleased to be able to thank Ambassador Pazhwak for the great efforts and skill he displayed during the fruitful proceedings of the last three sessions of the General Assembly.

2. Many delegations that have spoken before me have noted with legitimate concern that tension in the world has increased considerably of late. This is indeed true. If the twenty-first session of the General Assembly was held in difficult circumstances, the present Assembly has to work in an atmosphere of even greater international complications resulting from the continued escalation of the war in Viet-Nam and Israel's aggression against the Arab States.

3. In international relations in the current year there have been numerous acts of interference in the domestic affairs of independent countries and peoples, as well as various kinds of subversive activities against their territorial integrity and sovereignty. There is a continual increase in the arms race, which absorbs tremendous material resources at a time when hundreds of millions of people on our planet are deprived of the most elementary living conditions. Efforts are being made to intensify the activities of aggressive blocs and alliances.

4. That adventurist and militarist policy is countered by the policy of peace and international security pursued by socialist and other peace-loving countries.

5. The policy of peace proceeds from the recognition of the new objective natural laws which emerged as a result of the victorious Great October Socialist

Revolution. The world is moving along the trail blazed by that Revolution in 1917. Attempts by the imperialist forces to hamper or side-track this development away from the revolutionary process cannot succeed and are doomed to failure. The forces that rejuvenate the world are invincible. We wish to remind once more of that fact all those who endeavour here to justify acts of aggression. The new system of public life has become firmly established on our planet.

6. The foreign policy of the socialist society, which is based on the principles of peace, equality and self-determination of peoples, exerts an ever-greater determining influence on the international situation. And however dark may be the clouds hanging over the international horizon of today, we are deeply convinced that the forces of peace will triumph over those of aggression. That is the essential meaning of the profound processes which determine the revolution of contemporary history.

7. The most serious source of international tension which threatens world peace is the United States aggression in Viet-Nam. The criminal war, waged at the beginning mostly by the army of the Saigon puppets, has long since developed into a war of annihilation waged by the United States against the freedom-loving people of that small nation in Asia.

8. The United States has despatched huge land, naval and air forces to suppress the national liberation movement of the Viet-Nameese people. The United States is criminally bombing the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and carrying out large-scale military operations in South Viet-Nam, exterminating peaceful populations.

9. Previously the United States ruling circles camouflaged their actions by talking of certain limited police actions which, allegedly, did not harm the country's peaceful population, but today the United States brass is no longer concealing the fact that the objective of the war is total annihilation. The Commander-in-Chief of the American armed forces in Viet-Nam openly declares that the United States will simply go on bleeding the North Viet-Nameese white until Hanoi realizes that the country has become so weak that this will be a national catastrophe for a number of generations to come.

10. While waging a war of annihilation against the Viet-Nameese people and trying to bring that people to its knees, the United States Government is trying to persuade world public opinion that its sole concern is to seek peace in Viet-Nam. This year we are again hearing it said here that all the United States has in mind is the restoration of peace in Viet-Nam. Mr. Goldberg stated:

"... this conflict can and should be ended by a political situation... A military solution is not the answer." [1562nd meeting, para. 4.]

11. What is it that prevents the United States from translating its peace-loving declarations into reality? It is evident to anyone that peace in Viet-Nam can be achieved only as a result of the withdrawal of the aggressor, and this depends exclusively on the United States. It is not the Viet-Nameese troops that are on the territory of the United States but the American armed forces that wage war in Viet-Nam. No Viet-Nameese planes are raiding the territory of the United States, but American air pirates are bombing towns and villages of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

12. Pham Van Dong, Head of Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, declared on 31 August 1967, only a month ago, that

"if the American side really wishes to negotiate, it must, in the first place, unconditionally stop bombings and all other military activities against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam."^{1/}

13. The United States militarists, however, prefer to follow a different course. The United States Government is heading for a further escalation of the war. The United States armed forces are mining rivers of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, shelling its territory from warships and expanding aerial bombardment.

14. On the eve of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly the United States, for the first time during the hostilities, bombed the port of Campha and other populated areas of Viet-Nam.

15. Is not this the way to achieve a military solution of the Viet-Nam problem and are not the United States Government's pronouncements about a political solution and a peaceful settlement of the Viet-Nameese question merely demagoguery?

16. It is incumbent upon each responsible Government to realize fully the perils of the present United States policy, which is setting the world on a dangerous course, and to condemn the aggression and demand that an end be put to it unconditionally. In such a situation there cannot be any unconcerned onlookers, for United States aggression in Viet-Nam endangers peace throughout the world. One should not forget that every new step taken by the United States in escalating the war in Viet-Nam will inevitably entail retaliatory measures.

17. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are on the side of the Viet-Nameese people and support their heroic struggle. The Ukrainian people, together with the other peoples of the Soviet Union, is rendering all forms of assistance to the people of Viet-Nam. We emphatically condemn the American aggression and demand that it be stopped immediately.

18. Another grave danger to peace is Israel's aggression against Arab countries. The situation in the Middle East continues to cause great anxiety. The crux of the problem is this: unless the consequences of the

Israel aggression are eliminated there will be no lasting peace in that part of the globe.

