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ITEM 9 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. KISELEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic I wish to join in the congratulations which have already been addressed to you here on your unanimous election as President of this session of the General Assembly.

2. It is gratifying to observe that this election symbolizes, as it were, the recognition accorded to the greater role being played in contemporary world affairs by the independent States which have thrown off the fetters of colonial servitude, and in particular by the independent States of Africa.

3. Your election is at the same time a tribute to the Republic of Ghana, which is well known as a champion of peace and for which the Byelorussian people have the sincerest feelings of friendship.

4. A tradition has grown up in the General Assembly of engaging in an exchange of views at the beginning of each session on problems not only of concern to individual countries but affecting the interests of all the peoples of the world. This is a good tradition. In exchanging views we learn more about the interests of our countries, and this makes us better able to understand our common interests and, in the final analysis, to adopt appropriate decisions for the maintenance of international peace and security and to promote friendly relations among States.

5. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers that the efforts of peoples to ensure peace and peaceful coexistence among States with different social systems have led in recent times to a whole series of encouraging advances that are having a favourable

effect on the world situation. The Moscow Treaty,^{1/} which limited the scope of the nuclear arms race and demonstrated the desire of the great majority of States for further efforts to discontinue hazardous nuclear testing in all environments, has been followed by other agreements which also limit the process of stockpiling or refining lethal weapons or which lay a firmer groundwork for co-operation in the interests of peace and progress.

6. Nevertheless, there is as yet no reason for us to feel complacent. In various parts of the globe aggressive forces are creating hotbeds of tension that are fraught with dangers for the entire world. We are witnessing increasingly extensive intervention in South Viet-Nam, provocations against the Republic of Cuba, shameful interference in the domestic affairs of the Congo aimed at crushing the national patriotic forces there, and attempts to suppress the struggle of the people for freedom and independence in Angola, Aden, Oman and many other territories. It is thus abundantly clear that the United Nations cannot relax its efforts to give effect to the purposes laid down in its Charter. Indeed, now more than ever it is a matter of utmost urgency to strengthen the action of the United Nations on behalf of world peace and progress and to make the Organization more effective.

7. There is no doubt that these purposes can be achieved primarily by eliminating past and present violations of the United Nations Charter and by ensuring the strictest and most scrupulous observance of all its provisions, which are fully binding on all Members of the Organization. It is precisely lack of respect, and even disregard, for the common interests of the United Nations as set out in its Charter that have lately brought about the so-called financial crisis of the United Nations, in which certain countries have tried to impose on others joint responsibility for unilateral actions undertaken by colonialist forces. As you know, this unwarranted pressure and these groundless threats are endangering the viability of our Organization, and particularly the work of this session of the General Assembly. You know, too, that thanks to the spirit of realism displayed by the majority of the Members of the United Nations, and thanks also to the generous and persistent efforts by peace-loving States, and above all the Soviet Union, the search for ways of eliminating the difficulties in the interests of the entire Organization is continuing. What does not contribute to the success of this search is the dramatizing of the difficulties and the ambition to use them for purposes inconsistent with the interests of peace. That is how we interpret,

^{1/} Treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

for instance, the statement made by Mr. Martin, the representative of Canada [1294th meeting], whose pessimism and prejudice can only complicate the settlement we all hope to achieve.

8. In his statement of 7 December of this year in the General Assembly, Mr. Gromyko, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR [1292nd meeting], outlined a broad foreign policy programme the peace-loving character of which has been confirmed by the recent decision of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to effect a further major reduction in the military budget of the Soviet Union. The constructive proposals set forth in the Memorandum of the Soviet Government on measures for the further reduction of international tension and limitation of the arms race [A/5827 and Corr.1] show this to be a sweeping programme for peace consonant with the interests of all peoples. The Memorandum is imbued with a firm belief in man's ability to solve the problems besetting him. It is filled with a determination not to yield before difficulties but to persevere in seeking practical ways of strengthening peace. Yet some attempts have already been made to discredit these new efforts of the Soviet Government. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR views these attempts as a smoke-screen which the forces opposed to a relaxation of tension are using in a deliberate effort to cling to old positions of phrase-mongering and barefaced denial. Is it not time, however, to relinquish once and for all these positions which have been condemned, let us note, by the majority of those who have spoken in this debate? Is it not time to take a realistic and practical approach to the proposals advanced? After all, no matter how much we tell the world that we want a relaxation of tension, there will be no relaxation of tension so long as proposals to that end are not given serious and unbiased consideration.

9. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR is firmly convinced that the time has come when an understanding must be reached among the States Members of the United Nations on how to increase the effectiveness of the Organization in the safeguarding of international peace and security. A good basis for practical negotiations in this matter is provided, we believe, by the Memorandum of the Government of the USSR regarding certain measures to strengthen the effectiveness of the United Nations in the safeguarding of international peace and security [A/5721].

10. We are also convinced that the authority and prestige of the United Nations as an agency for international co-operation among equal partners in the interests of peace and the well-being of nations would be enhanced by an international agreement on the renunciation by States of the use of force for the settlement of territorial disputes and conflicts between sovereign States [see A/5751]. Such an agreement, being a development of the tenets of the United Nations, would bring about a considerable easing of the international situation and create favourable conditions for increased confidence among States. The fact is that the present generation has inherited from the old world, dominated by the colonialists, many unresolved territorial disputes. Looking at the political map of the world, we find dozens of territories to which

various States lay claim. At the present time, some fifty serious territorial claims are being made by some States against others, and an approximately equal number of less important boundary disputes are in progress. The achievement of an agreement on the peaceful settlement of territorial disputes would be of major significance to all countries and to the cause of world peace.

11. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR fully shares the concern about the future of the United Nations voiced in the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/5801 and A/5801/Add.1]. Despite its shortcomings in certain respects, this report is imbued with a desire for greater unity in our Organization and greater effectiveness in its action. The question of the universality of the United Nations, raised by the Secretary-General in his report, deserves close attention. We believe that in questions pertaining to membership, as in other questions as well, the United Nations must bear in mind the objective facts of history; it must become a truly universal organization. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR takes the view that the United Nations cannot fully meet the hopes of mankind so long as the People's Republic of China remains outside it. Those who impede the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations do irreparable damage to the Organization's prestige. It is time, high time, to expel from the United Nations the followers of Chiang Kai-shek, who are occupying the place of People's China.

12. The Byelorussian people, who experienced all the horrors of the Second World War and suffered irreparable losses, are doing everything in their power, together with the peoples of other peace-loving countries, to spare future generations from ever again being plunged into a world holocaust. The great scientific and technological revolution of our age, which has opened boundless prospects for human progress but which has also created weapons of vast destructive power, has confronted the United Nations with a new historical situation in which the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems represents the sole possible basis for achieving uninterrupted economic and social progress.

13. The policy of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems, which the Government of the Byelorussian SSR has always pursued and which was confirmed by the decisions of the twentieth and twenty-second congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is the only policy which is practicable and consistent with conditions in the present-day world, a world undergoing a process of revolutionary renewal. This policy is directed at preventing a general thermonuclear war and achieving the negotiated settlement of disputes between States. This policy respects the right of all peoples to choose freely and independently the social and governmental system they prefer, and it supports the liberation struggle of peoples. It has been a tremendous victory for all progressive forces that the necessity of peaceful coexistence is now recognized by nearly all the countries of the world. Clearly, a better weapon is needed for man's security than the hydrogen bomb or the ballistic missile, and that better weapon is

world co-operation. If States with different social systems would adhere to the principles of peaceful coexistence not only in words, but in deeds, man would find it in his power to solve all the problems confronting him.

