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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. RAMPHAL (Guyana): Mr. President, on behalf of the Government and people of Guyana my delegation congratulates you most warmly on your accession to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its twenty-second session and wishes to assure you of the same unswerving support and co-operation that it was our aim at all times to give to your predecessor, Ambassador Pazhwak, as he so ably guided the twenty-first session and the special sessions through their many excitements and crises.

2. For Guyana the twenty-second session of the Assembly marks the end of our first year's participation in the work of the United Nations. For us this first year has been one of building foundations, and nowhere has there been a greater need to build securely than in the area of international relations. In setting about this task we recognize that a nation's foreign policy in the truest sense can only emerge out of the experience of many years of responsibility for its foreign affairs. There are, I know, some who sometimes speak as if on the achievement of independence small countries like mine can, as we select our flag and national anthem, choose a foreign policy which we should immediately proclaim and to which the conduct of our foreign affairs should thereafter at all times conform. But this notion is naive and an over-simplification of international existence. A nation's foreign policy can only be hammered out on the anvil of experience and amid the dust and heat of the busy workshop of international affairs. What we can insist upon, and what as a new nation we do insist upon, is the right to devise a foreign policy on the basis of experience—one that is shaped by our needs and the needs of the international community as we assess them. It is, I suggest, this demand for an acknowledgement of the right of self-determination in the area of foreign affairs that lies at the heart of the concepts of neutralism and non-alignment—concepts which have been the central themes in the foreign policy of so many new States and which, when recognized in this light, represent not an arid negativist

policy but an environment of freedom which is essential to the evolution of a healthy, constructive and internationally beneficial approach to world affairs.

3. As the large and powerful nations confront one another today in so many vital areas of international endeavour, the need for this freedom is perhaps greater than it has ever been; for if the small States have a role to play in resolving the vital issues of war and peace in our time—as I am certain that they have—that role can be fulfilled only through the freedom to bring to bear on those issues an independent judgement which takes as its starting point a commitment, not to dogma, but to the rule of law at the international level as it is enshrined in the Charter of this great Organization. This is the role that my Government has sought to play, in its modest way, during this past year—a year which has seen so much activity in this Assembly—and it is the role that we shall continue to pursue in the work of this Assembly in the months that lie ahead of us.

4. The crisis which now confronts the Middle East—affecting, as it does so directly, small States on both sides of the dispute—has concerned us deeply. Along with so many others, we strove during the fifth emergency special session earlier this year not merely to help to end the war but to secure a lasting peace in that troubled area. Those efforts must continue, and the need for them grows greater as the issues become clouded by distrust and resentment, by hatred and by fear. We believe that success may yet attend those efforts if all parties to the conflict show a greater willingness to seek a reasonable way out. Only negotiation can point the way to peace, and only a determination on the part of all to pursue a vision of the future in which peace is lasting will bring that permanent calm which is so essential to the well-being and advancement of the many millions of people who live within the area.

5. Yet in our search for a solution there is one overriding principle which must not be lost sight of. It is that the acquisition of territory by force cannot and must not be condoned either individually by Member States or collectively by the international community. That principle has been reinforced by what must surely be the lesson of recent events; that recourse to force and the perpetuation of a state of war offer no solution to international disputes. The Charter of this great Organization upholds that principle, and Member States cannot afford simply to pay lip service to it. In the seventh decade of the twentieth century the developing nations in particular need a firm assurance—which only a keen international conscience and an effective world order can provide—that they can be free to use their slender resources, both human and material, in the vital

tasks of change and improvement to which they are so inevitably committed. They need to be freed of the burden of bearing arms in defence of their right to survive as sovereign States. Issues vital to the survival of the small State in many parts of the world are here at stake. Many of us live in the shadow of territorial claims—claims often advanced by larger and more powerful neighbours—which threaten the right of small States to make their way in the world. This Organization must stand behind the independence and the territorial integrity of all States, including those it has helped to bring to freedom.

6. What I have said about the need for a determined approach to a negotiated settlement in the Middle East must apply with even greater emphasis to the situation in Viet-Nam. There is no peace in the world while that conflict rages. It must be the duty of this Assembly to make use of all its resources in examining and exploring the means by which international conciliation may contribute to a peaceful settlement. In these efforts let it never be the case that peace in our time is made to take second place to a sterile emphasis on the machinery which was itself designed to promote it.

7. In the Latin American region commendable success has recently attended the efforts of the Governments of that region to contribute tangibly to the cause of world peace. The Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America [see A/6663], signed in Mexico last February, is a notable step forward in curtailing the spread of nuclear weapons through the creation of nuclear-free zones. The Government of Guyana shares fully the motives that have guided Latin American Governments in the negotiation of the Treaty and endorses the principles and procedures embodied in its text for fulfilment of those aspirations for peace.

8. It is, therefore, a matter of deep regret and concern to my Government that, by virtue of the exclusionary provisions of article 25 of that Treaty, Guyana is precluded from being a signatory. The explanation of this exclusion lies in the controversy between Venezuela and the United Kingdom over the validity of the international arbitral Award of 1899 by which the boundary between Venezuela and Guyana was established. A solution to that controversy—with which, on attaining independence, my Government became associated—is being pursued through machinery established for the purpose, and it is not my wish to advert to these matters on this occasion. However, I must express the deep disappointment of my Government that that controversy should be made the basis of Guyana's exclusion from participation in the regional arrangements for a nuclear-free zone in Latin America—all the more so since, by their very nature, those arrangements must depend for total success on the degree to which they are truly comprehensive and all-embracing.

9. But these great issues of war and peace that we pursue so imperfectly are no more important than the fate of the human personality within the boundaries of nations. Indeed, our efforts for peace among nations must always fail to attain their maximum effect while within nations systems persist under which men are so far denied their basic rights as individuals that

peace becomes no less a solitude than that which war may bring.