19. At the emergency special session of the General Assembly the overwhelming majority of Member States of the United Nations condemned the aggressor and supported the legitimate rights and interests of the Arab countries and the restoration and consolidation of peace in the Middle East. Recent events have shown that Israel is flagrantly violating the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly by committing new acts of provocation against Arab nations and shelling towns in the Suez Canal area and in the territory of Jordan.

20. Israel is arrogantly flouting the General Assembly resolutions [2253 (ES-V) and 2254 (ES-V)] which denounce the annexation of Jerusalem and call upon it

"... to rescind all the measures taken and immediately to refrain from taking actions which would change the status of Jerusalem".

Every day brings new instances of Israel's provocative actions in Jerusalem.

21. The aggressors are also seeking to retain other seized areas of the Arab States. Having expelled the indigenous Arab population from the occupied territories and having plundered their properties, the Israel authorities are now taking steps to settle their own citizens in those territories. Not long ago Premier Eshkol announced to the world that the Suez Canal was a natural boundary of the State of Israel.

22. In putting forward such outrageous territorial claims the aggressors even have the audacity to lecture the United Nations. Recently we witnessed in the General Assembly how the Foreign Minister of Israel tried to dictate to other States and to the United Nations itself what they should and should not do.

23. All this indicates that Israel is not only not renouncing its schemes of conquest but is continuing to stir up tensions in the Middle East. That is why the demand for an immediate withdrawal of the Israel invaders from the Arab territories still remains the main issue at this stage.

24. The United Nations cannot condone any encroachment upon the territorial integrity and freedom of sovereign States. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic has supported and will support the legitimate rights and interests of the Arab peoples and will continue to speak out in favour of the restoration and consolidation of peace in the Middle East.

25. Mr. Shcherbitsky, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, speaking at the emergency special session of the General Assembly, stated:

"Our people associates itself with those who resolutely condemn Israel aggression and who demand an unconditional cessation of such aggression and a reparation of all its consequences... We consider... that the United Nations must take a firm stand for the elimination of aggression and of all its consequence". [1532nd meeting, paras. 19 and 42.]

^{1/} Speech delivered at a meeting in Hanoi commemorating the twenty-second anniversary of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

26. Recent events show how the imperialists try to impose their will upon freedom-loving peoples by force of arms and to subject them to their domination. In this connexion the apologists of aggression try to find "new" justifications for their right to intervene. Such an attempt was made recently by Mr. Brzezinski, member of the Policy Planning Council of the State Department of the United States. In his statement at the conference on foreign policy matters held in Washington in May 1967, he stated, *inter alia*:

"Under what conditions should we or should we not intervene? It is extraordinarily difficult to define clear-cut criteria; but as a broad generalization, it might be said that intervention is justified whenever its absence will create regional instability of expanding proportions. It has to be judged largely on its international merits and not in terms of specific domestic consequences within individual States. It is that distinction which justifies intervention—it is that distinction which warrants our involvement today in the effort to create regional stability in South-East Asia."^{2/}

27. What do people like Brzezinski care for the United Nations Charter or the United Nations Declaration on the inadmissibility of interference? As soon as they need to "justify" their role as world gendarme a new doctrine emerges, and this time it is the doctrine of "regional stability".

28. All these facts once again convince us that in the present circumstances, when local aggressive actions threaten to develop into much more serious conflicts and when the independence and sovereignty of States are increasingly being exposed to new, dangerous blows, energetic and concerted action on the part of all peace-loving forces is needed more than ever before.

29. It is in this light that we are considering the proposal of the Soviet delegation on expediting the elaboration of definition of aggression [A/6833]. This problem has remained unsolved up till now, and the blame for that rests entirely with those Western Powers that find it convenient to have no definition of aggression, since that makes it easier for them to unleash it.

30. The current session of the General Assembly should devote special attention to the question of the definition of aggression. The elaboration of a precise and specific definition of aggression will make it easier to prevent aggression, to render assistance to its victims and to defend their legitimate rights and interests. Our delegation will give every support to the proposal to expedite the elaboration of a definition of aggression.

31. In the present circumstances, when international tension is not diminishing but, on the contrary, is steadily mounting as a result of the activities of aggressive forces, the solution of the disarmament problem assumes ever greater importance. The dialectics of the development of present-day international relations are such that a slackening of the struggle of peace-loving peoples for disarmament will leave the most aggressive circles free to act.

The persistent struggle of all peoples for disarmament, on the other hand, will seriously limit the possibility of manoeuvring for the warmongers.

32. However great the difficulties on the path to disarmament may be, we should spare no effort to attain understanding on this extremely important question.

33. The solution of the problem of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons would be an important step towards the cessation of the arms race. The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic notes with satisfaction that the negotiations on the conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons have reached their final stage.

34. We have before us now a specific document on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons which is the result of the consistent efforts of the Soviet Union and other socialist States, and of all the peace-loving forces fighting against the nuclear threat and for international security.

35. The main task of the treaty is to exclude any possibility of a proliferation of nuclear weapons in the world. This task, which is in full conformity with General Assembly decisions, particularly with resolution 2028 (XX), acquires special urgency now in connexion with the attempts by the West German revanchists to gain access to nuclear weapons, which they need in order to carry out their plans for a revision of the post-war boundaries of Europe.

36. It is not a mere coincidence that the prospect of the conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons has led Bonn to advance all kinds of pre-conditions and reservations.