14. Unfortunately, however, there are some very powerful military forces in the world that do not wish to accept the policy of peaceful coexistence. These forces support the policy of negotiating from a position of strength, a policy of threats and overt interference in the affairs of other States, and of violence and discrimination, through which the selfish mercenary interests of an insignificant minority are served.

15. I would ask whether the interests of the peoples of the world are being served by the continuing military adventure in South Viet-Nam which is bringing death to tens of thousands of people whose only fault is to aspire to an independent existence. The answer is no, for by reason of this adventure the sovereignty of the peoples of South-East Asia is being violated, and the existence of all mankind is being jeopardized. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers that the provocations of United States warships in the Gulf of Tonkin, the attacks of military aircraft on the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the intervention of armed forces in South Viet-Nam constitute acts of aggression. The Byelorussian SSR emphatically condemns this aggression and declares its complete solidarity with the heroic people of Viet-Nam in their just struggle for independence and the unification of their country according to democratic principles. It supports the declaration of 12 December 1964 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and demands the immediate cessation of the intervention in Laos, the aggression in South Viet-Nam and the provocations that are creating tension throughout Indo-China.

16. Then, again, take the situation in the Congo. Clearly in this case we are confronted with a vast conspiracy by the international forces of reaction against a democratic people's movement, with intervention in the domestic affairs of this long-suffering State, and with an attempt to force upon it a particular foreign and domestic policy. It is said that in 1960 the Congo was not prepared for the declaration of its independence, and this—they say—was one of the reasons for the internal tension. These assertions are entirely false. The Congolese people, like all the other African peoples, are capable of solving their problems independently, but the combined forces of the colonialist or pro-colonialist breed have thus far prevented them from doing so.

17. The fresh aggression in the Congo aroused great indignation among the Byelorussian people. There was a wave of mass protest meetings throughout the land against the intervention by the United States, United Kingdom and Belgian forces in the affairs of the young African State. The Byelorussian SSR fully shares the justified anger of those African States which have viewed the interference in Congolese domestic affairs as an encroachment on the independence won by the Africans after a difficult struggle of many years.

18. These same forces, which will not keep their hands off South-East Asia, the Congo and other ter-

ritories where a tense situation exists, are to blame for initiating and prolonging the disastrous arms race and its attendant nuclear weapons tests.

19. Stockpiles of lethal nuclear weapons have now reached astronomical proportions. Eminent scientists contend that, should a thermonuclear war break out, it would—in the first two months alone—result in the death of one out of every three persons on earth. In other words, it would annihilate over 1,000 million people.

20. It is frightening to think of the vast sums of money devoured by the monstrous arms race. It is estimated that, over the past seventeen post-war years, the direct and indirect military expenditure of the United States of America alone amounted to \$900,000 million, and this sum includes many thousands of millions of dollars extorted by the United States of America from the less developed and dependent countries. The New York Times of 15 April 1964 reported that, of 400,000 engineers and scientists in the United States of America, over 50 per cent were employed exclusively in military sectors of production.

21. We are convinced that, if a stop is not put now to the further stockpiling of armaments, the world will draw even nearer to a destructive nuclear-missile war that will recognize no boundaries or subtle political distinctions but will speak only one language—the language of death. There is no need to argue here that the only way out of the impasse of the arms race, the only way to avert the threat of a world war, is general and complete disarmament.

22. Although, as rightly noted in the annual report of the Secretary-General, "more significant progress in achieving some measure of disarmament has taken place since the summer of 1963 than in all the years since the founding of the United Nations" [A/5801/Add.1, sect. II], the question of disarmament is still unresolved. Again this year, the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament did not lead to any practical solutions.

23. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR is concerned that the Western Powers—by refusing to give serious consideration to the realistic proposals, imbued with a sound spirit of compromise, made by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and by disregarding the wishes of the non-aligned States which are sincerely seeking to promote progress in the negotiations—continue to obstruct the settlement of this problem so vitally important for all mankind.

24. We are convinced that the key to a solution of the disarmament problem continues to lie primarily in a radical solution of the problem of nuclear disarmament with a view to eliminating the threat of thermonuclear war from the very outset of the implementation of the disarmament programme. This problem could be completely solved on the basis of the so-called "nuclear umbrella" proposed by the Soviet Government as early as last year.

25. Rendering a deserved tribute to the efforts of the Soviet Union to achieve disarmament, I should like to draw the attention of the distinguished representatives to the fact that although the USSR has a

realistic programme for disarmament, it is still prepared to consider any other proposals if their aim is really disarmament. On 6 November 1964 Mr. Brezhnev, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, declared:

"There are various proposals as to what aspects of disarmament are now to be considered of primary importance, as to who should conduct the negotiations and at what level. In the Soviet Union's view, the important point is that disarmament should go forward and that there should be concrete results."

26. My delegation would like to point out here that this basic stand of the Soviet Government is fully in accord with the proposal of the Cairo Conference of Non-Aligned Countries^{2/} for the convening of a world disarmament conference; we welcome and fully approve of that proposal. In the opinion of the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, the peace-loving peoples must intensify their efforts to secure general and complete disarmament.

27. There are events taking place at this time which dim our hopes and lessen the prospects for achieving solutions in the interests of all mankind. I refer to the notorious plans for the creation of the so-called NATO "multilateral nuclear force". The Byelorussian SSR emphatically condemns these plans, the principal proponents of which are the United States of America and West Germany. We are convinced that the establishment of a NATO "multilateral force" will dangerously accelerate the arms race, lead to the further spread of nuclear weapons and complicate the entire international situation. As long ago as 4 December 1961, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution calling upon the nuclear Powers to refrain from transferring control of nuclear weapons, and upon the non-nuclear Powers not to manufacture or otherwise acquire control of such weapons [resolution 1665 (XVI)]. Only recently a similar appeal to the great Powers was made at the Cairo Conference of Non-Aligned Countries. However, the United States of America and those who follow its lead on the question of the multilateral nuclear force choose to disregard the resolutions of the General Assembly and the appeal of the non-aligned countries.

28. Although the NATO multilateral nuclear fleet cannot change the established relationship between the main forces, it will prove to be a source of fresh provocations and crises. It must be stressed that, through the machinery of the NATO nuclear forces, the West German army, the leaders of which are now openly calling for a revision of the results of the Second World War, will in some form or other gain access to atomic weapons. My delegation is convinced that if the militaristic circles in the Federal Republic of Germany secure for themselves even a small measure of nuclear control, they will be able to involve their NATO allies in a disastrous adventure.

29. Many responsible persons in the West understand this danger. Thus, in a leading article in the United

Kingdom conservative newspaper Daily Express of 31 August 1964, it was stated:

"Twice Germany has been powerful enough to plunge the world into war for the sake of its ambitions, and twice it has done so. Now West Germany has the same ambitious plans, but fortunately it does not have the means to put them into effect. Any proposal for granting it even minimal control over weapons of mass destruction is madness (madness, gentlemen) and must be categorically rejected."