10. This Organization has achieved much in advancing the cause of the equality of all men. Already many hundreds of millions have been led out of the depression of colonial status to the self-respect of nationhood. But that work is not yet done and what lies ahead demands the full commitment of every State in which individual freedom has meaning. Human dignity is not divisible by continents or countries; there are no geographic or ethnic boundaries which may confine it. The misery, humiliation and oppression which are the under-pinnings of the racist minority régimes in South Africa and in Rhodesia shame all mankind; and for so long as the Government of Portugal continues to withhold the right of self-determination from millions of people in Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea, in open contravention of the wishes of this Assembly, the integrity of our commitment as a world Organization to the principle of independence is tangibly diminished.

11. It was with a consciousness of these matters that my Government accepted the invitation to serve on the United Nations Council for South West Africa established by this Assembly [resolution 2248 (S-V)] at its fifth special session earlier this year. We have not been unmindful that in some respects the establishment of the Council places in issue the authority of the United Nations. On the other hand, one is bound to ask the question whether we do not do more harm to the authority and standing of the United Nations by declining each challenge to its authority rather than facing the challenge and isolating those members of international society who are prepared to stand aside from the mainstream of international justice and co-operation. Surely it must be the case that the greater the solidarity among those nations accepting these principles, the more effective must be the isolation of those who deny them.

12. It remains for this Assembly to determine—and this is as true of Rhodesia as it is of South Africa—whether a single régime can, at this stage of organized international effort, be permitted to challenge international society and to flout the international order in which mankind everywhere has reposed its trust. If the international order proceeds always on a theory of survival which requires that every confrontation with power be avoided, it will not be long before it loses the faith and respect of the people of the world without which its survival would be meaningless.

13. And yet, political problems are by no means the only ones that cry out for solution at the international level. For the greater part, the economies of the developing nations stagger under the burden of falling growth rates, decreasing flows of capital investment from the developed countries, uncertain markets for their products, and population increases accompanied by disastrous personnel shortages in the professional and technological fields. And the disaster is compounded when our own experts are absorbed into the thriving economies of the developed nations, leaving us to benefit as best we may from the technological "charity" of the more advanced countries. It is a sad reality that in this particular area the developed

nations have gained so much more than they have given—or even acknowledged.

14. The Secretary-General's annual report [A/6701] has made painfully clear how little has been achieved since 1964 when the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) came into being. As so many others who have spoken before me have pointed out, despite its high promises the Kennedy Round has been a triumph for the developed countries and a bitter disappointment for the developing countries, where the need for improvement was so much greater. Against this background of disappointment the urgent need to find solutions to the problems of the developing nations is perhaps brought into finest focus by the UNCTAD projection that net lending to the developing countries will become negative by 1975 if present conditions and trends remain unchanged. The challenge of changing these conditions and reversing these trends must be accepted by the international community.

15. There are, of course, some respects in which we in the developing countries may help ourselves. In my own area of the Commonwealth Caribbean my Government has been militant in its promotion of regional unity, and already tangible steps have been taken in the direction of economic integration. Along with the Governments of Barbados and Antigua, we have taken the first step towards the creation of a regional trade market in arrangements agreed upon for a Caribbean free trade area. Later this month the heads of all Commonwealth Caribbean Governments will be considering proposals, already discussed at official level, for the widening of the free trade area as part of a phased establishment of a sub-regional common market. We are also considering a report by the United Nations Development Programme Preparatory Mission for the establishment of a Caribbean Regional Development Bank,^{1/} to whose funds we are prepared to contribute more than the normal governmental share and for which we hope the developed countries will be willing to demonstrate their strong support in practical ways. We shall continue in these efforts, for we accept the initial obligation to promote and establish those institutional arrangements which will best advance our own development and that of the region of which we are a part.

16. But economic integration will fail to meet the urgent needs of our society—indeed, it may fail altogether—if the movement towards economic union is permitted to falter before the counter-pressures of political fragmentation. Conscious as we are of the difficulties which beset the small States of the world, my Government is mindful always of the dangers of still further fragmentation. Whether in the Caribbean or, indeed, anywhere else in the world, no worthy cause is served—certainly not the cause of an ordered international society—by secessionist movements which seek achievement of their aims through an investment in rebellion.

17. Within recent times there has been in the Caribbean a situation of this kind in the former British colony of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla—now a State in association with the United Kingdom. This situation posed grave implications for constitutional govern-

ment throughout the region, since what was involved was an illegal attempt in Anguilla to displace the lawful authority of the State.

18. At the request of the Governments concerned, the Governments of Guyana and other Commonwealth Caribbean countries sought to mediate the dispute. Our efforts were directed to a peaceful solution of the problem based on a return to constitutional government on terms which would advance the economic development of the island and provide a rational system of local government. These efforts have so far failed in their objective—a failure which has been influenced by attempts at the international level to sponsor the cause of the insurgents. Some of these attempts have had little to do with the State or with the region. Some have been centred on the promotion of theories of international organization relating to small communities; others appear to have their origin in battles long ago, and sometimes not so long ago or far away.

19. The Governments of the region in which such events occur cannot be indifferent to the fate of constitutional government in their part of the world any more than this Organization can endorse the cause of the illegal overthrow of Governments or of governmental authority anywhere. Let us realize that it is futile for us to make valiant efforts to maintain the rule of law at the international level if, simultaneously, through a facile romanticism, or even less worthy considerations, we give comfort and support to those who are prepared to pursue solutions to social, political or economic problems by way of the illegal dismantling of constitutional government and the establishment of new States on the foundations of outlaw régimes.

20. Let us remember always when we promote our theories, when we indulge our tastes for dragon slaying, that what we may be promoting is fragmentation of society and that the dragon slain may turn out to be the embodiment of lawful government. Above all, let no approach to the problem of the small society address itself to the breaking-up of political entities already in existence for this would leave open to disintegration many of the world's great archipelagoes. It is to the building of societies and to the preservation of an environment of peace in which they may prosper that this Organization must remain dedicated. To that work my delegation is fully committed.

21. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): Comrade President, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR joins in the congratulations and good wishes already expressed to you on the occasion of your election to the responsible office of President of the present session of the United Nations General Assembly. We are especially glad to congratulate you, the representative of a socialist country.

