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CONTENTS

Agenda item 9:

Page

General debate (continued)

Speech by Mr. Yifru (Ethiopia)	1
Speech by Mr. Pirzada (Pakistan)	7
Speech by Mr. Karjalainen (Finland)	13
Speech by Mr. Bashev (Bulgaria)	15
Speech by Mr. Eleta (Panama)	19
Speech by Mr. Adebo (Nigeria)	22
Speech by Mr. Niyongabo (Burundi)	26
Statement by the representative of Somalia	29
Statement by the representative of India	30
Statement by the representative of Pakistan	32
Statement by the representative of Ethiopia	32

President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHwak
(Afghanistan).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. YIFRU (Ethiopia): Mr. President, allow me, first of all, to reiterate on behalf of the Ethiopian delegation my warmest congratulations on your unanimous election to the Presidency of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly.

2. Having, in my capacity as the current Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, already welcomed Guyana to membership of the United Nations, I should now like to convey once more to the representatives of Guyana the great joy and satisfaction of the Ethiopian nation and its Government over the accession of Guyana to independence last May. It is in joyful anticipation that we now await the independence of Lesotho, Botswana and Barbados within a short time. My Government also happily welcomes the resumption of Indonesia's membership of the United Nations and would like to assure the Government of Indonesia that the Ethiopian delegation will, as in the past, accord it its full co-operation.

3. To those of our brothers, near and far, who are still struggling to occupy their rightful place in the community of free and sovereign nations, in freedom and independence, we extend encouragement and hope and the assurance that they are not alone in their struggle, which often entails the sacrifice of life itself. For the peoples of the United Nations, who, over twenty years ago, declared in the Charter of this Organization their determination "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person . . .", will certainly not fail to carry out that pledge, in the conviction that the rights and

dignity of the human person suffer most when people are subjected to alien domination and are not masters of their own destinies.

4. It was to discharge the solemn obligation undertaken in the Charter that the United Nations General Assembly adopted the historic resolution [1514 (XV)] containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in 1960—an epochal decision which has contributed immensely to the expansion of the membership of this Organization to its present total of 119. In this context, a few words on the splendid work being done by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples are quite in order. The instrumentality of the Special Committee in the rapid liberation of so many countries under colonial rule, in the last few years, is so widely known as to require no detailed recital. The fact that the Committee, for the second consecutive year, has held part of its meetings on the continent of Africa is of no little significance, and we hope that the practice will be continued until colonialism is completely eradicated from that continent.

5. I should like to mention, in connexion with the work of the Special Committee, the views of my Government with regard to the territory of Djibouti, which were set forth in its memorandum to the Committee. ^{1/} The basic policy of my Government with regard to Djibouti was affirmed in no uncertain terms at a recent press conference at Addis Ababa by my august sovereign, His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I. My Chief of State unequivocally stated that the Ethiopian Government fully supports the exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of the territory, provided that that process is unfettered in any manner whatsoever and that its sole purpose is to enable the majority of the indigenous inhabitants of the territory to decide their destiny in consonance with their genuine and lasting interests. Hence, let there be no misunderstanding of the clear position of my Government on this score.

6. Historically, and prior to the colonialist invasion of the African continent, Djibouti, together with other adjacent areas, constituted a unit of the only independent political entity which then existed in that region, under the sovereignty of the Ethiopian nation. Until the second half of the nineteenth century, the territory of Djibouti was an integral part of Ethiopia.

7. Consideration of the territory of Djibouti in its historical perspective brings up the following pertinent questions: first, where do the genuine and strong bonds

^{1/} A/AC.109/122.

of ethnic and social affinity of the vast majority of the people of the Territory lie? Secondly, what is the source of the economic life of the inhabitants of the territory, where are the sources of their life-springs, where their lasting interests are to be found? Thirdly, what are the historical and geographical realities of the territory? And fourthly, what are the exigencies of Ethiopia's national security with regard to the territory?

8. I hardly need add that any decision which will take into consideration the aspects of the problem of the future of the territory which I have just enumerated, if founded on the free and unhampered will of the majority of its indigenous inhabitants, will have the full support and co-operation of my Government. Conversely, any move designed to jeopardize the abiding interests of the people of the territory of Djibouti, who, as I have stated, are our kith and kin, will be opposed by my nation with all vigour. The one single lesson that my people have learned from their bitter experience of the events of the 1930s is that our natural outlet to the sea must never again fall into, or be controlled by, unfriendly hands.

9. Speaking from this rostrum last year, I recall expressing, at the start of the work of the twentieth session of the General Assembly, my delegation's immense relief over two developments that took place almost on the eve of that session: first, the resolving—temporarily at least—of the difficulties which had prevented the nineteenth session of the General Assembly from functioning normally; and second, the halting, through the timely action of the Security Council, of the conflict which had developed between two neighbouring Asian countries. I regret that on this occasion I cannot repeat the same sentiments.

10. Today, as we engage in our annual stocktaking of the accomplishments and shortcomings of this Organization during the past year; as we pause to reflect on the changes in the international situation since our last meeting in this hall; as we consider the prospects of world peace and security and the numerous problems and difficulties which have hindered progress in disarmament negotiations; as we speculate on these and other issues, I confess that certain developments of the past year have given my delegation and myself reason to feel a sense of disquietude and heaviness of heart. I should like to share some of these thoughts briefly with the representatives assembled here today.

11. My first thoughts focus upon the decision of our Secretary-General, U Thant, the tireless and conscientious servant of peace, not to seek re-election for a second term. In the five years that U Thant has served the United Nations, first as Acting Secretary-General and then as Secretary-General, this Organization was faced with crucial difficulties and problems which at times threatened to split the Organization to its very foundations or to push the world towards the brink of a holocaust. These catastrophes were averted, in considerable measure through the courage, dedication and perservance with which the Secretary-General pursued the goal of peace and the survival of the United Nations.

12. Perhaps the cataloguing of the many accomplishments of the distinguished Secretary-General in the cause of peace and in the interest of the United Nations should best be left to history and posterity. But there can be no doubt of the high value that each of the 119 nations represented in this hall places on the great services rendered by the Secretary-General during his tenure of office as the chief executive of this Organization. I am sure all will agree with me when I say that while it may be true, as the Secretary-General himself declared in his statement to the members of the Security Council on 1 September 1966 [see A/6400], that no particular person is indispensable for any particular job, it is also true that the present world situation is such that a major displacement such as that involved in changing the Secretary-Generalship of the United Nations at this moment might well trigger off a highly unstable international situation and lead to regrettable consequences. With his thorough grounding in United Nations and international affairs; with the reliance placed on him by the membership of this Organization, especially the great Powers; with his instinctive tact and sensitivity to the requirements and characteristics of individual nations; with his devotion to duty, his firm idealism and his strength and ability to carry out plans; and above all, with his deep understanding of United Nations and world problems, we are convinced that the right man for the right job at the right time is U Thant, and that he should remain as Secretary-General of the United Nations at this period of the world's—and the United Nations—existence.

13. Yet, even as I reiterate the appeal of my Government and people for the Secretary-General to continue in office for a second term, I should make it quite clear that we well understand the personal sacrifices, the unremitting labours, the constant frustrations which the holder of this high office has to endure. I believe we are all aware of the enormous difficulties which successive Secretaries-General have had to bear, and of the fact that those difficulties have proportionately increased as the Organization's activities have expanded and multiplied; and in consequence, the present Secretary-General, U Thant, has inevitably had to bear a greater share of the burden of responsibility and work than did any of his predecessors. So much is apparent from the candid statement released by the Secretary-General's office in connexion with his recent decision.

14. A question for consideration at this point is: to what extent are Member States of the United Nations, and in particular the great Powers, prepared to take the necessary steps with a view to the strengthening of this Organization, and hence, of the role of its Secretary-General, in the service of international peace and security?

15. This question leads me to consideration of some of the developments in the world political situation in the course of the past year. These developments remain a source of deep concern and anxiety to my Government, the most serious of them being, in our view, the intensification of the conflict in South-East Asia.

16. On previous occasions, we have persistently held that the immediate halting of the brutal war in Viet-

Nam is vital to the preservation of world peace and security. But even more urgent is the stopping of the senseless massacres committed day after day on the Vietnamese people by the combatants in the conflict. Not a day has passed in the last several years without our reading in the international Press of the continuing tragedy in that unhappy land, which has borne so much suffering for so long. The savagery of the war and the agony of the Vietnamese people increase as the escalation of the conflict continues. Ideas, suggestions, and proposals to end the war have not been wanting. Yet, they do not affect any of the parties in the conflict. While valuable proposals have been put forward such as a general call for the reconvening of the participants in the Geneva Conference of 1954, the halting of bombing raids, the neutralization of the whole region, and the commitment to withdraw the armed forces of one of the combatants, my Government urges once more, as a first step towards the peaceful resolution of the conflict, an immediate and complete cease-fire under international supervision. We appeal to the parties concerned and their allies not to insist on preconditions to a cease-fire and negotiation, the more so as it is now generally recognized that continuation of the war presents, not indeed victory to one side, but the spectre of a widespread conflagration that will engulf the rest of the world. It therefore behoves the General Assembly to employ to the utmost all its resources and energies towards having the parties concerned and their allies set an early date for a cease-fire, and, to this end, to make a formal appeal to all concerned.

17. Closely related to the events in Asia and, indeed, to the entire world situation, is the question of the representation of the Government of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. My Government has on previous occasions stressed the vital necessity of the participation of the People's Republic of China in the councils of nations, and our views on this subject have become even stronger in the interval since the last General Assembly session. In matters that concern international peace and security, one cannot be less than realistic. Yet, how can we continue to think of achieving a comprehensive test-ban agreement, a non-proliferation treaty, nuclear disarmament, and general and complete disarmament, while continuing to exclude from negotiations and from membership in the United Nations a Government which represents one of the world's most populous nations and which, at the same time, is a world Power to reckon with? Our plea for the participation of the Government of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is based not only on the Organization's ideal of universality, but—even more importantly—on the clear, cold reality that, for better or for worse, the People's Republic of China must perforce be a party to any international arrangement or treaty, if it is to have any measure of effectiveness and universality. In this connexion, my delegation finds it encouraging to note from reports in the Press that even those who have traditionally opposed the representation of the Government of the People's Republic of China are reconsidering their past positions and attitudes. I wish to express my delegation's earnest hope that their decision will be tempered by an awareness of the realities of the times and the recognition

of the fearful consequences involved in disregard of those realities.