It must be acknowledged that there is good cause for this mistrust.

30. The Byelorussian delegation considers that the further spread of nuclear weapons in any form—whether by direct transfer to other countries, by granting access to such weapons through military blocs or by stationing such weapons on the territory of other States—must be prevented. There must be no loop-holes allowing atomic weapons to be spread throughout the world.

31. The Government of the Byelorussian SSR attaches particular importance to the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various regions of the world, which would be in the interests of all mankind and would further the aims of general and complete disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear weapons. It is gratified to observe the growing number of African, Latin American, Asian and other States which are sincerely and persistently seeking to establish nuclear-free zones. It welcomes their noble efforts and trusts that these will result in effective practical measures.

32. The Byelorussian people continue to view as abnormal a situation in which, almost twenty years after the capitulation of the Hitler Reich which started a war costing the lives of many millions, a final German peace settlement has not been reached. What is more, there has been kept in existence in the heart of Europe to this day a situation capable of engendering a new world war. The militarist revenge-seeking forces continue to expand.

33. The threat to peace from West Germany is not now a myth or fable. The West German Bundeswehr has at present a force of approximately half a million officers and men. Having created powerful armed forces equipped with conventional weapons, the leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany are eager to secure atomic weapons in any possible way, including the manufacture of atomic and hydrogen weapons on their own soil. They openly demand the incorporation of the German Democratic Republic, West Berlin and territories belonging to other States as well. In our opinion, the aggressive, adventurist forces are increasingly gaining the upper hand in the Federal Republic of Germany. While fascist Germany spent 90,000 million marks on preparations for the Second World War, the expenditure of the Federal Republic of Germany on military preparedness has already reached the sum of 150,000 million marks. The military expenditure of the Federal Republic of Germany is now the highest among the Western countries, with the sole exception of the United States of America.

^{2/} Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Cairo, 5-10 October 1964.

34. An indication of Bonn's aggressive intentions is the recent campaign in the Federal Republic of Germany for the rehabilitation of fascist criminals responsible for the brutal extermination of civilians and prisoners of war. The Byelorussian SSR, which lost almost 20 per cent of its population in the last war, views the intention of the Federal Republic of Germany to cease instituting proceedings against persons responsible for the commission of crimes during the period of fascist aggression as a blatant challenge to all the countries that fought against the Hitler tyranny.

35. The Byelorussian SSR considers that the German question must be settled solely and exclusively on the basis of respect for the real facts existing in the world and on German soil, that is to say, on a basis of recognition of the sovereign German States—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany—a basis of juridical confirmation of the existing frontiers of the German States, and a basis of normalization of relations with the two German States and of relations between the German States themselves. It also considers that the German question cannot be solved until the Federal Republic of Germany renounces any attempt to secure nuclear weapons.

36. The Byelorussian SSR cannot be indifferent to the fate of the fraternal socialist State of Cuba, which is being subjected to unceasing plots, threats and overt subversion. We consider the economic blockade of Cuba to be a special form of aggression against this sovereign State. We have also been witnesses to the violation of Cuban sovereignty by United States reconnaissance aircraft, and we condemn such acts.

37. The gross encroachment on the sovereignty and revolutionary achievements of the Cuban people, and the unabashed interference in its internal affairs, facts which were presented here in stark terms by the distinguished representative of Cuba, Mr. Guevara [1299th meeting], constitute a threat to peace and security. In our view, the General Assembly must condemn the campaign of provocation and hatred against Cuba, call for respect for the sacred right of peoples to self-determination and to free development and demand the normalization of the situation in the Caribbean area.

38. More than four years have now gone by since the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. In that time the national liberation movement of peoples has won a number of new and brilliant victories, which are of great international importance. In 1917, colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries constituted 77 per cent of the territory and 70 per cent of the population of this earth; by the present time however countries with a population of more than 1,500 million people have broken free from the fetters of colonialism. Today, almost the whole of the territory of Asia and more than three-quarters of the territory of Africa are made up of sovereign States. Of the total membership of the United Nations, sixty States are countries of Asia and Africa. This represents a genuine triumph for the freedom-loving peoples.

39. At the present session, the General Assembly has welcomed into its family three more new States that have freed themselves from colonial servitude and embarked on a course of independent development. On behalf of the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, I greet the heroic peoples of Zambia, Malawi and Malta who can now engage in fruitful co-operation in our Organization.

40. The breakdown of the colonial system, which has occurred under the growing pressure of the people and in the face of resistance by the colonial Powers, who have resorted to all kinds of manoeuvres to prevent it, has brought about many changes in the present-day world. The countries which have freed themselves have become an important factor in international relations. The Byelorussian SSR, which has consistently been and remains on the side of peoples struggling for national liberation and the strengthening of sovereignty, views with concern the obstacles being artificially placed in the way of the final liquidation of the colonial régimes. We find it deeply disturbing that scores of territories with a total area of some 7 million square kilometres and a population of some 40 million people in Africa, Asia, the American continent and Oceania still remain under the colonial yoke. The peoples of these territories, deprived of their rights and oppressed, are suffocating in the grip of the colonialists of Portugal, the United Kingdom and various other States. The colonialists do not wish to part with what remains of their colonial possessions; they use the dependent territories as a cheap source of raw materials, as markets for their goods, as areas for capital investment and as sites for military and strategic bases.

41. The colonialists of both the old and the new stamp realize that the liberation movement is invincible: in this respect the peoples of the colonies have taught them a good lesson. But colonialism is not dead. It has many faces and is still found everywhere where there continues to be oppression, political coercion, dependence, economic exploitation, inequality and racial discrimination. Colonialism still exists, and the people must preserve and strengthen their unity in the struggle for genuine independence and equality of rights against the many and varied subterfuges of the colonialist forces.

42. The General Assembly must take effective decisions at this session to achieve full implementation, not only in words but also in deeds, of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples by the twentieth anniversary of our Organization. The Byelorussian SSR attaches particular significance to effective measures for checking the colonialists, who continue, with the help of their armed forces or through their puppets, to keep many peoples in servitude and dependence. I have in mind particularly the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, Oman, Aden and other territories.

43. The Byelorussian SSR considers itself in duty bound to support the efforts of those who oppose the revolting policy of apartheid, the very existence of which is a challenge to the principles of the United Nations Charter and a gross violation of the common interests of mankind. Responsibility for apartheid

lies not only with Verwoerd's hangmen, but also with those who assist them—the Western countries belonging to the aggressive NATO military bloc.

44. The peoples freeing themselves from colonial dependence still have before them the tasks of breaking many visible and invisible chains of dependence, eliminating the pernicious consequences of colonialism, putting their economies on a sound basis and raising their material and cultural levels of living. This level of living continues at present to be extremely low; hunger, epidemics and illiteracy are still the scourge of many countries.

45. The Byelorussian SSR fully appreciates the problems of accelerating the economic and social progress of the developing countries and of eliminating the burdensome consequences of colonialism and the unjust international division of labour. Our Republic has always expressed its readiness to co-operate in international efforts to solve these problems. An example of this co-operation was the United Nations Inter-Regional Seminar on Social Aspects of Industrialization,^{3/} which was held in the Byelorussian capital of Minsk in August of this year and was attended by representatives of many States of Africa, Asia and Latin America. We were glad to share our experience with all the participants in the Seminar and to demonstrate to them graphically how social and economic backwardness has been overcome in a very short period of history. We would like to express our satisfaction at the high level of appreciation accorded to the Seminar by its participants and by the representatives of the United Nations Secretariat and of the regional economic commissions.