37. The peoples of the whole world are looking forward to the signing of the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons because they consider it to be a valuable contribution to the solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament.

38. The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic believes that efforts to prevent the danger of nuclear war should also be undertaken in other directions. In this respect we completely support the proposal made by the Soviet delegation for the conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of nuclear weapons (A/6834). We are convinced that the conclusion of such a convention would mark an important step towards the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons and would constitute an effective obstacle to the unleashing of a nuclear missile war.

39. A solution of the question of prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons is long overdue. The idea of prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons has gained the widespread support of the majority of States Members of the United Nations. It was six years ago that, on the initiative of Ethiopia and other African and Asian States, and with the active support of the socialist countries, the sixteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly adopted the well-known Declaration on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons [resolution 1653 (XVI)].

40. The Declaration clearly states that "the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons is contrary to

^{2/} The Department of State Bulletin of 3 July 1967, p. 22.

the spirit, letter and aims of the United Nations and, as such, a direct violation of the Charter of the United Nations". This recommendation expresses the firm will of the peoples to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons, and now the task is to give it the form of specific contractual obligations by States, through the elaboration and conclusion of an international convention to that end.

41. The draft convention proposed by the Soviet delegation fully meets this requirement. In order finally to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons, there must, of course, in the first place be the will to do so on the part of the nuclear States and all other States. The peoples of the world also expect from us a solution of this important question of our day.

42. The history of the first half of the twentieth century has taught mankind to follow closely developments on the continent of Europe, where two world wars have originated.

43. The peoples of the Soviet Union, including the Ukrainian people, suffered great losses in the Second World War; we paid a high price for our victory over the Hitlerite hordes. Our vital interest in the maintenance of European security is therefore fully understandable. The decisive factors in this respect are to ensure the stability of the existing frontiers in Europe and to prevent the revanchist forces from acquiring nuclear weapons.

44. Recently, certain people in the West have been advocating the idea of the so-called "new Eastern policy" which is allegedly being pursued by the present Government of the Federal Republic of Germany. That country's ruling circles even complain that the "new" policy is being disregarded and ignored in the East.

45. The facts, however, convincingly prove that the policy of the Federal Republic of Germany remains essentially unchanged: it is a policy of revenge, militarism, non-recognition of the real situation in Europe and encroachment on the territories of other States and nations, including the territory of the German Democratic Republic.

46. If Bonn really wishes to pursue a constructive policy it should pass from illusory plans to real ones, and first of all it should renounce its claims to territories of other States. The problem of the frontiers in Europe has been solved, and no revision can be possible. The German Democratic Republic exists as an independent, peace-loving State, beneficially influencing the consolidation of peace in Europe.

47. In pursuing a policy of peace and businesslike co-operation, the European socialist countries, including the German Democratic Republic, are widening the sphere of application of the principles of peaceful coexistence and promoting the solution of the problems of European and general collective security. In this respect, constructive proposals are contained in the Declaration on Strengthening Peace and Security in Europe, adopted at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the member States of the Warsaw Treaty and in the Declaration of the European Communist and Workers' Parties adopted in April 1967 at the conference in Karlovy Vary.

48. The United Nations, having adopted its historical 1960 Declaration [resolution 1514 (XV)] on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, pronounced an emphatic "no" to colonialism. In the process of implementation of this Declaration a crushing blow was inflicted on colonialism, and considerable credit for that goes to the United Nations.

49. Nevertheless, millions of people are still living under conditions of colonial slavery. One of the largest bulwarks of colonialism is in the southern part of the African continent. There the "classical" colonialism of the Portuguese is closely interwoven with the ugly inhuman policy of *apartheid* and the racism of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

50. In spite of the fact that the General Assembly deprived South Africa of its mandate over South West Africa [2145 (XXI)], the racists still dominate that territory by force of arms. We believe that the rule of the Republic of South Africa in South West Africa must be immediately terminated, and this means the withdrawal of all armed and police forces, the abolition of the colonial state machinery and the transfer of power to the people of the country.

51. A situation fraught with danger to peace and security still exists in Southern Rhodesia, where a handful of racists seized power and established a régime of colonial terrorism. For two years London and Salisbury have shamelessly bargained over the interests and the very destiny of the people of Zimbabwe.

52. The General Assembly must demand that the administering Power put the resolutions on Southern Rhodesia into effect and grant freedom and independence to the long-suffering people of Zimbabwe.

53. The actions of the Portuguese colonialists have aroused the wrath and indignation of all people of goodwill throughout the world. The Lisbon rulers regard the modern world in the light of past centuries. They try to prove by force of arms their "right" to Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and other colonies. However, the resistance of the African patriots is growing and becoming stronger. The peoples of the Portuguese colonies are determined to struggle for freedom and independence until they achieve complete victory.

54. The flames of national liberation wars are leaping ever higher in the South of the Arabian Peninsula. The soil is burning under the feet of the British colonialists. They are being forced to leave Aden and South Arabia. But before leaving they are trying to preserve their domination, their economic and military positions in that region and to foist upon the people of Aden and South Arabia a puppet régime that would serve the interests of the British Crown. The United Nations should render to the peoples of Aden and South Arabia all possible assistance and support in their legitimate struggle for genuine freedom and independence.

55. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic supports all the decisions of the General Assembly aimed at the earliest elimination of the colonial régimes. We favour the immediate granting of independence to the peoples of colonial Territories.

56. There can be no doubt that the colonial régimes in the Republic of South Africa, the Portuguese colonies and Southern Rhodesia are holding out because of the economic, political and military assistance they receive from some NATO countries. The General Assembly has already determined that the support rendered by Western countries to colonialists is based on the interests of international monopolies.

57. The last General Assembly session, in its resolution 2189 (XXI), denounced the activities of foreign monopolies in the colonial countries and decided to include this question as a separate item on the agenda of its twenty-second session. The policy of colonialism and the interests of monopolies are two sides of the same coin. The economy of colonial countries is completely in the hands of monopolies and, because of this, takes on an ever more one-sided and ugly form.

58. The monopolies brutally exploit the labour of the indigenous population, pump out raw materials, paying next to nothing for them, and reap fabulous profits. The enterprises they have built remain foreign bodies in the colonies; profits flow abroad and are not used for the development of the economy of the colonial Territories.

59. The activities of the foreign monopolies in colonial Territories are a serious obstacle on the road to independence. That is why this session of the General Assembly must make its contribution towards the elimination of the domination of foreign monopolies in colonial countries.

60. The Assembly has much serious work to accomplish in the social and economic fields. The tremendous growth of productive forces, the unprecedented development of science, technology and culture, which are the characteristic features of the second half of the twentieth century, exist side by side with such terrible social evils as hunger, illiteracy, unemployment and extreme poverty.

61. Racists continue their arbitrary rule, the inhuman policy of *apartheid* is being put into effect, the rights of entire peoples are being trampled underfoot and fundamental freedoms and human rights are being flagrantly violated. All those questions have been repeatedly examined in various United Nations bodies and specialized agencies, and the reasons for the appearance and existence of these problems have been revealed. It is the duty of our Organization and of all States Members of the United Nations to seek the best possible solution to those problems.

62. During the twenty-two years of its existence the United Nations has devoted considerable attention to questions of economic development, and has taken many useful decisions leading to the consolidation of the national economies of developing countries through industrialization, democratic agrarian reforms, expansion of the State sector, training of national technical personnel and the creation of conditions for equal and mutually advantageous international trade.

63. However, despite all these decisions, the gap between the economies of developed and developing countries, instead of decreasing, is growing even wider. Though more than half the period of the

United Nations Development Decade has passed, its tasks are still far from being fulfilled. Numerous important problems facing the developing nations remain unsolved.

64. The developing countries rightfully demand a revision of the existing system of international economic relations. They are particularly concerned about discriminatory terms of trade and loans with strings attached; they experience great difficulties in finding funds to finance their development.

65. We have always considered that the main reason for the weakness of the position of developing nations in the world economic system and in international trade lies in the activities of monopolies, which stop at nothing in their endeavours to retain the favourable conditions they enjoy in their relations with developing countries.

66. Under such circumstances, in the view of our delegation, the United Nations must concentrate on the protection of the economic positions of developing countries. The current session must contribute to the safeguarding of the interests of developing nations and to the creation of the necessary conditions for their independent development.

67. Only one month separates us from a great date in the history of mankind—the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which was a turning-point also in the life of the Ukrainian people. The victorious course of that Revolution led to the establishment of Soviet rule in the Ukraine on 25 December 1917.

68. Side by side with other fraternal peoples, the Ukrainian people, inspired by the idea of social and national liberation, has won its freedom, statehood and sovereignty; has created a republic, equal among equals in the mighty and indestructible Union of Soviet Republics. This is the source of happiness of the Ukrainian people, of its strength, glory and successes.

69. The road taken by the Ukrainian people over the past half-century has been one of heroic deeds, stern trials, tremendous creative work in all spheres of social, economic and cultural life. Soviet Ukraine today is a Republic with powerful industries, developed agriculture, and a high level of science and culture.

70. With a territory of less than 1 per cent of the world and a population amounting to 1.5 per cent of the population of the world, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic produces from 7 to 10 per cent of the world's output of pig iron, steel, iron ore and coal. In the production of many important items, including pig iron, steel, rolled metal, main-line diesel locomotives, sugar, iron ore and gas the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic occupies the first place in Europe.

71. These achievements of the Ukrainian people have been furthered by the cultural revolution which has multiplied the creative powers of a liberated people. There are about 100,000 scientific workers in the Ukraine and over 24,000 of them have scientific degrees and titles. Fourteen million people study in different educational institutions, which means that almost every third citizen in the Ukraine is studying.

72. It is a matter of pride for us that among the names revered by and well known to mankind there are not a few names of Ukrainian scientists, writers and composers, whose creative work has promoted scientific and cultural progress in the world. The Ukrainian people, striving untiringly and systematically to maintain and strengthen peace and friendship among peoples, will continue to make their contribution to the development of world civilization.

73. On our way we have encountered difficulties and failures. We have had to live through the horrors of bloody wars. But we were victorious because we believed in the righteousness of our cause and today we view our future with the same confidence.

74. At the present period in international relations the United Nations is facing complex and important problems. In order to cope with them, all the Member States should, first of all, ensure strict observance of the provisions of the Charter and prevent their violation.

