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President: Mr. Emilio ARENALES (Guatemala).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Allinodi (Uganda)
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 36

United Nations Capital Development Fund

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/7257)

1. Mr. CHRISTIANSEN (Norway), Rapporteur of the Second Committee: I have the honour to present the first report of the Second Committee, which concerns the pledging conference for the year 1968 on the United Nations Capital Development Fund [A/7257].
2. It will be recalled that, last year, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2321 (XXII), on 15 December 1967, by which it decided that the United Nations Pledging Conference on the United Nations Capital Development Fund would be convened simultaneously with the annual Pledging Conference on the United Nations Development Programme. When the Second Committee met this year to consider its organization of work, it also considered the question of the date when the pledging conference of the United Nations Capital Development Fund might be held. As a result of those discussions, the Second Committee now recommends to the General Assembly that the provisions of paragraph 1 (c) of General Assembly resolution 2321 (XXII) should not be applied. The effect of this will be to make it possible for the Pledging Conference on the United Nations Capital Development Fund to be held separately.
3. I take pleasure in commending for the consideration of the plenary the recommendation of the Second Committee [A/7257, para. 2].

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Second Committee.

4. The PRESIDENT: I now invite Members to turn their attention to the recommendation of the Second Committee [A/7257, para. 2]. May I take it that the Assembly adopts the draft resolution recommended by the Second Committee?

The draft resolution was adopted without objection.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

5. Mr. BELOKOLOS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): Mr. President, permit me on behalf of the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to congratulate you on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly during its twenty-third session, and to express the hope that under your guidance this session will by its work help the international situation to develop in the direction of strengthening universal peace.
6. The Ukrainian delegation associates itself with those who from this rostrum have addressed words of gratitude to the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Corneliu Manescu, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Romania, during its last session.
7. The representatives of the States Members of the United Nations have come together at a regular session of the General Assembly in order to state their Governments' views on current events, and to try to determine what further steps should be taken to settle urgent international problems.
8. The complex, contradictory and heterogeneous aspects of the current international situation are naturally reflected in the activities of the United Nations whose task it is to promote greater international peace and security and to help to solve the key political, economic and social problems of our time.
9. The Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic consider it necessary to stress yet again the role and significance of the United Nations as an instrument for international contacts and for settling important questions of international life.
10. Owing to the persistent and determined efforts of the socialist and other peace-loving States, the ground has been prepared on a large number of major international problems for constructive action to reinforce international peace and security. Through all the zigzags resulting from the struggle of antagonistic forces, a certain turn for the better has emerged in the approach of many States to the solution of

international problems, in the search for mutually acceptable methods of international co-operation based on the principle of peaceful co-existence between States with different social systems.

11. The imperialist forces are being increasingly isolated, and more and more people are becoming aware of the need to put an end to wars of aggression, to reach a political settlement, to ease the tension associated with potential conflicts in various parts of the world, to eradicate colonialism and racism once and for all, and to prevent the resurgence of Nazism.

12. In our delegation's view, the essential task of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly is to use the authority of the United Nations to support healthy trends in international life and to counter the schemes of the anti-peace forces with constructive efforts to settle the most important and most pressing international problems. We are ready to do all we can to encourage the development of international relations along such lines.

13. In present circumstances, when huge stock-piles of conventional and nuclear weapons have been accumulated, disarmament has become the greatest problem confronting mankind. Many years' experience of disarmament negotiations has shown that certain conditions make it impossible to settle simultaneously and at once all the problems relating to disarmament. Obviously, the United Nations acted correctly in entrusting to the Eighteen-Nation Committee the task of conducting negotiations on general and complete disarmament and at the same time deciding on partial arms control and disarmament measures.

14. Six years ago, the Soviet Union submitted to the Eighteen-Nation Committee a draft treaty on general and complete disarmament, containing the constructive elements required to settle this problem.¹ In addition the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have on many occasions submitted proposals for partial measures.

15. After lengthy negotiations, in which nuclear and non-nuclear States took part, agreement was reached on the text of a Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*], which world opinion quite rightly saw as a great success for peace.

16. It has been argued that it would be inopportune for States to sign and ratify the Treaty at this stage, in view of mounting international tension. This is wrong. On the contrary, the greater tension and the increased activity of aggressive forces make it more imperative than ever that the Treaty should be concluded and the nuclear arms race checked. Those who are responsible for the foreign policy of States must surely appreciate the fundamental logic of this.

17. The Treaty puts a stop to the further proliferation of nuclear weapons and at the same time creates more favourable conditions for the application of effective measures for the prohibition and destruction of those

weapons. General Assembly resolution 2373 (XXII) calls for such measures expressing the conviction

“... that an agreement to prevent the further proliferation of nuclear weapons must be followed as soon as possible by effective measures on the cessation of the nuclear arms race and on nuclear disarmament ...”.

18. This precisely is the purpose of the Soviet Government's Memorandum concerning Urgent Measures to Stop the Arms Race and Achieve Disarmament [*A/7134*], which was sent to all States on 1 July 1968, and has been submitted for consideration at the current session of the General Assembly as an important and urgent question.

19. The Soviet memorandum contains a combination of proposals for the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, the cessation of production of such weapons and the reduction and elimination of stockpiles, and the restriction and subsequent reduction of vehicles for the delivery of strategic weapons. The world has reached the point where nuclear weapons must be outlawed. When in 1961 the General Assembly adopted the well-known Declaration on the Prohibition of the Use of Nuclear and Thermo-Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 1653 (XVI)*], it proclaimed the use of such weapons contrary to the spirit, letter and aims of the United Nations and a crime against mankind. The time has come to take a second, entirely logical and timely step, namely to put that prohibition in treaty form, thus making it mandatory international law. The Ukrainian delegation believes that a decision must promptly be taken on the question of convening an international conference to draft a special convention prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons. The conclusion of such a convention would mean an end to the political use of nuclear weapons and a step onwards to their physical destruction.

20. It is also high time to settle the question of the complete prohibition of underground nuclear tests.

21. The facts convincingly demonstrate that it is no longer possible to detonate nuclear weapons underground in secret. Underground explosions are being clearly and unmistakably identified by national detection devices. This means that immediate agreement could be reached on the prohibition of underground nuclear weapon tests.

22. The increasing frequency of accidents involving United States bombers carrying nuclear weapons beyond the limits of United States territory is causing serious concern among the peoples of the world. At the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, the Governments of Poland and the Ukraine drew the attention of the United Nations to these activities which are a threat to peace, and today our delegation considers it necessary without further delay to prohibit the flights of bombers carrying nuclear weapons beyond national frontiers and to limit the areas patrolled by missile-carrying submarines.

23. Over forty years ago, the Protocol prohibiting the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons was adopted at Geneva. Unfortunately, not all States have acceded to that important document, which has become an integral part of contemporary international law. Ways and means of ensuring that all States comply with the Geneva Protocol must be considered at the current session. To that end, a

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 90, document A/C.1/867.

constructive start was made by the General Assembly when, at the initiative of Hungary, it examined that question at its twenty-first session.²

24. The questions of the elimination of foreign military bases, of regional disarmament and of the use of the sea-bed and ocean floor exclusively for peaceful purposes should be examined as matters of urgency.

25. My delegation is deeply convinced that the Soviet Government's memorandum is evidence of its concern about the fate of the world and the security of the peoples. Naturally, if these measures are to be successful, all States Members of the United Nations must demonstrate goodwill and a desire to co-operate.

26. For historical reasons the situation in Europe affects the interests of all States, however distant they may be from that part of the world. It is easy to understand why the peoples of Europe are particularly interested in the solution of the problem of the security of their continent. Need we speak of the vital interest in this matter of the Ukrainian people, to whom two world wars have brought untold victims and tremendous suffering and destruction? In the Second World War alone, we lost 4.5 million civilians. We, like the other peoples of the anti-Hitler coalition, did not make these enormous sacrifices solely to defeat the enemy on the field of battle. No, we were fighting for the future of peace in Europe and throughout the world. And that fight goes on today, when the problem of European security is as acute as ever.

27. For it is in Europe, on a relatively small territory, that the most powerful military machines of our times—NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization—are pitted against one another. In such circumstances, even a small local incident can have the most serious consequences.

28. In the centre of Europe there is a State—the Federal Republic of Germany—which is pursuing a revenge-seeking, militaristic policy.

29. Let no one airily accuse us of conducting hostile propaganda against the Federal Republic of Germany, or of artificially inflaming passions. For us, German militarism and revanchism are not an abstraction but a historical fact which has brought our people so many misfortunes and has forced us to summon up all our physical and spiritual resources in order to persevere, to triumph and to bind up our wounds, together with all the peoples of the Soviet Union. It is the grim lesson of history that has taught us to be vigilant.