46. One of the most important factors in a successful national economy is international trade, the normal development of which redounds to the mutual advantage of States, strengthens confidence between them and improves the prospects for the settlement of disputes. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, recently held at Geneva,^{4/} emphasized the importance of normalizing international trade and adopted a number of important principles defining international trade relations. We welcome the great contribution to international co-operation made by this Conference, which declared itself in favour of creating an international trade organization. What must now be done is to give effective and real substance to these important decisions of the Conference, taking into consideration the reasonable desires of all parties in the interests of peace, co-operation and the well-being of peoples.

47. The United Nations must not forget that there are aggressive forces in the world, and various "fanatics" who are prepared, like scorpions, to commit murder and suicide. It is the duty of the United Nations to isolate the forces of aggression and war, strengthen peaceful coexistence among States, bring about a further relaxation in international tension and strive diligently to achieve solutions of fundamental international problems.

^{3/} United Nations Inter-Regional Seminar on Social Aspects of Industrialization, held at Minsk, 11-25 August 1964.

^{4/} United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Geneva, 23 March to 15 June 1964.

48. Looking back over the road travelled by the United Nations during the nineteen years of its existence and analysing its successes and failures, our delegation believes that the Organization has great possibilities and a great future. But we shall realize these opportunities to the full and earn the gratitude of all mankind only if we ensure the strict and constant fulfilment by all members of the international community of the principles and obligations of the United Nations Charter, which best reflects our common interests. The Charter is the trustworthy compass for navigating our ship, the United Nations. By resolutely following the direction of the compass needle, we shall be able to ensure peace, security and further progress. The Byelorussian SSR, like the entire Soviet Union, "stands firmly for strengthening the United Nations as an organ of international co-operation based on equality of rights to preserve and strengthen peace", as Mr. Kosygin, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, declared on 9 December 1964.

49. The Byelorussian delegation expresses the hope that 1965 will bring mankind new advances in the struggle for peace and the security of peoples. The creation of an atmosphere of indifference to the fate of mankind must not be tolerated; the theory of the inevitability of war and the impossibility of resolving conflicts must be firmly rejected. The people of the world want peace, they demand negotiations for the settlement of disputes, and it is the duty of our Organization to satisfy these just demands.

50. The conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries, the creation of nuclear-free zones in various areas of the world, agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, a general reduction in military budgets, the cessation of the arms race, the practical implementation of general and complete disarmament, the total elimination of the remnants of colonialism and its consequences, and the guaranteeing of peaceful coexistence on a stable basis—these are the basic tasks before the United Nations.

51. Mr. ROGERS-WRIGHT (Sierra Leone): Mr. President, it is with the greatest pleasure that I address you as President of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly and extend to you, on behalf of my delegation and myself, as well as on behalf of my Prime Minister and the Government and people of Sierra Leone, sincere congratulations on your election by acclamation to this high office. Sierra Leone joins with other African States and peoples of African descent all over the world in our pride in the honour thus shown to you personally, to your country in particular and to us all in general. My delegation and I are confident that by your statesmanship and great wealth of experience in this Organization you will conduct the affairs of the nineteenth session of this Assembly successfully.

52. I should like also to extend the thanks and appreciation of my delegation to your immediate predecessor, Ambassador Carlos Sosa Rodríguez of Venezuela, for his excellent work during the eighteenth session of the General Assembly. He has left an indelible mark on the history of this world Organization which will not easily be excelled.

53. May I take this opportunity to express the appreciation of my delegation to all those who have from this rostrum paid tribute to the memory of our late lamented Prime Minister, Sir Milton Margai.

54. On behalf of my Government, I welcome most warmly the delegations of Malawi, Malta and Zambia. It is gratifying and significant that while you, Sir, are President of this session of the General Assembly, two African States, Malawi and Zambia, have been admitted to membership of this world Organization.

55. The Secretary-General has again presented his annual report on the work of the Organization covering the period from 16 June 1963 to 15 June 1964 [A/5801]. For this conscientious and able performance we congratulate our distinguished Secretary-General and his staff. Their work, and that of the Organization over the past fourteen months, has not been easy, but it has been remarkable; and even though we fell short of some of our goals, we are satisfied that sufficient constructive work, commensurate with our capabilities, has been done.

56. At the moment this Organization is confronted with a crisis which seems to threaten its existence and its very foundation. Many arguments have been put forward by different Members as to the position of peace-keeping operations and the way in which the expenses for them are to be met. In this regard my delegation is deeply appreciative of the very great exertions of the committee of twenty-one, headed by Mr. Adebo of Nigeria, to solve the financial problems of our Organization. My delegation further endorses the work which has since been done by the African-Asian group of countries represented on the committee of twelve.

57. We are, of course, particularly appreciative of the efforts of the Secretary-General to solve the current problems facing the Organization, and we wish him a speedy recovery so that he may resume the conduct of affairs with his characteristic deftness of touch.

58. This Organization, with all its imperfections, is still our greatest hope and the means of solving the burning questions of our time and of maintaining peace and security. It must therefore be preserved at all costs. The loss to mankind by the collapse of the Organization would be far greater than any temporary loss of face or prestige that one nation or another would appear to experience. My delegation is therefore firmly of the view that we must do all in our power to overcome obstacles of legality without sacrificing principles, in our efforts to solve this problem. It is in this confirmed view that my delegation has put forward certain suggestions for a solution.

59. The difficulties confronting our Organization continue to loom large, and mankind is no less in danger of self-destruction than it was last year; but difficult as our task in search of solutions may be, and even though success may not be immediate, we continue to have great faith in the United Nations.

60. Although we realize that our Organization may not be perfect, we are sure that it is about the best means of bringing together all free and independent

peoples and Governments who wish to work together for the improvement of the lot of mankind, the easing of tensions and the attaining of universal peace. Peace-loving peoples all over the world have had to face the real problems involved in the arms race and the stockpiling of arms. However, efforts are being made by this Organization to find answers, and the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament working in Geneva has achieved limited success.

61. My delegation believes that the position has now been reached where constructive negotiations could begin in search of a formula for complete and total disarmament. Very little can be achieved by our arming for each other's destruction, and indeed far more can be achieved for the benefit of mankind by releasing the resources now employed in the building up of arms and diverting them to peaceful uses. The United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have now made definite contributions in this field by curtailing their arms budget. These are worthwhile examples.

62. It is also heartening to note that the African States, at their summit conference,^{5/} declared their readiness to adhere to an international treaty to be concluded under the auspices of the United Nations which would prevent the manufacture or the acquisition of control of nuclear weapons. They also invited the General Assembly at this session to approve the declaration and to convene an international conference with a view to concluding such an international treaty. This was closely followed by the declaration of the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries on 10 October 1964 [A/5763] which, after expressing regret at the unsatisfactory results of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, noted among other things that the declaration by African States regarding the denuclearization of Africa, the aspirations of Latin American countries to denuclearize their continent, and other proposals for denuclearizing areas in Europe and Africa, were steps in the right direction, and recommended the establishment of denuclearized zones covering these and other areas, and requested the nuclear Powers to respect such denuclearized zones. That Conference was also convinced that there should be convened, under the auspices of the United Nations, a world disarmament conference to which all nations should be invited, as such a conference would provide powerful support to the efforts which are being made to set in motion the process of disarmament.