18. It is pertinent in this regard to take note of the occasional but persistent reports in the news media that the Government in Peking has made certain extraordinary demands as prerequisites to its admission to membership in the United Nations. If the allegation is true, then it creates an unfortunate situation, and I wish in this connexion to express my delegation's fervent hope that the Government of the People's Republic of China will, as befits a great people and a great nation, become cognizant of its responsibility towards humanity and the preservation of civilization, to which the people of China have over the centuries contributed so magnificently. My delegation would therefore urge the General Assembly to invite the Government of the People's Republic of China to membership of the United Nations as soon as possible, and to join the family of nations in solving some of the most urgent problems of mankind. My delegation is aware that such a proposal may sound, in view of the apparent intransigence of world politics, rather naïve. However, it should also be apparent that, if our objective is survival, there is no alternative. Obduracy and increasing harshness of attitude will certainly not carry us closer to the solution of our problems.

19. Another matter of grave concern to my Government—and, I am sure, to other Governments—is the vexations impasse in disarmament negotiations. It is true that, since the establishment of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, there has been a better understanding of the complexity and difficulties of the disarmament problem and of the respective positions of the great Power groupings and alliances. But, to date, the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament has failed to make any appreciable progress in achieving its principal mandate—to negotiate a treaty on general and complete disarmament—and on the specific measures referred to it from time to time by the General Assembly.

20. We recall that the problem of the spread of nuclear weapons had engaged the serious attention of the General Assembly at its last session and that considerable time was devoted to it both in the First Committee and in plenary meetings. Pursuant to resolution 2028 (XX) of the General Assembly, the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament gave urgent consideration to the question of negotiating an international treaty to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. But in spite of the tireless endeavours of the non-aligned members of the Committee to achieve some progress toward negotiating a non-proliferation treaty, the gaps which remained between the positions of the major nuclear Powers with regard to nuclear armaments within alliances have, unfortunately, militated against any positive outcome. In this connexion, the joint memorandum of the non-aligned members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament,^{2/} as well as the separate memorandum submitted by Ethiopia,^{3/} offers, in our view,

^{2/} Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1966, document DC/228, annex I, section P.

^{3/} Ibid., section I.

sound suggestions for the major nuclear Powers to act upon.

21. But, in the meantime, how is the frightful prospect of the further spread of nuclear weapons to be avoided? How, indeed, are the various specific measures discussed at the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to be implemented, as preliminary steps to a treaty on general and complete disarmament, if the major nuclear Power remain—as it appears—hesitant in taking the necessary initiatives commensurate with their great responsibilities for the preservation of international peace and security? To this fundamental difficulty is added the truly vexatious problem of the non-participation of two of the nuclear Powers.

22. While the Ethiopian delegation will endeavour to present specific suggestions on disarmament matters when the subject is discussed in the First Committee, I should like at this juncture to urge that the General Assembly make a solemn appeal to the Governments of the French Republic and the People's Republic of China to discharge their obligations to mankind by participating in disarmament negotiations and effectively making their contribution towards the realization of general and complete disarmament. My delegation firmly believes that any disarmament measure to which not all the nuclear Powers are parties will remain ineffectual and illusory.

23. I believe we all know that any specific disarmament measures and the paramount goal of an international treaty on general and complete disarmament cannot be achieved in a power vacuum, as it were. It is vitally important, therefore, that the United Nations security system be strengthened and rendered more effective. Such a step, however, is inevitably tied up with the settling of outstanding issues related to the financing of United Nations peace-keeping operations. The United Nations Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations, which was set up during the nineteenth session [see General Assembly resolution 2006 (XIX) of 18 February 1965] and of which my country is privileged to be a member has, as we all know, continued its discussion of the problem in the current year. But because of the inherent difficulties in negotiating formulæ acceptable to all concerned and reaching agreement on concrete proposals to recommend to the General Assembly at its present session, the Special Committee has, regrettably, not been able to indicate any further progress. The very able Chairman of the Committee, Dr. Francisco Cuevas Cancino, the representative of Mexico, aptly summed up the whole situation when, at its last [22nd] meeting on 13 September 1966, he said:

"The difficulties inherent in this question and the divergencies of opinion are only too well known to all, but I refuse to become victim to a mistaken and dangerous pessimism. Through the quiet work that the Committee has carried out this year, it has been possible for both large and small Powers to consider calmly and conscientiously the various possibilities enshrined in the future of peace-keeping operations."

24. Obviously, none who has at heart the best interests of the future of the United Nations and its peace-keeping role will disagree with the contention

that the Organization, in order to fulfil the manifold tasks assigned to it by the Charter, must, primarily, be solvent. There is scarcely any divergence of opinion on this score. It is therefore our recommendation that the General Assembly should, while making the appropriate appeal to all concerned, renew the mandate of the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations in order that it can continue its quiet negotiations with a view to evolving guidelines acceptable to all.

25. Of the various other international problems affecting world peace and security—matters of the utmost concern to the General Assembly—I wish to make specific reference to the situation in Southern Rhodesia, the question of South West Africa, and the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

26. Long before the illegal seizure of power and authority in Southern Rhodesia by the minority settler group, my Government had expressed serious misgivings about the systematic transfer of the means of effective power and authority by the United Kingdom Government to those who now wield it to their advantage. Furthermore, Ethiopia's representatives in the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as well as in the regular sessions of the General Assembly, had given warning, publicly in this hall, that the situation was fraught with dangerous consequences. If I might refer once more to my statement at the twentieth session of the General Assembly, I said then:

"...I must solemnly draw the attention of the General Assembly to the fact that any attempt by the settler régime in Southern Rhodesia to declare unilateral independence will be fraught with far-reaching consequences affecting the peace and security of the African continent." [1348th meeting, para. 44.]

Yet, despite these protests and warnings, the Government of the United Kingdom proceeded to transfer control of the armed forces in the Territory, as well as other attributes of sovereignty, to the minority settler régime in Southern Rhodesia, and, despite repeated assurances to the contrary by the British Government, Ian Smith made his long-threatened unilateral declaration of independence on 11 November 1965, thus nullifying in one bold stroke all the assurances of the United Kingdom Government that the rights of the vast majority of the indigenous inhabitants would not be jeopardized.

27. The subsequent events are, of course, known to the whole world. Despite the United Kingdom Prime Minister's prior warning that any move towards a unilateral declaration of independence by the settler régime would be regarded as an unconstitutional and treasonable action, the United Kingdom Government, instead of discharging its responsibilities towards the majority of the population in Southern Rhodesia, to the Charter of the United Nations, and to the community of nations, was content to institute a partial and ineffective economic boycott and to tell the world that the rebel régime would be brought to heel in a matter of weeks.

28. It is now ten months since then and, the economic hardships and sacrifices of the courageous people of Zambia notwithstanding, the rebel régime of Southern Rhodesia, supported by like-minded racist régimes such as the Governments of South Africa and Portugal, has, as we know, been able to survive thus far any inconvenience that the British economic boycott is supposed to have inflicted. Nor have the recommendations of the Security Council contained in its resolution 217 (1965) borne any fruitful results. The grim fact is that the rebel régime in Southern Rhodesia has, with the assistance of South Africa and Portugal, successfully circumvented the effectiveness of the Security Council resolution just referred to. Thus, while the United Kingdom Government vacillates in indecision, while it alternately attends Commonwealth conferences and engaged in fruitless negotiations with Ian Smith—all the while endeavouring to absolve itself, before world public opinion, of any responsibility for the Southern Rhodesian situation and trying to convince everyone that everything is being done to restore the Territory to its constitutional status—Ian Smith is busily consolidating his power and tightening his grip on the destiny of the millions of Africans in the Territory.

29. Should Smith commit himself completely to the vicious policy of apartheid and form an unholy alliance with South Africa and Portugal, then the world may well expect to see, in the not too distant future, the continent of Africa convulsed in the most savage racial wars. Let there be no doubts about this. African patience and genuine endurance are by no means inexhaustible, and the fundamental rights of entire peoples cannot indefinitely be trampled upon with impunity.

30. However, there appears to be some hopeful note in the recent Commonwealth communiqué issued in London on 14 September 1966. The Ethiopian delegation finds this, on the whole, encouraging. To the extent that the communiqué's reaffirmation of the British determination to end the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia, to release the nationalist leaders who have been arbitrarily detained, to apply the principle of "one man, one vote", to repeal repressive and discriminatory laws—to the extent that these promises are all implemented, to that extent will Ethiopia find satisfaction and put faith in the actions of the United Kingdom Government in Southern Rhodesia. We also welcome the realization by the British Government of the necessity of instituting mandatory economic sanctions against the rebel régime in Southern Rhodesia, although I must state that we have a certain reservation regarding the restrictive term "selective" used in connexion with the matter of effective mandatory economic sanctions.

31. In view of the critical situation in Southern Rhodesia, we would urge that the competent organs of the United Nations act now, before it is too late, and, pursuant to the relevant provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter, take the necessary appropriate measures. We are fully aware of the implications of such a procedure and of the resistance that certain interests are bound to offer. However, it is our belief, as it is the belief of other countries which are concerned about international peace and security, that

the commercial and economic interests of a few should not be allowed to endanger the interests of the great majority of nations and to shackle the United Nations in the performance of its main functions. Since the inept handling of the situation by the constitutional authorities responsible for Southern Rhodesia has unfortunately precipitated matters, my Government urges that the United Nations community, in all conscience, take effective measures as early as possible.