30. There is talk of Bonn's new policy. But what is new about it, if we analyse it? It used to be said in Bonn that the West German Government's objective was to restore the Reich of the 1937 boundaries. Now they talk about the need to "overcome the *status quo*". What is the difference?

31. As in the past, West German policy is primarily based on non-acceptance of existing borders and revision of the results of the Second World War, claims to represent all

Germans, non-recognition of the German Democratic Republic, illegal encroachment on West Berlin, and efforts to obtain nuclear weapons in one form or another.

32. It is also a fact that a neo-Nazi party—calling itself the National Democratic Party—is gaining ground in the Federal Republic of Germany. It is becoming a rallying-point for fascist diehards who dream of getting even for their lost war. Meanwhile, the ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany are preparing the ground for that Party. They even speak of the possibility of a coalition with it. All this is being done in order to frighten the peoples of the other States of Europe.

33. Those are the facts and not one Government, not one responsible statesman is entitled to forget them.

34. Such "forgetfulness" can be understood, though not excused, when shown by delegations representing countries that are far from Europe. But what we utterly fail to understand is how such short-sighted positions can be adopted by those whose countries have tasted through their own bitter experience the fruits of German revanchism and militarism. Evidently the ruling circles of those countries are so blinded by their selfish class interests that they are prepared to forget the tragic lessons of their countries' recent past.

35. While realizing the danger to peace inherent in these political developments in Europe, we are, of course, not surrendering to pessimism. We are firmly convinced that even though the States of Europe may have different social systems, they share a common goal, namely to preserve and strengthen the foundations of peace on the European continent, where the fires of both world wars were kindled. This conviction of ours stems not only from an understanding of the vital interests and aspirations of the European peoples, but also from a realistic assessment of the forces opposing the policy of military adventurism and would-be aggression.

36. The foremost bastion of peace in central Europe is the German Democratic Republic. The existence of two German States is an indisputable fact, a reality, which does not depend on the willingness or unwillingness of particular countries or Governments to recognize the German Democratic Republic as a sovereign State. The facts of life will prevail over the obstacles on this path raised by the enemies of socialism and peace, and we are convinced that the time is not far off when everyone will realize that the problems of peace and security in Europe cannot be settled without the German Democratic Republic.

37. We contend that both German States, which occupy important positions in the system of international relations, should become full Members of the United Nations. The Ukrainian delegation is confident that the participation of the German Democratic Republic in the work of the United Nations would strengthen those forces in the Organization which advocate co-operation between States in the interests of peace and progress.

38. The Chairman of the Soviet delegation, A. A. Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, stated from this rostrum that the Soviet Union was ready to

² *Ibid.*, Twenty-first Session, Annexes, agenda item 27, document A/6529 and Add.1.

co-operate with the Federal Republic of Germany in various fields (1679th meeting). The Ukrainian people and Government support that constructive approach, and express the hope that the Federal Republic of Germany, basing its policy on the real situation resulting from the Second World War, will find it possible to make its contribution to the strengthening of peace in Europe. In our view the question of convening a conference of all European States to discuss today's problems of consolidating peace in Europe is a matter which is now ripe for consideration.

39. The community of socialist States, in which more than half the population of the European continent lives is an extremely important factor for peace in post-war Europe. The countries of that community are united by old ties of deep friendship, by common ideas, and by a common path; they have voluntarily assumed various obligations, including that of ensuring their mutual security. The socialist States, united in the Warsaw Treaty Defence Organization, are a reliable bulwark of peace in Europe.

40. Over the years of post-war relations between States, a regular pattern has emerged and become crystallized in the process of maintaining and strengthening peace in our time. It is characterized by the fact that with the existence of two socio-political systems—the world socialist system and the world capitalist system—the greatest threat to the general peace comes from the imperialist powers' attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of the countries of the socialist community.

41. The socialist States are well aware of the subversive activities of the imperialist forces against the socialist world. They are determined to resist them; as dangerous to the peoples of the world, with all the means at their disposal. Let the imperialist circles not imagine that their plans to interfere in the affairs of the socialist States will be successful. The peoples of the socialist countries, united by the community of their lofty ideals and of their destiny, will themselves settle problems relating to their mutual relations, and no one can interfere in this matter in any way. To ignore this reality of our time, and to encroach upon the inviolability of the boundary of the socialist community of States constitutes premeditated sabotage of the very foundations of international peace and security.

42. Quite recently the forces of aggression and international reaction were dealt a rebuff, and an uncompromising rebuff, in Europe. This further served to strengthen the foundations of peace and European security. The whole world was enabled to realize that support, consolidation and production of the socialist achievements of peoples are the common international duty of the socialist States, that these are not words but a fact. The socialist States are fulfilling and will continue to fulfil this duty of theirs, defending their vital interests to the last.

43. The international situation continues to hinge to a large extent on the question of Viet-Nam. The aggression of the United States against the people of Viet-Nam, which is a crime against international peace and security, is hampering the constructive efforts of States, creating tension in relations between them and inflaming the political atmosphere.

44. But now, for the first time, factors are emerging which may lead to a political settlement of the problem of Viet-Nam.

45. The heroic Vietnamese people have resisted the onslaughts of the aggressor and have demonstrated to the whole world their courage, patriotism and invincibility. No one can deny that this has been the main outcome of the war in Viet-Nam. The Ukrainian SSR, along with the other friends of Viet-Nam, is proud that its brotherly assistance and support have helped to strengthen the position of the Vietnamese people in their struggle against the United States aggressors. Appropriate assistance and support will be given to the people of Viet-Nam as long as may be necessary.

46. The course of the war in Viet-Nam, the military fiascos of the aggressor, have, in the United States itself, caused not only large sections of the public but also a growing number of political leaders to call for a political, and not a military, settlement of the problem of Viet-Nam.

47. In this connexion, it would be hard to overestimate the contribution made by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam in agreeing to establish contact with the United States side in Paris. We support the declaration of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam that it is prepared to discuss all aspects of a settlement of the Viet-Nameese question after a full and unconditional cessation of bombing and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. This is the key which alone can open the door to such negotiations.

48. The political basis for settling the Viet-Nameese question is set forth in the well-known stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and in the political programme of 1 September 1967 adopted by the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam. We fully support that basis—which is in accordance with the 1954 Geneva Agreements—for settling the Vietnamese question.

49. However, despite the emergence of a number of factors conducive to a cessation of the war in Viet-Nam, the United States Government does not appear over-anxious to take advantage of this opportunity. The constant assurances of the United States that it wants peace in Viet-Nam are words which are not matched by deeds. The American side is to blame for the continuing bloodshed in Viet-Nam.

50. Many States are increasingly supporting the demand for the unconditional cessation of all bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, and of all other acts of war against it. This is being demonstrated even by the present session of the General Assembly.

51. Another region in which dangerous tension still exists is the Middle East. The elimination of the consequences of Israel's aggression against the Arab States is one of the basic problems before the United Nations. The Organization has taken certain steps in this regard: the Security Council has condemned Israel's acts of aggression in a number of its resolutions; a programme for a political settlement in the Middle East was drafted and approved by the Security Council in its well-known resolution [242 (1967)] of 22

November 1967; the tasks of facilitating the implementation of that resolution was entrusted to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Jar-ring.

52. The Government of the United Arab Republic has put forward a constructive proposal for the implementation in stages of the Security Council resolution concerning conditions for a political settlement. This proposal has received wide support from States interested in establishing a lasting peace in the Middle East.

53. Who will venture to deny that lasting peace in the Middle East can be established only on the basis of the withdrawal of Israel troops from all the Arab territories they have seized, on the basis of the principle of the territorial integrity and the independence of every State in the Middle East.

54. But there is no peace in the Middle East. Israel troops are still the lords and masters of the areas of the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan which they have occupied. The Israel occupation authorities are subjecting the Arab populations to violent and high-handed treatment. The ruling circles of Israel make no attempt to conceal their intentions of annexing the conquered territories. Israel has not stopped committing acts of armed provocation against the neighbouring Arab States.

55. In refusing to comply with the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 on the settlement of the situation in the Middle East, the Israel Government is in fact acting in a way that will frustrate a political settlement and is trying from a position of strength to impose upon the Arabs conditions which are patently unacceptable to them and are incompatible with the sovereignty and security of the Arab States. This was reaffirmed once again in the statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel from this rostrum only a few days ago [1686th meeting]. The comments made on that statement by Mr. Riad, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Arab Republic, [1689th meeting] were, in our view, well founded.