63. My delegation is fully aware of the difficulty that must be faced during negotiations for agreement on this important subject, and is therefore heartened by the limited progress in the right direction that has been made by the test ban treaty and the matters to which I have already referred. However, further delay in reaching agreement will most probably increase the difficulties, while world tension grows. Therefore, my delegation requests and urges the General Assembly to approve the declaration of the African Summit Conference and the Second Conference of Non-Aligned States and convene as early as pos-

^{5/} First session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Cairo from 17 to 21 July 1964.

sible an international conference with a view to concluding an international treaty to this effect.

64. My Government regrets the growing tendency to settle disputes and disagreements by other than peaceful means. There is evidence of this in recent times in all areas of the world. Recent events in the Congo constitute not only an instance of this, but also an indication of the precarious position in which Africa finds itself. The problems of the Congo are symptomatic of the problems of the new Africa in which conflicting interests lead to internal conflagrations, external interferences and interventions that may not be related to the true interests of the peoples of the countries, who suffer as a result of these conflagrations, interferences and interventions.

65. Opposing groups might, and do, resort to legalistics in support of the positions they take and the policies they pursue, but what is the result for the Congo, for Africa, and for world peace? It is this: blood continues to be shed; homes and businesses continue to be destroyed and ruined; the economy of the country is gradually coming to a standstill; children of tomorrow's generation, for whom we are striving to make the world a better place, are starving and are denied education.

66. In the circumstances, Africa is in a precarious position, and there is a clear indication of a threat to world peace. Whatever the legalistics, my Government condemns all such actions which might have such dreadful results.

67. We will not speculate on what interests are intended to be served by these different groups and factions. In my Government's view, the only interest which must be uppermost in our minds and which must be served is the interest of the Congolese people and of the Congo. That seems to have been lost sight of so far. We all, as States Members of a world organization founded primarily for the maintenance of peace and security, have and must necessarily have as our burning desire the restoration of law and order and the organization and establishment on a sound basis of a stable government in the Congo.

68. My delegation is of the considered opinion that the problem of the Congo is essentially, fundamentally, and basically, an African one and as such it should be solved in an African way. It is therefore only fair and expedient that the Organization of African Unity be given a chance and be supported by all States Members of the United Nations in solving this problem.

69. My delegation is convinced that it is only by this means, and this means alone, that peace and tranquillity can return to the Congo. All the honesty of purpose, all the calm, the statesmanship and goodwill of the leaders of Africa and the world are needed to diagnose the root cause of the problem in the Congo so that we can achieve our goal in this regard.

70. I will conclude this portion of my statement by reiterating the appeal, contained in a statement made in the course of an interview with the world press

agencies on 27 November 1964 by my Prime Minister, Mr. Albert Margai:

"We deplore all killings and acts of violence and aggression in the Congo by all concerned. The situation in the Congo, particularly the involved developments over the past week or so, demand less of emotion on the part of leaders of Africa and the world, and more of restraint, calm, sober and objective thinking over what has become an extremely difficult and dangerously explosive situation for Africa and the world at large.

"I appeal for more co-ordination and understanding in and out of the United Nations Organization among all the thirty-five States of the Organization for African Unity, in the spirit of the Charter of the Organization.

"I strongly urge all parties to, or concerned in any way with, the dispute not to persist in any acts that would only tend to aggravate the situation."

71. Once again it is the sad duty of my delegation to reaffirm our policy of complete opposition to the nefarious policy of apartheid in South Africa. For many years the régime in that country has defiantly ignored world opinion and various resolutions of the United Nations, and persisted with the practice of this immoral and inhuman policy in Africa, one of its most recent acts of defiance being the passing of the most rigid racial separation law—the Bantu Laws Amendment Act. This law, which will come into operation on 1 January 1965, will control the movements, dwellings and occupations of more than 7 million black Africans living in white areas and on farms outside "bantustans", or reservations.

72. One of the most important events during this period is the confrontation of the races, and the acceptance by the black Africans of the challenge posed by this confrontation. Future historians may well applaud this as the finest achievement of the struggling races of the world, against racial bigotry, and all other manifestations of colonialism, neo-colonialism, and imperialism.

73. In keeping with the determination of all Africa to put an end to this confrontation, our Heads of State met in Cairo in 1964 and confirmed our solidarity to concentrate all our energies towards the total eradication of racial oppression, not only in South Africa but wherever else it may be found.

74. My delegation has come to this nineteenth session of the General Assembly fully prepared to support any action considered expedient to meet the South African menace. My country has already imposed the most severe restrictions on trade with South Africa. In compliance with the decisions reached by the Organization of African Unity, my Government is committed to a policy of isolation and the imposition of sanctions against the régime in South Africa.

75. My Government and the people of Sierra Leone will do all in our power to restore to the millions of black indigenous inhabitants of South Africa that equality and true human dignity which is their rightful heritage.

76. My country has the honour of being one of the four African countries entrusted by our Organization of African Unity with the spearhead of the case against Portuguese colonialism in Africa. To my regret, I feel bound to state that the response to the group from the Portuguese so far has been much less than satisfactory.

77. Indeed, we see the situation deteriorating every day. We see a situation in which Portugal is conducting a war of liquidation armed with the most modern equipment which it has undoubtedly acquired from its NATO friends. This certainly poses a challenge to the world. It is a situation in which our minds should be involved with humanitarian considerations, notwithstanding the fact that the victims happen to be black. The blame for the continuation of this terribly grave situation should be squarely laid on the members of the NATO alliance, whose military and tacit support has continued to sustain Portugal. It is a sad commentary on international behaviour that people who are so loud in their condemnation of lapses in others are themselves so often guilty of the worst manifestations of double standards.

78. Once again, we call on these countries without whose help Portugal would be exposed in its true image, to desist from continuing with this support and to exert all the pressures they are undoubtedly in a position to exert in persuading their Portuguese friends to desist from their brutalities against innocent black victims of their oppression, and practise the humanitarianism which is such a cherished virtue of the NATO Powers.

79. Since the proclamation of the People's Republic of China in October of 1949, serious consideration has, from time to time, been given by this Organization to the question of the representation of China. My delegation stands convinced of the right of the People's Republic of China to take its place in the General Assembly. It seems scarcely reasonable that a nation comprising over 700 million people should be kept away from a world Organization where the most important and urgent problems of peace and war are discussed and decided. And now that the People's Republic of China has become, whether we like it or not, a nuclear Power, it will be more unreasonable to presume that our discussions and agreements with regard to disarmament could be effective, or as effective as it otherwise could be, without the People's Republic of China being a party to them.

80. My Government will strongly support any move to have the People's Republic of China represented in the United Nations.

81. The situation in Southern Rhodesia remains precarious and is, in fact, worse—worse, because Mr. Ian Smith, the Prime Minister, has made it clear that he does not intend independence for Southern Rhodesia to be on the basis of one man, one vote, a principle which is universally accepted by the United Nations.