32. I should like at this stage of my remarks to refer to an editorial in The New York Times in its issue of 14 September 1966. In connexion with the choice of a new Prime Minister for the Republic of South Africa, the editorial stated:

"South Africa nationalist leaders have flouted world opinion in the most dramatic manner possible by selecting Balthazar J. Vorster as their new Prime Minister.

"None of the other prospective successors to Hendrik F. Verwoerd symbolizes so utterly the Republic's oppressive racial policies and police-state laws as the fifty-year-old Minister of Justice who enforced them and wrote many of them. No other nationalist leader would be so certain to inflame African opinion and offend sensibilities outside Africa as the man who was imprisoned by his own Government for underground pro-Nazi activity during World War II.

"The appointment of Mr. Vorster means simply that South African nationalists in fear have turned over the reins of government to the most extreme, most ruthless, most totalitarian of their party leaders, whatever the eventual consequences.

"The only positive thing that can be said about this selection is that Mr. Vorster probably will pursue and extend most of the major policies of his fallen predecessor with less pretence, less camouflage, less downright hypocrisy.

"Mr. Vorster, for example, is likely to be more open in his support of Prime Minister Ian Smith's white régime in Rhodesia. Dr. Verwoerd saw to it that adequate assistance was extended to keep the rebel régime afloat, but he never formally recognized it as an independent state and always pretended that South Africa was merely carrying on 'business as usual' with its neighbours north of the Limpopo."

I have quoted the editorial at length because it is quite to the point and should serve as a warning against any relaxation towards the South African Government and its policy of apartheid. The old adversary is dead, but in his place is one far more brutal and more inaccessibly conscienceless, from all evidence and reports. If such is the case, then the developments in South Africa augur ill for both the continent and the world, and it behoves the United Nations and the rest of the community of nations to take stringent, effective measures as soon as possible, in order to prevent the spread of this malignant growth on the world body before it engulfs everything in its path.

33. It is pertinent at this point to call attention to those countries, both inside and outside the membership of this Organization, which still continue to supply the racist Governments with the means to carry out their oppressive, inhuman policies, in spite of numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council which request, *inter alia*, the cessation of the sale of arms and ammunition to South Africa. In this connexion, we noted in recent press reports that mandatory sanctions against the minority rebel régime in Southern Rhodesia are not favoured by a certain permanent member of the Security Council of the United Nations, the reason being that such sanctions would be ineffective unless they applied to South Africa as well; however, any application of sanctions against South Africa would, it fears, have adverse effects on its trading relations with that country.

34. We should like to state that, much as we respect the legitimate concerns of States Members of this Organization, my Government is certainly not prepared to endorse the superiority of the economic interests of individual States over the sanctity of the principles of the Charter and the interests of the majority of the Member States of this Organization. As I have suggested earlier, what we urge on the United Nations vis-à-vis the Rhodesian situation is nothing short of effective measures in the form of mandatory sanctions.

35. The virulent racism of South Africa and the suppressive colonial war being waged by Portugal in the African territories under its administration should not, we believe, be regarded merely as means to frustrate any effective move on the part of the United Nations, but as logical areas which an effective mandatory sanction should encompass. My delegation, therefore, would urge the General Assembly to give its serious thought and immediate attention to this matter. The fate of the League of Nations in the 1930s and its subsequent extinction should be a lesson writ large for all of us in this Organization.

36. Of no less concern to the family of nations represented in this hall is the future of the Territory of South West Africa. In the wake of the calamitous decision handed down by the International Court of Justice, ^{4/} contrary to its previous rulings and on the flimsy technical ground that the Governments of Ethiopia and Liberia did not have sufficient legal interest in their claim, a shocked world could not but question the integrity of the Court and its freedom from political and other pressures. Noteworthy is the fact that the decision handed down by the Court was arrived at by a minority of the Judges and required the deciding voice of the President of the Court. While comments in the international Press at the time the Court's decision was announced revealed the relief felt by certain Powers at the fact that a substantive decision on the merits of the case was at least delayed, the Government of South Africa evidently jumped to a hasty conclusion, namely, that the decision of the Court was a licence to proceed to an outright annexation of South West Africa and the extension to that Territory of the racist policy of apartheid. My delegation has made a separate statement on the question of South

West Africa [1414th meeting], and that being so, I should like to limit myself, in this regard, to reiterating just two points.

37. In the first instance, unlike the International Court of Justice, this Organization, as the successor of the defunct League of Nations, is bound by its Charter to uphold the paramount interests and well-being of the people of South West Africa. In the circumstances, therefore, my delegation reiterates its appeal to this Assembly for the revocation of the Mandate over South West Africa and the assumption by the United Nations of its responsibility for the administration of the Territory.

38. Secondly, since it has become increasingly apparent that a change in the composition of the International Court of Justice is urgently called for, my delegation would like to propose that such a change be instituted on the lines adopted in enlarging the membership of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council in order to ensure an equitable geographic distribution of Member States in those organs. The Ethiopian delegation specifically urges the amending of Article 3 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice with a view to enlarging the membership of the Court so that it will reflect the increase in the family of nations and thereby ensure the effective representation of all regions in that body.

39. If, in my remarks thus far, I have dwelt at some length on the international political situation, to the exclusion of the economic and social activities of the Organization, it is not that my Government attaches little importance to the latter. On the contrary, like many other nations represented in this hall, we fully recognize the outstanding achievements of this Organization in the social and economic field, particularly in the amelioration of the lot of peoples throughout the world, and in bringing about effective international co-operation in these spheres. Nevertheless, we must express some concern over the fact that the momentum of economic development anticipated as a result of the establishment of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) two years ago has not been as encouraging as expected. It is significant that, in the introduction to the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/6301/Add.1], the loss of momentum of international aid is singled out as the gravest single factor in the developments of the year since the last session of the General Assembly. My delegation expresses the earnest hope that the more affluent States Members of the Organization will do all in their power to help to improve this situation; for we believe that in a body politic, such as the United Nations community of nations, there should be unceasing effort to close the widening gap in living conditions between the developed and the under-developed nations, thus enabling all States, great or small, to contribute to world economic and social progress. We believe that the General Assembly should give due consideration to that part of the Secretary-General's report to which I have alluded and make the appropriate appeal to all concerned.

40. In conclusion, I should like to express the hope that the representatives of the great Powers, in particular, will seize and utilize to the utmost the

^{4/} South West Africa, Second Phase, Judgement, I.C.J. Reports 1966, p. 6.

opportunity afforded by this meeting in assembly to engage in a frank and open exchange of views, with the constant thought that so much of the well-being of peoples everywhere lies, in great measure, within their control. As has so often been remarked, the world is rapidly shrinking as vast reaches of interstellar space come within man's ken and the means of communication become swifter than ever. Barriers, physical and cultural, are falling everywhere and, as a concomitant, people must perforce learn to live with one another—despite differences in race, creed and social and economic circumstances—or perish. The great Powers, in particular, which wield such immense power and influence in practically every significant area of the world today—political, economic, social, technological—to such a degree that they have polarized a great part of the rest of the world in sympathy, support, or alliance with one or the other side, must perforce learn not merely to abide one another, but to consolidate or join their tremendous resources for the common good of mankind. I believe that it is not mere wishful thinking, but a matter of swift and relatively easy accomplishment, to hope that the great Powers, cognizant of the moral responsibility that power confers, will in the near future join forces in the endeavour to find solutions to the urgent problems that plague the world. It is the deep and abiding hope, the profound yearning, of all the peoples of this earth, especially those of the smaller nations, that the great Powers may instead of wasting their resources and energies in hostilities towards one another, pool these resources and energies for the benefit of lesser developed nations. The idea is certainly not new, but one cannot help experiencing a quickening of the pulse, a feeling of joyful expectation, in reflecting that one day in the not too distant future the great and powerful of this world will heed the universal yearning and co-operate with one another to help to solve problems of food, population, housing and disease, and to eradicate the evils that limit and benight the mind of man—illiteracy, prejudice and bigotry born of ignorance and deprivation of the education which opens up new horizons to the world of art and imagination.

41. However, cognizant of the fact that everything worth endeavour in this world has its basis in hard facts and plain hard work, I feel that I must, in closing, turn once more to some specific considerations. One of the most urgent, I hardly need remind this Assembly, certainly concerns the twin problems of nuclear proliferation and the continuing nuclear test explosions. It is the solemn duty of this Organization, as the one body evolved and created by men for the solution of common ills, to give this matter its immediate and most earnest attention.

42. Allow me to add here that all our objectives—political, social, cultural, and economic—can be achieved only under the aegis of the United Nations. Hence, it is imperative that the machinery of the United Nations for the implementation of our common goals should be further strengthened, and the Organization itself rendered a truly effective instrument for the fulfilment of the underlying principles of the Charter.

43. My delegation does not offer ready solutions to the manifold problems that disturb mankind today. I must repeat that the key to these problems lies not in our hands, nor, indeed, in those of other small or medium-sized nations; it rests with the great Powers of today. It is fervently hoped by my nation, as, I am sure it is by other nations represented in this Assembly, that the great Powers, fully recognizing that the means for the well-being and progress of mankind—or its extinction—lie within their absolute grasp, will elect to fulfil their sacred responsibility towards their fellow-men, and ensure that future generations shall live in peace, security, economic abundance and social harmony.

44. Mr. PIRZADA (Pakistan): Mr. President, may I once again convey to you the felicitations of the Pakistan delegation on your election to this high office. It is specially gratifying to us to see the Chair occupied by the representative of a country which is not only our neighbour, but is bound to us by imperishable affinities of faith and culture. Those bonds are forged through centuries and they last to the end of time. By your personal qualities, you have won the esteem and respect of all your colleagues. For this Assembly's tasks, those qualities provide an ample insurance of success.

45. I must also express our very respectful appreciation to Foreign Minister Fanfani for his wise and skilful captaincy of this Assembly's deliberations during the twentieth session. By his conduct in this office, Mr. Fanfani added further lustre to its illustrious traditions.

46. We are meeting in this Assembly at a time of crisis and foreboding in international affairs. In its history, the United Nations has no doubt faced many severe tests, particularly those to which it was subjected by the events of 1950 and 1956. But never before has the whole atmosphere of world affairs been laden with so much tragedy, corroded by so much anguish as today. Never before has there been such a feeling of utter helplessness.