22. The Great October Socialist Revolution has brought to our people social and national liberation; it has enabled us to create our State and has opened up wide avenues for great material and spiritual progress. With the victory of the socialist revolution, whose fiftieth anniversary is being celebrated this year by the whole of progressive mankind, the

^{1/} Document SF/310/Reg. 111.

peoples of the world have acquired a solid foundation in the struggle against wars of conquest and for peace, security and social progress. The principles of peace and international security, equality, friendship and co-operation between States, proclaimed by the October Revolution, the policy of support for the struggle of peoples for national and social liberation pursued by the forces of socialism, and the systematic implementation of the principles of peaceful co-existence of States with varying social systems are winning increasingly firm position in the world arena, are setting the standards of relations among States and are reflected in the United Nations Charter and in various constructive decisions taken by it and its bodies.

23. The peoples of the first socialist State in the world had to overcome many tribulations to consolidate and defend the conquests of the October Revolution. The combined forces of imperialism and internal counter-revolution came out in opposition to the young country of the Soviets. We lived and developed in difficult international conditions and in constant danger of imperialist aggression.

24. During the Second World War, the shock troops of imperialism—the hordes of German fascism were hurled against us. But our people stood firm and won. As was stated in the theses of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution:

"The results of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union have convincingly shown that there are no forces in the world which can crush socialism, which can bring a people to its knees if it is true to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, faithful to its socialist homeland, and united around the party of Lenin. These results are a grim warning to the imperialist aggressors and a stern and unforgettable lesson of history".

The wars imposed upon us caused tremendous casualties and destruction. On the territory of Byelorussia alone, during the years of the Great Patriotic War, over 2.2 million men were killed by the Hitlerite invaders, that is, one out of every four inhabitants of the Republic. Over half of our national wealth was destroyed or stolen.

25. As the result of our intensive and steadfast labours, we have healed the wounds of war in our economy and have made great strides forward. In 1966 the industrial production of the Byelorussian SSR was sixty-four times greater than the pre-revolutionary level. It must be remembered in this connexion that of these fifty years of our socialist history, seven were taken up by destructive wars imposed upon us, and eleven years were devoted to the elimination of their serious consequences. We can now say with pride that in the Republic all sectors of the national economy are being successfully developed and the standard of living of the population is constantly improving. The recent plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union adopted plans for developing the national economy for the coming years and measures to increase the well-being of the Soviet

people. Decisions have been taken to increase wages, to provide longer holidays for workers and employees, to reduce taxes, to increase pensions and lower the pensionable age, etc. As you can see, our people are elaborating and carrying out large-scale plans for the construction of a communist society. However, in Byelorussia the pernicious consequences of war still make themselves felt. We have still not attained the pre-war population level. We render homage to those who fell in the struggle against fascism. The heroes of the war, dead and living, defended peace and freedom, laid the foundations of the post-war reconstruction of the world, enabled us all to create an international Organization for the maintenance of peace, where solutions for the fundamental problems of our era are being discussed and sought. We regard as a pledge to those heroes of the war the words in the United Nations Charter affirming that we are "determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind". That provision was worked out by the authors of the Charter, one of whom was my country. Over seventy States have joined this Organization since then.

26. In the twenty-two years that the United Nations has been in existence nobody has openly attacked that fundamental objective of the United Nations. But has everybody respected in the past and is everyone now respecting the provisions of our Organization's Charter? Unfortunately, the answer to that is "No".

27. The socialist and other peace-loving States firmly defend peace and the strict observance of the obligations assumed by them under the United Nations Charter. Upon their initiative a number of proposals reflecting the vital interests of mankind have been adopted or are under discussion. We need only recall the positions and proposals of the socialist countries on problems of disarmament, the nuclear test-ban, non-proliferation and prohibition of nuclear weapons, the liquidation of foreign military bases, the prohibition of the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons, and the use of outer space for peaceful purposes. Yesterday marked the tenth anniversary of the day when the Soviet Union blazed the trail into space, at the same time presenting a programme to ensure the exclusively peaceful use of outer space. The socialist countries initiated the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty [resolution 2131 (XX)], the Declaration on the Strict Observance of the Prohibition of the Threat or Use of Force in International Relations, and of the Right of Peoples to Self-Determination [resolution 2160 (XXI)] and many other decisions of great importance.

28. On the other hand, there is a group of countries which have constantly delayed effective action by the United Nations and which pursue policies compatible neither with the United Nations Charter nor with its decisions for strengthening peace.

29. This can be seen in the aggressive acts of the United States against the peoples of Cuba, Guatemala, Korea, and the Dominican Republic, its repeated in-

trigues in the Middle East and in Africa and the war that is now being waged against the freedom-loving people of Viet-Nam. The United States of America is engaged in a reckless escalation of the war against Viet-Nam which is doomed to failure, yet at the same time it claims to want to hold peace talks. But if the facts are analysed, it may be concluded that so far as the search for a political settlement is concerned, a kind of de-escalation is taking place in the United States position. Indeed, at the last session of the United Nations General Assembly, the United States representative declared that the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam would cease if the latter proclaimed its willingness to engage in negotiations. As we all know, such a statement was made by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam in January 1967. Why is it then that the United States has not ceased its bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, but, on the contrary, has intensified it and is stepping it up day by day, thereby escalating the war against the people of South Viet-Nam. At the present session the United States representative is putting forward new conditions for the cessation of the bombing which can be only interpreted as a demand, in the form of an ultimatum, that the people of Viet-Nam should unconditionally accept conditions dictated by the United States aggressors.

