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*President:* Mr. Emilio ARENALES (Guatemala).

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. CHALMERS (Haiti) (*translated from French*):  
Mr. President, allow me to extend to you, both on behalf of the Government of Haiti and on behalf of the delegation I have the honour of heading, our warmest congratulations on your unanimous election to the Presidency of the United Nations General Assembly that has met here for its twenty-third session.

2. It can be said that your unanimous election is a tribute to your outstanding qualities as a veteran diplomat and to your constant zeal as a public servant and an unflagging defender of the ideals and noble aims of our Organization. It not only honours your noble country Guatemala, in which the Mayan civilization, one of the oldest and most original in the world, is still flourishing, but also reassures all small countries, which are encouraged at this moment by the triumph of the *vir bonus*, the worthy man whose peers have for once set aside all thoughts of power and have chosen him to lead the work of our Assembly towards its proper goal. At the outset of that work, Mr. President, I beg you to accept our sincere wishes for success and for the fruitfulness of your stewardship.

3. It would be highly remiss of me to neglect to pay tribute to the outgoing President of the General Assembly, His Excellency Mr. Corneliu Manescu, who with truly remarkable tact has succeeded in reconciling differences, in bringing together opposing views and, without ruffling special interests and sensitive feelings, in serving with a rare elegance the cause of our Organization.

4. I take equal pleasure in welcoming, on behalf of the negro people of Haiti, the arrival in the great United Nations family of a small nation of the African continent, the Kingdom of Swaziland. A fertile country with promising natural resources, famous for its rich plains and for its shady and picturesque valleys, a country, unfortunately adjoining formidable South Africa and dangerous Portuguese Mozambique, we trust that it can escape the as yet

unexpressed cupidity of its powerful neighbours and, by a swift advance towards civilization, set an inspiring example to our brothers who, a stone's throw from its borders, suffer the horrors of the iniquitous policy of *apartheid* and groan under the harsh yoke of colonialism.

5. In his historic message of 22 September 1968, addressed to the Haitian people on the anniversary of his election to the highest State office, Dr. François Duvalier, President for Life of the Republic of Haiti, that surpassing statesman, eminent ethnologist and internationally-famous sociologist, stigmatized in perhaps harsh but certainly objective terms the selfish behaviour of the affluent nations in face of the need for international co-operation, which alone can assist under-developed peoples by freeing them from the scourges of poverty, disease and ignorance, to rise from their degradation as civilization's outcasts to a general well-being, a better prospect of life and culture.

6. Such international co-operation, based on the equality of States in law, reciprocal respect for their major interests, non-intervention by one State or group of States, on whatever pretext, in the affairs of another State in accordance with paragraph 7 of Article 2 of the United Nations Charter, together with the need for all forms of assistance to developing countries—that is the condition *sine qua non* for economic and social progress, for peace, and for the maintenance of cordial and friendly relations among peoples.

7. Allow me to quote here the noble words that the Haitian Chief of State addressed to the world conscience through his people. After stressing the deep reality of the Haitian civilization and of all small civilizations, he declared:

“If those whom we call upon to trade with us, to collaborate and to co-operate with us, do not heed that call, then even though they pose as benefactors they will have been nothing but the murderers of our soul, nothing but unpardonable criminals. They will have lacked, to co-ordinate their desire to lend aid and their assistance, that great generosity of heart and mind that imperatively commands mankind's respect. . . . Thus we unhesitatingly adhere to the truth of this statement, and make it our own: ‘The selfishness of the wealthy nations is more deadly than warfare.’”

8. We became aware of the deep tragic cause of inequality when we began to pay heed to the world, to listen to the appeals and also to the answers. Will man be the slave of the things his own genius has created? Will he never rid himself of selfishness and direct human life towards a greater generosity to all those who need it and to those who await useful and desirable help? But “the selfishness of the wealthy nations is more deadly than warfare”.

9. Later, the Haitian Chief of State declared:

“I did not wait for . . . the splendid recommendations made by the greatest shepherd of this last quarter of the twentieth century, John XXIII, in *Gaudium et spes, Mater et magistra, Pacem in terris*; I have not waited to respond to the demands of justice and humanity to share out all the earth's resources for the benefit of mankind; I did not delay to satisfy the demands of that human solidarity and Christian brotherhood that ought to govern relations among political groups, in order that economically-developed States which are in duty bound to assist developing countries shall not seek therein only their political advantage in a desire to dominate. Technical and financial assistance must be provided with the sincerest political altruism, and must be aimed at enabling developing groups to achieve their economic and social advancement through their own efforts.”

10. Thus obstinate disregard of the existing needs for international collaboration; complete lack of understanding; sovereign contempt for small civilizations and, if need be, their extinction; frantic pursuit of power politics; division of the world, whether overt or tacit—let us not quibble over that—into zones of influence that are veritable private preserves; specious justification for the most blatant infractions of the rights of the weak—all those appear to be the main themes of international policy, a simple expression of the needs and interests of the great Powers, and unfortunately sometimes even of satisfaction of the burning desire for prestige.

11. Those dominant themes suffice to clarify the great factors of today: the waging of an undeclared war in Viet-Nam; the military occupation of Czechoslovakia that may bring the member countries of NATO and of the Warsaw Pact into confrontation; the fratricidal war of extermination between the Biafrans and the Federal Government of Nigeria; the chronic crisis in the Middle East; the refusal to sign or to ratify the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons; not to mention the frightful spectre of Maoist China, whose gigantic shadow is cast threateningly over its closest neighbours; and, to descend to a more mundane level but one that is none the less vital for the population of the third world, the 40 per cent reduction in assistance aid to under-developed countries made by the American Congress: doubtless due to national needs, including the construction of an anti-missile system.

12. Is it not because of our failure to suppress barely-concealed desires that, twenty-three years after the signing of the San Francisco Treaty, in which the peoples of the globe embodied the aims, standards and guiding principles of a new world in the United Nations Charter, outlawed the use of force, and enshrined the right of the weak nations to exist and advance along the paths of civilization—is it not because of that failure twenty-three years ago that now, more acutely than ever, we are facing the problem of indivisible peace, of that world peace so difficult to safeguard, whether it be in Africa, in South-East Asia, in Europe or in the Middle East?

13. Does it not outrage the most basic principles of international morality, and is it not to ensure the primacy of the imperialist Powers, that an unpardonable war is being

waged in Viet-Nam in which both sides are using the apocalyptic methods of destruction invented by modern science, a war that continues without truce or respite, piling up irreparable destruction and devastation and destroying more and more human life, without heed to the appeals for peace made by the greatest international and spiritual leaders, while around the negotiating table at Paris the same arguments are tirelessly repeated, the two adversaries being highly encouraged by the fact that the talks have not been broken off?

14. Should we pass a specific United Nations General Assembly resolution calling for a halt in the aerial bombardment of North Viet-Nam, as has been suggested by U Thant, and require in exchange—we trust in a spirit of impartiality—an end to the infiltration of North Viet-Nameese forces south of the demilitarized zone? Such an initiative, inspired by a keen sense of responsibility and by a truly praiseworthy impulse of generosity, would deserve encouragement even if it were no more than a pious hope fated to join in the archival dust the many resolutions that for over fifteen years have been adopted in condemnation of the still flourishing policy of *apartheid*. Although no doubt such a resolution would be a means of moral pressure, would it not emphasize once more the impotence of our Organization in face of the firm stand of the great and medium Powers?

15. As for the worse than tragic situation of Biafra, which is reported to be shaping into real genocide, I must confess that it touches a chord of deep sympathy among us Haitians.

16. We cannot refrain from expressing our sympathy for the Biafrans who die by thousands every day for the sake of their people and for the preservation of their culture, and whose ancestors, the fierce Ibos, played an important part in our glorious epic of 1804.

17. Without wishing to interfere, even verbally, in the domestic affairs of a sovereign people, and with a profound obeisance to the praiseworthy efforts of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie that have drawn the attention of international public opinion to the martyrdom of an innocent people, we feel from our own experience of the inadequacy of the regional organizations' resources that, if the confrontation threatens to continue any longer, the United Nations must, to fulfil its universal mission set forth in Articles 11, 12 and 35 of the Charter, take up this question that is so vital for the future of the African continent.

18. We take the additional liberty of expressing the hope that the Nigerian Government will be magnanimous in victory, that the Commission of Observers appointed to follow the army's progress will be able to report on its moderation, and that Biafra's contribution, made in complete freedom and with full security for its inhabitants, will be an enriching experience, both cultural and economic, for that Government.

19. Recent events in Czechoslovakia, to quote U Thant's very strong words, “have poisoned the atmosphere throughout the world”.

20. The inconceivable deployment of military forces by one of the super-Powers, accompanied by its four Warsaw Pact allies, against a loyal member of its own bloc that is guilty only of an attempt to liberalize its régime, has brought forth completely unfavourable reactions in every political sphere—apart from a few exceptions that need no explanation.