47. One tends sometimes to lose sight of the fact that this Organization is founded on the principle of the equality of all nations, great and small. It is easy to deride the notion of equality between a nation which possesses the means to extinguish life from earth and another of far humbler physical dimensions or technical achievement. In the realm of law, however, the two are equal and must be treated as equals. Their equality resides in the inherent right of States and nations to live and develop in accordance with their wishes and without interference from outside. Only through such a notion of equality of nations is it possible to stabilize international security. Unless the small countries can be protected against the poor or arbitrary will of the great and unless the ambition of the would-be-great can be curbed, it will be impossible to establish the rule of law which is the principle underlying the whole concept and structure of the United Nations Charter. Attempts to maintain international order by establishing the hegemony of one or two or even three world Powers will lead not to peace and progress but only to a balance of power which, by its nature, cannot but remain precarious.

48. To say this is not to ignore the existence of power as a factor in world politics or to ignore the reality that great Powers have special and world-wide interests to defend and to protect. The United Nations Charter has itself recognized that reality by giving the power of the veto to the five permanent members of the Security Council. But the veto was intended to prevent the use of the Organization by one group of great Powers for imposing its will on another. It was meant to encourage and induce settlement between them by compromise. In brief, it was meant to further the basic purpose of the United Nations which is to eliminate force as an instrument of policy and to open the way to peaceful settlement of disputes. If we witness, as we do, a gradual erosion of the peace-keeping functions and responsibilities of the Organization, it would be unfair to put the blame upon any one factor or on any one group of Powers or even on the great Powers alone. Can one say that the Security Council as a whole has shown the sense of purpose and decisiveness which would lead to effective action? Have not others, interested in holding on to their ill-gotten gains, flouted at will the resolutions of the Security Council and the very principles of the Charter? Would it be possible for South Africa to treat with contempt the resolutions passed by the United Nations if some amongst us did not regard the resolutions of this world Organization and even solemn international agreements as scraps of paper?

49. It is clear that all over the world, power is triumphant over principles; force has the better of reason; the uneasy truce and the status quo take the place of peace and progress. Against this background, U Thant's decision to lay down the reins of his high office comes as a warning that this Organization might be heading towards ineffectuality and insignificance.

50. U Thant has served this Organization with distinction. The sense of dedication, the impartiality, the keen perception of world affairs and the modesty which combine in U Thant's character and personality are qualities which this Organization can ill afford to lose. We join with other delegations in expressing the hope that he will reconsider his decision and will find it possible to continue to serve this Organization in this difficult period.

51. It is necessary to recognize in the very first place that this Organization cannot perform its essential tasks of maintaining world peace and furthering international co-operation if it does not include within its fold all the nations of the world. The arguments advanced to keep the door of this Organization locked against the People's Republic of China never had any justification in logic or basis in law. That policy imposed a disability, not on the People's Republic of China, but on this Organization. To persist today in preventing the People's Republic of China from taking its rightful place in the United Nations and all its organs, on whatever pretext or by whichever strategem, is to ignore the realities of the world situation. The absence of the real representatives of China from the United Nations is the most important single cause of the decline of its effectiveness and the inability of the world community to deal realistically with the problem of disarmament and to settle the many conflicts and tensions in Asia.

52. Sessions of the General Assembly are times of annual stock-taking. As we look around, we see the world in a troubled state and the United Nations itself in crisis and anguish. The end of colonialism over a large part of the globe seems only to have given a new lease of life to the remaining pockets of foreign rule in Africa and elsewhere. Nor has the disappearance of classical colonialism eliminated domination in other forms. The United Nations Development Decade is more than halfway through and it is already clear that the targets set for it, modest as they were, will not be achieved. The will to co-operate in the social and cultural spheres has not strengthened the desire among nations to live in peace with each other. The International Co-operation Year was marked by an armed attack by a Member State, one of the sponsors and authors of the resolution on the International Co-operation Year [resolution 1907 (XVIII)] upon the territory of another. Talks on disarmament have gone on for years with little to show by way of progress. Even as these interminable discussions continue at Geneva, a new and more immediate peril, that of an uncontrolled and uncontrollable proliferation of nuclear weapons, threatens to overtake the world.

53. Peace in our sub-continent remains troubled and uneasy. A year ago at this time my country had resisted an invasion from its neighbour, India. In January of this year, at the invitation of Chairman Kosygin, the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, the President of Pakistan met the late Prime Minister of India, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, in the city of Tashkent and signed a declaration to restore peace between Pakistan and India. I take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Soviet statesman whose peace-making efforts made possible the signing of this joint declaration. The Tashkent Declaration of 10 January 1966^{5/} promised to open the way to a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute and to put an end to the continuous conflict which has plagued relations between the two countries.

54. That the Declaration could be a turning point in the affairs of the region is beyond question. This was the intention with which Pakistan signed the Declaration, and this is the spirit which has animated our attitude and policy towards India since it was made. We wished that our two countries would make a new beginning in our mutual relations; we desire to resolve the dispute between our two countries in a manner which would be honourable to both and just to all concerned. We want to call a halt to the race in armaments which threatens to nullify the efforts of both countries for the progress and prosperity of their peoples. We are willing to co-operate in this endeavour and in many other ways for the benefit of the two peoples. That has been our policy towards India; that remains and will continue to be our policy towards it.

55. Peace can never be established by an evasion of realities. The reality of the India-Pakistan situation is that it is the dispute concerning the disposition of Jammu and Kashmir which has brought the two countries twice to armed conflict within the span of one generation and prevented them from having a rational

^{5/} See Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-first Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1966, document S/7221.

and neighbourly relationship. The reality is that as long as this dispute remains unsettled, the destinies of the two peoples will remain overshadowed by uncertainty and fear.

56. The Tashkent Declaration recognized this reality. The first commitment undertaken by both sides in this Declaration was that "both sides will exert all efforts to create good neighbourly relations between India and Pakistan in accordance with the United Nations Charter". The Declaration added:

"They reaffirm their obligation under the Charter not to have recourse to force and to settle their disputes through peaceful means".

It is plain that the Declaration reinforces the obligations of both parties under the Charter of the United Nations. Immediately after reaffirming the obligations of the two parties to settle their disputes by peaceful means, the Tashkent Declaration solemnly stated that the interests of peace in their region were not served by the continuance of tension between the two countries. In a later paragraph, the Declaration recorded the pledge of both countries to "take measures to implement the existing agreements between India and Pakistan". The Declaration also indicated the manner in which the signatories would discharge these obligations and implement the Declaration. In its article IX, provision was made for periodical meetings to discuss and negotiate the settlement of all outstanding issues, differences and disputes between them.

57. When, early this year, the Foreign Ministers of the two countries met in Rawalpindi in pursuance of the agreement reached at Tashkent, their meetings ended with the following joint communiqué, issued on 2 March 1966:

"The two sides proposed for discussion and settlement subjects to which they attached high priority in the interest of peaceful and good neighbourly relations between India and Pakistan. The Pakistan side pointed out the special importance of reaching a settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. Both sides agreed that all disputes between India and Pakistan should be resolved to promote and strengthen peace between the two countries."

The hopes which were thus raised have, unfortunately, not been fulfilled. Developments in the relations between India and Pakistan in the last six months have done nothing to encourage the expectation that the lessons of past experience are being imbibed and a fresh beginning might be attempted. This is not the occasion to give an account of what has gone wrong in these months, of the stirring-up of emotions where the need is for calm reasoning, of the fanning of the tensions where there is a need for tranquillity. The central tendency remains what it was in the past—the repudiation of every means of settlement, the refusal to engage in a purposeful dialogue, the deliberate rejection of the procedure and possibilities of a peaceful settlement of outstanding disputes. To illustrate India's attitude, one needs only to read a number of statements made by Indian leaders on the question of settling the Jammu and Kashmir dispute since the Tashkent Declaration was signed. In these statements it is being asserted that Kashmir is not negotiable and that the accession of the State to India is final

and irrevocable. These affirmations are made on behalf of a Government which undertook at Tashkent to eschew the use of force and to seek a peaceful settlement of all its disputes with Pakistan. This defiance is flung in the face of an Organization under whose auspices the two countries reached a solemn agreement to withdraw their forces from the disputed territory and to allow its people to decide the question of accession in a free and impartial plebiscite. This is the position now taken by a country which has given solemn pledges to the people of Jammu and Kashmir and to this world Organization that the future status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir will be determined by the wishes of the people of that State ascertained through a fair and impartial plebiscite.

58. Against this background, how should one describe the statements made by the Indian leaders that the fate of Kashmir is sealed forever? How should one evaluate the present policy of a Government which, in its solemn language, has given its word, made its pledge, affirmed its duty, freely to permit the people of Jammu and Kashmir to exercise their right of self-determination—a right enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and guaranteed by the agreement between the two countries which is embodied in the General Assembly resolutions relating to the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan; a right which is inalienable to, and inherent in, all peoples, and upon the basis of which the countries of Africa and Asia and India and Pakistan themselves regained their independence and in vindication of which the people of Angola and Mozambique, Rhodesia and South Africa pursue their valiant struggle.

59. To appreciate the seriousness of this situation, it is not necessary to rehearse the merits of the dispute concerning Jammu and Kashmir. The records of the Security Council and of this Assembly contain abundant material on the basis of which impartial Governments can make their own judgement. With the passage of every year, with the failure of every mission, with the rejection of every proposal, suggestion and recommendation, it has become clear that the only obstacle—the only one—which stands in the way of settling the Jammu and Kashmir dispute and of putting an end to conflict between Pakistan and India, is India's obstinacy in hanging on to Jammu and Kashmir at all costs—at the cost of peace in the region, the value of its pledged word, the prestige and effectiveness of the United Nations and the welfare of its own vast populations.