30. Speaking in the general debate [1562nd meeting], the representative of the United States, the country upon which the cessation of this war of aggression depends, appealed to representatives to put forward proposals "in order to assist the United States in putting an end to the Viet-Nam conflict by peaceful means". But has he not heard such proposals? It is a well-known fact that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam has shown the way towards a settlement by calling for a final and unconditional cessation of the bombing and other acts of aggression. This position is shared by the socialist States and by the representatives of many other countries. The unconditional cessation of the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam as the first step towards negotiations was supported by the representatives of Canada, Denmark, Sweden, France, Somalia, Indonesia, Kenya, Burundi, the United Arab Republic, Senegal, the Netherlands, Finland, and a number of other countries. The Secretary-General of the United Nations is in favour of this, and so is the world Press, including that of the United States. For instance, The New York Times in an editorial devoted to the statement of the United States representative, wrote on 22 September 1967:

"The world cannot be expected to take seriously American talk of peace unless it is joined with an act of peace, a suspension of the bombing."

31. Thus, the United States representative has received his answer, and the United States has only to accept the proposal which has been made, but so far this has not been done. The President of the United States, in his statement of 29 September 1967, under the usual demagogic pretext of fighting communism, declared that the United States intended to continue its aggression in Viet-Nam. Yet, according to United States figures, the Americans have already lost over 100,000 casualties in killed and wounded, and this

senseless war is costing the American taxpayer almost \$3 million every hour.

32. We have already spoken of our condemnation of those who participate in the United States aggression in Viet-Nam. Some of them, such as the representative of the Philippines, have endeavoured to justify their actions, but these attempts have convinced no one. During this session there have been reports of the arrival in South Viet-Nam of a first contingent of the Thai troops. A year ago Thailand was still denying even the existence and the use of American bases on its territory in the war against neighbouring States. Now Thailand is already sending its troops to South Viet-Nam and the representative of that country, an accomplice in United States aggression, was the only speaker at the morning session to defend the barbarous bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and other acts of aggression by the United States military. He said that he had come to the session with "a sad heart", but this is certainly not the only disease of the foreign policy of his country. The aggressors and those who abet them will not be able to shirk their responsibility for the crimes committed against the Viet-Namese people.

33. The United Nations Charter and other principles of international law are still being violated by Israel and its protectors, who oppose the elimination of the consequences of Israel's aggression against the Arab States. At the fifth emergency special session of the General Assembly, in a statement by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Byelorussian SSR, Mr. Kiselev (1533rd meeting) and in further statements by our delegation, we set out in detail our views regarding Israel's aggression against the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan. We demanded then, and we insist now, that the Israel aggression should be condemned, that there should be an immediate withdrawal of Israel troops from the conquered territories and that restitution should be made for the damage sustained by the Arab States as a result of the aggression.

34. All we have said previously remains in full force. However, we cannot let the statements and actions of the Israel aggressors pass without comment. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Israel attempted here to misrepresent the whole course of the fifth emergency special session of the United Nations General Assembly. But whom is he trying to mislead? All the representatives will remember that at the emergency session, as well as at this session, the majority of countries have condemned the aggression of Israel, have declared that the conquest of foreign territories was inadmissible, have pointed out the illegality of Israel's actions in Jerusalem and have demanded humanitarian treatment for prisoners of war and the local population. Yet the representative of Israel tries to tell us that the General Assembly should practically give Israel a prize for its aggression. Such insolence is indeed boundless.

35. Israel's aggression is concealed behind talk about the right to live and the right to living space. During the Second World War, the peoples of Europe experienced at first hand the consequences of the demented theories about Lebensraum with which Hitlerite Germany masked its aggression and territorial claims

against other peoples. The right to live does not give the right to aggression and the conquest of foreign territory. We raise this question in connexion with the statement of the Prime Minister of Israel, who said:

"One cannot find a better natural boundary between Israel and the United Arab Republic than the Suez Canal."

We also raise it in connexion with the illegal realization of plans for the colonization of the occupied territories by placing special settlements there. For Israel there is only one possibility of maintaining its right to live, and that is to renounce its policy of conquest, to cease being an instrument of imperialist powers in the Middle East and to withdraw its troops from all conquered Arab territories.

36. Realistic ways of bringing about a settlement in the Middle East were proposed by the representative of the United Arab Republic and other Arab states. No one should be surprised at the fact that the just words spoken by the Foreign Minister of the United Arab Republic concerning the situation in the Middle East were followed by a request from the representative of the United States to exercise his right of reply. That is the way it goes. No sooner is Israel rightly accused of aggression than Mr. Goldberg goes to the rostrum and starts justifying Israel's aggression. It is easy to see who is aiding and abetting Israel's aggression and whose interests the United States representative is defending here.

37. And then a few days later, the Israel aggressor himself plucks up enough courage to exercise his right of reply. It would be better if the aggressor were made to answer for his crimes instead of being permitted to enjoy the right of reply in order to confuse matters. We are convinced that the peoples of the world will act to that end and will succeed in eliminating all the consequences of Israel's aggression against the neighbouring Arab States.

38. The situation in the world today shows time and time again that the fundamental duty of the United Nations is to curb the forces of aggression. Our delegation is convinced that the speedy completion of the elaboration of an international legal definition of aggression would help the United Nations effectively to perform its duty towards the international community. There is no justification for the fact that the United Nations, whose principal purpose is to halt aggression and maintain universal peace, has still not been able to work out a definition of aggression and has thus left a great gap in international law that has been seized upon and is being utilized by those who interfere in other peoples' affairs and violate the sovereign rights of other nations. The absence of a definition of aggression makes it easier for aggressive acts to be committed with impunity and encourages even greater temerity on the part of the aggressors. The Byelorussian delegation considers that the initiative of the Soviet Union, which has proposed the consideration at the present session of the General Assembly of an item on the need to expedite the drafting of a definition of aggression in the light of the present international situation [A/6833], is a most important and timely one.

39. The decision of the General Assembly [1572nd meeting], which, despite the objections of those who oppose a definition of aggression, has decided to study this question as a political matter in plenary session, is most encouraging. In our view, there is a good chance of working out such a definition of aggression in the near future.

40. Some speakers allege that this is a complex task requiring a purely legal approach. But this is not a matter of complex and subtle legal formulas. An international legal definition of such a grievous crime against humanity as aggression would not be to the liking of those who ignore the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. This fact, and this fact alone, reveals the reason for all the inexcusable delay.