56. Israel dares to challenge the United Nations only because it is supported in its aggressive policy by the forces of imperialism, notably the United States of America. The United Nations General Assembly must therefore demand all the more strongly that the Israel aggressors and their patrons should stop this criminal toying with the destinies of the peoples of the Middle East and comply with the decisions of the Security Council.

57. The peoples of the world expect the United Nations General Assembly to take effective steps to strengthen peace in the Far East. If tension in that region is to be reduced, and if conditions conducive to the peaceful unification of Korea on democratic principles are to be created, United States and all other foreign forces must be withdrawn forthwith from the territory of South Korea. The main reason for the division of Korea is the gross intervention by the United States in the internal affairs of the Korean people, the United States policy of making South Korea a strategic springboard and a major military base aimed at the security of the peoples of Asia. The

withdrawal of all foreign forces from South Korea and the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Reunification and Rehabilitation of Korea are the demands of our times. They have been put forward in the General Assembly by socialist and Afro-Asian States. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, as one of the sponsors of the agenda item concerning the withdrawal of foreign forces [A/7184 and Add.1 and 2], hopes that at the twenty-third session of the General Assembly progress will finally be made in a solution.

58. The question of the implementation of the historic United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)] is on the agenda of the present session. Through the selfless struggle of the oppressed countries and peoples and the support they have received from the socialist and other freedom-loving countries, the overwhelming majority of former colonies have already acquired independent statehood. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR warmly welcomes the delegation of the newly independent State of Swaziland, and wishes the people of that young African State all success.

59. The peoples of the world have won great victories in their fight against colonialism. But it would be a mistake to forget that a considerable part of the African continent, the southern part, is still under the heel of colonial régimes, racism and *apartheid*. Freedom is indivisible, just as peace is indivisible. So long as southern Africa remains in the grip of colonial exploitation and 50 million people remain in colonial bondage, honest people on this earth cannot feel at ease. This is a situation which also involves the authority and prestige of the United Nations. The Organization must resolutely continue the struggle for the complete and final abolition of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. Through concerted international action the States Members of the United Nations can and must effectively promote the attainment by the peoples of Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and the Portuguese and other colonies of their right to freedom and independence.

60. The United Nations has now encountered a situation in which the South African and Southern Rhodesian racists, together with the Portuguese colonialists, have entered into a compact for the purpose of thwarting United Nations efforts to help in the speedy liberation of the peoples of southern Africa. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR strongly denounces the reactionary activities of those régimes and would like to state quite categorically that without the military, economic and political support of monopolist forces, racism and colonialism in southern Africa would have long ceased to exist.

61. The Ukrainian people has always supported and will go on supporting the cause of speedy elimination of the vestiges of colonialism.

62. It has become the duty of all progressive forces of our time to support and assist the just national liberation struggle of the peoples, and to co-operate with the newly independent States. Declaratory statements on the equality of nations which are not backed up by constant and effective support for the anti-imperialist liberation struggle of the peoples are empty words.

63. The representatives of many Asian and African States have from this rostrum spoken with understandable concern of the economic and social needs of their States. We have full understanding for those needs and are doing our bit to assist the developing countries.

64. The responsibility for the difficulties being experienced by the peoples of the developing countries lies with those who have plundered their economy in the past and are continuing to do so by exporting capital and imposing terms of unequal international trade. That is the main reason why the development efforts of many countries are not yielding the expected results.

65. We share the attitude of those who demand that countries should receive a much larger share of the profits derived from the exploitation of their natural resources by foreign capital and that fair prices should be fixed for commodities and manufactures so that international trade can be profitable for the developing countries too.

66. Realities are forcing the liberated peoples to the conclusion that no matter how much foreign assistance they receive, successful economic development ultimately depends on their internal efforts, on radical social and economic changes.

67. The draft declaration on social development [A/7161], whose consideration by the General Assembly is to be completed at the present session may be of some assistance to many Member States in solving the social problems they are facing.

68. Social inequality inevitably produces exploitation of man by man and leads to the violation of fundamental human rights and freedoms. Unfortunately, we are obliged to note, even in this year of 1968, which has been proclaimed the International Year for Human Rights the existence in certain parts of the world of the criminal policies of *apartheid*, racial discrimination, colonial bondage and genocide, and the revival and activation of neo-Nazism—the grossest outrages against the elementary rights of millions of people.

69. The representative of the Ukrainian SSR in the Committee on Human Rights and other United Nations bodies have on many occasions indignantly denounced these intolerable manifestations which flout the lofty ideals and noble principles of the United Nations, and have made constructive proposals for the speedy eradication of these blatant mass denials of human rights.

70. New problems arise in the world nearly every day, and many of them directly involve the United Nations. Its prestige depends on its success in handling those problems. And, of course, delays and indecision in considering them add nothing to its credit. It is more than high time to restore the lawful rights in the United Nations of the People's Republic of China whose seat is being occupied by the Chiang Kai-shek clique.

71. The momentous problems before the United Nations are difficult problems. But they are not insoluble and they can be solved if we maintain and strengthen peace, if we expand fruitful co-operation among States and if we let human reason prevail.

72. In recent years a number of important international treaties and agreements have been concluded, some immediate problems settled, and further successes achieved in the struggle against colonialism. This is the result of the growing and strengthening influence on the world historical process of the forces of socialism, of the national liberation movement and of the movement of peoples for peace and social progress.

73. We Soviet people pay a high tribute to other countries and peoples for the contributions they have made to this cause. But we are proud that for over half a century now the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have been bringing to mankind the ideas of freedom and independence, national and social renewal, peace and friendship—the ideas of the great Lenin, whose 100th birthday will be commemorated by the whole world in 1970.

74. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, born in the glow of the Great October Socialist Revolution, has always fought for social progress and for peace among peoples and will continue to do so. Here, too, in the United Nations we try to do all we can to strengthen international peace and security through the efforts of all the peoples of the world.

75. Our delegation considers that this session of the General Assembly will be a success if all States Members of the United Nations show a willingness to work together to solve the problems confronting the Organization.

76. Mr. STEWART (United Kingdom): I want first to congratulate our President on his election, to wish him success and to express our goodwill and our support. I would want also to express our gratitude to the retiring President, Mr. Mănescu, the Foreign Minister of Romania, whose country I had the honour to visit recently. I believe that the way he handled our affairs earned the admiration of us all.

77. The President in his opening address to this Assembly reminded us that the United Nations is not a separate body with an existence of its own from its Members. If in what I have to say I use the words "United Nations", I shall try to keep in mind, as I think we ought all to do, that that is simply a way of saying "we ourselves acting in and through the United Nations". Its successes are our successes, and its failures are our failures. It is ourselves.

78. It is not possible at this Assembly to make a complacent speech, because we all know that we meet in an atmosphere of frustration, a frustration not confined to us but felt by citizens and peoples all over the world, a frustration which is in part the cause of the unrest we find among the younger generation in almost every country in the world.

79. We have therefore to ask ourselves certain fundamental questions. First of all, what is the United Nations for? What are we here for? First among its purposes, I suppose, is the prevention of armed conflict. And that means preventing it, not merely in the way in which a policeman may stop a brawl in the street, but going further than that and getting to the causes of conflict. The United Nations should not exclusively and does not mainly act as a

policeman; it must also try to act as a conciliator. But beyond the task of preventing conflict and making it possible for people to live, there is the further task of making life worth living. And that we endeavour to do in our social, our humanitarian and our economic activities.

80. If that is the answer to the question "What are we here for?", we have to admit that we have had, so far, only very limited success. We can mark some successes, but we are conscious all the time of great problems where we have not fulfilled yet either of those purposes: either to make life safe or to make it worth living. So a further question we have to ask is: What are the conditions of successful action, what in fact do we have to do?

81. Now those are questions that face all of us, but they face with particular intensity those who are permanent members of the Security Council. For this Organization has to work on the assumption that its real effectiveness depends on a considerable measure of agreement among those permanent members. Do we do enough to make a systematic attempt to see that that agreement, necessary to the work of the United Nations, is forthcoming? The Secretary-General has addressed a letter to four of us which suggests ways in which we could get somewhat nearer to the answer to this problem. I believe that letter deserves from all those to whom it is addressed sympathetic and constructive attention, and that is the spirit in which our Government will approach it.

82. But the permanent members cannot have that degree of unity necessary to the success of this Organization unless there is a measure of confidence among them. And we must say straight away that that confidence, which many of us had hoped was growing, which we had some reason to believe was growing, has been sadly shaken by events in Czechoslovakia. For the conscience of the whole world was affronted by that invasion and an indignant world made its feelings plain here in the United Nations.