21. Would it not be appropriate to recall in this connexion the Haitian Chief of State's vigorous condemnation of the violation of the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of a small country? Dr. François Duvalier stated:

“The brutal occupation of Czechoslovakia by Soviet Russia and its allies arouses my profound indignation and that of the Haitian people, which is so proud of its independence and its sovereignty. That act of international banditry should serve as a lesson to the economically weak nations in the light of basic and immutable historical laws, and should help them to regain their senses. I believe that the same holds true for the very future of the United Nations, for the hopes for peace and for the economic and social advancement of the peoples of the world; since for several years the permanent members of the Security Council have themselves been the systematic violators of the fundamental principles of the San Francisco Charter—the legal equality of States, the self-determination of peoples, and non-intervention.”

22. However, it was all to no avail; the monolithic integrity of communist doctrine as conceived by Stalin had to be upheld; deviationism and the infiltration of a certain Western-style liberalism had to be repelled and the strategic outposts guarding the approaches to “Holy Russia” maintained.

23. The Soviet Union could cite many extenuating circumstances: the operation was nearly bloodless; the team of Czechoslovak leaders—the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister, the Party Chief—were not removed from office; talks were under way on complete or partial withdrawal from Czechoslovak territory.

24. The consequences of the Prague action were nevertheless disastrous: the stiffening of NATO, the resumption of the cold war, condemnation of the act by many European communist parties; and—a noteworthy fact—it was an additional proof of the deep antithesis between the political philosophy of the capitalist and socialist systems, which thinkers of goodwill had been hoping would grow towards each other and meet half way.

25. In the final analysis, unfortunate Czechoslovakia, left to its own resources, can only fight a delaying action. Sooner or later, and sooner rather than later, it will have to kneel and submit to the harsh law of the stronger.

26. These serious crises, that can at any moment lead to widespread conflicts ending in mankind's collective suicide, the many other problems that are still pending, such as the persistent and shameful policy of *apartheid*, the powderkegs of Korea and the Middle East, the aggressive policy of Red China, the fruitless fight of the peoples of South West Africa and the peoples under Portuguese domination for their right to life and freedom—do all these crises justify those pessimists who believe that the United Nations is just

like the former League of Nations, fit at best to be interred in “the purple shroud in which the dead gods sleep”?

27. A more realistic view of international life reveals to us that the United Nations, although it has many shortcomings, has acted and can again act when circumstances permit—in particular agreement, lassitude or uneasiness among the great nations as a salutary buffer against the unleashing of power politics, safeguarding that peace which is so necessary to meet the growing needs of the unfortunate people of the third world and to fulfil their legitimate desires for economic and social progress.

28. The Organization, with its specialized agencies and with the neutrality made presumptive by its near-universality, is still the ideal meeting place where the great Powers could, without losing face, sit down at the conference table and debate the conditions for re-establishing that armed coexistence which is, in spite of everything, better than local confrontations that may lead to widespread war with, on the horizon, the deadly threat of the atomic mushroom.

29. Our Organization played its part well a few years ago—with the necessary agreement of the great Powers, of course—during the unfortunate Suez affair: it deployed its blue-helmeted men between adversaries poised for war, and helped to preserve the *status quo*. Did it not accomplish that same mission with equal felicity in Korea, Cyprus and the Congo?

30. We other nations, we small Powers, are infinitely grateful to it for that, and we give full credit to its salutary moderating action. Why can that action not be exerted with equal success in the numerous “hot spots” on the globe—for example along the demilitarized zone between the two Viet-Nams, and along the line separating the Federal Republic of Germany from Czechoslovakia, where the troops of the NATO countries and of the Warsaw Pact countries confront each other, in order to forestall the major incident that seems to be forecast by the discussions on Articles 106 and 107 of the Charter and the unequivocal statements being issued by the Atlantic Powers?

31. That is the meaning I should willingly give to the repeated attempts made by U Thant, the tireless traveller in the cause of peace, whose statements, sometimes irritating to the States concerned, have nevertheless captured the attention of all peace-loving peoples.

32. That is how I should like to interpret his latest proposal aimed at bringing about during the present General Assembly session a meeting between the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the four great Powers—the United States of America, the Soviet Union, France and the United Kingdom—that would pave the way to a summit meeting of Heads of State to examine the sources of tension and reverse the deterioration in East-West relations that has arisen because of the events in Czechoslovakia and of the no less disquieting Viet-Nam war [see A/7201/Add.1, para. 169].

33. Whatever the fate of the Secretary-General's proposal, I ask his leave to congratulate him on it publicly, on behalf of all weak nations. Your voice, Mr. Secretary-

General, speaks for the conscience of the world; it puts into words the profound aspirations to that “international security” without which a mad humanity would founder in the hatred and chaos that herald irreparable world catastrophes. May Your Excellency continue to make proposals, to plead for moderation, and to appeal for a just and lasting peace without fear of playing Cassandra and of being for ever the solitary voice crying in the wilderness! “Sound forth,” said the poet. “Sound forth, clarions of thought!”

34. I should be remiss if I did not mention the incalculable services rendered by the United Nations to Member States through its specialized agencies—such as UNESCO, FAO, WHO and the Special Fund—through the services of trained and devoted experts supplied simply for the asking to under-developed countries, by its great understanding of the special situations created by natural disasters and especially by the feeling of universality that it helps to create in its seminars and in its study courses for the young, which are a means of recruiting tomorrow’s leaders. Those future leaders will be increasingly convinced that the civilization of mankind is the product of contributions from all civilizations, large and small, and that, in the words spoken by the lamented Senator Robert Kennedy in addressing the students of the University of Cape Town, in South Africa, that bastion of human injustice: “Only earthbound man still clings to the dark and poisonous superstition that his world is bounded by the nearest hill, his universe ended at the river shore, his common humanity enclosed in the tight circle of those who share his town and views and the color of his skin.”<sup>1</sup>

35. The negro Republic of Haiti, the world’s first independent and sovereign negro State, an offshoot of the African stock thrust into the heart of the Caribbean Sea, lost amidst that Anglo-Saxon and Hispanic America from which it has none the less never withheld its expressions of sympathy and deep solidarity, even at the risk of its national existence; that country, proud of its ethnic origins but firmly attached to its French culture, represented for a long time a real challenge to the slave-owning Powers of the period.

36. Think for a moment how our Republic, which emerged triumphant from its struggle for independence in 1804 after meeting and defeating the Spanish and English forces summoned to the rescue by the Great Whites, after driving into the sea the 25,000 soldiers of General Leclerc, Napoleon Bonapart’s own brother-in-law, recruited from the most seasoned batallions of the Italian campaign—think how our Republic was forced to develop over the next half century in the midst of the English, French and Spanish Antilles where slavery was rampant, and so near to the United States of America, where the great Abraham Lincoln did not free the Negroes until 1863, during the bloody Civil War.

37. The Republic of Haiti was the black sheep, the shunned plague carrier, the State whose first steps must not be assisted because its prosperity—or, I should say, its very relative progress—would have made it a dangerous cynosure for its racial brothers in America and everywhere else.

38. Thus it was that the yellow journalism of the great countries of the time acquired the habit—and generates terrible force—of depicting our manners and our customs, the smallest details of our national life, in a disgusting light, of ridiculing our folklore, of discrediting our most progressive Heads of State: Faustin Soulouque, Henri Christophe, Félicité Salomon Jeune, Dr. François Duvalier, to mention only a few. Thus they acquired the habit of stifling the most legitimate aspirations of a country which, like its sister American republics, had experienced growing pains but was struggling—and is still struggling—to vanquish amidst indifference, misunderstanding and widespread hostility the age-old evils that beset the third world: poverty, ignorance and disease.

39. And yet, despite all those difficulties, my country’s history is one of the most arresting in all the Americas. Its untiring devotion to the cause of freedom has never been questioned; its desire to attain the heights where brotherhood and solidarity prosper has always impelled it to come to the aid of oppressed peoples.

40. As irrefutable proof there stands Savannah, Georgia, in the United States of America, where more than 600 Haitians—among them Henri Christophe, the future king of Haiti—paid with their blood the price of Haitian brotherhood in achieving the emancipation of the thirteen British colonies of America. Further eloquent proof is the grateful testimony of Simon Bolivar, the Immortal Liberator, to the second Chief of State of the world’s first Black republic, who had made him welcome in Haiti and who, after his early set-back, had encouraged, armed and supplied him for his great venture of freeing from the Spanish yoke the people now called “Bolivians”. He wrote:

“In my proclamation to the inhabitants of Venezuela, and in the decrees I must issue, I do not know how I can fully express my feelings towards Your Excellency, nor how I can hand down to posterity a fitting monument to your philanthropy”.<sup>2</sup>

41. None the less, when the Congress of Panama, the first Pan-American congress, was held in 1826, Haiti was not invited. Was it through fear of irritating the European Powers? Was it—incredible though this may seem—through an oversight? No one really knows. The United States of America was allowed to send an observer to the Congress, but not my country. Such is the great lesson that history—I repeat, history—has taught my compatriots and my brothers in race.