41. By working out a definition of aggression, the General Assembly would be taking a decision of the utmost importance for international peace and the adoption of effective measures to put an end to aggression. Such a decision would constitute a stern warning to the forces of aggression and war concerning their responsibility for the violation of international peace.

42. The present discussion in the General Assembly is clear evidence that the overwhelming majority of States view with alarm and concern the development of events on the international scene. They are concerned that acts of violence, blackmail and coercion still occur in the present-day world. They are concerned over the continuation of the unprecedented arms race imposed on the world by the forces of imperialism. According to the Secretary of State of the United States, the NATO countries have spent over \$1 million million on military objectives since the creation of that aggressive bloc. The military budget of the United States for one year alone is equal to the gross national product of the whole of Latin America. The arms race gives rise to an ever-increasing danger of military conflict, the scope of which it is even impossible to foresee. It greatly complicates the international situation, preventing the development of normal relations among States. It diverts to unproductive ends colossal amounts of material resources and is reflected in the scope and forms of assistance given to the developing areas of the world.

43. The situation is, of course, complex, but it would not be justifiable to exaggerate the many obstacles placed along the road to a stable peace by the aggressive policies of the imperialist states. Peace can be maintained and consolidated if new initiatives, a new approach and new determination prevail. This is what the socialist countries are systematically striving for.

44. The key to an easing of the tensions besetting the world today lies in universal and complete disarmament. It is well known that a settlement of the problem of disarmament has, up to the present time, met with obstacles that cannot be regarded as justified if we consider the interests of mankind and not those of the imperialist circles and groups of monopolies deriving vast profits from war production.

45. The efforts of the socialist states and other peace-loving nations to achieve decisive progress in the field of disarmament have already yielded some results. In recent years, certain important steps have been taken; the testing of nuclear weapons in three environ-

ments has been banned and certain progress has been achieved in the matter of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. We are awaiting the results of the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and we hope that it will succeed in agreeing on the final text of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The peoples of the world have long been awaiting such a treaty. Its elaboration and speedy signature by all States would, as has been stated here by many delegations, considerably reduce the growing danger of a thermonuclear war and contribute to the solution of many other problems of security facing the world, including, first of all, that of the prohibition and later the liquidation of nuclear weapons.

46. We consider that one of the questions that could be debated now is that of the conclusion of a treaty on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. Such a treaty would be a logical consequence and a legal confirmation of obligations solemnly proclaimed by the States Members of the United Nations in the Declaration on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons [resolution 1653 (XVI)]. The vitally important need for such a treaty was convincingly shown by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Mr. Gromyko, in his statement on 22 September of this year (1563rd meeting). The draft of an international convention (A/6834) submitted by him to the United Nations gives expression to the firm conviction of all peoples that mankind is capable not only of creating a weapon of terrifying destructive force, but also of forbidding its use and, finally, of destroying it completely, in the interests of peace and progress.

47. The convention submitted to the General Assembly would provide additional guarantees to non-nuclear countries. This would, of course, be in the interests of the peoples of those countries and would make possible further efforts towards effective nuclear disarmament. The Byelorussian SSR is in full agreement with the terms of the Soviet draft convention on this subject.

48. It is quite understandable that delegations, when speaking in the General Assembly, give priority to the situation in their own parts of the world. But international problems are closely inter-related. Poverty in Africa and Asia can be explained by the policies of exploitation pursued by the monopolies of the United States and Western Europe; the suffering in the Middle East is principally the result of the policies of the United States; the racist extremism of the régimes in Southern Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa is the result of the policies of countries that support the racists, countries situated thousands of miles from the African continent. It would be an unforgivable mistake to be interested only in one's own problems. A fire in the neighbour's house can easily bring disaster to everyone.

49. In this connexion, my delegation would like to draw the attention of the Assembly to the dangerous situation in Europe, where the ruling circles of West Germany obstinately pursue a militaristic and revanchist policy and foster and create tension, apparently believing that such a state of affairs will enable them to carry out their insane plans of hegemony.

50. The Federal Republic of Germany is impeding the creation of a collective security system in Europe. It is the only European State which openly demands a revision of the map of Europe and of post-war agreements, a country in which a neo-fascist party is slowly coming to power. The adventurers of Bonn strive to obtain access to nuclear weapons, try to take a lead position in NATO, and insolently attack the German Democratic Republic, a peace-loving and democratic State, whose policy is in full conformity with the principles and purposes of the United Nations. But it should not be forgotten that the present borders in Europe are just as firm as is the will of the socialist States and peace-loving forces in the world to do all in their power to prevent West German militarism and revanchism from ever being able to trouble the tranquillity and security of the peoples of Europe and to embark on the path of crimes against peace and mankind.

51. It is the duty of all States to raise their voice of protest against the militaristic policy of West Germany, the dangers of which were clearly indicated in Bucharest Declaration² as well as the Declaration of Communists' and Workers' Parties at their Conference in Karlovy Vary.³ These documents provide for the safeguarding of collective security in Europe in the interest of universal peace, freedom and progress of peoples.

52. By accepting the German Democratic Republic as a Member, the United Nations would be carrying out its obligations under the Charter and would be helping to bring about a healthier situation in Europe.

53. The lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should be established by the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek supporters from the United Nations and its bodies.

54. Those who are concerned over the fate of our Organization, those who wish to enhance its ability actively to influence the positive development of international relations, cannot fail to approve the proposals of the socialist States, including the Byelorussian SSR, concerning the withdrawal of the forces of the United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations (A/6696 and Add.1-3). The withdrawal of occupation forces from South Korea, the dissolution of the illegally created United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and the removal of the so-called Korean question from the agenda, would serve the consolidation of peace in the Far East.

55. The United Nations General Assembly is confronted with an important task—to overcome the attempts of the colonialists to maintain their positions in the remaining colonial territories. Many delegations have rightly demanded that the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and other imperialist powers should end their support for

²/ Declaration on Strengthening Peace and Security in Europe, adopted at the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee, Bucharest, 4-6 July 1966.