60. The Kashmir dispute has a long history written in blood. I have no doubt that, after I finish, the representative of India will, in the style of the representative of South Africa, mount this rostrum and seek to justify his country's defiance of the United Nations and dishonouring of its pledged word on Kashmir. The Assembly will hear again, as it has in the past, about Pakistan's alleged aggression, about the sanctity of the instrument of accession—signed by a feudal autocrat—about elections and secularism, about Indian democracy, the Chinese threat and so forth. All these matters have been debated before and we shall debate them again if need be.

61. But we have not come here to bandy words. It is easy to confuse issues in a case which has remained

unresolved for nineteen years. It is not possible, however, to turn one's back on realities without having to face the consequences of doing so. The reality in Jammu and Kashmir today is that the equivalent of six divisions of Indian soldiery are stationed there to suppress the people. Sheikh Abdullah, to whom the late Prime Minister Nehru offered his pledge and his hand fifteen years ago, has spent thirteen of those years in Indian prisons. He has been joined there by all the accredited leaders of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, by all those who fight for freedom at the cost of personal liberty and at the risk of life. Kashmir, which was guaranteed the right to decide its future affiliation, is not today free to prescribe the text books which its children may read. Preparations are now afoot for holding another so-called election in the occupied territory. Once again, as in the past, a farce will be played out in which a hand-picked electorate will elect puppet candidates, while the real spokesman of the people remain behind bars, while the parties which reflect the sentiments of the people are forced to boycott the election, and when the very use of the word "self-determination" has become an offence punishable by ten years' imprisonment under a so-called law enacted by the Government of India in June of this year.

62. These are the realities of the situation which confront the oppressed people of Jammu and Kashmir and cast their shadow upon relations between Pakistan and India and their 600 million inhabitants. The question which must be answered is, will the disputes between Pakistan and India be settled through peaceful means or will the path of force and oppression, chosen by India in Jammu and Kashmir, lead to the repetition of past history? Pakistan has shown its willingness, throughout the years, to let reason be the guide of its actions and goodwill the anchor of its policies. We are prepared today, as we have always been, to sit across the table and seek ways of settling the Jammu and Kashmir dispute on the basis of justice and honour.

63. Negotiations cannot, however, be held if the Government of India continues to maintain that Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India and Indian sovereignty over the State is not negotiable. The very issue between the two countries is that India is not sovereign over Jammu and Kashmir, that its presence there has no sanction other than the sanction of force and that there can be no settlement of the dispute which does not reflect the wishes of the people of the State. India asserts that a solution can be found only through bilateral negotiations. It claims that it is ready for discussions without preconditions on all outstanding disputes and differences between the two countries. How should one reconcile these assertions with moves being made for the integration of Jammu and Kashmir with India? How should one reconcile these assertions with the continuous affirmation of the claim that the disputed State of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India? In what way are the Indian professions of friendship to Pakistan compatible with the actions it is taking in occupied Jammu and Kashmir? The recent exchange of correspondence between the two countries concerning the settlement of their disputes and differences under the procedure agreed upon at Tashkent shows that the unconditional talks proposed by India will mean, in

fact, a shelving of purposeful negotiations on Kashmir. The discussions India contemplates would at best provide the occasion for a fruitless and acrimonious debate on India's claim to sovereignty over Jammu and Kashmir.

64. We do not wish India to entertain the delusion that, with the passage of time, Pakistan's resolution will waver and that, by force of arms and weight of oppression, the spirit of the people of Kashmir can be crushed. A people's passion for freedom is unconquerable. Force and oppression can succeed no more in Jammu and Kashmir than in other parts of the world where people struggle for freedom from alien domination. Mr. President, the other day you referred to the promissory note given to Africa which must now be honoured. The United Nations gave a promissory note also to the people of Kashmir that they would be allowed to choose their destiny themselves. That promissory note also must now be honoured.

65. If my country is concerned with the problems it has to face in its relations with its immediate neighbour, we are not for that reason less aware of the tensions and problems which prevail in other parts of the world. In fact, we can appreciate more fully, for example, the spirit and determination which animate the people of Rhodesia in their struggle against the rule of a racist minority; the defiance of the people of Angola and Mozambique against the fiction that they form integral parts of a self-appointed mother country; the fight which the people of South West Africa and South Africa wage in the face of the South African Government's persistent disregard of the principles of the United Nations and its contempt for the resolutions of this world Organization, as well as its brazen violation of the international agreements by which the Mandate of South West Africa was placed in its charge.

66. The attention of the whole world is focussed on the conflict in Viet-Nam. For over twenty years the people of Viet-Nam have been struggling to achieve their freedom and national unity. A whole generation has grown up in the midst of war. The dangers inherent in the continuation of this conflict are apparent to all. None are more aware of these dangers than the countries of the region, for whom this escalating conflict carries the most fearful implications. Unless the world community and in particular the Power whose interests are most directly involved, take positive measures urgently to stem the tide of war, a much wider conflagration may overtake us.

67. The people of Pakistan, like the people all over the world, are deeply concerned with the ever-increasing fury of the war in Viet-Nam. It has caused and continues to cause untold sorrow, suffering and misery to the Vietnamese people. Animated by desire for the survival of a gifted people, rich in history, Pakistan has consistently advocated a peaceful solution of the Viet-Nam conflict. We maintain that peace will not come by ever-increasing military measures. In our view there can be no military solution. It is our firm conviction that a peaceful settlement of the Viet-Nam conflict can only be brought about if the people of Viet-Nam themselves work out their destiny in peace and freedom.

68. The recent happenings in South Africa are a grim sign and omen of the subterranean forces of hate and bitterness unleashed by the inhuman policies of the Government of South Africa. Is it too late to hope that those who wield power in that benighted land, will realize the tragedy which stalks their people and will turn away from the disaster to which they are leading their own country and the continent where they have made their home? The rulers of South Africa appear to have set their foot firmly on the path of unreason and self-isolation. The United Nations has failed in its persuasions with the rulers of South Africa, but cannot fail in its obligation towards mankind. It is our clear duty to take such steps as will make the South African Government see the folly of its ways and will make it cease to be a danger to the peace of Africa and the tranquillity of the world.

69. We have welcomed the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [resolutions 1904 (XVIII) and 2106 (XX)]. In the opinion of my Government, it is the duty of the world community to eradicate the evils of racial inequality. In pursuance of its well-known attitude and policies, my Government has signed and recently ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

70. On the question of Southern Rhodesia, my delegation has already made it abundantly clear, both in the Security Council and the General Assembly last year, as well as at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, held in September 1966, that Pakistan regards the unilateral declaration of independence by the usurpers of Salisbury as illegal. This cancer must be removed, and removed surgically, from the body politic of Africa. My Government has imposed the complete and effective boycott of the Smith régime, as indeed most other Members of our Organization have done, in accordance with the Security Council resolutions. Unfortunately, because of the support the Salisbury régime has continued to receive from the Governments of some of the neighbouring States, the illegal authorities in Southern Rhodesia remain in power. It now remains for the Security Council to take further consequential and effective action in accordance with the wishes of the African and Asian nations.

71. The Government and the people of Pakistan are equally concerned over the struggle of the peoples of Angola and Mozambique, which are at present under Portuguese domination. My country will continue to offer its whole-hearted support to the United Nations in any action that it may decide to take to enable the peoples of Angola and Mozambique to exercise their right of self-determination. It cannot accept the plea of the colonial Power that these areas constitute an integral part of its territory and that, as such, their peoples are not entitled to determine their own future.

72. The Palestine question continues to fester, with no end in sight to the heart-rending misery of a million human beings who have been deprived of their rights in their homeland, despite the existing resolutions of the United Nations, which Israel continues

to flout with impunity. The truce over Palestine remains precarious, as was proved once again last July when the Israeli air force committed a violation by launching an aggressive attack against Syrian territory. While the Security Council was virtually unanimous in criticizing Israel for this culpable attack, it is to be regretted that it failed to adopt a resolution condemning Israel for its aggression. In Pakistan's view, the United Nations cannot absolve itself of its responsibility in the matter, and we hope that this body will consider suitable steps to ensure the restoration to the peoples of Palestine of their legitimate rights.

73. We are very much concerned over the fact that the Greek and the Turkish communities in Cyprus have not yet been able to resolve their differences, and, consequently, the situation in Cyprus continues to present a serious threat to peace and stability in the Eastern Mediterranean region. It is, however, gratifying to see that the United Nations presence in the island State has served to restore and maintain peace and has averted a reversion to violence and conflict. We believe that the question of Cyprus could be resolved only in the context of the long historical, traditional and cultural backgrounds of the two communities inhabiting the island State. Real and lasting peace can be achieved and sustained only on the basis of the preservation of the legitimate rights and interests of the two communities and the observance of international obligations and treaties. It is, therefore, of paramount importance that the parties that are directly involved honour their obligations and do not attempt to repudiate their international commitments.

74. In conformity with its policy of opposition to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, Pakistan supports the right of the people of South Arabia to freedom and independence. The United Kingdom has declared its intention to withdraw its military base from Aden and to grant independence to this Territory not later than 1968. These are steps in the right direction. Pakistan is, however, of the view that the independence date need not be delayed, and that South Arabia should assume its rightful place in the comity of free nations earlier than 1968.

75. The question of Oman is also essentially a colonial problem involving the right of self-determination of the people of the territory. In the past the United Kingdom and the authorities in the territory have prevented the United Nations Ad Hoc Committee on Oman from visiting the Territory. This is rather unfortunate. Pakistan has strongly supported all struggles for independence based on the right of self-determination. In consonance with this stand, we lend our full support to the people of that country in their struggle for the same cause.

76. I am happy to state that, as a result of the mediatory efforts of His Majesty the Shah of Iran, the relations between Pakistan and Malaysia have been restored. We are grateful to the Shah for the interest and pains he took in cementing ties between Malaysia and Pakistan and it is our hope that a new chapter in those relations has opened.

77. Let me now turn to the world economic situation. Since last year we have seen the establishment of new, and the strengthening of some existing, institutional machinery. The creation of the Asian Development Bank and the working-out of procedures which would lead to the effective functioning of the United Nations Organization for Industrial Development are notable examples. The Committee for Development Planning and the various committees of the Trade and Development Board have met and helped to identify the problems facing the developing countries in accelerating their economic growth.