75. The United Nations has made a useful contribution to the strengthening of mutual understanding and co-operation among different States. Unfortunately, its agenda still retains such vestiges of the "cold war" as the co-called "Korean question". The occupation of South Korea by foreign, predominantly American, troops is the main obstacle to the peaceful reunification of that country.

76. That is why the Ukrainian delegation, together with the delegations of other socialist countries, proposed that the question of the withdrawal of all foreign occupation troops from South Korea should be included in the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly [A/6696 and Add.1-3]. The decision of the General Assembly on this question, together with the decision to abolish the notorious United Nations Commission on the Rehabilitation and Unification of Korea, would constitute a constructive step towards the achievement of unity for their long-suffering nation by the Korean people themselves.

77. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic still believes in the great importance of ensuring the universal character of this Organization. The continued enhancement of its role in the consolidation of world peace and security raises the urgent question of the admission of the German Democratic Republic to the United Nations. The German Democratic Republic's membership would expand the possibilities of the United Nations to work for peace and would increase its effectiveness. We also have no objections to the admission to membership in the United Nations of the other German State—the Federal Republic of Germany.

78. The Ukrainian SSR, proceeding from well-known considerations of principle, continues to believe that the legitimate rights of the Chinese People's Republic should be restored in this Organization and that the clique of Chiang Kai-shek should be expelled from all United Nations organs.

79. An intensive struggle between the forces of peace and the forces of aggression is still going on in the international arena. The partisans of peace realize ever more clearly that the elimination of the hotbeds

of aggression is a task of paramount importance. It is the duty of all States to promote with all their strength and by every possible means the relaxation of international tensions, the strengthening of mutual trust in the relations among States and the creation of a healthier international atmosphere.

80. Mr. LUNS (Netherlands): Mr. President, when I visited Romania early this year I not only was charmed by your country but I was also impressed with the political views expressed by Romanian statesmen, especially yourself. That impression was strengthened by our subsequent discussions in the Netherlands during the month of July. Your virtually unanimous election as President of this Assembly is therefore most gratifying to me, and I extend my warm congratulations to your country and to yourself.

81. My Government, to a large degree, shares the many concerns expressed in the Annual Report of the Secretary-General [A/6701]. The war in Viet-Nam in particular continues to stir our conscience. Today, more than ever before, the mass media confront us with the sufferings of a divided nation whose citizens want to live in peace and freedom, but who are torn by civil strife, terrorism and acts of war.

82. Every time a shot finds its mark, a bomb explodes on its target, or a political murder is committed, new sufferings are inflicted on that unhappy country. It is therefore imperative that honest attempts at finding a peaceful solution be earnestly studied by the party to which they are addressed instead of being scornfully and peremptorily rejected. Countless speakers before me have advocated a reconvening of the Geneva Conference, a conference which at the time proved to be a forum for constructive discussions. I join in their appeal. The Viet-Nam question calls for discussions and negotiations. In this context I was pleased to note that important Governments involved are prepared to move in that direction. I call to mind, for example, the statements made by Mr. George Brown [567th meeting], Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, who was one of the two Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, and the expressed readiness on the part of the United States, so specifically stated by Ambassador Goldberg [562nd meeting], to sit down at the conference table and to accept a Security Council decision opening the way to a Geneva Conference. On the other hand, it is most regrettable that the other Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference, the Soviet Union, seems as yet unwilling to co-operate towards such a procedure.

83. The people of the Netherlands are by now so deeply worried about the war in Viet-Nam that they felt the need to give a solemn expression to their apprehensions. Towards the end of August last, the Lower House of the Netherlands Parliament spent a full day debating Viet-Nam, and every one of our political parties participated. My Government shares the grave concern expressed on that occasion by our Parliament, as well as its view that the Viet-Nam question calls for a political rather than a military solution. The House adopted a motion calling, *inter alia*, for a cessation of the bombing of North Viet-Nam in order to increase the possibility of peace negotiations. The member of Parliament who introduced the motion explained in an oral statement that the requested

cessation of the bombing should not be subject to pre-conditions.

Mr. Kjartansson (Iceland), Vice-President, took the Chair.

84. My Government believes that the present situation must not be allowed to continue. It has therefore appealed to all parties to the conflict to break through the existing vicious circle and to adopt a policy leading to peace by accepting, as a first step, to go to the conference table. I now publicly reiterate this appeal on behalf of my country.

85. Much has been said in the course of this debate on the diminished ability of the United Nations to maintain world peace. Since the United Nations cannot be more than the combined aspirations of its Members, it goes without saying that what our Organization is able or unable to accomplish in the service of world peace reflects but the limits to which the Members are prepared to go for the furtherance of peace. Moreover, the United Nations is not designed to be used as an immediate court of complaint for every kind of violation against the international community.

86. The normal procedure, as laid down by the Charter, is for countries first to try and settle their own disputes directly. I can do no better than to quote verbatim the wise words in the Introduction to the Secretary-General's Annual Report when he says: "I believe it is necessary to draw attention to the urgent need for States to have wider recourse, in their relations with other States, to the various means for the pacific settlement of disputes." [A/6701/Add.1, para. 155.] Only when every other avenue to peace has been explored without success, and a dangerous situation develops, are we justified in calling upon the United Nations—but even then we can do so only within the terms of the Charter.