³/ Declaration made at the Conference of European Communists' and Workers' Parties on questions of security in Europe, Karlovy Vary, 24-27 April 1967.

Portugal and the racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, so that the decision of the last session of the General Assembly [resolution 2165 (XXI)] concerning the immediate elimination of military bases on colonial territories could be carried out, since these bases are used to suppress the national liberation movement, to exert pressure on the young independent States and to commit aggression against them. It is also essential to condemn the predatory activity of foreign monopolies in colonial territories and to outline specific measures to put an end to the exploitation and pillage of colonial peoples. Our delegation supports the initiative of the People's Republic of Bulgaria [1575th meeting], which stresses the need for active co-operation by the specialized agencies and the international organizations in the implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the elimination of colonialism.

56. The unwillingness of the colonialists to co-operate with the United Nations in liquidating colonial and racist régimes and their pernicious consequences can be seen in some of the statements made in the general debate. We note, for instance, the statement made by the Foreign Minister of the United Kingdom (1567th meeting), who spoke of the undesirability of using force against the racists of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. If we consider the United Kingdom's policy, this indulgence towards a small group of white colonialists contrasts strangely with its colonialist intransigence towards the patriotic forces of Aden and Oman, where repressive measures are still being carried out, as well as terrorism and punitive operations against peoples demanding true and not fictitious independence. The colonialists' plans to retain their domination over small territories are also disquieting. The Assembly must decisively oppose such plans.

57. Colonialism and imperialist exploitation have condemned many peoples of the world to considerable economic backwardness. It is quite natural that the United Nations should be confronted with a whole complex of problems of economic development and co-operation. These problems must be settled. This must be done not only on the basis of the needs of the developing countries, but also by taking into account the general world situation and the situation of international trade and scientific and technical co-operation as a whole. It is impossible to create favourable conditions for the trade of developing countries without settling the cardinal problem of trade between East and West. In the same way, it is impossible to develop successfully scientific, technical and industrial co-operation without taking into account the interests of all States of the world. However, in the United Nations these factors are not always taken into consideration. Sometimes we hear speeches in which it is alleged that problems concerning the maintenance of peace are the task of the great Powers only. There is much talk about economic needs without mention of those responsible for such a state of affairs. There is insufficient consistency in matters of normalization of economic aid and scientific and technical co-operation between all States. Another Development Decade or even several such Decades as may be proclaimed but they will not yield the desired results, any more than the present Decade has done, if this attitude is main-

tained. Concerted action must be taken to settle problems of interest to all States and peoples, to do away with inequality, discrimination and exploitation. Only then will the plans and programmes of the United Nations prove realistic.

58. In our opinion, in settling the problems of developing countries at the present time we should focus our attention on questions linked with the protection of their economic interests. It would be expedient to continue the work begun in 1966, on the initiative of the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, on the further elaboration of recommendations concerning possible measures to stop the outflow of capital from developing countries [see 1440th meeting, P/151]. In this connexion, it would be desirable to provide for periodic surveys concerning the implementation of these recommendations.

59. My delegation considers that the idea could be advanced that, within the economic organs of the United Nations, measures should be prepared to protect the economic interests of developing countries which would recognize that States, after receiving political independence, have the right to reparation from former colonial Powers for damage caused to their economy during their period of colonial dependence. The interests of developing countries would also be served by the creation of a system of international economic relations which would ensure the practical implementation of the principles determining international trade relations and trade policies promoting development adopted by UNCTAD in 1964.

60. Almost everybody is agreed that foreign, state and private capital obtained by developing countries must be used in the interests of the developing countries themselves, in accordance with their own plans and programmes of development and their internal legislation. This view was supported by the adoption of the proposal made at the last session of the Assembly by the Byelorussian SSR, which confirmed the rights of control of the developing countries over the activities of foreign investors. However, we still have to make clear in our decisions that treaties, agreements or individual obligations imposed on developing countries before or after the granting of independence, by means of military, political or economic pressure, can be revised or abrogated by developing countries if such treaties or agreements are incompatible with the sovereignty of those States.

61. We are firmly convinced that these measures, if carried out, would certainly have a favourable effect on the economic situation in the developing countries and would create conditions for their participation as equals in international economic relations and in trade.

62. The United Nations occupies a worthy place in present-day international relations. The peoples of the world see it as an important instrument in the fight against aggression and for the maintenance of lasting peace. It is in duty bound to justify those hopes and to utilize every existing possibility to maintain and consolidate peace, to ensure general security and to develop all-round co-operation among the nations in the interests of prosperity and progress.

63. Mr. MANICKAVASAGAM (Malaysia): Mr. President, the world Assembly of nations is gathered again

for the twenty-second time to debate the various international issues at hand and to work out solutions to the problems confronting us. The problems on our slate for this regular session are no less in number and seriousness than in the past, though the emphasis may differ in degree according to the circumstances. With this taken into account, the one elected to preside over this important gathering receives tacit recognition from all of us and from the countries we represent. May I, on behalf of my delegation, extend our congratulations to you, Mr. President, for having been elected to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its twenty-second session, and express our confidence that with your wisdom, perseverance, and forbearance you will be able to conduct the deliberations in our present proceedings to a happy and smooth conclusion.

64. May I also, on behalf of my delegation, take this opportunity to express our appreciation for the patient and efficient manner in which the outgoing President, Ambassador Pazhwak, has steered the course of the twenty-first regular session of the General Assembly to its conclusion. It has not gone unnoticed by my delegation that under his tenure of office as President of the General Assembly, the United Nations has held the fifth special session and the fifth emergency special session, throughout all of which his patience has proved equal to the complications of the issues before us. To him go our congratulations for a job well done.

65. The Organization, as I indicated earlier, is beset with a variety of international problems and the items as outlined in the agenda for this session may be an apt barometer indicating the magnitude of the problems the United Nations is expected to resolve, and the priority we shall place on them.