42. Fortunately, however, both private and international attitudes have changed. Haiti’s independence was recognized first by France and then by the European Powers and by all the world. It has throughout a hundred and fifty years of history devoted itself to establishing friendly and cordial relations with all its sister Latin-American republics, and believes it has succeeded. Haiti has been a member of the Pan-American Union, and is justifiably proud of belonging to that Organization of American States whose new Secretary-General, Mr. Galo Plaza, an outstanding statesman and citizen of America, it has welcomed with the honours due to a Head of State. Furthermore, we are

<sup>1</sup> *Congressional Record, Proceedings and Debates of the 89th Congress, Second Session*, vol. 112, part 9, p. 12430.

<sup>2</sup> S. Bolivar, *Obras Completas* (Havana, Editorial Lex, 1947), vol. I, p. 189.

experiencing a great cultural ferment, an interaction of civilizations without distinction of race or language; and, like our brothers in the United States of America and other countries in the hemisphere, we feel we have the right to proclaim that "We too are America".

43. I am therefore perfectly happy to state the following facts:

(1) My country is one of the poorest in the Western hemisphere, with a high population density and one of the lowest incomes per head in the world.

(2) Of all the American countries—aside from a loan for eradicating malaria, one for supplying drinking-water, one from HACHO,<sup>3</sup> a fourth for the construction of a small veterinary school, and lastly a loan of approximately 800,000 dollars to meet the expenses of a technical mission of thirty-one experts from the Organization of American States—the total being relatively modest—Haiti remains the country which in loans or gifts has received the least amount of assistance from the Alliance for Progress.

(3) Haiti's economy still feels, and will continue to feel for a long time, the devastating results of the three hurricanes Flora, Cleo and Inez, that struck it within less than two years, destroying livestock and crops and wrecking the hopes of our worthy farmers. Haiti stands in real need of assistance.

(4) Eight armed invasions of its territory, true acts of indirect aggression fomented abroad by false propaganda, have made Haiti spend special funds on national defence. Furthermore, those invasions have always occurred during the coffee harvest or the tourist season, both of which they have hindered but which they will never wipe out.

44. The President for Life of the Republic has never denied the value of open and effective collaboration by the great international bodies at all levels in achieving the goals and meeting the priorities set forth in his plan of action for 1968-1969. On 16 July 1968 he wrote to Mr. Galo Plaza:

"The transformation of the environment, the improvement of the infrastructure, the raising of the standard of living and economic growth, which is a self-evident increment, are all phenomena that can be brought about through the two concurrent forces of national effort and foreign aid."

45. The present Secretary-General of the Organization of American States—whom the American nations remember for his forceful intervention when the United States Congress proposed making a heavy cut in the amount of aid to be allocated to the under-developed countries—replied:

"It is a striking coincidence that at the present time a technical assistance mission of the Organization of American States is being set up for Haiti, some of whose members are already at Port-au-Prince. That will give us an opportunity to work more closely together towards the social and economic betterment of Haiti."

46. Should our hopes, notwithstanding those promising beginnings, turn out futile because—as always—of political

interference or any other unforeseen circumstance—well, President Duvalier has already summoned his people to the great adventure of collective effort and has said:

"Because I know that in 1968 the principle of total sovereignty is not honoured as it should be, the illusion harboured by the pseudo-developed nations that only imitation can serve a developing nation is still present and active among us. Copy, copy everything: political, administrative and legal structures, methods of action; copy until you go mad. No, no! How true it is that 'the selfishness of the wealthy nations is more deadly than warfare'! We will struggle through. That must be an article of faith for every Haitian child, for every Haitian woman, for every Haitian man: we will struggle through. We will struggle through to the end in an atmosphere poisoned by selfishness, by prejudice, by the most indescribable and futile hatred, cruelty and violence. No! We do not need to copy anyone. No. Our doctrine, faith and action are in our nationalism."

47. As for the professional detractors of the Haitian Government—political exiles desiring, solely in order to satisfy their own sordid interests, to impugn the achievements of a revolution fought for the great working masses, virtual "Kings in exile" allied to faithless and lawless mercenaries and to confirmed racists like the unspeakable Graham Greene, who refuses to recognize the least virtue or merit in black or coloured peoples—we would gladly leave them to their poisonous evil-doing, to the ignoble battle they wage against a small people armed only with its boundless trust in its leader and in the justice of its cause, were we not compelled to denounce once and for all the lies and crimes that disgrace them for ever in the eyes of posterity.

48. Does an emergency arise in the north-west of our country, due to the drought from which all the Latin-American countries have been suffering and already brought under control by the Haitian Government with the help of international bodies? A press agency paid with traitor's gold quickly publishes to the four corners of the earth the news that a famine worse than that in Biafra is ravaging Haiti, and that parents are being forced to sell their children for forty cents a piece. But who buys them?

49. Did the President for Life of the Republic commute the death sentences passed against the conspirators captured with their weapons on them during the piratical invasion of Haiti last May 20, having been cravenly abandoned to their fate? The foreign opposition immediately warned against a sham gesture of clemency by the Haitian Chief of State.

50. John David Knox, a British citizen convicted of conspiracy against Haitian State security who had calculated that his hotel was within machine-gun range of the residence of the Chief of State and his family—was he pardoned and delivered to his ambassador after being sentenced to death? According to the enemies of Haiti, that was proof of a wicked ruse devised by the country's leaders; or maybe—who knows?—it was a violation of human rights. I could go on; but I will not.

51. As for them, however: they have the right to drop bombs on innocent peoples and make uncountable victims.

<sup>3</sup> HACHO – Haitian American Community Help Organization.

They have the right to pillage crops. They have the right to slaughter poor and peaceful peasants. They have the right to execute defenceless prisoners. They have the right to gun down officials of the Haitian Government. They have the right to incite the people to revolution. They have the right to cover the Chief of State with calumny, and to assassinate a Haitian consul on foreign soil after leading him into a cowardly trap.

52. However, I think I have said enough on that depressing subject. The wisest course is to leave those gentlemen to their guilty consciences. May they rest in peace!

53. As I have done each year as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Haiti, on behalf of His Excellency Dr. François Duvalier, Life President of Haiti—its eighth, according to our country's firmly-established tradition—I am proud and happy to affirm the Haitian Government's most complete adherence to the principles and noble purposes of the United Nations.

54. Haitian democracy, applied and practised on behalf of the people, for the people and by the people, who with weapons at the ready stand guard round their Chief of State and the achievements of his revolution, believes in the timeless values enshrined in the Charter signed at San Francisco. It believes in respect for the dignity of the human personality, and in the right of individuals and peoples to freedom. Though firmly attached to the concept of national sovereignty and independence both political and economic, it does not deny the fact of interdependence among States. Along with all countries that desire to maintain peace, the indispensable condition for economic and social progress, it hopes that the great Powers will become fully aware of their historical responsibilities towards the civilized world, that they will practise international co-operation in a spirit of tolerance and good-neighbourliness, and that they will eschew the use of force and all means of pressure.

55. It also hopes that, in addition, our Organization may become an effective instrument for safeguarding peace and international security, even at the cost of amending its Charter, which is somewhat outdated by the demands of the atomic era, so that mankind's adventurous climb towards the light may fully succeed.

56. Mr. GROMYKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Allow me, Mr. President, on behalf of the Soviet delegation, to congratulate you on your election to the post of President of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly, and to wish you every success in your endeavours in this important position.

57. This twenty-third session of the General Assembly is beginning its labours in a complex situation in which the policies of States are coming into increasingly sharp contrast. We say this in order to stress the importance of the tasks facing the United Nations and the responsibility of every Government for creating at this session an atmosphere conducive to productive discussion of the items on the agenda.

58. Whichever region of the world or major event we consider, we see everywhere a conflict in which the forces

of peace, national liberation and progress oppose the forces of reaction and war. This conflict is being carried on ceaselessly and with varying degrees of intensity and passion on the battlefields of Viet-Nam and in the Sinai desert in efforts to eliminate the remains of colonialism, at the negotiating table in Geneva, and here at the Headquarters of the United Nations.

59. The reason why the most vital problems of the peoples of the world remain unsolved must be sought in the policy pursued by those circles of the Western Powers which place their allegiance to military blocs and to the armaments race above the interests of the peoples. Indeed, they associate the future of the social system of whose interests they themselves are the spokesmen with this very course in international affairs.

60. Those who really cherish the interests of peace and who can clearly distinguish between the conflict of ideas and ideologies *per se* and efforts to decide the outcome of that conflict by resort to arms can hardly fail to appreciate the foreign policy pursued by the Soviet Union and the States of the socialist commonwealth.

61. In our time, when unprecedentedly destructive types of weapons have been developed, only the ignorant or the foolhardy can fail to realize what a military clash between the two social systems would mean.