87. We know that our Organization must cope with many and varied effects of growth. One such effect is the unforeseen increase in the number of sovereign States. A gathering of more than 120 Member States functions very differently from and less effectively than an assembly comprising no more than fifty or sixty members. However much our contemporary sense of justice may have been gratified by the speedy process of decolonization, the problem of very small countries whose voice and vote are out of proportion to their position in the world is real and as yet unsolved. The Introduction to the Secretary-General's Annual Report is well worth reading on this point.

88. There are more such phenomena that seem to call for changes in our organization and procedures. Perhaps improved instruments for peace and security will lead to their better use. We might, for example, take a more critical view of certain kinds of decisions and paper resolutions that in fact do the world more harm than good because they cannot be implemented. They are wafted away on the wind of history almost as soon as they are written. Not only is it better to make no decision at all than to make one that is meaningless or unenforceable; it is also good to realize that the euphoria surrounding such resolutions and voting sometimes represents a flight from reality; the underlying problem remains unsolved.

89. A most striking example of this is the situation in the Middle East. For twenty years we have discussed the problems of this area without coming to grips with the real issues. As a result the world has just witnessed the tragedy of a war that should have been avoided. Once again, in this Assembly, the Middle East is on our agenda. The situation at issue is one which clearly threatens world peace. Therefore, we feel that the Assembly should discuss this question with restraint, because it is a problem which falls under the competence of the Security Council. Our hope is for a concerted effort by all parties to create a new and stable order in the Middle East, making possible the peaceful co-existence of countries and nations with all of whom we have age-old ties of close co-operation and friendship; nations whose civilizations, wisdom and spiritual contributions to the world have been most impressive.

90. The positions taken by the various parties to the dispute during the present debate are rigid, and understandably so. But understanding is not enough. It is conceivable that the traumatic events of last summer will bring about new patterns of thought that may bring us closer to a solution. In a part of the world where so much intellectual energy is concentrated, the creation of new structures must be possible. To continue aggravating present differences in the General Assembly seems pointless. Speaking for my Government, I recommend an early debate in the Security Council and a strengthening of the United Nations peace-keeping role in the area. We support all initiatives to this end: the appointment of a special representative of the Secretary-General, observers and—when desired and accepted by both sides—a United Nations buffer force to give extra guarantees against a new explosion.

91. All such measures will have our full support, and if necessary we are prepared to assist in guaranteeing permanent frontiers, security arrangements, and free passage through international waterways. Our views regarding the fundamentals of the question were presented in itemized detail in my address of 28 June last, during the fifth emergency special session [1539th meeting], and remain unchanged; so I shall not repeat those seven points. I do wish, however, to point out once again, though the fact is well known to everybody, that neither a détente nor a lasting solution will be possible in the Middle East unless, in addition to the two parties, the major Powers come to mutually acceptable terms.

92. That a consensus between major Powers is possible, even when the subject matter is difficult and complex, is evident from the near-completion of a draft non-proliferation treaty^{3/}. The attention of all of us is now directed towards current efforts aimed at a speedy presentation of that treaty. My delegation earnestly hopes that the Soviet Union and the United States will be able to submit the full text of such a draft treaty before this session of the Assembly is over and that it will cover the question of safeguards. My Government would greatly value a treaty based on effective inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency and believes such a treaty

^{3/} Documents ENDC/192 and ENDC/193.

could be implemented without being contrary to the provisions of the Euratom Treaty. On our part we will do everything to promote such fundamental agreement with respect to the as yet unwritten article on inspection.

93. We do indeed attach very great importance to such a treaty, though we naturally realize that it would not be a panacea and that many other measures will remain necessary if we are to stop the nuclear arms race. If we fail to halt the spread of nuclear weapons to a growing number of countries, there will be little cause to hope for an early progress in arms control and disarmament. We therefore regard a non-proliferation treaty as an essential step towards a stable and secure world. As for the nuclear Powers, they should likewise exercise self-restraint and they should limit their own vertical proliferation.

Mr. Manescu (Romania) resumed the Chair.

94. It would be improper to discuss the question of security without mentioning the problem of stagnation in world prosperity. In a world where poverty is rampant security treaties are not enough, because poverty is just as explosive as the atom bomb. Co-operation between developed and developing countries is a problem that strongly appeals to all sectors of Dutch society. In its budget proposals for 1968, submitted to Parliament about a week ago, my Government announced a substantial increase in foreign aid as well as a greatly activated development policy. My colleague in the Netherlands Government in charge of development aid will speak more extensively on this important subject later during this Assembly.

95. Mr. President and fellow representatives, may God grant us during this Assembly the wisdom to accomplish some good for humanity.

Address by Mr. Diori Hamani, President of the Republic of Niger

96. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): It gives me great pleasure to invite His Excellency, Mr. Diori Hamani, President of the Republic of Niger, to address the General Assembly.

97. Mr. DIORI HAMANI (President of the Republic of Niger) (translated from French): I shall not attempt to conceal the emotion I feel at being for the first time here in these august surroundings. And I fervently hope that this feeling will not prevent me from expressing as I would like my pride and joy at being among you who bear the overwhelming responsibility for the pursuit, the organization and the maintenance of international peace and security.