83. The representative who was at this rostrum before me took a rather different view. I ask him to notice that what I say now is not just some prejudice of the British representative; it expresses, as we know from proceedings in the Security Council, the overwhelming view of mankind—for the Security Council's resolution would have been overwhelmingly adopted but for the Soviet veto.

84. We in Britain respect and admire the Government and people of Czechoslovakia in this tragic and testing time and we assure them of our sympathy and goodwill.

85. I said that hope had been growing of progress, progress in relations between States and progress in meeting some of the new challenges posed by scientific development and discoveries; say, in outer space or on the sea-bed. But this progress can best be founded on a wider respect for international law based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It is here that the effect of what happened in Czechoslovakia is most disturbing. It is clear from the Charter that Members of the United Nations are required to oppose aggression; to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; to recognize the sovereign equality of all Member States; to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State.

86. Those words are familiar to us all because they come from the first two Articles of the Charter. But almost equally familiar are repeated protestations of the representatives of the Soviet Union, and of Bulgaria, Hungary and Poland, of their devotion to these objectives. Let me quote one example. In his speech to the Assembly on 23 September 1966, the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gromyko, said:

"Acts of interference in the domestic affairs of independent States, wherever they are committed, are a threat to peace and to the security of all peoples . . .

"The Soviet Union, a firm adherent of the principle of non-interference . . . vigorously opposes those who disregard the sovereign rights of peoples and seek to implant lawlessness . . . in international relations." [1413th meeting, paras. 125 and 126.]

87. Now, I should like to ask, how can this be reconciled with some other words used by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union in this Assembly on 3 October 1968, and again I quote:

"The Soviet Union deems it necessary to proclaim from this rostrum . . . that the socialist States cannot and will not allow a situation where the vital interests of socialism are infringed upon and encroachments are made on the inviolability of the boundaries of the socialist commonwealth . . ."* [1679th meeting, para. 78.]

88. Set those words side by side with what has been done in Czechoslovakia and we see that this doctrine of a so-called "socialist commonwealth" is an assertion that the Soviet Union will judge for itself what the interests of certain other States may be, and will, if it sees fit, take military action outside its own territory in accordance with its judgement of what the interests of other States may be. That is wholly repugnant to the Charter. Speaking as a socialist and representing a country which belongs to a real Commonwealth, I reject both the doctrine and the perversion of language in which it was expressed.

89. However, the United Kingdom still earnestly seeks to develop understanding with the nations of Eastern Europe, as with all others. We must hope that the Soviet Union and the other Governments concerned in the invasion will come to realize and to repair the harm they have done to the authority of international law and order. By far the most significant step they could take would be to withdraw their troops from Czechoslovakia. There is no external threat to Czechoslovakia and there never has been except from its allies in the East.

90. Despite this tragic setback to all our efforts to bring understanding between East and West, the United Kingdom Government remains convinced that this is the path—the continued search for *détente*—which we must still try to follow. We in the West have helped to arrest conflict in recent years through a collective defence organization which is within the terms of Article 51 of the Charter. This has preserved peace in Europe and the North Atlantic area for twenty years. But it is not enough to prevent conflict; we must also work to relax tension and work for a lasting security. That is one of the reasons why the British Government has repeatedly made clear that we remain

* Provisional translation taken from the text of the interpretation.

dedicated to the aim of closer integration in Western Europe. However, this movement towards closer integration in Western Europe—although it has the support of almost all the Governments and the great majority of the peoples of Western Europe—has so far been frustrated. We all know why, and we deplore the fact.

91. Meanwhile the people of Germany remain divided and unrepresented in the United Nations, and the efforts of the Federal Republic to develop a new relationship with its neighbours in the East have been rebuffed and misrepresented. It is symptomatic of the bankruptcy of Soviet policy that Moscow should have embarked on the clumsy diversion of threatening West Germany with articles of the United Nations Charter framed in completely different circumstances. I wish to say one other thing on Germany. I repeat here once again the solemn commitments undertaken by the British Government with its allies to uphold the security of the Federal Republic and of West Berlin.

92. Now I have said that about Czechoslovakia and its effects upon the European scene. But, even now, there is some work that it is possible to do to try to recreate confidence and that can be done particularly in the field of disarmament. Here I would say that I welcome the emphasis given to disarmament by many speakers, including the speaker for the Soviet Union and the speaker for the Ukraine who preceded me here. The signing of the non-proliferation treaty was an important step forward, but it is a step that will rapidly lose its value if it is not followed by further measures in the disarmament field.

Mr. Emilio Arenales (Guatemala) took the Chair.

93. Our aim is general and complete disarmament. We know by experience that if we are to get there we have to seize hold, one after another, of the steps to disarmament that can practically be taken now. It was because we approached the problem in that way that we obtained agreement on a draft and got the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [see resolution 2373 (XXII)] signed. Where do we go next? My own country has put forward proposals at Geneva for making the test ban treaty comprehensive. There have been difficulties in this. We have put forward a proposal which we believe finds a way through those difficulties. We have also put forward proposals with regard to chemical and biological warfare. My country is in a position to claim that a substantial number of the ideas now before the eighteen nations in Geneva have been brought forward by the British Government.

94. If, then, we can get as far as the withdrawal of troops from Czechoslovakia and if we can proceed to make workmanlike progress on disarmament, we can still promote that confidence which is needed if there is to be some measure of agreement between the permanent members and if in consequence the United Nations is to be able to get on with its work. I said that its work was in the first place concerned with preventing conflict. I want to look at some particular problems, to try to chalk up where we have been successful and where we have not and see whether we can draw from that some conclusion concerning what the conditions of success are and how, therefore, we ought to approach our problems in the future.

95. To take a first example, I believe one could say, on the question of Cyprus, that, although it still remains unsolved, the United Nations is entitled to feel that it has made real progress and that it is not foolish or over-optimistic to hope for real settlement. We have got that far partly because there was an efficient United Nations force to help in the immediate task of keeping the peace. One of the lessons we must draw—a very homely one—is that, if we want to do our job properly, we have to have efficient administration. I would say this particularly applies in those circumstances, limited in number but important, where it is desirable that a United Nations force be organized. Going beyond that—as I put it earlier, beyond the work of the policeman to the work of the conciliator—I think we have noticed with gratification the way in which the parties concerned have engaged in serious discussion of the dispute. By so doing, they have shown respect for the principles of the Charter and for the work of the United Nations, and I wish them success in those discussions. There are two conclusions to be drawn: if we want the United Nations to be successful, it has to be efficient administratively, and its Members have to mean what they say and they have to show respect for those parts of the Charter that require all nations to seek peaceful methods of solving disputes.

96. I turn next to the Middle East, where we cannot congratulate ourselves, at least not as much as we might be entitled to in the example of Cyprus. We have not got so far. Last year the United Nations was unable to keep the peace. Nor so far have we succeeded in creating the conditions of peace, and when many of us came to New York for this Assembly we were greatly concerned by the outlook. Without greater readiness of the parties to enter into substantial discussions on the basis of the unanimously approved resolution, there seemed no hope of avoiding a further drift to disaster. Dr. Jarring's skill and persistence have earned the admiration of all, but no one would expect him to continue his efforts if there were not a new readiness on all sides to enable him to go forward. Dr. Jarring is in the position of a man asked to solve a jigsaw puzzle—a hard enough thing to do at any time; but if people do not give you the pieces of the puzzle to start on, it becomes harder still.

97. At this critical point, however, the means for a solution are available. The Security Council resolution deals with everything that must accompany a lasting settlement, and Dr. Jarring is still here to assist in working out how the resolution is to be put into effect.

98. There are so many complicated matters to be settled that it would be unrealistic to regard that resolution as self-implementing. But it would be equally unrealistic to be dogmatic about the way agreement should be hammered out, and unreasonable and dogmatic to preclude any one method of hammering out agreement.

99. The parties concerned have accepted the resolution. We understand that they are ready to continue to discuss with Dr. Jarring the means of carrying it out. It is recognized that all aspects of the resolution must be accepted and that there should be agreement on all of them and on the programme under which all of them will be put into effect. But in the work which will be necessary, I believe much emphasis must be laid on the problem of the

refugees. I am glad to note that the Israel Government intends to introduce new measures to hasten the return to their homes of those who fled during the fighting last year. I very much hope those new measures will lead to the speedy return, before the rigours of the winter, of all those who wish to go back.