78. The mere establishment or strengthening of institutions cannot, however, provide solutions. The grim reality is that even after we have passed the mid-point of the United Nations Development Decade, the goals set for the Decade are far from being achieved. The reason is obvious. The developing countries need capital, particularly foreign exchange, to implement their economic development plans. They have only very slight possibilities of increasing domestic capital formation because consumption levels continue to be extremely low and there is no further room for squeezing them. They can acquire foreign exchange, first, by inflows of capital through assistance provided by the richer nations either bilaterally or multilaterally, and secondly, by increasing their exports.

79. It is indeed depressing to see that the annual transfer of development capital from the developed to the developing countries still remains far short of the target of 1 per cent of the gross national product of the developed countries, which was reaffirmed when the General Assembly designated the 1960s as the United Nations Development Decade [see resolutions 1710 and 1711 (XVI)]. In fact, the ratio between resource transfers to the developing countries and the gross output of the capital-exporting countries has actually declined from 0.84 per cent in 1961 to 0.65 per cent in 1964.

80. In the field of trade, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was a milestone in making clear the impediments which stood in the way of stabilizing the prices of primary commodities and expanding exports from the developing countries. It is regrettable that the recommendations of the Conference, even those adopted unanimously, have not yet been concretely implemented. As an example, let me mention the position with regard to commodities. An agreement on sugar was finalized, but unfortunately its implementation has left much to be desired. Furthermore, an attempt was again made earlier this year to conclude an international cocoa agreement, but it was not successful because some countries failed positively to respond to the exporting countries' just aspirations.

81. Serious thought needs to be given to issues like the softening of the terms of foreign assistance so that the debt-servicing burden, which is becoming heavier and heavier, can be reduced. Equally urgent are the questions of preferences and the liberalization of trade. We need to explore urgently the possibility of granting a larger share to the developing countries in earnings from invisibles, particularly shipping. The conclusion of commodity agreements which would

emancipate the developing countries from the constant uncertainty resulting from the fluctuation of prices is imperative.

82. The second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development is to be held next year, and we hope that during the intervening period, which will also see the end of the "Kennedy Round" of GATT negotiations, some positive steps aimed at achieving tangible results will be taken by the world community. The International Monetary Fund the other day announced its long-awaited decision on compensatory arrangements,^{6/} and it is our hope that the current informal consultations on finalizing an international cocoa agreement will also bear fruit soon. The developing countries have repeatedly called for a dialogue between the richer and the poorer nations so that they may, through mutual understanding and on the basis of compromise and good will, together move forward in solving the colossal problems standing in the way of economic development and trade expansion. We earnestly urge the developed nations to heed this call.

83. Next year the International Symposium on Industrial Development will also be held, and, given the co-operation of both the developed and developing countries, its impact could be as far-reaching as that of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

84. Pakistan is willing to play its part, in close collaboration with the other developing countries, in having meaningful discussions with the developed nations. We are confident that the issues involved can be solved if a determined effort is made by all of us, while keeping in view the concepts of interdependence and mutual benefit.

85. Last but not least, I come to the question of disarmament and the danger of nuclear proliferation. Year after year, the Assembly and its First Committee have discussed these subjects and adopted resolutions on them. For six years now, the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament at Geneva has been attempting to find solutions to the many intractable problems which must rise in any attempt to make effective the universal desire of all nations to put away their arms—an attempt made all the more difficult by the fact that one of the great Powers does not attend the meetings, another has not been invited to do so, and many militarily significant Powers are absent from those negotiations. Meanwhile, the danger of an uncontrollable proliferation of nuclear weapons is imminent. We have no wish to cast doubt on the sincerity of the efforts made at Geneva. We do not impugn the good faith of the participants in those discussions. However, we do wish to say in all seriousness that the years of debate, the volumes of research, the undoubted sincerity of many, will have been in vain if a sixth nuclear Power comes upon the scene. It may well make impossible the achievement of agreement on a treaty of non-proliferation. The situation which we face is very serious. There is,

^{6/} See International Monetary Fund, Compensatory Financing of Export Fluctuations: Developments in the Fund's Facility, a second report on compensatory financing of the fluctuations in exports of primary producing countries, Washington, D.C., September 1966.

on the one hand, the virtual certainty that if concrete action is not taken promptly, the nuclear arms race will get out of control. On the other hand, the existing nuclear Powers continue to extend and perfect their arsenals of these terrible weapons. At the same time, it cannot be denied that nuclear energy has a vital role to play in the development of the under-developed world. My delegation is convinced that the apparent conflict between the economic advantages and the military dangers of the application of nuclear science can be reconciled by the provision of appropriate international safeguards. Much useful study has been carried out on the technical aspects of the military and the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The discussions in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament have, especially in the last twelve months, done a great deal to clarify the problems involved in working out agreed arrangements to prevent further proliferation of nuclear weapons.

86. My delegation cannot help feeling that the prospects of agreement would improve if the problems of nuclear proliferation were to be discussed in a forum representing all those countries which are most directly concerned with the effects and consequences of further proliferation. To this end, my delegation would commend to the consideration of Member States the suggestion that as soon as practicable, a conference should be held among all the present non-nuclear countries of the world. The purpose of the conference, among other things, would be to consider, first, how the security of States without nuclear weapons can best be assured, preferably through multilateral guarantees; secondly, how they may co-operate among themselves in preventing further proliferation of nuclear weapons; and thirdly, the development and use of nuclear energy for exclusively peaceful purposes, through mutual co-operation and for mutual benefit, including the carrying out of explosions of nuclear devices for peaceful purposes under appropriate international supervision.

87. Much thought has been given in the last few years to denuclearization on a regional basis. A beginning was made with the declaration of Africa as a nuclear-free zone in 1961 [resolution 1652 (XVI)]. This was followed by a similar declaration of intent by Latin American countries [see resolution 1911 (XVIII)]. The proposal we now submit for consideration would carry forward these initiatives and, we hope, open the way to the conclusion of world-wide arrangements which would enable nuclear science to be harnessed for the benefit of mankind without increasing the danger of its misuse for military purposes.

88. I shall conclude by referring again to a basic phenomenon which must remain one of the most important matters for the attention of this Assembly. Speaking from this rostrum, the Foreign Minister of the USSR put his finger on the chief ailment of this Organization. After saying that the United Nations had adopted quite good decisions in defence of the rights of the peoples, he stated:

But what often follows such decisions? Unfortunately, what quite often happens is that a country or group of countries has only to oppose, overtly or covertly, the implementation of decisions which

are serving the interests of peace and protecting the lawful rights of peoples, for such decisions to remain on paper, and for the United Nations to be unable to make any headway." [1413th meeting, para. 113.]

We entirely agree. Pakistan has had poignant experience of this phenomenon. What grieves us, however, is not only the resistance to the decisions of United Nations by some, and the pretexts put forward to justify it, but also the attitude of helplessness of the great Powers towards it. Once you condone an evasion, once you allow a defiance of this Organization's decisions, you cripple its capacity to secure their implementation, not only with respect to that particular problem but in other fields also. Too much is being said about the so-called enforcement machinery provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter and about the reasons why its use is often not feasible. But this is a mere rationalization, an excuse for apathy and inaction. There are numerous problems where decisions can be enforced without resort to coercive action. It is a matter of the Security Council—which means the powers that hold a privileged position within it—showing single-mindedness and a resoluteness in the cause of the equal rights and self-determination of peoples. It is a matter of judging the issues with reference to the durable principles of the United Nations Charter, and in the larger perspective of peace, rather than from the angle of ephemeral power interests.

89. The conscience of mankind and its will, as articulated through the United Nations, knows what the pundits and the statesmen often ignore. This Organization was brought into being, and it exists, not to sanctify iniquities, not to put its seal on the status quo, not to support the defiant and the wilful in their postures. It was brought into being, and it exists, to ensure peaceful change, change towards liberty and towards justice.

90. Mr. KARJALAINEN (Finland): It gives me great pleasure to begin my statement by extending to you, Mr. President, the heartfelt congratulations of my Government and myself. You certainly have deserved this high office, through your unselfish and patient efforts to reconcile conflicting views and settle differences. Your experience and skill assure us that the General Assembly will successfully carry out its tasks.

91. Let me take this opportunity also to reaffirm the complete support of the Finnish Government for our Secretary-General, U Thant. We have on several occasions expressed our hope that he would continue to serve this Organization as its Secretary-General. If he should decide to agree to this, he can be sure of our continued full confidence.

92. The world looks to this Assembly for decisions on many urgent problems. Such problems are the racial conflicts in the southern part of Africa, disarmament and the control of arms, questions relating to economic development, the principles governing United Nations peace-keeping activities—to mention only some of the most prominent. Without in any way belittling the importance of such questions, it can be

said, however, that uppermost in the minds of all of us is one overriding issue: that is the war in Viet-Nam.

93. In the past twelve months military activities and violence in Viet-Nam have been intensified. The American bombing raids against North Viet-Nam have increased, and the selection of targets has been widened. The sufferings of the people of Viet-Nam in both parts of the country have become ever more severe.

94. In accordance with its policy of neutrality, Finland refrains from taking sides in political issues dividing the great Powers. This does not, however, prevent us from actively following international developments and from voicing our strong opposition to the use of military means and violence in Viet-Nam, or anywhere else, and from expressing our conviction that all conflicts between nations must be solved by peaceful means. Only a negotiated settlement on the basis of the Geneva Agreements can provide a solution that will enable the people of Viet-Nam to settle their future without interference or pressure from outside. But before conditions favourable for negotiations can be expected to emerge, the trend of events in Viet-Nam must be reversed, for no solution can be expected to be reached by military means. So long as the war in Viet-Nam continues, severe tension in international relations will prevail, not only in Asia but everywhere in the world, and this cannot but hamper our efforts here to achieve co-operation in other fields. And yet we must recognize the fact that it is not possible in the framework of the United Nations to attempt to solve the Viet-Nam conflict. Our Organization has been shunted off to a sidetrack in this matter. An important reason for this is that our Organization has not yet achieved universality.