82. By their final communiqué on 15 July 1964, the Commonwealth Prime Ministers welcomed the United Kingdom Government's previous announcement that, as in the case of other territories, the existence of

sufficiently representative institutions would be a condition of the granting of independence to Southern Rhodesia; and pledged that no Commonwealth Government would recognize a unilateral independence by Southern Rhodesia. The communiqué also recorded that the view was expressed by some of the Prime Ministers during the meeting that all detained African leaders should be released and that an independence conference should be convened, which the leaders of all parties in Southern Rhodesia would attend, with the object of reaching agreement on the steps by which the territory might achieve early independence on the basis of majority rule. This view was further expressed at the Assembly of the Heads of State or Government of the Organization of African Unity in Cairo in July 1964 which, in a resolution, noted with satisfaction the stand taken by the leaders of the African member States of the Commonwealth earlier in the same month; and unanimously urged that a firm stand be taken against the Southern Rhodesia Government if any attempt is made to proclaim a unilateral declaration of independence.

83. As you are aware, Mr. President, during that Assembly the African States pledged themselves to take appropriate measures, including the recognition and support of an African nationalist government in exile, should such an eventuality arise. They further called for a constitutional conference of all political groups and the immediate release of all political prisoners and detainees.

84. Despite this, when Mr. Ian Smith had discussions with Sir Alec Douglas-Home in September 1964, he stated that if the Southern Rhodesia Government eventually got to the position where it believed there was no alternative, then it was firm in its resolution unilaterally to declare independence.

85. In these circumstances, my delegation welcomes as most timely the statement by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Mr. Harold Wilson, on 27 October 1964 declaring, *inter alia*, that a unilateral declaration of independence of Southern Rhodesia would have no constitutional effect and would be an act of rebellion and treason; no Commonwealth Government would recognize such declaration or extend economic preference; no special relationship with Britain would be possible; foreign recognition would be very limited and a nationalist government in exile might be recognized; and economic links with Britain and aid from Britain would be jeopardized and Southern Rhodesia's external trade disrupted.

86. Nevertheless, my delegation is aware that, though such a declaration has made the Government of Mr. Ian Smith more cautious, neither that Government nor the Government of the United Kingdom has so far taken any action to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Special Committee^{6/} on the question of Southern Rhodesia. This, in our view, is regrettable.

87. In my delegation's view, the United Kingdom Government should be more positive in its action and

^{6/} Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

attitude towards Southern Rhodesia. By invoking the powers reserved by section 111 of the Southern Rhodesia Constitution, the United Kingdom Government could by an amendment of certain provisions, for example section 6 of that Constitution, effect a constitutional change without the consent of the Southern Rhodesia Government. In fact, this view is reinforced by the fact that in March 1964 the Southern Rhodesia Parliament passed a motion petitioning the Queen that section 111 of the Constitution be amended so that the residual powers of the United Kingdom Government should be exercised at the request and only with the consent of the Government of Southern Rhodesia.

88. It is therefore fallacious and legally dishonest to suggest that the United Kingdom Government could not amend nor intervene in a manner that would effect a change in the Constitution of Southern Rhodesia because it is self-governing. From both the legal and political points of view, Southern Rhodesia is still a colony and this fact was recognized by the United Kingdom Commonwealth Relations and Colonial Secretary in a letter dated 11 February 1964 [see A/5800/Add.1, para. 14] to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

89. Whilst the situation continues to be so explosive in Southern Rhodesia, it constitutes a real threat to peace, not only in Africa but in the whole world. It is my delegation's view that the Security Council should continue to keep constant review of the whole situation. It is also my delegation's view that the United Nations should approve of the declaration of the African Heads of State that a conference of all groups in Southern Rhodesia should be convened in order to decide upon the form of constitution upon which Southern Rhodesia should proceed to independence; that all nationalist leaders detained should be released; and that, if the minority Government in Southern Rhodesia should proceed to a unilaterally declared independence, a nationalist government in exile should be recognized by all States Members of the United Nations.

90. My Government has for a long time viewed with concern the fact that the distribution of seats in the various organs of the United Nations does not properly reflect the new and changed structure and circumstances of the Organization.

91. The adoption on 17 December 1963 by the General Assembly of the proposals of the Special Political Committee as resolutions 1991 A and B (XVIII) is, no doubt, an attempt to remedy this state of affairs; but even here a lot has to be done if this should be effective in removing the inequalities of distribution. Up to now only thirty-nine Member States have so far ratified the amendments in accordance with these resolutions, and I am proud and happy to say that my country is one of these.

92. If the organs of the United Nations are to perform their role effectively, they should reflect in their membership the great political reality in Asia, Latin America and Africa; areas that account for two-thirds of the world population, and the least that can be done is that this process of reconstitution should be supported. We therefore call upon all Member States

concerned to ratify the amendment as early as possible and to join actively with us to do everything to ensure that this, our Organization, is properly reconstituted to be the guardian of the freedom and the rights of great and small nations alike.

93. Such a measure would inspire confidence, particularly in the small Member States which, in their buffer role, have been and are performing great services to mankind. If we are assured of the co-operation of all Members in this regard, we pledge publicly our determination to continue to work in the closest co-operation with neutral and non-aligned nations to diminish the differences between the defined power blocs in order to ensure that this Organization increases its usefulness to mankind.

94. My delegation notes the tendency of all nations to co-operate in the quest for a greater share of the world's trade on the part of the developing nations, as evidenced by the successful convening in 1964 of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at Geneva; and it sincerely hopes that these areas of co-operation will continue to expand.

95. We are convinced that poverty anywhere is a threat to prosperity everywhere. We are satisfied that dissatisfaction and unhappiness in one corner of the world will lead to unhappiness in the farthest opposite corner. We hope that following from the Conference on Trade and Development the more fortunate Member States will feel, not merely obliged, but that it is their duty and their business to see to it that they assist in raising the standards of economic well-being of all peoples and countries so that the world will increase its gains and not multiply its wants.

96. We look forward to the very active part which we are convinced all the developed countries will play in putting into effect the recommendations of that Conference, and we hope for more exchanges of ideas by the Group of Seventy-Seven. We welcome the establishment of a Trade and Development Board and of the continuing machinery proposed, which will incorporate new institutions in the fields of commodity trade arrangements and the financing of trade development between developing countries and developed countries.

97. It is our earnest desire that gaps and differences will be reduced between developed and developing countries and, in this connexion, we should like to see the United Nations play its own part by increasing technical assistance projects and setting up an organization which will provide increased assistance to developing countries. We believe that this is right and should lead to an equitable distribution of resources among countries.

98. In order to make it easier to participate in wider schemes of co-operation, we on our part have signed a General Act relating to six agreements with the Republic of Guinea. Two of these agreements are on payments and trade.

99. In consonance with our belief in the value of sound regional economic groupings, we are at present engaged in negotiations for the setting up of a Free Trade Area between Sierra Leone and the Republics

of Guinea, Liberia and the Ivory Coast. We look forward to realizing our aspirations in this regard and to having a wider membership incorporating more States in the area. It is our earnest hope that, if we succeed in discussing information and other vital data among ourselves, we will best be able to pool our resources in order to accommodate co-operation from outside and thus ensure prosperity, not only for our region but for the whole of Africa.