100. But the greater task is to help the large body of refugees who have suffered so tragically for the last twenty years; to give them again the opportunity to live in the dignity which should be the right of every human being. The task, in which Her Majesty's Government will be ready to assist, will inevitably take long to complete. But I believe that if an early agreement could be reached about how this problem should be tackled, this could transform the atmosphere. We cannot see the end of the problem all at once. If we had the conviction that there was going to be a real beginning in solving it, that would transform the atmosphere and we should be in sight of that real, just and lasting peace that all in the Middle East so urgently need. But there must be no more delay. I see no effective alternative to Dr. Jarring's work. It is for the countries directly concerned to move from words to action, to lay proposals before Dr. Jarring and to seek, with him, to bridge the differences between their proposals and to widen the area of the agreement. It is the duty of all Members of the United Nations to use whatever influence they possess, not as partisans of one side or the other, but as partisans of peace and in support of Dr. Jarring's mission. In anything that the British Government has been able to contribute, this has been its consistent purpose.

101. I have spoken of Cyprus and of the Middle East. I turn now to the problem of Viet-Nam. Here we have to say that, not only has the United Nations made no progress in solving this problem, but, also, that all important discussion about it has been outside the framework of the United Nations. Eyes are turned now, if they look for hope, not here but to the talks in Paris.

102. I would say one word about the talks in Paris. Some months ago, the United States took action which removed something like 80 per cent of the territory of North Viet-Nam from the dread of attack and war. I should have thought it reasonable that the Government in Hanoi should be prepared to take at least some measure to reduce the scale of the war. And—whatever may be thought of the rest of the dispute—if anyone says in these circumstances that he thinks the Government of Hanoi is entitled to continue the war with unabated ferocity, I cannot see how he can claim that he really wants peace in the matter.

103. But why is our attention turned to Paris and not here, in the matter of Viet-Nam? Why has the United Nations not been able to handle it? One reason, certainly, is that the People's Republic of China is not represented in this Organization. From this I draw another conclusion as to the conditions for the success of our work: that we must seek to be a universal Organization, not excluding particular States or Governments, provided they are genuine States, on the ground that we do not happen to like their régimes.

104. I move from that problem to one which goes to the heart of the United Nations Charter and which, I believe, very many of us here have been following with acute

interest in the last week. I refer to Rhodesia, and I want to say this. The talks which took place in Gibraltar between the Prime Minister and the leaders of the illegal régime have ended—I regret to say that they have ended—because of fundamental disagreements on major issues. A wide gulf between the two positions remains. But I am sure it was right that this attempt should have been made at the highest level in order to discover whether a settlement could be achieved. We should not have wanted this dispute to continue merely because the British Government had not made every reasonable effort to get a settlement, but throughout the talks Mr. Wilson made it plain that a settlement would have to be a settlement on the basis of the six principles which were, and are, the basis of our policy. In the absence of such a settlement, it is important that all of us here should continue resolutely with our policy, with the mandatory sanctions on which we are agreed. When a settlement which the world can accept is reached, it will be that policy which has played a great part in reaching it. In the absence of a settlement, we must continue that policy.

105. And why have we an agreed policy? Not because everybody, when we first began to discuss this problem, had exactly the same view as to the best way of dealing with it, but because we were all prepared to work out the highest common factor of agreement and concentrate on getting ahead with that. I draw from that yet a further conclusion as to one of the requirements for success in the United Nations. That is to say, we must have a practical appreciation of what can be done and what cannot. We do not always remember that. We sometimes pass resolutions which quite frankly not only are of no effect in themselves, but can be dangerous to the United Nations because of their obvious impracticability—and they devalue the currency of United Nations action.

106. I am thinking, for example, of resolutions which call on us to do things that we know quite well are beyond the capacity of this Organization—such was the resolution on South West Africa—or resolutions which are in conflict with things clearly laid down in the Charter. I refer there to the resolution on Gibraltar which conflicted, in my judgement and in that of many, with the requirement in the Charter that when you are dealing with colonial or former colonial questions the interests of the inhabitants should be paramount. We want to avoid, I think, resolutions of that kind. Not only do they not tell the world anything useful, but they damage the credibility of the United Nations. As a British Judge once said about a wildly unlikely statement by a witness: "This is like the thirteenth stroke of a clock that is out of order. It is not only incredible in itself but it discredits all previous utterances."

107. I have spoken so far of present and past problems. But we are beginning to notice that we ought to try and seize certain problems by the forelock when they begin to appear on the world horizon. That is why it is good that we are already beginning to consider the problem of the uses of the sea-bed. There is similarly the initiative of Sweden³ that we ought to consider the effects of modern industrial civilization on human environment. For all any of us know,

³ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Forty-fifth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 12, document E/4466/Add.1.

in ten years' time, the question of the use of the sea-bed might have grown to be one of the major questions affecting either human prosperity or human security. If we do not get on with our consultations on it now, we might find that a situation had arisen when the problem had assumed great importance and when because of that, country after country in the world had already taken up fixed positions as to how it should be handled and had got vested interests in solving it one way rather than another. Once that happened, it would be very difficult to get a solution. It is important, therefore, that these problems should be seized as quickly as possible, and I am glad to see that we are doing that. I think that shows that another condition for the success of the United Nations is that it should exercise foresight.

108. I said that our job was not only to prevent conflict but to make life worth living. I think it is important for me to stress that. I have the good fortune to live in one of the richer countries of the world, a country free from internal strife, a country which, if the peace of the world is kept, can look forward to a rising standard of life year after year. It is quite easy therefore for me to say that I believe in peace, order and stability. But what about large sections of the human race to which at present peace means the continuation of poverty, the continuation of oppression, the continuation of injustice? The virtues of peace and stability will not be quite so obvious to them. If we want men to love peace, we shall want to make sure that peace means something more to them than the continuation of poverty, oppression and discrimination.

109. We try to tackle that. We try to tackle it in the field of human rights. Article 56 of the Charter makes it clear that no country can say that the human rights of its citizens are an exclusively domestic matter. A country that denies its citizens the basic human rights is by virtue of Article 56 in breach of an international obligation.

110. Human rights are many and widespread. If we set to work, I do not doubt that we could all of us point out to each other ways in which our neighbours fell short of a full realization of human rights. But it probably would be more profitable if instead of reproaching each other we asked, ourselves each one of us, the question: Is my own country doing enough to establish human rights?

111. Well, in the United Kingdom we are trying to do so. We have enacted recently, for the first time in our history, an Act dealing with relations between people of different races in the United Kingdom. In order to establish further our regard for the whole principle of international law we shall, at the beginning of next year, withdraw most of our reservations to the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice.

112. I sometimes think some of our discussions on human rights are spoilt by the vice of partiality, a tendency sometimes for one country to attack another for breach of human rights, without having asked itself first sufficiently what the state of affairs is in its own country. Another condition, therefore, for the success of our work is that fairness of judgement that causes a man or a nation to apply the same standards of conduct to himself as he requires of other people.

113. Further in the field of trying to make life worth living, there is relief and humanitarian work. And here we think particularly of the tragic events in Nigeria. We have the Secretary-General's report on the work our Organization and other international organizations are doing there. My country has contributed and will contribute to that work. We have had from Mr. Arikpo the assurance of the Nigerian Government's desire to co-operate with internationally-organized relief work. The international community, therefore must, in co-operation with Nigeria, continue this work until the need for it is at an end.

114. Among other things needed to make life worth living is to get on with the economic side of our work. For many millions the personal problems of poverty and hunger are of much greater urgency than the political problems which I have described. You have reminded us, Mr. President, that economic and social work is 85 per cent of our efforts. This is as it should be. Britain is trying to do, within its financial limitations, all it can to contribute to this work. We have increased our contribution to UNICEF; we have contributed to the Secretary-General's Trust Fund for Population; and I am glad to say that within its existing aid ceiling the United Kingdom Government will increase its contribution to the United Nations Development Programme in 1969 by rather more than \$1 million.

115. But, of course, a further cause of frustration is the slow progress in bridging the gap between the developed and developing nations of the world; and we have not yet been able to get the results through the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development that we had hoped to get. But the second session of UNCTAD did mark some useful achievements, and brought into focus the practical possibilities in the years ahead.

116. There is an increasing awareness everywhere that development is the concern of all countries—developing and developed alike—a complex joint enterprise calling for the closest co-operation of all in the patient search for agreement on what the Secretary-General of UNCTAD has called "convergent action".

117. My conclusion, therefore, is that if we are to escape from the frustration that now surrounds us and carry out the purposes for which we are supposed to be here, we must have regard to the universality of membership, to respect for the Charter, to efficiency of administration, to a sensible concern with what is practical, and concentration of our efforts on that; to the exercise of foresight and to the exercise of fair judgement. And we had better hurry up: every year the scientists produce some new device or idea which is either pregnant with promise of greater prosperity for mankind, or pregnant with the threat of more appalling disaster. Every year, therefore, the prize for success in our work in the United Nations is enlarged; and every year, the penalty for failure—failure to keep the peace—becomes more terrible. It is at that crisis of human affairs that we now stand.