62. From the very first days of the Soviet State we have sought in the international field for points of contact with countries whose social systems and ideologies were different from our own. Even today the Soviet Union is a staunch advocate of the need to find possibilities of co-operation or even joint action with the governments of the bourgeois countries for the common purpose of preventing a new world war.

63. In the effort to prevent war and immobilize the forces of aggression, our natural ally is the large group of States which do not belong to the socialist commonwealth but have broken the fetters of colonialism, have started on the road to independent development and cherish the interests of strengthening peace. These are the developing countries, where approximately 1,500 million people live. We know very well that they, too, regard our country as their friend and ally in the common cause, the struggle for peace and the freedom of peoples.

64. The Soviet Union, together with the other socialist countries, is consistently and firmly pursuing a policy of peace and friendship among nations and upholding the principles of peaceful coexistence among States regardless of their social system. Does this mean that so-called military adventures, encroachments on the freedom of nations, and instigation of international crises could remain without rebuff from our side? No, it does not. Dedication to peace and opposition to aggression in any form, direct or indirect, are organically blended in Soviet policies.

65. Every session of the General Assembly of the United Nations is faced with major problems. In solving some of them it is possible to make some progress; others remain unsolved for years; and still others seem to have been raised simply to complicate the work of the United Nations and to poison the international atmosphere.

66. There are various reasons for this. However, as experience shows, the productiveness of the work of the United Nations largely depends on the degree of realism with which States assess each other's interests, including the interests of the socialist commonwealth. Attempts to use the United Nations against the vital interests of the socialist countries, against their security interests—and such attempts are sometimes made—are doomed to failure.

67. The socialist commonwealth was formed after the Second World War and was an historic achievement of all progressive humanity. The States that make up this commonwealth have common destinies, and solve common problems in building a society that excludes the exploitation of man by man and opens up limitless vistas for the use of all human abilities and achievements in science, technology, and culture for the welfare and not for the extermination of peoples. These profoundly humane ideals inspire the socialist countries in their joint efforts in the international arena.

68. The socialist countries have their own vital interests, their own obligations, including the obligation to protect their mutual security, and their own socialist principles of mutual relations based on brotherly assistance, solidarity and internationalism. This commonwealth is an indissoluble whole, cemented together by indissoluble ties such as history has never known before.

69. The interests of socialism and the foreign policy of the socialist countries have global significance, and this is now recognized by very many people, including those who do not belong to our socialist world. Socialism is indeed the most reliable bastion against any attempt at aggression, the breeding ground of which is that social system which has given rise to two world wars. Socialism stood at the cradle of the national freedom and independence of many countries represented in this Organization.

70. To damage the positions taken by socialism throughout the world is tantamount to increasing the danger of the outbreak of a new world war.

71. Those who represent the other world and its ideology should not rejoice that things do not always go smoothly in the difficult task of shaping new social relations, including international relations. Sometimes phenomena occur that are interpreted by our enemies as weakening the forward movement of socialism.

72. They judge us by themselves and rejoice prematurely. We are profoundly convinced that the common aims and common principles on which the socialist states are based, and which have their origin in the most vital needs of human society and the laws of its development, will ensure that difficulties are overcome and that the peoples of these brotherly countries will close ranks more tightly in their progressive march ahead.

73. Attempts have been made here to reproach us in connexion with the events concerning Czechoslovakia. The actions of the allied socialist States are called "unexpected" and "incomprehensible". But how can they be unexpected? You know only too well that there can be nothing unexpected in the action which the socialist countries take

to defend themselves against the intrigues of imperialism. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have often warned those who are tempted to try to embarrass the socialist commonwealth that we will neither tolerate nor allow even one of its links to be torn off.

74. Sober-minded political leaders in the West know that very well. We are inclined to believe also that those who are not averse now to making a hullabaloo about this question know it too. They know it, but obviously for some reason this hullabaloo serves their purposes. It is not for us to judge what they find advantageous to them in this situation. We should like only to point out that this does not serve the true interests of their own governments, still less their own long-term interests.

75. Just whom do these noisy drum-beaters, who have suddenly metamorphosed into champions of "attractive" and "effective" socialism, expect to impress? To believe them, one would have to think that everything in the world had turned topsyturvy; that some marvel had occurred. But of course nothing of the sort has happened.

76. When representatives of the imperialist camp resort to quoting what V. I. Lenin said on the nation question, then everyone can clearly see what a consummately surprising picture they are drawing here. Apparently it is difficult for them to comprehend that the national question has really and truly been solved by socialism. I say it is difficult for them because they express the views of a social system which for centuries has oppressed and enslaved the colonial countries, of whose territory in all truth hardly a square metre is not strewn with the bones of those who have perished under the colonialist heel.

77. Just imagine: the opponents of socialism worry about its effectiveness and attractiveness; colonialists are concerned about the rights and equality of nations! What is dear to their hearts in reality, however, is not the success of socialism and communism but the schemes of anti-communism.

78. The Soviet Union deems it necessary to proclaim from this rostrum that socialist States cannot and will not permit the vital interests of socialism to be infringed or encroachments to be made upon the inviolability of the frontiers of the socialist commonwealth and hence upon international peace.

79. Let no one search for contradictions between our determination to defend the interests of socialism and the security interests of the socialist commonwealth and our determination to defend the cause of peace and international security; for no such contradiction exists.

80. We hold out the hand of friendship to the States of Europe which know from their own experience that war creeps up imperceptibly and that today, as before, the Soviet Union has stood and will stand as a mighty bastion against aggression and revanchism.

81. We stand for friendship with the States of Asia and for the further strengthening of Asia.

82. We hold out the hand of friendship to the African countries whose peoples have just recently thrown off the shackles of colonial oppression.

83. We hold out the hand of friendship to the States and peoples of Latin America, from whom there is nothing to divide us and for whose aspirations for freedom and progress we have full sympathy.

84. We favour friendship with the people of North America, including the people of the United States, who, like us, will always keep fresh in their memory the traditions of our joint struggle as part of the anti-Hitler coalition and who also shoulder a tremendous burden of responsibility for the maintenance of peace throughout the world.

85. One of the most important problems facing the world is ending the armaments race, disarmament.

86. The achievements of human genius in the peaceful fields of science, technology, industry, agriculture and culture are put on display at world and international exhibitions and pass into people's everyday life.

87. Suppose that samples of the increasingly destructive types of weapons invented and manufactured in the major countries, say over the last few years alone, were assembled and put on display for the inspection of the general public. Seeing with their own eyes what they had wrought with their own hands, people would probably recoil in horror as from the edge of an abyss. But weapons are really "put on display" not at exhibitions and parades but in war, unless people know how to prevent it.

88. The world long ago reached the point where the continuance of the arms race became madness.

89. Every additional heavy block added to the armaments pyramid increases its unsteadiness and the threat to bring down on the heads of the peoples the bombs, rockets and all the means of mass destruction that have already been stockpiled.

90. Every new block added to this pyramid increases the economic and social burden weighing most heavily on the shoulders of the working masses who create the wealth.

91. Of course the arms race cannot be ended at one stroke. To end it would require a drastic change in the policy of the Governments whipping the spiralling armaments race up higher and higher but which so far have not dared to set off with us on the road to the general and complete disarmament on which the Soviet Union has always insisted and continues to insist.

92. We are convinced that barriers must be erected to slow and stop the onrushing torrent of armaments, and that a start must then be made towards arms reduction and the elimination of all means of waging war. Some important measures to restrain the nuclear arms race which have been agreed upon in recent years—such as the cessation of tests, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the prohibition of nuclear competition in space—prove that this is possible.

93. We flatly reject the fatalism of those who, having lost faith in positive results from negotiations, are prepared to fold their hands paralysed with fear before gun-muzzles and rockets.

94. Sometimes those who preach the inevitability of the arms race do so to conceal their own intention to hazard the future of the human race solely to obtain the maximum amount of profits or to gain some strategic advantages.

95. In other cases the futility of efforts to achieve disarmament is dwelt upon by those who claim to be virtually the foremost fighters against imperialism but actually form common cause with it, thus helping to push the world along a dangerous path.

96. What must be done to prevent further accumulation of armaments? Various approaches and methods have been tried during the past twenty years. Some think it is necessary to begin with nuclear disarmament. Others want to begin with conventional weapons. Some say it is better first to create a more favourable international atmosphere and then proceed to disarmament. Others say that if some disarmament measures are put into effect the international atmosphere will take care of itself.

97. These and still other alternatives have been propounded at the negotiating table, but there has been no change. Why? Perhaps because the methods are inadequate. No: the methods do not matter. Whichever method is chosen, success can be achieved only on one condition: there must be a willingness to disarm and a determination by States, primarily the most powerful ones, to move in that direction.

98. Otherwise, all this comes down to mere verbal fencing. If pitfalls are prepared for a proposal on this or that particular step in disarmament even before it is discussed, there is little reason to expect any progress.