100. We wish earnestly to eradicate the disparity which has existed for so long between developing and developed countries, and we hope that some adjustment will be agreed upon whereby the terms of trade will not continue to be steadily worse for developing countries. The developing countries are appreciative of the aid they have been receiving; but, as my Prime Minister, Mr. Albert Margai, said in July 1964, what the developing countries really need is not aid but trade on an increasingly equitable basis.

101. Mr. SOLOMON (Trinidad and Tobago): This is my delegation's first intervention in the general debate since Trinidad and Tobago became independent two years ago and was admitted to Membership of the United Nations. We count it a happy coincidence that the occasion enables us to offer you, Mr. President, our most sincere congratulations on your election to the Presidency of this Assembly. Since our independence our Ambassador has had the personal, pleasurable experience of association with you as a distinguished representative in these halls, and while it is true that your election has done honour to Ghana, to Africa and to people of African descent everywhere, we think also that it is a just tribute to the reputation you yourself have gained in the wider circles of the United Nations. You have our assurance that you will receive the firm support of the Trinidad and Tobago delegation in the execution of your heavy duties, with full confidence in your ability to discharge them in accordance with the high standards set by your predecessors and to imprint upon this office the stamp of your personality.

102. I myself, Mr. President, have a personal pleasure in welcoming you here today. As the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, I had the honour of being present at the celebrations which marked the independence of your country in 1957, and the inspiration of those days has had a profound effect on the struggle for independence of colonial peoples everywhere. May I add, Mr. President, that the impact of those experiences has lived with me to this day.

103. Let me at the outset reaffirm, in the most unequivocal terms, our faith in the United Nations and the principles enshrined in its Charter. We believe that the United Nations has the potential to become the most powerful Organization ever devised for the maintenance of peace in the world, for promoting the dignity of the human person and removing the economic imbalance between various sections of the world's population.

104. Indeed, it would be strange if we did not cling firmly to these beliefs and these hopes. It was the indirect influence of the United Nations which speeded up the liberation of the colonial peoples and it is the United Nations alone which can prevent them from

again becoming the luckless pawns in the political game being played out by the major Powers on the chessboard of international diplomacy. Anything, therefore, which strengthens the Organization establishes on a firmer footing the independence and the territorial integrity of our own country, and anything which weakens the Organization threatens the very independence which we strove so hard to achieve.

105. We, therefore, have the greatest appreciation of the efforts of those who have laboured patiently and unswervingly to find a solution to the very thorny problem which for some months has threatened to split the Organization asunder, if not to cause its complete disintegration.

106. There is a feeling in some quarters that this problem must be solved by private agreement between two major Powers and that the United Nations as a body can merely accept whatever is agreed upon. While it is true that at the present stage of our existence and under the present constitution of the United Nations, failure of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to come to terms can easily result in a dissolution of the Organization or, at best, a radical change—and not for the better—in its character, we refuse to believe that our opinions are unimportant and that we have nothing to contribute in ideas or activities to the solution of the problem.

107. My delegation believes that whatever may be the deficiencies of the Charter, the misunderstandings or misconceived attitudes of the past, peace-keeping operations can hardly fail to be the concern of the United Nations as a whole, and should, in fact, be the responsibility of all Members.

108. Those who object to peace-keeping operations under the present arrangements fall into two groups. One group says in effect: "The United Nations is not a supra-national body and cannot therefore impose upon me a liability which I do not accept." The other group says: "The whole thing is illegal and therefore I refuse to participate."

109. I think that this Assembly should agree that any future arrangements for peace-keeping, while respecting the sovereign rights of individual States, must overcome the unwillingness of large Powers to accept responsibility for sharing in the implementation of decisions with which they do not agree. A means must be found for the operation to proceed, notwithstanding the absence of concurrence on the part of any individual member of the Security Council. It will not be easy to find such a solution, but I do not think the need for it can seriously be questioned.

110. Once we have found a way of coming to a decision on what action should be taken, it should not be too difficult to find a formula for sharing the costs. It is unnecessary at this stage to attempt to work out the details in this forum, but it is necessary to emphasize that, as far as the developing countries are concerned, it is important that they should be able to budget with a fair degree of accuracy in respect of their total obligations to the United Nations.

111. During the long generations when we were a dependency, our economic and political orientation

was mainly in the direction of Europe and away from the South American continent. Despite this fact, there have grown up, over the years, very close contacts at all levels of society between ourselves and the South American people. Now that we are free—as free, that is, as any nation is free in the world today to determine its own destiny—we hope to continue and even to expand these relationships, based on a community of interests and outlook which easily transcends all language barriers.

112. This association is not supposed to be unilateral. We feel, in fact we know, that we have a contribution to make to hemispheric defence and solidarity, and to the economic and social development of the region. In our two small islands there are fewer than one million people—yet we represent perhaps the most cosmopolitan community on the face of the globe. Within an area of less than 2,000 square miles we accommodate peoples of all races, all colours, all religious persuasions—and varying shades of political opinion—and all of us live together in peace and harmony. Each pursues his lawful occupation with due respect for the rights of his fellow citizens; each is tolerant of the foibles and idiosyncrasies which must appear in such a society; but each is conscious, above all, of being a citizen of the free and independent sovereign State of Trinidad and Tobago. If I show a certain pride in making this assertion, it is because I feel that we in Trinidad and Tobago, by the help of Divine Providence and the wisdom of our leaders, have succeeded in solving a problem which for generations has plagued larger and more prosperous communities than ours and which, today, gives rise to many an issue which may ultimately involve the United Nations.

113. Trinidad and Tobago has also a long history of association with Canada and the United States of America. While the largest percentage of our trade is with the United Kingdom and Europe, quite a substantial portion is with our North American neighbours. One of our problems as a developing country has been how to devise ways and means of expanding our world trade and to get into markets previously closed to us for one reason or another.

114. Trinidad and Tobago is a primary producer in the main; our standard of living is greatly influenced by the uncertainties of world prices. In addition, we are adversely affected by the increasing gap between the prices of primary products and of manufactured goods. These problems we share with all developing countries and more particularly with the small sister nations of the Caribbean.

115. We therefore attach great importance to the recent United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held in Geneva in 1964. We welcome the coming together of the developing countries, so that we could put forward our views collectively, in accordance with needs common to us all and the special needs of our individual nations. We welcome the general recognition of the need to modify the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and to establish new and continuing machinery for trade and development.

116. Nevertheless, we are unhappy that there is a tendency in some quarters to regard Trinidad and

Tobago as a country which has much less need of assistance than some others. Of course, there are degrees of under-development, and our income per capita is relatively high. We have a high percentage of literacy, and strong efforts are being made to expand education at all levels. But despite our small population we have a very high unemployment rate, which is rising with every year that passes.

117. Despite our attempts to establish new industries, the percentage of our labour force which is unemployed or under-employed rises annually, and despite all our pleas for relief my Government has had to finance our first Five-Year Development Programme almost entirely out of our own resources, utilizing for that purpose reserves as well as surplus balances. These reserves are not inexhaustible, and with the increased recurrent cost of completed development projects there are no longer surplus balances to invest in further development. And yet we are told in some quarters that Trinidad and Tobago does not qualify for aid. I should like those persons who hold that view to tell me how it is possible to explain to a highly literate population that their standard of living must fall, while they see evidence in neighbouring countries of a steady rise; or that more and more people every year will remain idle because there are no funds for further development, or that the children of the next generation will have even greater difficulty in getting into school than those of the present.