118. Mr. NIKEZIĆ (Yugoslavia) (*translated from French*): Mr. President, first allow me to congratulate you on behalf of the Yugoslav delegation, on your election to the highest office of our Assembly and to say that I am certain that this choice will ensure the success of our discussions at this

difficult time. Your election is a tribute to your own qualities as a statesman and to the role of the Latin American countries, which are founder Members of our Organization.

119. I take this opportunity to greet the newest Member of our Organization, the Kingdom of Swaziland, and to extend our sincere congratulations to its people and Government.

120. I also wish to express my delegation's gratitude to the outgoing President, Mr. Corneliu Manescu, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Romania, who successfully presided over the highly important work of the last session.

121. My delegation, like others, is compelled to note that the world situation is disquieting. We are still at the stage of formulating general intentions and initial measures, not only with respect to long-term problems, such as development and disarmament, but also as regards the very principles of international behaviour, so often proclaimed but still not practised. We are rightly concerned over the instability and conflicts in various regions, and the uncertainty about the future.

122. In the introduction to his annual report [A/7201/Add.1] the Secretary-General, U Thant, has clearly presented our basic dilemmas. I should like to stress that my delegation shares his anxiety with regard to the violation of the principles of the Charter through the use of settling international differences. The continuation of the war in Viet-Nam, the crisis in the Middle East and the recent events in Europe—the armed intervention in Czechoslovakia and the occupation of that country—are all seed-beds of conflict which jeopardize the very foundations of international order. Although the causes and protagonists of these crises are different, they all involve the intensive use of force and recourse to pressure and interference in the internal affairs of State, to the detriment especially of the small countries and of those which are economically and militarily weak. The independence and territorial integrity of such countries are being infringed with increasing frequency. The growing concentration of economic and military strength in the hands of the great Powers, and the ways in which that strength is being employed, lead, judging by all appearances, to the wider use of force in international relations.

123. The two dominant features of all international relations are, on the one hand, the role of the great Powers and, on the other, the aspiration of all peoples to exert on an equal footing, more active influence on international affairs.

124. The responsibilities of the great Powers are well known. There is no intention to underestimate their role, which is also recognized by the Charter; still less is there any question of attempting to marshal the small countries against them. For we must not only reckon with the reality of the world as it is—the result of past events taken as a whole—but we are also convinced that the great Powers and the other major industrial States are stabilizing factors essential for peace; their economic potential is necessary for the progress of all nations and of the world as a whole. We

believe, however, that the great Powers cannot fulfil their role within the sole framework of the rivalry which exists between them, and that they must join all the other States in order to solve key problems in the interests of general progress.

125. There is no doubt that bilateral relations between the great Powers must be encouraged. Yet, the world cannot remain a world divided between East and West, a world of Super-Powers, a world which their quarrels would lead to the brink of war and their arrangements condemn to submission. The bloc structure, supposedly a basis for equilibrium and international peace, is itself going through a crisis.

126. The main reason for this is that the majority of States, motivated not by considerations of prestige but by the need for progress, now propose to act more independently at the international level and for that the bloc framework which is a product of the cold war is too narrow.

127. Moreover, the policy of blocs not only has failed to eliminate conflict and instability but has also brought about a deterioration of international relations and a state of insecurity for all countries including the States which are members of such alliances, within which the domination of the strongest tends to replace the relationship of allies.

128. Naturally this practice gives rise to theories which may differ as to reasons invoked and arguments but which have one thing in common: the division of the world into blocs is regarded as the permanent basis of all international relations and of world peace. Small States which do not belong to an alliance are even being told that they cannot survive without this or that bloc. What may heretofore have been a hidden motive is being openly advanced today as a doctrine which holds that in defence of the higher interests of a bloc, the dominant Power is entitled to intervene unilaterally in its "zone" in order to establish a state of affairs to its liking, particularly as regards the internal development of members of the bloc. This is actually a theory of limited sovereignty.

129. For many years and in different parts of the world, the principles of the Charter and accepted standards of conduct between sovereign States have been violated while it was argued that they were being observed. Have we now reached the point where Powers will openly reject the principles themselves?

130. So far as Yugoslavia, a socialist and non-aligned country, is concerned, we consider that no supposedly higher interests, no loyalty—ideological or otherwise—can take precedence over the independence of peoples, the sovereignty and integrity of States or be above the authority of their governments or the other lawful representatives which those peoples have chosen for themselves. We believe that the tutelage of any group, whether regional, ethnic or ideological, is unacceptable for sovereign States. It is the co-operation of independent nations, and not the co-existence of hegemonies, which alone can ensure a just peace.

131. We had thought, as had so many others, that Europe had left the cold war behind and was steering away from

that division through a collaboration of all European countries which strengthened their independence and through a more active participation of each of them in European affairs. We had hoped too that the relaxation of tension would lead that continent to assume its full responsibilities towards the rest of the world, especially with regard to development. Recent events have demonstrated, however, that the spirit of division and domination still exists.

132. The future and the peace of Europe, as we have said repeatedly, can only be ensured with the participation on a footing of equality, of all European States. In saying this we do not cherish any illusion that the division into blocs can be surmounted overnight, but we hope to steer a course which would serve the interests of the peoples of Europe. We are aware that at the moment things are moving in the opposite direction, but we are determined, as are many others, to work with patience and persistence towards a relaxation of tension. However, this requires that all desire it and act in that spirit.

133. The events in Europe have only added to the areas of crisis already existing in other parts of the world. The negotiations and contacts on Viet-Nam have not yet created the conditions necessary for peace, and the war continues. The views of my Government regarding Viet-Nam are sufficiently well-known. An undertaking to halt completely the bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam must speedily be given, if a political solution is desired that would secure the legitimate rights of the Vietnamese people, which has sacrificed so much for its freedom.

134. Practically no progress has been made in settling the Middle East crisis and the occupation of territories of the Arab States continues. The fact that the Arab countries have shown a spirit of co-operation in the search for a political solution based on the Security Council's resolution of November 1967 [242 (1967)] is of great importance. However, a clear declaration to the same effect on the part of Israel is still lacking. We consider that the resolution provides a basis for finding political solutions. Consequently we believe that the mission of Mr. Jarring⁴ should be extended; his impartiality and patient efforts are vital to the United Nations and to the parties to this dispute, and will be even more so when the final arrangements are being put into effect. We are convinced that it is in the best interests of the parties involved to emerge from the present situation, but we are equally convinced that this calls for new and urgent efforts on the part of all concerned, and in the first place, for the implementation of the Security Council's resolution. In our opinion, this is the only way to eliminate the danger inherent in a prolongation of this crisis.

135. The situation in the whole southern part of the African continent continues to be disturbing as relations based on racist policies are further aggravated by colonialist stubbornness. We are faced with a state of affairs which seriously threatens the independence and freedom of the whole of Africa. The African countries taking part in the

Algiers Conference⁵ resolved to eliminate this danger but they need the understanding and support of all the Members of our Organization.

136. Although they appear to be isolated, the conflicts which are giving us cause for concern are manifestations of a single crisis of the international community. A further local conflict, coming on top of the existing conflicts, could set off a general conflagration. If we add to this the weight and complexity of economic development problems and also the disagreements concerning methods of solving them, we shall have the complete but sombre picture of today's international relations. The precarious situation of the developing countries within the world economy is already critical and will constitute an even greater danger in the future. The very fact that there is a growing economic disequilibrium would, even if it were not accompanied by so many political pressures, call in question the independence of a great many countries and by the same token, endanger peace.

137. Respect for the independence of States and non-interference in their internal affairs are essential prerequisites for the maintenance of peace and for the stabilization of international relations. The efforts made by the principal nuclear Powers to reduce the risk of a conflict between them are essential, but not in themselves sufficient to ensure peace for all. So long as the methods of force and subjection of others are not banned from international life, world peace will always be in jeopardy.

138. As a result of recent developments, it has become even more obvious that small and medium-sized States can look for their security neither in the system of pacts nor in that of special unilateral guarantees, of which they would only be the passive object. Their security can not be based solely on a relaxation of tension between the blocs and even less on arrangements between them concerning non-interference in the other's sphere of influence. Nor has the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)], which my Government considers very important and which it has signed, provided a satisfactory answer to the problem of security; the same is true of the declaration of guarantee made by the nuclear Powers in the Security Council [1430th meeting]. The Conference of Non-Nuclear Weapon States⁶ did well to lay emphasis on the vital security problems of countries which do not possess nuclear weapons.