99. In many parts of the world there are still shortages of metals and bread. Even such gifts of nature as fresh water are becoming scarcer and scarcer in various regions of the world, but it takes time to solve this increasingly difficult problem.

100. Why should this be? Because the arms race and the danger of armed conflict and clashes which it engenders makes it necessary to pour enormous material resources into the war industry, into design offices and laboratories, and into the maintenance of armies. If even a part of those resources and the accompanying mental effort—the scientific thought, the experience of production managers, the labour and abilities of the workers, the skill of farmers, the talent of artists—could be used for peaceful development, then mankind would take a giant step forward.

101. Yes, we are followers of an ideology different from the one which prevails throughout the world, which has given rise to the arms race and is whipping it up. We very well know that disarmament by itself will not solve major social problems; such problems are solved and will be solved only in accordance with the objective laws governing social development. Our convictions on that score are well known and we will not deviate from them by one millimetre.

102. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union, like other socialist countries, strongly urges all those who hold dear the interests of peace to put a brake on the arms race and begin disarmament; no people and no State will fail to gain from this.

103. Many scientists point out that the gap in production rates between the developed industrialized countries and the newly-independent countries will continue and even if such a danger exists—which is very probable—what escape is there?

104. One way of escape exists: diversion of the material resources consumed in the arms race to peaceful economic development, including the needs of countries for which healthy rates of economic development and growth are as necessary as air.

105. Disarmament is one of the imperatives emblazoned on the banners of Soviet foreign policy by the founder of the Soviet State, V. I. Lenin. The Soviet Union proceeds from this principle in working out the appropriate steps and in its approach to the tasks facing the United Nations.

106. The Soviet Union has submitted its "Memorandum of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics concerning urgent measures to stop the arms race and achieve disarmament" [A/7134] for inclusion in the agenda of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly [A/7223] as an important and urgent question. This document has been circulated to the governments of all countries, and we believe that it has now been studied thoroughly enough to be discussed in specific terms in the General Assembly.

107. Before I discuss the Soviet proposals, allow me on behalf of the Soviet delegation to express our gratification that the successful conclusion of the Treaty of the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXIII)], which has so far been signed by approximately eighty States, has opened prospects for the conclusion of further international agreements in the vitally important matter of nuclear disarmament.

108. In Bonn and in various other capitals they are now saying: "Perhaps it is not worth while trying to dry up the channels of proliferation of nuclear weapons. Maybe it would be even better if all or almost all States had access to these weapons".

109. Many objections may be raised to this point of view. We only hope that countries, whether they are represented in the United Nations or not, will seriously ponder the following point. If things move in the direction in which the acknowledged and unacknowledged opponents of the Non-Proliferation Treaty try to push them, then many months and perhaps even years could elapse with the problem of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons still unsolved. Then, you who oppose this agreement, your own peoples will call you to account for your irresponsible approach to the solution of one of the most serious problems of international security. It is easier to wreck an important undertaking than to make it work; it is easier to tear down a positive decision than to make it.

110. The broad international acceptance of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, including its acceptance at the recently-concluded Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States at Geneva,<sup>4</sup> is an impressive result, to the achievement of

which the United Nations made a significant contribution. What must be done now is to take the necessary steps to broaden as far as possible the number of signatories to the Treaty and to ensure its entry into force as soon as possible.

111. Now to return to the proposals contained in the memorandum of the Soviet Government. Here, in brief, are its main points.

112. The Soviet Union proposes that the use of nuclear weapons shall be prohibited. Unfortunately the Governments of the other nuclear Powers have not so far clearly expressed the wish to deal with nuclear weapons as the Soviet Union is prepared to do, namely to outlaw them.

113. But it is not too late to remedy the situation. We call upon the nuclear Powers to sit down at the negotiating table either in a small group or together with other States and to consider seriously the question of an international convention on the prohibition of the use of atomic weapons. The Soviet Government is prepared to sign such a document at once. We should like to hope that the United Nations will, for its part, take the steps necessary to solve this problem as quickly as possible.

114. The Soviet Union proposes that all the nuclear Powers should immediately begin negotiations on cessation of production of nuclear weapons, reduction of stockpiles and the eventual complete prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons under appropriate international control. During such negotiations it is prepared to arrive at an understanding concerning not only the whole complex of measures but also certain separate steps leading to the elimination of nuclear weapons.

115. The Soviet Government proposes that an agreement should be reached on specific measures for limiting and subsequently reducing the strategic vehicles for the delivery of nuclear weapons. The significance of such a measure, if taken, is obvious to all.

116. The General Assembly of the United Nations is of course aware that the Governments of the USSR and the United States have reached agreement on discussion of the reciprocal limitation and subsequent reduction of strategic vehicles for the delivery of nuclear weapons—both offensive and defensive and including anti-missile weapons. The Soviet Government is prepared to begin a serious exchange of views on this matter.

117. We call for an immediate end to all nuclear-weapon tests. The allegations usually made about the need for control over underground tests are far-fetched and unfounded. Experience shows that nobody can explode nuclear weapons underground in secret.

118. The memorandum of the Soviet Government contains proposals inspired by the desire to avert the dangerous consequences that may ensue from flight by bomber aircraft carrying nuclear weapons. United States aircraft have time and again lost nuclear bombs far from the shores of the United States of America.

119. Really, are not the people right when they think that if someone wishes to keep his bombers in the air, especially

<sup>4</sup> Held from 29 August to 28 September 1968.

when carrying atomic or hydrogen bombs, then let him do so but only within the confines of his own national boundaries? This is precisely the proposal made in the Soviet Government's memorandum.

120. Similar reasons have prompted the proposal that an agreement should be reached for the cessation of patrols by missile-carrying submarines with nuclear missiles on board in areas where the borders of parties to such an agreement are within range of such missiles.

121. The prohibition of the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons is known to have played a part in the Second World War. Not less known is the temptation which these weapons represent for military circles, which believe they provide a definite advantage even over nuclear weapons. Nevertheless, some countries have not yet acceded to the Geneva Protocol of 1925. The Soviet Government therefore proposes that the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament should examine ways and means of ensuring that all States comply with the Geneva Protocol prohibiting the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons.

122. Again we raise the question of the elimination of foreign military bases on the territory of other States. Some NATO Powers have such bases scattered everywhere. In most of the countries of Western Europe, foreign armies are also stationed. But experience has shown repeatedly that such bases are a source of friction and military conflict, threatening the freedom and independence of peoples, and that their retention hinders realization of international tension.

123. The Soviet Government as heretofore advocates measures for regional disarmament, and in particular supports the creation of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world. We believe that the creation of such zones should effectively limit the area of emplacement of nuclear weapons and is fully in accordance with the purpose of preventing their direct or indirect proliferation.

124. The memorandum sets out the point of view of the Soviet Government also concerning the implementation of disarmament measures and the reduction of armaments in various areas of the world, including the Middle East.

125. Increasing attention has recently been given to the question of limiting the military uses of the environment in which human beings live and work. A number of governments have expressed concern about the peaceful use of the sea-bed and the ocean floor. The Soviet Union believes that the sea-bed and the ocean floor should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes, and is prepared to enter into appropriate international negotiations.

126. This is the gist of the memorandum of the Soviet Government, which suggests a number of directions holding out hope for fruitful results if, of course, the other participants in the negotiations will also work for them.

127. The simultaneous or phased implementation of the proposed measures would help to make the international atmosphere healthier and eliminate the threat of a nuclear war, and would make a serious contribution to the efforts

to bring to a successful conclusion the historical attempt to halt the arms race and solve the problem of disarmament.

128. Whenever there is talk of the arms race and of hot-beds of international tension, and especially of the interwoven interests and counter-interests of States, one thinks involuntarily of Europe. And history punishes any deliberate or inadvertent disregard of the significance of European affairs.

129. True it is that in Europe, as nowhere else, States belonging to different social systems or members of opposing military groupings and alliances live in close proximity. Here there is a greater concentration of weapons than anywhere else. It was here in Europe that aggressors were taught their sternest lesson, not for just a decade but probably for a lifetime.

130. The destruction of Hitler Germany, which proclaimed the criminal policy of genocide of other peoples and nations and strove to establish world hegemony, was and will for ever remain a great triumph of all mankind.

131. But the changes that have taken place are not to everyone's liking. There are politicians in Bonn who would like to recarve the map of Europe. Their main goal is to undermine the Potsdam Agreement and other allied agreements entered into during the war and shortly after its end, at a time when the narrow interests of certain circles had receded to the background and what was at stake was the post-war structure of Europe and the safeguarding of a lasting peace in Europe and beyond its borders. These were agreements not only among Governments but also among peoples.

132. The experience of the war and of post-war development did not, of course, pass without leaving any trace on those circles which now determine the policies of the Federal Republic of Germany. They also have learnt something but they have drawn their own conclusions; having attained their earlier goals, they have now started acting with more finesse.