98. Allow me at the outset, Mr. President, to congratulate you on your election to the Presidency of the current session of the General Assembly, whose work is beginning at a time when the world is beset by so many burning issues. Above and beyond your personal success and the due homage paid to your qualifications as a statesman, your election is a special sign of friendship towards your country, that crossroads of civilizations which, in the course of its history has played, discreetly and successfully, the difficult part of a link for Europe. What is

more, your election symbolizes the needs of a mankind weary of sterile divisions and longing for concord.

99. No one is more qualified than you are to continue the fruitful efforts of your predecessor, the distinguished representative of Afghanistan, who for an entire year, in regular session and in the special sessions of your Assembly, was able to temper the heat of the debates with those well-known qualities of moderation and conciliation which have characterized the history of his country and of Asia.

100. From that same continent of Asia has come to us the man whom I take personal pleasure in acclaiming on behalf of my country and of the young African nations: the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant. May I therefore pay a deserved and very special tribute to this man who has for many years in your Assembly been entrusted with the heaviest of responsibilities and who has ceaselessly struggled in the cause of peace with unflagging zeal and an equal courage.

101. And this is why—since we know that history is made solely by man—your present deliberations are beginning under the best of auspices, and why they have already roused so much hope throughout the world.

102. The African Heads of State who have preceded me at this rostrum have laid before you with precision, eloquence and sometimes with passion their national problems and their opinions on the destiny of Africa and of the world. I do not intend to repeat or to comment on what has already been said, of all of which you are fully aware.

103. But my threefold position as Chief of State, Acting President of the Conseil de l'entente and of the Common Afro-Malagasy Organization, imposes on me a certain oratorical discretion and obliges me to express to you only the basic concerns of my own country, of the member States of those organizations and, in a general way, of an important part of the African continent.

104. I should like first of all, as Chief of State, publicly to express the thanks of the people of Niger and the Government of the Republic of Niger to those two friendly countries, France and Tunisia, whose Governments were good enough to sponsor our admission to the United Nations.

105. It was historically fitting that the great emancipator, General de Gaulle, should have, at the appointed time, guided the evolution of the countries over which France had long held trusteeship, and should have carried out, through a policy of full co-operation, the work already begun in so many areas.

106. With regard to Tunisia, President Bourguiba has shown us continuing sympathy because of historical, cultural and religious bonds and because of the unity of outlook and attitudes we share on the main international problems.

107. To you, the competent representatives of your Governments, and most especially to you, the United States delegate representing President Johnson—whose kind invitation happily coincides with my presence here in your great Assembly—I wish to express Niger's thanks for the unanimous vote which

confirmed its admission to the United Nations seven years ago [resolution 1482 (XV)].

108. Mr. President and representatives, your noble mission consists above all in working untiringly for the reign of a world of peace on earth. For in our time more than in any other, peace has become the cardinal necessity for a mankind anxious about its future. But to achieve peace today is far from easy. It calls for courage and clear vision, firmness and tolerance; but above all, it calls for a passionate love of mankind, of man's vast spiritual and material wealth, in short, of his future.

109. I therefore solemnly call upon all the Members of this Assembly, especially the representatives of the great Powers, who are ultimately responsible for world peace, but also on all States whose national interests are today engaged in a major conflict, to be alive to the needs of the hour which demand of us international accord and co-operation on a global level. In our century, it is no longer permissible to put above all else the philosophy of integral nationalism, for no national interest, however noble, would justify the holocaust of a world conflict which might at any moment be set off by some local conflict. The danger of nuclear war, that unprecedented terror hanging over the future of our world, should lead us, if we want simply to survive, to revise completely our traditional political concepts and international relations. I am convinced that the Governments of all countries are aware of those radical changes and of the seriousness of the present moment. It is for you, Gentlemen, patiently and unremittingly, to translate that unanimous will for peace into reality. Such is the difficult but stirring task which is yours, for if our planet is to survive, everyone must make that heroic and unique effort.

110. However, if that effort is to be made with some hope of success, the entire world must face the facts, for everyone's salvation depends on it: the guns must be silenced everywhere; justice, stability and co-operation must be established in the Middle East; the men and women of Africa and Asia must regain their full measure of freedom and dignity in the territories still under foreign occupation or subjected to the immoral and obsolete practices of another world; the dangerous consequences of the cold war must disappear in Europe and Asia, and there must be a revival everywhere of the confidence and spirit of co-operation in the relations between men, nations and continents.

111. It is clear, however, that the quest for peace and the organization and maintenance of peace in the world which it is your noble mission to ensure, also calls for the examination and solution of the economic problems which give rise to imbalance, tensions and conflicts and which threaten to give rise to serious international crises with the inevitable dire consequences we are familiar with: losses of human life, material destruction, retardation, stagnation and regression on the road to development.

112. More than any others, and regardless of the political label they assume, the African States realize the need to emerge from underdevelopment as soon as possible and to replace their role as passive clients with that of producers in the fullest sense

of the word, producers capable of active participation, with their resources and through their labour, in the life of men of other continents. In short, Africa believes that the dignity it has regained cannot assume its full significance if political independence is not matched by ever-increasing integration with the economy of the highly industrialized countries.