139. Security, like peace, is indivisible. The system of security which the world needs must not be focused exclusively on the danger of the use of nuclear weapons; it should make possible effective action to stop any war, wherever it may be and whatever the weapons used. An effective security system must ensure the protection of every people and be based on equal rights for all countries; it must, therefore, while preventing conflicts between the great Powers, guarantee the security of the other countries. True security can only be based on respect for the Charter and the principles of peaceful coexistence, and on joint

⁴ Special Representative of the Secretary-General in the Middle East.

⁵ Fifth session of the Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity held from 13 to 16 September 1968.

⁶ Conference held at Geneva from 29 August to 28 September 1968.

efforts to start disarmament, which remains our essential goal.

140. Let me add here that the maintenance of peace is made even more difficult by the fact that the People's Republic of China, whose importance in international relations is undeniable, is absent from our Organization.

141. Acting in accordance with the thinking I have just outlined, Yugoslavia is one of the countries which have chosen non-alignment, in the conviction that this policy represents their vital interests and, above all, serves the cause of their independence. In refusing to take part in undertakings which, they feel, lead to the continued partition of the world, and its domination by the major Powers, the non-aligned countries seek to remain free to participate in any joint international action to strengthen peace.

142. Yugoslavia bases its policy on respect for the sovereignty, the national independence and the right of each people to decide its own destiny. This policy is founded on the conviction that relaxation of tension, and stability, in international relations cannot be separated from respect for these rights. That is why the Government and public opinion of my country have protested against all infringements of the independence and freedom of peoples, wherever they may occur and whoever the perpetrators may be. The peoples of Yugoslavia have paid dearly for independence, which also means the right to follow one's own road of social and economic development. We cannot recognize the right of anyone to take decisions for us or to interfere in our internal affairs, on any pretext whatever.

143. At the same time I should like to stress that my country has for years engaged in international collaboration on a wide scale and stands ready to co-operate in the future with all States which respect its sovereignty and independence. We do not advocate either economic autarchy or political and social isolation. The frontiers of Yugoslavia are open to all, without taking advantage of the experience of other peoples in the economic field, the wealth of their culture and the originality of their ideas. We attach particular importance to co-operation with our neighbours and, in general, with all the countries of the region in which we live. We are convinced that the need to preserve peace and develop good-neighbourly relations is in the national interest of every one of these countries.

144. We must prevent a return to the cold war. Similarly, it is in the interest of all of us to pursue a policy of *détente*. In our opinion, this calls for the participation of all countries and a change in attitudes in all parts of the world. For *détente* cannot be partial. If accompanied by the re-establishment of confidence, on which it depends, it will prevail everywhere; otherwise it will fail. If it is to succeed, every action contrary to it must first be abandoned and then the steps essential to its continuation must be taken. This is true especially of those whose power is the most heavily involved in current conflicts. We refer here to the need to put an end to the war in Viet-Nam. In the Middle East a start must be made on a political settlement of the crisis. Finally, as regards the situation in Europe, we consider that it is first of all necessary to eliminate the consequences of the intervention which has taken place in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

145. Present conditions have once again placed the role of the United Nations in the foreground. The fact is that the United Nations is still not the effective instrument which the peoples need to safeguard peace and security. However, the common interest of Member States in seeing the principles of the Charter respected—which we have observed once again at this session—strengthens us in our feeling of certainty that peace and co-operation will triumph over the difficulties now facing the world.

**ADDRESS BY MRS. INDIRA GANDHI,
PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA**

146. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The General Assembly will now hear a statement by the Prime Minister of India. I have great pleasure in welcoming Mrs. Indira Gandhi and inviting her to come to the rostrum and address the Assembly.

Her Excellency Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

147. Mrs. GANDHI (India): Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, distinguished representatives, I am grateful to you for according me the high honour of addressing this great Assembly. May I take this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the distinguished office of President of the General Assembly. It is a fitting tribute to Guatemala and to your own personal qualities. I wish you success.

148. I have just come from an instructive and stimulating visit to a number of countries in Latin America and the Caribbean. This enabled me to see the earnest strivings of the peoples of that great continent for social progress and better standards of living.

149. I should like to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General. Where others might have been overwhelmed by heart-break, U Thant has persevered, undaunted, in his great work with rare faith, devotion and detachment. It is up to all of us to give him our fullest support.

150. The United Nations is the trustee of the world's peace and represents the hopes of mankind. Its very existence gives a feeling of assurance that the justice of true causes can be brought fearlessly before the world. This Assembly and the agencies of the United Nations should, in all that they do, sustain those hopes and promote the causes of peace.

151. Seven years ago, India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, addressed this Assembly. He was a believer in seeking areas of agreement and co-operation, and in enlarging them. He advocated before this Assembly a "new approach to co-operation and the furtherance of the co-operative effort". The Assembly accepted his suggestion of an International Co-operation Year. The United Nations also launched a development decade to promote greater economic co-operation between the rich and the poor nations. Two major international conferences on trade and development were held.

152. The interest shown by Member States in these moves aroused great expectations among the developing countries.

We did not seek to share the power of the big Powers. We did not ask that they deny any of their own people their needs in order to fulfil ours. We, who have had twenty years or less of freedom to work for our progress, did not expect miracles of sudden transformation. Only too well do we know how long and hard is the path of development. What we do expect is understanding of the intangible yearnings of people who have long been under foreign domination.

153. Unfortunately, economic co-operation has little progress to show. Nor has there been any notable advance in international co-operation in the political sphere. The reasons for this failure are obvious and many: Economic and military power continue to dominate politics. The carving out of spheres of influence still motivates policies and actions. The desire to mould other nations in the image of one's own inspires propaganda, sowing seeds of mistrust. Nations continue to place narrow national ends above the larger purposes of peace and universal security.

154. In India, we have been powerfully conditioned by Mahatma Gandhi. We believe that the evolution of individuals and societies depends on the extent to which they exercise self-restraint and abjure the use of force. Jawaharlal Nehru, who combined in himself modern political thought and the basic teaching of Mahatma Gandhi, strove to bring about a new system of relations among nations. He was tireless in advocating peaceful coexistence. He believed that in a world rent by conflict, freedom not fear, faith not doubt, confidence not suspicion would lead to friendship amongst nations.

155. The concept was evoking some response among statesmen and nations, and there was a growing recognition that, howsoever difficult it might seem, peaceful coexistence alone could enable the post-war world to solve its disputes rationally. But this trend has received severe jolts.

156. Every now and then violence erupts. Sheer power seemingly prevails over principles, seeking obedience and demanding respect instead of commanding it. Indeed, those who have attempted to eschew the use of force have had to pay the price of restraint. And yet, the world is changing. Implicit faith in the efficacy of and unquestioning dependence on military alliances, as well as the rigidities of the bipolar world, are in a state of flux. Every nation, regardless of size, is endeavouring to establish its own identity. This encourages the hope that despite obstacles the United Nations will be able to help all nations to live in peace and independence.

157. While there is search for a more equitable and humane world order, force continues to be used to attain political ends and to promote national or global interests. It is not my intention to deal with specific issues. Our views have been stated in this Assembly and elsewhere. But there are some which cannot be ignored. The continuance of the tragic conflict in Viet-Nam is a source of constant anxiety. We fervently hope that conditions will be created to enable the discussions to become more purposeful. The Viet-Nameese people must be assured of their inherent right to shape their destiny peacefully and without outside interference. We believe that the key to the next step still lies in the total cessation of the bombing of North Viet-Nam. In

advocating this we are not actuated by a partisan spirit but by our sincere desire for peace and stability.

158. Another source of anxiety, the west Asian crisis, also needs to be resolved by political means. There is every opportunity for doing so, if it is recognized that the security, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the States in this part of the world cannot be based on the redrawing of State frontiers by force or on the basis of permanent hostility.

159. Essential for a peaceful settlement is the withdrawal of foreign forces from all Arab territories occupied in June last year. The process of the restoration of peace can begin and Ambassador Jarring's mission be fruitful only with the clear affirmation of this.

160. Equally explosive is the continued denial of basic human rights on grounds of race. The consciousness of the world community must be aroused not only against South Africa where racial discrimination has been elevated to the level of State policy, but against the emergence of racialism in any form in other areas. We must also firmly resist the last vestiges of colonialism. Our freedom and independence will not be complete so long as the people of South West Africa, Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea are denied theirs.

161. Recent events in Czechoslovakia have cast yet another shadow on the fragile structure for a new world order. The principles of non-interference by one State in the internal affairs of another, of scrupulous respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all States are essential to the principle of peaceful coexistence. It is of the utmost importance that normal conditions should be restored without delay in Czechoslovakia.

162. If the use of force in international affairs is not renounced, and the rights of nations and the equality of races are not respected, how can tensions be reduced or the dangers of conflicts avoided? The world is caught in a vicious circle, because of which any viable international machinery to regulate relations between States is being progressively undermined and faces the danger of eventual collapse.