133. The idea of a "new Eastern policy" for the Federal Republic of Germany has recently been developed. Now, two years after this policy was announced, we can in full knowledge of the facts answer the question: "What is new about it?" Nothing. The core of the "new Eastern policy" is the same and always was: to recarve the map of Europe.

134. Only very recently Chancellor Kiesinger openly stated that the Federal Republic of Germany was demanding a change in the "*status quo*" in Europe.

135. It is sometimes argued that West Germany states that it will achieve its goals by exclusively "peaceful means", and that the Federal Republic of Germany wishes to restore the German Reich piecemeal rather than all at once.

136. But Hitler did not begin with cannon fire either. When he was able to seize foreign territories "by peaceful means"—such as building bridges, or playing on feelings of kinship or similarity of civilizations, or by arguments concerning solidarity in face of the "Bolshevik danger"—he did not neglect them either.

137. There are different ways of looking at what is now going on in Western Germany. No one, however, would venture to deny that forces are openly at work in that State which glorify revanchism as virtually the national duty of every German. Nor can anyone deny that the Nazi ideology is again flourishing on the fertile political soil of Bonn. The activity of a party which displays on its banners slogans virtually identical with Hitler's political slogans has been developing and flourishing in a stupefying atmosphere of chauvinism and militarism. The difference lies only in the scale and degree of its influence.

138. Those who think even for a minute that by opposing the Potsdam agreement the Federal Republic of Germany is encroaching upon the interests of the socialist countries alone are gravely mistaken. Only the politically naive could think so.

139. The Federal Republic of Germany is constantly encroaching upon West Berlin, which has the special status of an independent political entity. Our answer to this is clear: West Berlin has never belonged, does not belong and never will belong to the Federal Republic of Germany. If sometimes there are crises there, then the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and only that Government is to blame.

140. There is a tremendous difference, of course, between what is happening now and what happened thirty years ago. The forces guarding European security are now much more powerful than the forces of aggression. It cannot be admitted that the quarter of a century that has elapsed since the war has merely been time used to regroup and reacquire the potential for new military conflicts. No individual in the world and no responsible Government can remain indifferent when a European State declares that it does not consider itself bound by any obligations at all other than to the NATO military bloc.

141. The Soviet Union has nothing against good relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. We are prepared to co-operate with it in a number of different fields. We are prepared to continue to exchange views with the Federal Republic of Germany concerning the non-use of force, since we realize that the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has taken a constructive approach to this problem. We also believe that the Federal Republic of Germany should play a role in international affairs commensurate with its possibilities, especially its economic potential, and, by basing its policy on the realities of the situation resulting from the war and post-war development, make its contribution to the cause of consolidating peace. The Soviet Government believes that it is high time that both German States—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany—became full Members of the United Nations; and we should be prepared to support the admission of those States to the United Nations.

142. The Soviet Union is actively co-operating with those European States interested in a *détente* in Europe, in strengthening European security, and in the improvement and broadening of mutually-advantageous relations between the States of the East and West of the continent. The development of bilateral relations would contribute to the attainment of these aims, and even today the Soviet Union

advocates the continuance and extension of all such useful work.

143. We took part in working out the broad programme to strengthen the peace in Europe set forth in the Bucharest Declaration<sup>5</sup> and the Karlovy Vary statement,<sup>6</sup> which have received a great international response.

144. One of these proposals is so self-evident that no one could have any objections to it. This is the proposal for the convening of a conference of all European States to consider urgent problems involved in the consolidation of peace in Europe.

145. How could this proposal be unacceptable? States send their representatives to the most varied international conferences. Many of them are concerned with details of interest only to a limited group of specialists. Surely political leaders and statesmen of the highest rank, if they can succeed in getting together, will find something important to say to each other about the situation in Europe as they discuss questions of war and peace.

146. It is said that an all-European conference must be prepared beforehand. Of course it must; who denies that? The General Assembly of the United Nations must also be prepared, because it has on its agenda some one hundred and even more items and some nine or ten months are needed to prepare for their discussion. Then why is not one year, or even two, sufficient to prepare for an all-European conference?

147. Europe's future is not exclusively bound up with the existence of military blocs. There is an alternative which is more compatible with the interests of peace. Our opinion on this score has been set forth in the Bucharest Declaration and in other joint documents of the socialist countries, so I need not reiterate it.

148. The Soviet Union and its allies stand for a real attempt to put European affairs in order in the interests of European security.

149. The state of international affairs is still largely determined by the war in Viet-Nam. The Soviet Union's position on the Viet-Nameese question is well known. It has been set forth in the documents of the Twenty-third Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, from the rostrum of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, in statements by the Soviet Government and on many occasions here at the United Nations. The Soviet Union is strongly on the side of the heroic Viet-Nameese people and their just cause. It is giving and will continue to give every possible assistance to the brotherly Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam in its struggle against United States aggression.

150. On what grounds does Washington arrogate to itself the right to dictate to the Viet-Nameese how they should arrange their internal affairs? Perhaps Washington believes

<sup>5</sup> Declaration on Strengthening Peace and Security in Europe, signed at the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee held in Bucharest from 4 to 6 July 1966.

<sup>6</sup> Statement of Communists' and Workers' parties of Europe adopted at the Conference on European Security, held in Karlovy Vary from 24 to 26 April 1967.

that such a right is created by the machine-guns of the American soldiers who are dying—who knows why—on the far-distant soil of Viet-Nam. The viciousness of this policy is becoming increasingly evident even to the Americans themselves.

151. Is there any possibility of putting an end to the war in Viet-Nam and ensuring a political settlement of the Viet-Nameese problem? Yes, there is. The well-known proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam offer one.

152. All that is necessary is that the United States should take a realistic approach and should once and for all throw overboard all the ballast which still prevents it from taking such an approach. The key to productive negotiations lies, not in attempts to impose on the Viet-Nameese people a political system and corrupt puppet régimes against which they have taken up arms to fight, but respect for the inalienable right of the Viet-Nameese themselves to decide their own future without any interference from outside; not in a race for strategic military positions on Viet-Nameese soil but in the unconditional withdrawal of the United States military forces from Viet-Nam and the fulfilment of the other conditions laid down in the Geneva Agreements of 1954. The first essential step in that direction must be the complete and unconditional cessation by the United States of its bombing and other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

153. With such an approach the negotiations—whether they are held in Paris or anywhere else—can lead to a settlement in Viet-Nam. The cessation of the United States aggression against the Viet-Nameese people would be a good service not only to the cause of general peace, but also, we believe, to the interests of the United States itself.

154. The question of the situation in the Middle East appears once again on this session's agenda. Why is it that the consequences of last year's aggression by Israel have not yet been eliminated, and why is it that tension in that area not only is not diminishing but has recently even been increasing?

155. The blame for the dangerous delay in finding a political settlement in the Middle East rests with those who refuse to carry out the Security Council's resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)], with those who, in defiance of appeals by the United Nations, provoke armed clashes and are conducting an annexationist policy in the occupied territories. The blame must rest with Israel.

156. The Arab States will speak for themselves here. But we know that they have repeatedly reiterated, in particular to the special representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Jarring, their willingness to comply with the Security Council resolution.

157. The Government of the United Arab Republic is well known to favour the drafting of a time-table of co-ordinated measures to be taken by the parties in order to solve the problems of the Middle East. We support this realistic proposal and are prepared to contribute to the implementation of this plan for the restoration of peace to

an area which lies close to our southern borders and to a situation which directly affects the security of the Soviet Union.

158. We condemn the position of Israel and of those who turn a blind eye to its military ambitions, which frustrate any attempt to settle the Middle-Eastern crisis.

159. There are now possibilities of reaching a turning-point in the direction of peace in the Middle East, the termination of a state of war between Israel and the Arab States, and of guaranteeing the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State of the region and its right to live in security. The Israel Government will have to abandon its attempts to retain the occupied Arab territories; otherwise it will have much to answer for.

160. The United Nations constantly keeps its attention focussed on the task of eliminating colonialism in all its forms. Its great political asset is the fact that, on questions related to the struggle against colonialism, a broad front of States acting generally from common positions has been formed. This is a contribution of no little importance to the just struggle of the peoples for their liberation.

161. The peoples of the former colonial and dependent countries who have thrown off the fetters of colonial enslavement have every right to be proud of their achievements. At the same time, a situation in which more than 50 million human beings are still today enduring colonial slavery cannot be tolerated.

162. The Soviet Union condemns the racist regime in Rhodesia and will, for its part, continue to support decisively those African forces which are fighting for the national liberation of this and other regions which are still under the yoke of colonialist régimes.

163. We condemn the inhuman policies of *apartheid* and racism which the authorities of the Republic of South Africa have elevated to the rank of a State policy.