95. The Government of Finland has consistently held the view that the seat of China in the United Nations belongs to the representatives of the People's Republic of China. We are deeply convinced that the continued isolation of the People's Republic of China from the international community in the long run contains greater dangers than co-operation with it would involve.

96. In this connexion, I should like to refer to the statement in the Secretary-General's introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization in which he expressed the hope that all countries, even those which for one reason or another are not yet Members of the United Nations, should be given the opportunity to follow more closely the activities of the United Nations. There are such countries in Europe, as well as in Asia. It would no doubt be useful if they could, in case they are interested, maintain observers at United Nations Headquarters and regional offices.

97. Only through open-minded and ever-increasing co-operation across ideological frontiers can we create the conditions for a stable peace. Finland's own experiences have shown this convincingly. On the basis of these experiences, at the twentieth session of the General Assembly we joined several other European States in sponsoring a resolution [resolution 2129 (XX)] recommending the further development of peaceful co-operation among European States

having different social and political systems. We can now note with satisfaction that continued progress has been made in this regard. Relations between European States have further improved. Largely thanks to this, the situation in Europe, generally speaking, has remained peaceful and stable.

98. The continued improvement in co-operation between East and West in Europe creates a favourable basis for the negotiations on disarmament and arms control, in particular with a view to preventing the further proliferation of nuclear weapons. Finland has participated in the scientific co-operation aimed at improving the means of identifying seismic phenomena, and in our view it should now be possible to reach agreement on the banning of all nuclear tests, including underground tests. We are also convinced that it should now at last be possible to agree on the prevention of further proliferation of nuclear weapons on the basis of the principles which were adopted almost unanimously at the twentieth session of the General Assembly. Although primary responsibility for disarmament and, in particular, nuclear disarmament lies with the great Powers which have nuclear weapons in their possession, it is now generally recognized that no country can afford to view this question with indifference. Disarmament and arms control today are for all of us literally questions of existence.

99. It is also ever more widely recognized that race conflicts affect us all. They are not only African problems; they are universal problems on which everyone of us must take a stand. The time has come to consider new international measures to combat race discrimination. The General Assembly time and again has condemned the policy of apartheid practised in the Republic of South Africa and some other parts of southern Africa. This has not had any effect. In the Republic of South Africa, the policy of apartheid has been, if possible, intensified. The same inhuman policy is being followed in South West Africa. It is also practised in Rhodesia, which, in spite of economic sanctions voluntarily adopted by most Member States, continues to challenge the will of the United Nations. It is understandable that African nations and all others who condemn race discrimination impatiently demand effective action to change the situation. The responsibility for carrying out the will of the General Assembly in this regard lies with the Security Council, as is provided by the Charter of the United Nations, for it is a fact that enforcement action against a State can have practical meaning only in the event that the permanent members of the Security Council, along with all other Member States, unanimously take part in carrying it out.

100. The primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security has been generally recognized also in the debate on United Nations peace-keeping activities. It is regrettable, however, that differences still exist on the principles and methods to be followed in peace-keeping operations. But, as I pointed out in my statement in the general debate a year ago, in the view of the Finnish Government differences over principles have not in fact prevented the United Nations from continuing to carry out important peace-keeping

operations in different parts of the world, and this practical achievement should not be underestimated.

101. Finland's will and ability to participate in full measure in United Nations peace-keeping activities is known. The most recent example of this is the appointment of a Finnish general^{7/} to command the United Nations Force in Cyprus. The continued presence of this Force has no doubt been necessary in order to maintain peace on the island, but it must be made clear that the United Nations Force cannot be expected to remain there permanently. The parties to the dispute must be urged to make a fresh effort to settle their differences through negotiations so that normal conditions can be restored in Cyprus.

102. The peace-keeping function of the United Nations is closely linked with the financial problems of the Organization. Finland is one of the relatively few Member States which have responded to the appeal of the Secretary-General and, in accordance with the consensus achieved at the end of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly,^{8/} made substantial voluntary contributions. We have noted with satisfaction the recent statement of the Secretary-General [see A/6400] according to which he has good hopes that now that the Committee of Fourteen^{9/} has completed its task, other Member States will soon make their voluntary contribution.

103. I have touched briefly on some of the most important political issues before the General Assembly. No less important are the problems relating to economic development. As has been pointed out by the Secretary-General, among others, the goals set for the Development Decade are far from being reached. The gap between the industrial and developing countries continues to widen. Not only our duty, but also our own self-interest commands us to increase our joint efforts in this field. The Finnish Government for its part intends to increase its contribution to the United Nations Development Fund by a substantial proportion.

104. Even more important for economic growth is the promotion of trade and economic co-operation in general between industrialized and developing countries. One way to this is to reduce trade barriers with regard to products of special interest to developing countries. The Finnish Government is prepared to negotiate within the framework of GATT the removal of customs duties on about thirty tropical products, and we hope that the 'Kennedy Round' of negotiations will produce results that will stimulate trade with developing countries. As another measure designed to promote economic co-operation with developing countries, the Finnish Government has joined the Asian Development Bank.

105. Finland has given its full, open, and unreserved support to the United Nations as the primary instrument for the maintenance of international peace and

security and co-operation between nations. Let me assure you, Mr. President, that we shall continue to support this Organization with all the means at our disposal. Indeed, this is a corner-stone of our foreign policy.

106. Mr. BASHEV (Bulgaria) (translated from French). On behalf of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, I should like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election to this important post and to express our sincere satisfaction at seeing such confidence bestowed on the representative of a friendly country—a factor of peace and stability in Asia.

107. The present session of the General Assembly is characterized by an atmosphere of growing tension in international relations. We must not, however, allow the concern caused by difficulties and conflicts to paralyse our action in respect of the factors responsible for this situation. On the contrary, the greater the international tension, the more urgent it is to take effective measures to bar the way to aggression.

108. In this connexion, there is constant reference to the role of the United Nations in contemporary international relations. The United Nations is not only a creation of States, it is at the same time a reflection of their mutual relationships and their readiness to fulfil the duties laid down in the Charter. In other words, as our Secretary-General has frequently emphasized, the United Nations is only what the Member States wish to make it. The more all its Members base their policies on respect for the principles of the Charter and conscientiously comply with the decisions of United Nations organs and with the international obligations they have assumed, the more positive will be the role of the United Nations. Failure to carry out these principles and obligations disturbs the balance of the international community, and thereby limits the ability of the United Nations to take action in the spirit of the Charter. The history of our Organization is unfortunately rich in examples of this deplorable situation.

109. The adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples represents a success for the United Nations and for the whole of mankind. There can be no doubt that this Declaration has exerted a positive influence on the process of decolonization. However, its application is encountering resistance from some forces and great political and economic interests which are opposed to the aims of complete decolonization. Many years have elapsed since the solemn proclamation of this Declaration and yet a substantial part of the African continent and many other territories are still under colonial domination. States Members of the Organization, such as Portugal and others, helped by the above-mentioned forces, are continuing to subject the African population to barbarous exploitation and to carry on a ruthless war against the national liberation movement. In flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the many General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, the South African Republic is continuing to strengthen the shameful and inhuman régime of apartheid.

^{7/} Major-General I. A. E. Martola, appointed by the Secretary-General on 6 May 1966.

^{8/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 21, document A/5916.

^{9/} Ad Hoc Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, established under General Assembly resolution 2049 (XX).

110. Under the Charter, Member States have undertaken to observe scrupulously the principles of equality and self-determination of peoples, to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force, and not to intervene in the domestic affairs of other States. No one in our forum would dare to cast doubt on the integrity of these principles. Nevertheless, despite their verbal support for these fundamental principles, some States have made interference in the domestic affairs of other countries the chief instrument of their national policy.

111. The United States aggression in Viet-Nam is one of the most brutal manifestations of this policy. More than 300,000 American soldiers have been thrown into the war against the National Liberation Movement in South Viet-Nam. The armed forces of the United States are carrying out bombing raids and indulging in other acts of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, they are exterminating the peaceful population and destroying towns and villages. These acts of aggression carried out on both sides of the 17th parallel constitute a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter, of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and of the United Nations Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States [resolution 2131 (XX)]. However these acts are read, however the texts are selected, however subtle the methods chosen to interpret them, the truth is plain: the United States is employing armed aggression to impose its will on the Viet-Nameese people and to prevent it from solving for itself its domestic problems.

112. The United States Government is, of course, aware of the fact that its policy is encountering—as it cannot fail to do—general reprobation and condemnation. That is why it is attempting to accompany its military actions in Viet-Nam with a moral defence of its aggressive policy, so as to conceal its open aggression under the cloak of peaceful declarations. The only purpose of these declarations is to divert the attention and lessen the indignation provoked by the war which the United States is carrying on in Viet-Nam.

113. It is in this spirit that we must examine the speech made by the United States representative at this session [1412th meeting]. Some representatives may have hoped that the United States Government would announce realistic and sincere proposals for stopping the aggression in Viet-Nam, but alas, no element in the speech indicates any possibility of solving the Viet-Nameese problem by peaceful and just means.

114. What does the United States of America really propose? In the first place, it reiterates its proposal to begin "negotiations without preliminary conditions". However, it is obvious to everyone that the United States, by intensifying the war in Viet-Nam, is daily creating fresh faits accomplis. By insisting on the maintenance of these faits accomplis, the United States is creating new preliminary conditions and obstacles to the solution of the Viet-Nameese problem by negotiation. Consequently, the statement about negotiations without preliminary conditions was and is nothing but a hypocritical and negative attempt to approach the question of negotiations, a policy of diktat and

ultimatum that the brave Viet-Nameese people, which has given striking proof of its burning patriotism, cannot accept.

Mr. Biyogh (Gabon), Vice-President, took the Chair.