118. Trinidad and Tobago has for some years now represented an area of stability in the troubled Caribbean. We have worked hard and long to ensure that on independence we should have in our country political and social institutions based on democracy, the rule of law and respect for the rights of the individual. What we are being asked to do now is to allow all these to disappear, to disintegrate even more rapidly than we built them up and to permit our country to sink once more into the morass of despair from which we rescued it, with all the dangers which must ultimately flow therefrom. I do not think I need say more to convince this Assembly that it is both wrong and unwise to penalize a country for having made honest efforts to assist itself.

119. At some stage in the course of this session it will be necessary to direct our energies to an all too familiar but increasingly difficult problem—the representation of China in the United Nations. It is unnecessary to dwell on the unsatisfactory position which now exists, as a result of which, after nearly twenty years, the avowed aim of universality of the United Nations is still so far from realization. One-quarter of the world's population cannot be permanently excluded from a world body. The fact is that the People's Republic of China exists and exercises a considerable influence, not only in its own geographical vicinity, but also in more distant parts of the world. My delegation is convinced that appropriate steps must be taken to ensure that at any rate by the twentieth session of the General Assembly, this long overdue addition is made to the Membership of the United Nations.

120. I recognize that there are difficulties involved. I am not unmindful of the rights of the people of Taiwan

and I do not suggest that they should fail to find representation in the General Assembly. This is why I referred above to "appropriate steps" being taken. Compromises have been effected before now, and will continue to be necessary, for the maintenance and strengthening of the United Nations.

121. One of several factors which contributed to the relaxed, cheerful and even optimistic attitude prevailing at the beginning of the eighteenth session was the conclusion of the partial nuclear test-ban treaty. Hopes for further progress were high and there seemed to be no reason to doubt that before too long the word "partial" would disappear from the description of the treaty. Unfortunately, no progress has been made. Instead, the world's atmosphere has been further polluted by a nuclear device detonated by the People's Republic of China. We would happily congratulate that country and its Government if it achieved a breakthrough in the ceaseless struggle against poverty, disease, illiteracy and general human degradation. However, we cannot but deplore an event which can only serve to add to the already too high sum-total of human wretchedness.

122. In your opening address, Mr. President [1286th meeting], you implored us to approach the work of this session in a spirit of frankness and courage; you pleaded for international morality. This is why we feel constrained to make this reference to a most regrettable occurrence, which does not underline the greatness and glory of a people with a history undoubtedly great and glorious. It merely poses further problems for China's neighbours in particular and for the world in general. We sincerely cherish the hope that these neighbours will not feel impelled to follow so unfortunate an example and that other countries will not forget their obligations under the Treaty of Moscow. Let us hope that China, having proved to itself that it was capable of doing what no one doubted was well within its capacity, will now yield to international world persuasion and turn its back on further nuclear pursuits.

123. No debate in this Assembly would be complete without some reference to the thorny problem of South Africa, that unhappy country where both Blacks and Whites are held in cruel bondage, the one by oppression and brutality and the other by an arrogance which finds no parallel in modern history. It is perhaps in respect of South Africa that the United Nations has registered its greatest failure to date. I refuse to believe that the inhuman racist practices which go on in South Africa are the concern of the people of South Africa only. I refuse to believe that this Assembly can, by invoking any Article of its Charter, wash its hands of this issue which strikes at the very root of the principles enshrined in the Charter. I refuse to believe that nations, for the sake of temporary private gain, will continue to ignore the pleas of millions of human being who are treated as though they have no right to exist and as though the Almighty Himself has committed an offence against their white South African brothers by creating them at all.

124. Dare we continue to close our eyes to these facts which cry to high heaven for vengeance? Dare we continue to sit in these halls and committee rooms and pass pious resolutions which only some will ob-

serve and which a few of those who passed them had no intention of observing? Can we continue to live with our consciences while we pay no more than lip service to the principles enshrined in our Charter?

125. The problem of South Africa is not one which can be solved by wishful thinking, or which will disappear with a wave of the hand. It is one of the facts of life with which we must grapple—and that speedily—if the world is not once more going to be plunged into a bloody holocaust. Let there be no mistake about this: all the evidence indicates that if the problem of South Africa is not solved by peaceful means it will be solved by bloody revolution; but solved it will be. Whatever the rest of the world might do there are indications that free Africa will not stand idly by and watch so many millions of their African brothers in chains; and once the movement starts who knows what the end will be? Who knows what forces will be unleashed—and once unleashed, who knows how they can be controlled? Twice in our lifetime there have been major conflagrations which eventually have dragged the whole world into their orbit. Since the end of World War II there have been further threats and many moments of crisis which have happily passed away. None of these has been as real or as urgent as the problem of South Africa. The United Nations must either act with firmness and promptitude in the case of South Africa or else stand for ever condemned before the bar of history.

126. Trinidad and Tobago was delighted to be among those who welcomed Malawi, Malta and Zambia as new Member States at the opening of the session; but even as we welcomed them, we could not help contrasting their happy position, despite the economic and administrative problems which must face them on becoming independent, with the state of affairs in Southern Rhodesia.

127. We were heartened by the initial action taken by the new Government in the United Kingdom regarding the situation in Southern Rhodesia. We appreciate the problems facing the United Kingdom Government; nevertheless, we are bound to point out that no political situation remains static. The position in Southern Rhodesia cannot be left to solve itself. With the awful example of South Africa ever present in our minds, we would be failing in our duty if we did not as a body urge the United Kingdom to move with dispatch towards a just and rational settlement.

128. What is the problem? The position is simply that a population of more than 3 million people is being held in thrall by a white minority of less than one-quarter of a million who claim, not only special privileges, but that all power and authority should rest in their hands, in flagrant denial of the fundamental rights of the majority. And this small minority of settlers living under a Constitution which makes a mockery of democracy, dares to threaten a unilateral declaration of independence.

129. Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom has indicated that it will not recognize such a declaration, but is that enough? Does lack of recognition imply any action to restore the rights of those who would, by that very declaration, be permanently disfranchised? The situation is not an easy one and

Her Majesty's Government could quite reasonably argue that the responsibility for solving it rests with the United Kingdom Government, and not with the United Nations.

130. But since Southern Rhodesia raises problems affecting the very basis of democracy, and with the real possibility of having a second South Africa develop under our very eyes, this Assembly cannot fail to urge the United Kingdom to secure the release of imprisoned political leaders and ensure that the authentic voice of the people of Southern Rhodesia be heard in the preparation of a new constitution.

131. Southern Rhodesia must move on to independence as quickly as possible but only under a democratic

constitution based on the principle of one man, one vote, and with a guarantee that under such a constitution the elections preceding the grant of independence should be conducted in an atmosphere of freedom and complete impartiality.

132. Today, the United Nations is composed of 115 Members. How many more will be added before this General Assembly meets for its twentieth session, we do not know. But if we who now deliberate in these halls keep ever before us the ideals of our Charter, we will not fail to conduct ourselves in a manner worthy of so distinguished an Organization and to provide the necessary inspiration to the new Members.

The meeting rose at 5.5 p.m.