164. We condemn those who, in defiance of United Nations resolutions and contrary to the will of the peoples, still cling to the colonial régimes in Africa and other regions of the world. We believe that international measures must be taken to put an end to the attempts of the colonialists to perpetuate the helpless position of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, "Portuguese" Guinea and Namibia.

165. The countries which have achieved their liberation from the colonial yoke are faced with the complicated problems of consolidating their national independence and surmounting as quickly as possible the disastrous consequences of colonialism in many fields. The recent United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at New Delhi,<sup>7</sup> drew attention to numerous facts concerning the continuing exploitation of these countries.

166. The Soviet Government considers that the view expressed by the Governments of many States concerning the need for a significant increase in the share of profits

<sup>7</sup> From 1 February to 29 March 1968.

received by the developing countries from the development of their natural resources by foreign capital is fully justified. It supports the proposal for an international agreement to raise the artificially-lowered prices of fuel, raw materials and agricultural products on the world market, and to lower the artificially-inflated prices of manufactures imported into the developing countries.

167. In its relations with the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America the Soviet Union does not seek to obtain unilateral advantages. The principles of internationalism and unfailing support for the countries and peoples fighting for their national liberation, the strengthening of their national and economic independence, are cardinal points of Soviet foreign policy.

168. The attention of the General Assembly has for many years been drawn to the use of the United Nations flag as a screen for the occupation of South Korea. The reason for the division of Korea is the flagrant intervention by the United States of America in the internal affairs of the Korean people and the United States policy of turning South Korea into its own strategic strongpoint and a powerful military base directed against the security of the peoples of Asia. The withdrawal of all foreign forces from South Korea is what is necessary for normalizing the situation in that part of the world and for ensuring the proper conditions for the peaceful unification of Korea on democratic principles.

169. Every year the representatives of the vast majority of the world's States assemble in this hall to compare their respective assessments of current events and major trends in international development. This is a forum where an exchange of views and opinions takes place in the course of which there is sometimes attained that coincidence of interest necessary for the adoption of resolutions satisfactory to the peoples. This work, which has become an integral part of international intercourse, takes place before the eyes of millions of people, who pass judgement on whether the activities of the United Nations respond to their aspirations.

170. As far as we are concerned, we can state definitely that the Soviet Government appreciates the United Nations as an instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security, although it clearly sees its defects.

171. Those who try to undermine the United Nations Charter and disparage the principle it embodies of co-operation among the permanent members of the Security Council in the adoption of important decisions should remember the founders of the United Nations with a feeling of gratitude. The main task of the United Nations, its principal reason for existence, is to prevent a new world war. This is the aim which the Charter pursues and must pursue.

172. It is said that the United Nations cannot be relied on: too many arguments and too little concrete action. But everything depends on what the arguments are about. It is better to argue for ten or even fifty years at the negotiating table than to have one day, or even one hour, of a nuclear conflict.

173. We have not failed to notice that even representatives of some of the great Powers are sometimes ready to join with the critics of the United Nations Charter. This is a strange position, obviously explainable by considerations of expediency. If the Powers in the anti-Hitler coalition had not at the right time done all the work that is now embodied in the United Nations Charter, and if the Soviet Union and other States had not defended that Charter, there would today be no international organization for maintaining peace, and none could have been established.

174. The Soviet Union is in favour of converting the United Nations into a truly universal organization. This cannot be achieved until the Chiang Kai-Shek group is driven from the United Nations and the lawful rights of the Chinese People's Republic are restored to it.

175. The Soviet Union is in favour of enhancing the role and the effectiveness of the Security Council. The Council recently adopted an important resolution on safeguards for non-nuclear Powers in connexion with the conclusion of the Non-Proliferation Treaty [*resolution 255 (1965)*]. This is a new phase in its activity, a phase which will increase the authority of the Council and of the United Nations as a whole.

176. The Soviet Union is in favour of more fruitful work by the General Assembly and also by other United Nations bodies concerned with social, economic and legal problems. However, we believe that the United Nations should be freed of commissions, like the Korean Commission, which consume massive amounts of the United Nations budget but only do harm.

177. The special responsibility which the great Powers, the permanent members of the Security Council, bear for the fate of peace is not a privilege. No one can deny that the state of the relations between the great Powers will largely determine whether or not there will be a new world war.

178. The Soviet Union recognizes its responsibility for safeguarding universal peace. That is why every new step in international affairs that corresponds to the interests of international security, and every liberating action taken by the peoples, is and will be actively supported by our country. At the same time the Soviet Union has been and will continue to be in the ranks of those who give a suitable response to the policy of aggression.

179. Determination to defend the national interests of the Soviet people and of the States of the socialist commonwealth, to guarantee the inviolability of our land frontiers, coastlines and air space, and to protect the dignity of the Soviet flag and the rights and security of Soviet citizens, is basic to our foreign policy. A similar immutable basic principle is fidelity to our international commitments and devotion to our duty as an ally.

180. The Soviet Union makes no secret of its desire to continue to seek, together with other interested States, fields in which our interests coincide and where agreement is possible, even comprising the conclusion of the corresponding treaties and agreements, bilateral or multilateral, when they are in the interests of peace based on respect for the rights of the peoples.

181. We shall go half-way to meet any State willing to build its relations with the Soviet Union on the principles of mutual respect for each other's interests, good-neighbourliness and peace."

182. In order to reach agreements on international problems, on which the peaceful future of the peoples depends, we are prepared to sit at the negotiating table with anyone who also wishes to reach them.

183. The complexity of the current international situation and the persistence of important international problems shows that this session of the General Assembly, too, is faced with important tasks. The fruitfulness of this session will be determined by the extent to which during its work States Members of the United Nations are able to preserve and augment the positive factors which have recently been noticeable in the activities of our Organization.

184. The Soviet Government would like to express the hope that the results of this session will not disappoint the people and that work will be done here which will contribute to the development of world events towards the consolidation of peace.

185. Mr. ALLEN (Jamaica): Mr. President, I should like, first of all, to add my congratulations and those of my delegation on your election to the presidency of this Assembly. You may be assured that my delegation will give you all possible co-operation in the conduct of the work which lies ahead. We are confident that, under your guidance, the affairs of this session will be brought to a successful conclusion. My delegation also wishes to pay tribute to your distinguished predecessor, His Excellency Foreign Minister Corneliu Manescu of Romania, who so effectively presided over the Assembly at its twenty-second session.

186. On behalf of the Government and people of Jamaica, I should also like to extend a warm welcome to the new State of Swaziland, which is taking its seat at the United Nations for the first time. We are conscious of the problems and difficulties facing this newly independent State, problems and difficulties of a kind with which we are familiar and which, we hope, will find lasting solutions through our co-operative efforts in the United Nations and its associated bodies.

187. It is obvious that we live in an age of great scientific and technological advance. And yet we find that much of this scientific and technological advance seems to be directed towards the solution of human problems in terms of mutual annihilation rather than mutual co-operation. Progress in these fields has been directed more by the incentive to create instruments of destruction and human misery than by the desire to achieve human happiness and prosperity. The world today presents a picture which must cause serious concern to everyone who is dedicated to achieving lasting peace in the world and who wishes to see the Charter of the United Nations respected. People are fighting for their very existence; in many parts of this world military solutions are being threatened or imposed on human and political problems. I refer in particular to the civil wars in Nigeria and Viet-Nam, to the continuing explosive situation in the Middle East, to recent develop-

ments in Central Europe which have once again caused the spectre of military confrontation between major Powers.

188. We all know that the use of force for settling disputes is at best mere waste and that, at the cost of much human suffering, produces in the end little, except continuing bitterness between peoples and nations.

189. Nigeria is a respected member of the Commonwealth of Nations and of the Organization of African Unity; yet neither of these has been able up to now to assist the military leaders in that country towards a peaceful solution of its internal problems. Nigeria is also, however, a Member of the United Nations and it seems to my Government that the international community should rally to that country's assistance with all the help which can be given towards the relief of its protracted suffering. The sorry plight of the refugee children is of most major concern to my Government.

190. Jamaica would have this Assembly call upon both sides in Nigeria to put an immediate cease-fire into effect. At the same time this Assembly should call upon all Member States of the United Nations to cease supplying arms to either side in this conflict. As Members know, Jamaica has already offered a contribution of £10,000 to the people of Nigeria through the International Red Cross.

191. My Government endorses the appeal by the Organization of African Unity to the leaders of the Federal Government that a general amnesty should be declared as soon as organized hostilities have at last ended. We consider, moreover, that the United Nations should offer its assistance to the Nigerian people in the solution of the differences which have plagued them up to now, and also, through observer groups or otherwise, such as we provided to the people of Cyprus, should assist in giving confidence to all the Nigerian people that settlements freely entered into will be fully implemented and that personal security will be assured to all of them.

192. We hope that the events in Czechoslovakia will not reverse the trend towards easing of tensions between East and West which has been a welcome development in recent years.

193. The tragedy of Viet-Nam is still being enacted. It remains the hope of my Government that the talks now taking place will truly be worthy of the designation "peace talks" and that we can achieve the needed bombing halt and eventual peace in that war-torn land.