66. As my delegation sees it, the question of war and peace seems to merit the highest priority for obvious reasons, lest further injustice against one section of the human community be silently tolerated or continued sufferings by men, women and children be condoned, often through no fault of their own. I am referring in particular to the problem of the Middle East which has yet to be resolved by this world Organization promptly and with justice.

Mr. El Bourl (Libya), Vice-President, took the Chair.

67. With the passing of time the question as to who directed the first shot has now become an academic one. But the consequence of that first shot, or to put it in its true perspective, the pre-emptive attack by Israel, has caused much grave concern in the Arab countries, while the very political map of the Middle East is undergoing a drastic change.

68. This aggressive change of a political status quo imposed upon another party by military might should not be condoned, especially by a world Organization such as this. Such an act may create a precedent or generate a chain reaction which would jeopardize the very foundation of the security of small nations, as well as the peace and stability of any given region.

69. On the humanitarian plane, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, the Red Cross and other

benevolent bodies have done whatever they could to alleviate the hardships that the Arab refugees are undergoing resulting from the war, which is the third within the last twenty years. The plight of the refugees deserves our urgent attention and financial assistance. My delegation would hope that a fair and early solution could be envisaged during our present session; but the military solution as imposed by Israel on the Arab countries in June of this year is certainly not the one that will ensure a lasting peace and continued stability in the area.

70. On the question of Viet-Nam the Malaysian delegation associates itself with the unanimous hope which has already been expressed in this Assembly that all peaceful avenues should be urgently and energetically pursued in order to bring this tragic conflict to an end. It must be our genuine endeavour as a matter of the highest priority to bring the parties involved to the conference table so that the people of Viet-Nam can resolve their differences through peaceful negotiations on the basis of the principle that all States have the right to an independent existence, without interference from any other States in their territorial integrity or political independence.

71. Like most if not all of the Member States whose representatives are present here today, Malaysia has always upheld the principles as adopted by the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. My delegation will speak regarding small territories at the appropriate Committees during the present session when the time comes. But I wish to emphasize the need for urgent action on the part of the United Nations and for more co-operation, particularly from the big Powers, to help bring about true independence to Territories such as Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea and South West Africa. My delegation, along with others in this Organization, holds to the principle of "one man, one vote" for Southern Rhodesia, and holds that the illegal régime of Ian Smith should be brought to an end immediately. My delegation also shares the aspiration of all Africans who desire the freedom and independence of the colonies of Angola, Mozambique, and so-called Portuguese Guinea, and repudiates the Portuguese contention that those Territories are overseas provinces of Portugal.

72. With particular reference to South West Africa, the Mandate of the Territory came to an end with the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI). But the South African Government, as Members are all aware, has made it public that it would not take cognizance of this United Nations decision. The Council on South West Africa has been formed by this Assembly in resolution 2248 of 14 June 1967, but we have yet to implement that decision. This is one field in which the big Powers could play a positive and constructive role to ensure the implementation of the General Assembly resolution, which was adopted by an overwhelming majority. Unfortunately, although we all appear to uphold the principle of decolonization, yet our approach to the implementation of such a course of action has proved to be at variance, as evidenced in our compromised resolution 2145 (XXI), in resolution 2248 (S-V) and in the discussion at the 1518th plenary meeting.

73. The policy of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, which indeed is a sorry landmark in the socio-political history of our time, is without doubt spreading its evil effects to South West Africa. The struggle for freedom and independence in South West Africa becomes more urgent when seen in the light of our desperate need to eliminate this abhorrent practice of colour discrimination. If this policy of apartheid is allowed to go unchecked, the fear that it may find fertile ground in Southern Rhodesia could be very real.

74. On the question of apartheid the co-operation of the major trading partners of South Africa is essential to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions. We reiterate again our concern at the growing disappointment of coloured peoples and countries of the world that the strong and industrialized countries of the West, that happen to be white and have in them the power to bring about constructive changes in southern Africa, do not appear to be seriously interested in seeing the course of justice triumph there. This, if unchecked, would have a most serious and terrible repercussion in relations among nations in time to come.

75. For all its shortcomings, the United Nations remains the principal world Organization on which Member States are placing their hopes for the maintenance of peace and security in the world. Of immediate concern to this aspect of the United Nations work are the peace-keeping operations. The founder Members of this august body might have regarded this particular activity as of the utmost importance for its existence.

76. But while virtually all of us agree on the need for the United Nations to play a positive role in its peace-keeping operations, the divergence of opinions on various aspects of the peace-keeping operations, such as their authorization, implementation and especially financing has never been so great on any other item of our agenda. The deadlock on this issue in the last regular session of the General Assembly is still clear in our mind and the repetition of our inability to work out an acceptable resolution in the fifth special session in May this year reiterated the total lack of sufficient common ground among Member States on this crucial issue. The need on the other hand for the continuance of United Nations peace-keeping operations has proved to be, if anything, even greater and more urgent with the outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East on 4 June.

77. The presence of the United Nations Emergency Force, which has been opposed by some countries, has shown itself to be a deterrent force and fully effective in the maintenance of peace and stability in turbulent areas. With more positive thinking and less fear and suspicion on the part of Member States directly interested or remotely concerned, the United Nations Emergency Force may yet in the future play its proper and more effective peace-keeping role, which we at present merely hope but find difficult wholeheartedly to support. Basing ourselves on the analogy that prevention is better than cure, it might not be too late to have United Nations peace-keeping operations in troubled areas so as to preserve peace and security and to discourage adventurism or acts of wanton aggression by Powers that have the might against those that do not. The presence of such an

international peace-keeping machinery would be reassuring to those countries directly threatened or distantly affected but equally interested in the preservation of peace and security everywhere.

78. One ray of hope in the murky horizon of world problems is the draft treaty on non-proliferation tabled by the Soviet Union and the United States of America.^{4/} We have all waited a long time for this. Imperfect though the present draft is, we welcome this important event. We therefore earnestly hope that agreement will be reached, especially on the vital safeguard clause, and reached soon. If the present momentum is lost so, I fear, will be our opportunity to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. We must, in the words of Shakespeare, take the tide when it is at the flood, or lose in our ventures.