113. Is it not paradoxical and—I may say—discouraging that the effort of the African producer is not fairly recompensed? The incontrovertible fact remains that despite the adoption of improved techniques, despite the growth of his productivity, despite the increase in his production, the African peasant sees a constant decrease in his purchasing power as a result of the continual decline in the world prices of his surface and sub-surface export products, cocoa, peanuts, cotton, and coffee among others.

114. I have already spoken elsewhere of the danger of that reduction in the monetary income of the African peasant, both in its effect on the public resources of States and in its more distant effect on their economic activities and even on their political stability. Quite recently, at the Fourth Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at Kinshasa,^{4/} I stated:

"The reduction of the monetary income of the African producer simultaneously leads to a weakening of the State, as a result of the reduction in export revenues; the impaired budgetary equilibrium inevitably holds up national development and, by keeping our countries economically dependent on the outside, endangers national independence."

115. Many African nations, threatened sooner or later by some sort of economic debility, are no longer concerned merely with the problem of harmonious and continuous development under calm conditions, but with that of survival in a world where the gap between industrial and under-developed countries is growing ever wider.

116. From that viewpoint, the interest of all great Powers—and by "interest" I mean economic as well as political interest—should oblige them to take into account the question of their solidarity with those weaker than themselves, to overcome national self-interests and to do everything in their power to assist the development of the Third World, without which their own development would be incomplete and threatened with instability.

117. It would therefore seem desirable that the Assembly, through its specialized agencies, should seek ways and means which will lead to the re-evaluation of agricultural and mining production on a proper scale, and then to price stabilization in those fields. At the same time, that basic action must be accompanied by increased long-term, low-interest financial participation, by the rational organization of commercial markets and by an increase in technical co-operation staff.

118. Only a short while ago at Rio de Janeiro,^{5/} the President of the International Bank for Reconstruction

^{4/} Held from 11 to 14 September 1967.

^{5/} Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and its affiliates and the Board of Governors of the International Monetary Fund. The meeting was held from 25 to 29 September 1967.

and Development set forth some facts and figures which unfortunately bear out what I have just said: today, in the case of the bulk of countries receiving development aid, repayment of past official indebtedness alone absorbs two-thirds of the official flow of capital towards those countries. Similarly, he pointed out, nearly half of the existing debt is in the form of supply credits, which in many cases must be repaid even before the materials they finance have begun to contribute in any appreciable way to the productivity of the borrowing country. It is absolutely indispensable that a solution should be found, that new formulas should be adopted which will increase the efficiency of assistance from industrialized to under-developed countries. Otherwise, the gap separating them will continue to widen, with consequences which could in the long run be disastrous to both sides.

119. It is almost embarrassing to have to renew this appeal and repeat this warning. Fortunately, there are in the developed countries some distinguished thinkers who are trying, along with us, to awaken leaders and public opinion in their own countries to the true nature of this serious problem. Too few people, in fact, know that the material assistance given to less favoured countries by wealthy countries, in a spirit of solidarity quite new in history, an assistance which in absolute figures seems impressive to the layman, is to a great extent cancelled out by the phenomenon of deterioration in the terms of trade which I have referred to. It is urgent that this should be remedied, first by stabilizing the cost of basic commodities—the main source of income in under-developed countries—and then by facilitating their export.

120. I am happy to pay a simultaneous tribute here to the French Government and to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, both of which have proposed that the industrialized countries should annually devote 1 per cent of their gross national income to aid for the Third World. That peaceful effort would be, after all, quite modest compared to the effort being expended by those same States in bearing the excessive burden of their arms expenditures.

121. However, it cannot be denied that African economic development and social progress cannot be fully realized so long as Africa remains an isolated arena in which the ideologies and interests of non-African Powers have confronted and continue to confront each other.

122. Above all else, the African continent needs stability and peace, which our peoples deeply long for.

123. Specifically African organizations, such as the Organization of African Unity, and, within it, the Conseil de l'entente and the Joint Africa-Malagasy Community, have adopted as principles the non-interference of one State in the internal affairs of others and the rejection of the use of force for the settling of disputes.

124. The tensions, convulsions and conflicts to be observed at present in certain parts of Africa may, unfortunately, lead to pessimistic conclusions as to Africans' ability to integrate peacefully into the modern world.

125. But did not those human groupings which in the course of history became firmly structured modern nations endure throughout the centuries invasions, religious wars, wars of secession, onslaughts of xenophobia, national or racial hatred, coups d'état, manifestos and, only recently, genocide?

126. The African States are experiencing the same growing pains as did their predecessors and for that reason they must be judged with understanding and with tolerance. They alone should not be held responsible for their difficulties. Countless events which have ravaged the African continent would perhaps not have occurred had the principle of non-interference been scrupulously respected by all non-African Powers.

127. Here I shall stop, in order not to be reproached with slowing even slightly the work of your session, towards which the eyes of the whole world are turned.

128. May your institution be assured of the liveliest interest which Niger in particular, and Africa in general, take in its deliberations, for our continent, relegated for so long to an inferior and undeserved position, is determined to labour in the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter, to which we have solemnly adhered and which remains our supreme hope. Long live the United Nations Organization! Long live international co-operation! Long live the brotherhood of mankind in a peaceful world!

129. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): On behalf of the General Assembly, I warmly thank the President of the Republic of Niger for the important statement he has just made.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.