194. We have long accepted it as a principle that all peoples and nations should be allowed to exercise the right of self-determination. Prerequisites to the effective fulfilment of this right include the non-use of force in the settlement of disputes and the ability of each State to maintain friendly relationships with all other States.

195. I must also refer to the Western Hemisphere. My delegation is deeply concerned with the existence of border disputes within the region. We are particularly concerned at this time with the situations affecting our Caribbean neighbours: the State of Guyana, and the territory of British Honduras—Belize—which has not yet achieved formal independence.

196. The peace and security of the Hemisphere requires the strict recognition of the sanctity of treaties by all nations. Indeed, it would be consistent with the rules governing relations between these States for disputes to be settled peacefully. We urge that every possible effort should be made to reach amicable settlement and that there be no resort to the use of force in any area by any party.

197. My Government is also concerned that, more than one year after the creation of our Latin American nuclear-free zone, our neighbour, Guyana, has not had the opportunity to sign the Treaty. Once again my delegation wishes to point out that any and all obstacles in the way of Guyana's being a signatory and a party to the Treaty should be removed without delay in order that this Treaty may be accorded the full respect that is its due.

198. Fortunately there is another, somewhat brighter side to this gloomy picture—there have indeed some limited achievements. In this connexion, my delegation welcomes the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons as a first step towards general disarmament. Only time will tell how effective that Treaty will be in arresting the dissemination of nuclear weapons, as it does not prevent the accumulation of more nuclear weapons by those countries which already possess them. The Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States recently concluded in Geneva has contributed new ideas and approaches. We expect these to lead to the adoption of measures which will make the benefits of nuclear energy more readily accessible to the developing countries for peaceful and beneficial use.

199. The success achieved on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty should be an incentive to the United Nations to redouble its effort in the general field of disarmament. It is most disheartening to less-developed countries to contemplate the vast capital and other resources which year after year are allocated by the developed countries to unproductive military armaments and other expenditures—resources which would go a long way towards solving problems of illiteracy, hunger and want and achieving the sustained economic growth which is still the daily preoccupation of most of the peoples and Governments of the developing countries. We still maintain that major Powers should foster and support the peace-keeping role of the United Nations so that the fears and phobias which are the basic motivations of the arms race may be dispelled by the establishment of strong and effective international machinery for ensuring world peace.

200. The question of peace-keeping leads to that of colonialism, for this is an area perhaps potentially the most dangerous for the peace of the world. The worst manifestation of colonial rule is *apartheid* as practised by South Africa. Those who uphold this doctrine continue in their effort to degrade all non-white peoples throughout the world. My delegation hopes that the twenty-third session of the General Assembly will make a genuine and concerted effort to reach a settlement of the issues affecting the hard-core areas of southern Africa. Newly independent countries and peoples of African descent throughout the world can have no peace of mind until the Powers concerned in this area show a greater willingness to place human rights and principles of justice above and beyond the gains of economic exploitation of fellow human beings.

There can be no lasting peace in the world until the flagrant injustice which now characterizes the situation in southern Africa has been rectified. We call again on the major Powers concerned to respect the many resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council and to respect the basic aims of the Charter of the United Nations, which affirms the dignity and the worth of the human person.

201. In this International Year for Human Rights, we take the opportunity to reaffirm faith in the principles contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. There have been some worth-while achievements since the Declaration was adopted. We are none the less disappointed by the over-all slow pace of our progress.

202. Indeed, it is deeply and tragically ironic that so many situations involving violations of human rights are before this session of the United Nations General Assembly. It was therefore timely that, twenty years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration, we should decide to stop and examine the world Organization—and ourselves—to see how far we had gone in keeping the promises of the Charter. Complementary to this objective were: the cultivation of wider understanding of the meaning of human rights; deeper public concern for safeguarding and promoting them in all countries, and the opportunity taken to protest against violations and to demand implementation of basic rights in areas where these were either lacking or deficient.

203. The first International Conference on Human Rights, held in Teheran from 22 April to 13 May 1968, at the invitation of the Iranian Government, was planned as the central event in our work in human rights this year. At that Conference, we had been set a threefold task: to review twenty years of activity, to evaluate that activity, and to agree upon the methods and measures to be employed in achieving increased effectiveness in the field of human rights.

204. The Conference did not fully discharge any of those tasks. It may well be that, given the political realities of 1968, we could not have done so. The Proclamation of Teheran, which we adopted unanimously, underlines some of those areas in the field of human rights which demand our most urgent action.

205. Of concurrent and equally urgent concern to my Government is the question of the development and utilization of human resources and the creation of an environment in which it will no longer be necessary for large numbers of people to suffer hunger and disease or to live out their lives in hopelessness and despair. This is an area of vital importance to developing countries which are endeavouring to improve standards of living and to achieve economic self-sufficiency, and one in which, despite continuing technological advances, much remains to be done. A tribute must be paid to the work so far done by the specialized agencies in attempting to improve standards of attainment in fields such as health and education.

206. Rapid improvement in technology makes it essential also that facilities should be readily available for the training and retraining of teachers, technicians, administrators and businessmen. But this is only a beginning, for there can be no full realization of human rights, no full

utilization of human resources until problems such as widespread illiteracy and malnutrition are overcome.

207. For that reason, my Government is following with the greatest interest the steps which are being taken to advance the work of the United Nations in the social development field consequent on the adoption of resolution 1139 (XLI) of the Economic and Social Council, which called upon nations to pay more attention to the field of social development and requested organs and bodies concerned with matters in this crucially important area to exhibit closer co-operation and greater co-ordination. We therefore participated with deep satisfaction in the first Conference of Ministers Responsible for Social Welfare, held in this building only a few weeks ago.

208. My delegation considers that the United Nations can make a further practical contribution to the advancement of the social development field through the establishment of documentation centres on a programme basis, to supply information on all aspects of the work of the technical and specialized agencies of the United Nations. Some valuable work has already been done in this area, but on an *ad hoc* and inadequate basis.

209. In the field of economic development, disappointment has already been expressed at the outcome of the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which was held in New Delhi earlier this year. UNCTAD was established in high hope. Our Secretary-General saw it as ushering in a new chapter in our efforts to accelerate the economic development of developing countries. We all shared the expectation—which was unrealized—of the impact that UNCTAD might have on international co-operation. It has, indeed, provided a unique forum for the exchange of views and measures of co-operation and negotiation. But a sympathetic and positive programme needs now to be implemented—one capable of meeting the pressing requirements of the developing countries.

210. The records show that the trade pattern between developed and developing countries continues on a basis that is ruinous to the economies of developing countries. The economic deterioration of the developing countries worsens and worsens as the prices of manufactured goods from the developed countries soar ever higher; while, on the other hand, the majority of agricultural and primary goods from developing countries are increasingly being purchased at a cheaper price. This pattern has to be corrected.

211. We recognize that through the United Nations some useful work has been done and broad areas of agreement reached on a number of aspects of trade development. We are following with keen interest the current negotiations for the settlement of an international sugar agreement, which is

of vital importance to Jamaica and many other developing countries.

212. My delegation also notes with appreciation the initial steps taken by the United Nations aimed at advancing international co-operation in the exploration, conservation and use of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond national boundaries in the interest of mankind.

213. As we move forward in our struggle to achieve peace and prosperity, we should not lose sight of our main objective, namely, the proper utilization of our manpower resources. The establishment of industrial complexes, of new towns, of communication systems, are the outward and visible signs and manifestations of development and progress. But little real progress will have been achieved if in the process the human material is neglected. The history of past civilizations bears ample evidence of this.

214. In the final analysis, what we are seeking to establish here, within the framework of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, is the recognition of the brotherhood of man. It seems paradoxical that we should be searching for complex solutions to the political, social and economic problems which beset us, when it is so patently evident that the answer is to be found in the application of the simple precept that, as members of one family, the human race, we should “do unto others as we would that they should do unto us”. Unless and until Member States are prepared to put this simple precept into practice, that peace and prosperity which we seek so desperately will continue to elude us.

215. Let me close with an appeal to the peoples of the United Nations, whose solemn pledge it is, among other things, “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war” and “to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples”. I appeal to Member States to demonstrate their sincere and unequivocal support for that resolve. The very survival of mankind and our world is at stake. There will be neither enduring peace nor prosperity in this world—be it for the most powerful or for the weakest nations—as long as we seek to satisfy none but our own selfish aims. In the United Nations we have created machinery capable of achieving the solution of our grave problems. Let us make full and effective use of this machinery.

216. We, the Members of the United Nations, have a responsibility to the peoples of the world, which have confidence in this Organization, to take effective action to find solutions to the problems which confront mankind. We cannot hesitate. Neither time nor the mood of the people is on the side of further delay. The Government and people of Jamaica maintain their pledge to contribute fully to the carrying out of this task through this Organization.

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*