79. At the same time my delegation is aware of and sympathetic to the difficulties that some Member States have in relation to the present draft treaty. May I, however, be permitted to make two observations very briefly. First, until we are convinced that there is a difference in technology between the development of nuclear weapons and peaceful explosives, my delegation must favour a treaty against the proliferation of all nuclear explosives. Second, it is our impression that there is a general acceptance as regards inspection that there should be a global system under an international agency.

80. The very important question of security has been left out of the draft. We agree that it is a complex problem and may have to be the subject of a separate treaty. It is an issue that merits serious discussion by all concerned, especially those countries that are being asked to sign away their rights to develop nuclear explosives. It was mainly for this reason that my delegation at the twenty-first session supported the resolution [2153 B (XXI)] calling for a conference of non-nuclear weapon States. Events since then, including the draft treaty on non-proliferation, have not changed our attitude on the desirability of convening such a conference, and we hope that nuclear-weapon States will co-operate to make a success of it.

81. In the field of trade and development my delegation is deeply concerned at the slow progress achieved by developing countries, although we are already near the end of the United Nations Development Decade. For too long the pattern of international trade has been determined by the interests of the industrialized nations and we have yet to see any sign of a political will to change this. Much has been said and will continue to be said about the gap between the industrialized countries and the poor developing nations. We do not wish to appear pessimistic, but we cannot help but feel that with the present rate of progress the gap is never going to be bridged.

82. It will not be for want of trying that developing countries like my own continue to suffer setbacks and difficulties in their economic development plans. I can say without being immodest that my country has tried, and tried very hard, to achieve a strong and viable economy so that the standard of living of the people may be raised. This has been the policy of my Government ever since the country achieved inde-

^{4/} Documents ENDC/193 and ENDC/192.

pendence ten years ago, and we have been quite successful in our efforts. We have always believed in self-help as much as possible and we have asked for nothing more than fair prices for our exports.

83. One of the basic problems confronting the economy of the developing countries, which are largely producers of primary commodities, is the uneconomic price offered for their products by the industrialized countries. These developing countries receive less for what they largely export, which is in the form of primary commodities, while having to pay more for what they mainly import, which is manufactured goods.

84. With your permission, Sir, I shall take the case of my country in point. Between the years 1960 and 1966, in a period of six years, the unit value of Malaysia's natural rubber export, our important export commodity, dropped by about 38 per cent from an average price of US35 cents per pound to an average of US21 cents per pound. Since then the price has declined further and recently reached the low level of US15 cents per pound, the lowest in eighteen years. Although the volume of rubber export expected for 1967 is estimated to be about 26 per cent more than in 1960, it is sad to note that the estimated export earnings for this year will probably amount to only about two-thirds of the earnings received in 1960. Since the year 1960, Malaysia is suffering from loss of foreign exchange, as a result of the fall in the price of natural rubber, to the tune of \$US1,807 million, which represents more than 57 per cent of our estimated gross natural product for 1967.

85. To illustrate my point further I might add that a drop of one Malaysian cent in the price of natural rubber over the period of one year results in the annual loss of about Malaysian \$22 million, equivalent to more than \$US7 million, in export earnings. That is not to mention the untold sufferings endured by the small producers, who are gravely affected by the fall in price of this commodity and whose living standard we wish to raise. The rate of unemployment in the industry has increased and has brought about the attendant socio-economic problems.

86. As a result of the recent abnormal decline of rubber prices, the lowest since 1950, the Government of Malaysia, as one of the major producing countries, views this situation with the gravest concern and, as one of the steps to explore all avenues for stabilizing the price, has invited the producing countries to a meeting at the Malaysian capital, Kuala Lumpur, in order to discuss, examine and agree on joint action to meet this immediate problem and to tackle the long-term problems of the rubber industry. The Conference ended yesterday; the problems, both short-term and long-term, have been clearly identified, and methods of overcoming them have been agreed upon. But the question remains

whether the industrialized countries will give reasonable co-operation to the efforts of the producing countries to obtain fair prices and stability for natural rubber? I want to say, in all seriousness, that what we need in Malaysia today are sympathetic and real friends—not synthetic ones.

87. For us in South-East Asia the most hopeful and constructive development in the past year has been the formation of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The leaders of the delegations of what may be described as the ASEAN countries have already made reference to this and the historic meeting in Bangkok in August this year, when members of ASEAN, Indonesia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Malaysia, reaffirmed their desire—and I quote from their declaration—"to establish a firm foundation for common action to promote regional co-operation in South-East Asia in the spirit of equality and partnership and thereby contribute towards peace, progress and prosperity in the region".

88. I wish to state that ASEAN is not a military or a political alliance or a power bloc, nor is it directed against any State or any ideology. Rather it is an association created by South-East Asian countries for South-East Asian countries which are pro-development, pro-regional co-operation, and pro-regional understanding. The association was conceived out of the common desire of the member countries to strengthen good-will and friendship among themselves and to co-operate, particularly in the economic, social and cultural fields, in order—and I quote again from the ASEAN Declaration—"to secure for their peoples and for posterity the blessing of peace, freedom and prosperity".

89. May I conclude by reiterating a fundamental tenet of Malaysian foreign policy. We in Malaysia have always based our external relations on the letter and spirit prescribed by the Charter. We desire above all to be friendly with all nations, regardless of their ideologies and systems of government. We are convinced of the right of each country to choose the system of government and way of life best suited to it. We believe that each country has a right to be free from any form of interference from outside and to respect each other's sovereignty. We believe that nations of the world, of whatever ideological systems can live together in active co-operation for the common pursuit of peace and the economic progress of their peoples.

90. It is in this spirit that Malaysia has conducted her external relations, and it is in this spirit that she will continue to conduct them to promote friendship, understanding and co-operation among all nations for the mutual benefit of all.

The meeting rose at 4.50 p.m.