163. Nuclear weapons today represent the ultimate in force. Thus any attempt to eliminate force as the determining factor in international relations must begin with practical steps towards disarmament. But the nuclear menace has become an accepted fact of life and the world has developed a certain insensitivity to the nature of the threat. Despite every solemn resolution adopted by this Assembly, States continue to enlarge their capacity for nuclear war. The arms race and the search for more sophisticated weapons have rendered meaningless the concept of balance of power. Yet, every advance in military technology is accompanied by an effort to maintain a balance of terror. This encourages local wars and undermines the established political authority in States which are struggling to protect their freedom.

164. It is by restricting, reducing and eventually eliminating the growing nuclear menace that firm foundations of peace can be laid. The limited achievement of the partial

test-ban Treaty has been offset by the refusal of States to halt the testing of nuclear weapons. The problems of insecurity cannot be solved by imposing arbitrary restrictions on those who do not possess nuclear weapons, without any corresponding steps to deal with the basic problem of limiting stockpiles in the hands of a few Powers. How can the urge to acquire nuclear status be controlled so long as this imbalance persists? Unless the Powers which possess these weapons are prepared to exercise some self-restraint, collective efforts to rid the world of the nuclear menace cannot bear fruit.

165. We yearn for peace, not merely because it is good in itself, but because, without peace, there can be no improvement in the lives of the vast majority of the world's peoples. Development must receive the first priority and must be based on self-reliance. Our peoples expect their governments to build, in a generation, the apparatus of production and distribution which took the present advanced nations many centuries to install. Progress in technology and the acceleration of the processes of history will certainly help the developing nations to telescope the stages of their economic growth. But this acceleration works even more dramatically in favour of the affluent. The chasm between the rich and the poor nations, which is already a source of tension and bitterness in the world, is not decreasing but growing. This situation is fraught with danger for the future well-being of our world. It is natural that we in the developing countries should be more aware of the peril than those who live in the affluent countries. The peril is on our doorstep, but it is not too far from theirs.

166. The world has changed, the membership of the United Nations has changed, but attitudes of mind have not. The representatives who are gathered here come from countries with distinct personalities. They have had great civilizations in the past—some known and some yet to be discovered. In the old colonial days, history, geography, culture and civilization were all viewed from a particular perspective. Even today to be civilized is held to be synonymous with being westernized. Advanced countries devote large resources to formulating and spreading ideas and doctrines and they tend to impose on the developing nations their own norms and methods. The pattern of the classical acquisitive society with its deliberate multiplication of wants not only is unsuited to conditions in our countries but is positively harmful.

167. Developing nations have their special problems, and there is much scope for co-operation amongst themselves. Some problems are common, but the conditions in each country differ, and the same remedy cannot be prescribed for all. Those who seek to advise us seldom realize that we need new and different answers to our problems. We need solutions which are suited to our conditions, not imitative theories or techniques grafted from outside. We must make our own analysis of developments and how to deal with them. International forums such as this Assembly and the specialized agencies of the United Nations give us the opportunity to place our views before the world. But of what avail is this if we cannot forge the solidarity which would command attention?

168. Our problems are such as did not confront the advanced nations when they were at a similar stage of

economic development. Freedom awakens hope. It generates consciousness of economic, social and political rights. As literacy spreads, as modern communications and close contacts grow with affluent countries, new expectations and tensions are created.

169. In India, our effort has been to build democracy and to develop a technologically mature society. Each in itself is a formidable endeavour in a country of our size. Demands grow much faster than the means to fulfil them, but changes do not come about easily. Every step forward meets with impediments created by the forces of the *status quo*. Every step forward, even though intended to end inequality, leads to a phase where inequality becomes more obvious or new equalities come into existence. Let me give an example. We have introduced universal primary education and expanded higher education. We have done so because education is the key to the ending of existing disparities; because it is the greatest influence for modernization and because it gives full scope to the flowering of the human personality. However, certain groups and regions which are already comparatively better off are able to take greater advantage of the new facilities: for example, the urban areas more than the rural, the rich farmers more than the poor peasants.

170. The affluence of the industrialized nations itself attracts and exerts a certain pull on the more fortunate sections in the developing countries, further sharpening the difference between aspirations and their fulfilment. This in turn leads to the alienation of the *élite* from the rest of society, because they are attracted by the glamour of catching up with their opposites in the advanced countries, while their own society cries out for bread.

171. We are not unaware of the important developments taking shape within the affluent countries themselves, where increasing numbers have begun to question the purpose of their lives. Poverty and want must be eradicated, for they degrade the human personality. On the other hand, the affluent society, as it has emerged, seems to have become entangled in its instruments. Dazzled by its own glitter, it has lost sight of the goals it set out to achieve. It is natural, therefore, that societies which have stressed the importance of material possessions should anxiously seek a balance between spiritual and material values. This is still an intellectual groping which lacks articulation, but one can sense it in the restlessness of younger people and students, in the various forms of protest against traditional or established authority. There is a desire to assert individuality in technological societies which are becoming more uniform and more impersonal. Abundance without commitment to ideals will sow the seeds of discontent and invite its own disruption. Prosperity must be integrated with a higher purpose, and it should be the endeavour of all nations—it certainly is ours in India—to achieve harmony between progress and the timeless values of the spirit. We are human and do not always succeed; but, as Mahatma Gandhi said, "Satisfaction lies in the effort, not in the attainment".

172. The individual is no longer content to entrust to others the shaping of his destiny; he wants to be the master of his fate. So also with nations, which, while co-operating with others, wish to develop and progress according to their own genius and tradition. The question is vital for

developing nations, which still have time to chart their course. The methods they use, the directions they take, will determine their goals.

173. We welcome any genuine form of international co-operation for the development of under-developed areas. At its best, foreign aid represents such an endeavour. But can it not also be legitimately described as a form of enlightened self-interest on the part of aid-giving countries, especially when it is tied with the purchase of equipment and of know-how from donor countries? In India, aid accounts for only a fifth of our total investment in development. Economic progress is not possible without investment. Not all the investment for Europe's progress came from the sweated labour of European workers and farmers. It came also from the peoples of Asia, Africa and South America who were denied a fair return for their work and their produce. Empires have ended, but the colonial pattern of economy remains with us in one form or another. As exporters of primary agricultural produce and minerals, we know to our cost how the terms of trade have steadily gone against us. Aid is only partial recompense for what the superior economic power of the advanced countries denies us through trade. Trade has the further advantage of placing greater responsibility on the developing nations, leading them towards self-reliance. I urge the nations assembled here to give their fullest support to the work initiated by the two United Nations Conferences on Trade and Development and to persuade the strong to dismantle the economic walls which they have built to defend themselves from the weak. In so doing they will be fortifying the defences of peace before it is too late.

174. These are the factors which cause tensions and bitterness, which divide society and lead it away from co-operation and the paths of peace. Fear grips large parts of the world. Sages in my land exhorted us to be free from that which made us afraid, anticipating by thirty centuries those famous words of our own times, that there is nothing to fear but fear itself. No people were so cowed down as my countrymen before Mahatma Gandhi came on the scene. India was able to wrest freedom because he taught us to overcome fear and hatred and to be absorbed in a cause which was greater than ourselves.

175. We in India are attuned to the idea that the paths to truth are many and various. An attempt to remake the world in any one image will not be countenanced by the majority of mankind. Our age has been called the space age, but I would call it the age of the people. Revolutionaries, liberators and political leaders have always talked of the people, but for the first time now, "we the people" does not mean a few representing the many, but the masses themselves, each of whom is poignantly conscious of his individuality, each one of whom is seeking to assert his rights and to voice his demands.

176. Through the ages, man has struggled against vastly superior forces. The one constant has been his indomitable spirit. He has pitted his puny frame against nature. He has fought against tremendous odds for freedom, for his beliefs, for an idea or an ideal. Endowed with such a spirit, will man abdicate in favour of the machine or bow to the dominance of tyranny in new garbs? Men have been tortured, men have been killed, but the idea has prevailed.

177. Two years hence, in 1970, the United Nations will complete twenty-five years. Can we make it a year of peace? A starting point of a united endeavour to give mankind the blessings of a durable peace? To this end let us devote ourselves.

178. One of our ancient prayers says:

"Common be your prayer;
 "Common be your end;
 "Common be your purpose;
 "Common be your deliberation;
 "Common be your desires;
 "Unified be your hearts;
 "United be your intentions;
 "Perfect be the union among you."

179. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): With the General Assembly's permission I wish to thank on its behalf the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, for the excellent address she has just given.

The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.