115. The United States of America claims later that it is ready to negotiate on the basis of the Geneva Agreements. If it really wished to comply with these Agreements, accepted by the parties directly concerned as a real basis for the solution of the problem, the United States might have done so more convincingly. To accept these Agreements means to respect and apply them strictly. But since 1954, the United States has continually violated the Agreements by establishing military bases and by sending for their aggressive purposes troops and weapons in ever-increasing number and quantity to South Viet-Nam, until we have reached today's tragic situation.

116. When the United States finally begins to respect the Geneva Agreements, perhaps it will understand that the solution of the Viet-Nam problem is possible and that it can make a constructive contribution to it. Respect for the Geneva Agreement means in fact stopping the bombing and other acts of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the withdrawal from South Viet-Nam of the armed forces of the United States and its allies and the recognition of the Viet-Nameese people's right to settle its problems for itself in complete freedom. These are precisely the proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and of the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam, the only legitimate representative of the population of South Viet-Nam. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria whole-heartedly supports these proposals, the only basis on which a solution for the Viet-Nameese problem can be achieved.

117. The policy of intervention in the domestic affairs of States is creating increasing political tension in other parts of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The violations of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Cambodia and Laos, whose populations have been frequently subjected to attacks by the United States army, are a striking proof of this.

118. The same policy is manifested in the Dominican Republic and towards the brave Cuban people, who are the object of continual provocation on the part of the United States. However, despite the enormous power of imperialism, we are convinced that these peoples, who though small are determined to defend their independence, will be able to maintain their sovereignty and integrity and ensure for themselves a better future.

119. When we consider the negative consequences of the policy of interference in the domestic affairs of States, we cannot pass over in silence the situation in South Korea which, in some respects, presents analogies with that in Viet-Nam. It is essential to eliminate the causes which might lead to the outbreak of a new conflict of the Viet-Nameese type in the Far East. The presence of the United States armed forces in South Korea is the reason for the deterioration in the situation in that part of Asia. A final end must therefore be put to that presence. As the memorandum by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic

of Korea dated 21 July 1966 emphasizes: "The Korean question is a question of restoring the unity of the temporarily divided territory" [see A/6370]. The memorandum by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea contains a constructive and realistic programme for the peaceful unification of the Korean people. It is with that aim that the socialist countries have proposed the inclusion in the agenda of the present session of the withdrawal of all United States and other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations and dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea [item 93]. We hope the General Assembly will give due attention to the consideration of this problem and will adopt decisions designed to put an end to an abnormal situation which is a danger to peace and in no way helps to enhance the prestige or credit of the United Nations.

120. It has been frequently emphasized from this rostrum that one of the main reasons for the tension and lack of confidence in international relations is the existence of foreign military bases on the territory of other countries, and that these bases are one of the most harmful manifestations of the policy of intervention in the domestic affairs of States. Many General Assembly resolutions—including resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2105 (XX)—have demonstrated, in various ways, the incompatibility of the existence of such bases with the basic principles of international relations. The military bases are points of support for an aggressive policy, present or future, threatening the independence and national interests of States, particularly of small countries and those which have been recently liberated. Thus the dangerous consequences of the presence of military bases have rendered and continue to render their liquidation necessary; that would be a real proof of the sincere desire of the countries using these bases to contribute to the restoration of confidence and the improvement of friendly relations between peoples. This fact alone can have great importance for the strengthening of peace and security in the world.

121. Consequently, we consider very timely the inclusion in the agenda of the present session of the Soviet proposal relating to the elimination of foreign military bases in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America [item 98]. We should prefer the elimination of all bases throughout the whole world. But bearing in mind the present state of the problem, and the position of the United States, which owns the largest number of such bases, in this respect, we should welcome even a partial settlement as a first step. The adoption of the proposed resolution [see A/6399] and above all its application by the States concerned would have a great influence on the final solution of the problem and would represent an important victory for the peaceful aspirations of peoples and of our Organization.

122. We must note with regret that since the twentieth session of the General Assembly, which adopted certain important resolutions on disarmament problems, no real progress has been made by the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament held in Geneva. This year too, the Conference

of the Eighteen-Nation Committee stated in its report to the General Assembly that no specific agreement had been reached either on questions of general and complete disarmament or on measures aimed at the lessening of international tension [see A/6390, para. 33]. That gives rise to justifiable anxiety and makes us speculate once more as to the reasons for the impasse reached by the negotiations in Geneva.

123. An analysis of the facts leads to the conclusion that the chief reason is that at present the United States Government has no intention of undertaking disarmament measures or of contributing on a mutually acceptable basis to the solution of the complex problems of general and complete disarmament. On the contrary, it is continuing its policy of extending military actions and of continuing the armaments race, particularly in the field of nuclear weapons. If the United States was prepared to prove its goodwill, the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament could reach some agreement, at least on partial measures, even within the framework of the present international situation.

124. The conclusion of a treaty to prevent the direct or indirect proliferation of nuclear weapons is of vital importance for safeguarding peace and the future of humanity. Such a treaty would be the first step towards limiting the nuclear weapons race. In accordance with resolution 2028 (XX), this treaty should be void of any loop-holes which might permit the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Unfortunately, the policy adopted by the United States on this problem has not so far made it possible for such an agreement to be signed. The United States draft treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons^{10/} does not absolutely forbid nuclear Powers giving such weapons to non-nuclear States, such as the Federal Republic of Germany. For that reason we do not think the United States draft can serve as a basis for the preparation of a treaty on non-proliferation.

125. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria will, at this session, support any initiative or idea which would enable us to emerge from the impasse which disarmament negotiations have reached. We think that the General Assembly can and must give an impulse to work in the field of disarmament and make it more effective. In that connexion, I should like to draw attention to the constructive nature of the Soviet proposal concerning the renunciation by States of actions hampering the conclusion of an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons [agenda item 97] and support this proposal on behalf of the Bulgarian Government.

126. By approaching the most pressing problems relating to the prevention of the nuclear danger, we should make it easier to proceed along the path leading to the main objective, general and complete disarmament under international control. Its achievement would be a real guarantee for lasting peace and for the security of the world.

127. Our delegation shares the general opinion on the alarming nature of certain phenomena in the

^{10/} Official documents of the Disarmament Commission, January-December 1965 Supplement, document DC/227, annex 1, section A.

present world economic situation. We followed with interest the ideas expressed at the 1414th meeting by the Foreign Minister of Senegal, Mr. Thiam, on some aspects of economic evolution in the developing countries, aspects which concern not only these countries. We also consider very important the two disquieting facts which he stressed in his speech, namely the international division of labour, established in the past by the colonial régime, which is now proving harmful to the recently liberated countries, and the deterioration of trade conditions in many countries and parts of the world.

128. The first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development tried to indicate means of overcoming the major obstacles to the extension and consolidation of economic ties between countries. However, the decisions and recommendations of this Conference have not been put into effect, chiefly through the fault of certain Western countries. These countries are continuing to practise a policy of trade discrimination, making use of their economic relations to interfere in the domestic affairs of other peoples, raising economic barriers, in their tariff legislation and separating the most ordinary goods into "friendly" and "unfriendly" goods, thus establishing closed economic groups.

129. It will therefore be necessary at the second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to take additional measures for the implementation of the recommendations of the first Conference so as to achieve more substantial progress in the field of international economic relations. The Government of Bulgaria, considering as of prime importance the speedy elimination of all obstacles to international trade and to scientific and technical collaboration is taking measures in accordance with the decisions and principles of the Conference. As a result, in recent years, our economic and trade relations, particularly with the developing countries, have continued to grow.

130. It is to be noted, however, that some countries in Western Europe have recently taken positive steps to expand their trade relations with the socialist countries. On our side, we have done all in our power and shall continue to act to that end in order to develop our economic relations with such countries on the basis of mutual profit and respect.

131. Another positive fact is that despite many difficulties caused by certain imperialist circles, there is a trend in Europe not only towards economic co-operation but also towards the development of cultural, scientific, political and other relations between certain countries on the basis of equality and non-intervention in domestic affairs. These trends are an expression of the vital interests of the peoples of our continent and they are helping to improve East-West relations. In this field, the evolution in the Balkans is not the least important in Europe. The political situation in Europe naturally exercises a considerable influence on the world situation. Thus, all those who respect the principles of the United Nations Charter should not only welcome these trends but also help to consolidate them.

132. In that connexion, we should like to mention the concrete proposals by the countries members

of the Warsaw Treaty contained in the Declaration on Strengthening Peace and Security in Europe adopted on 5 July 1966 at Bucharest, which constitutes a constructive programme for the safeguard of peace and security in Europe. The Bulgarian Government is ready to take part in any proposals and to collaborate by all the means at its disposal in the achievement of this programme, and in the search for mutually acceptable ways conducive to the consolidation of peace in Europe. In its view, all European nations and Governments, all the forces of peace and progress, should unite their efforts so that Europe may become a real factor for peace and mutual understanding in the world of today.

133. In this connexion, we should like again to state our full support for the German Democratic Republic's request for admission to the United Nations [see A/6283]. A sovereign and peaceful country, following a consistent policy for the strengthening of European security and the development of international co-operation, the German Democratic Republic fulfils all the conditions laid down by the Charter for admission to the United Nations.

134. The Bulgarian Government also takes a positive attitude towards the admission of the Federal Republic of Germany, subject to certain reservations as to that country's international policy. The simultaneous admission to the United Nations of the two German States would undoubtedly represent a contribution to the improving of the European political climate.

135. As I mentioned at the beginning of my speech, the United Nations can be justly proud of the fact that since the adoption in 1960 of the historic declaration on decolonization, the General Assembly has taken several important decisions aimed at its application. The United Nations is supporting the struggle for national liberation, and its Members are bound to lend moral and material aid to national liberation movements.

136. Nevertheless, despite some positive steps in that direction, the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, South West Africa and Southern Arabia are still under the colonial yoke. The racist régimes of South Africa and of the white minority which has usurped power in Southern Rhodesia are continuing to oppress the native peoples of those countries and deprive them of the most elementary rights. It is therefore high time to adopt against the colonialist and racist régimes measures which should be obligatory for all States without exception. That is why the General Assembly should propose to the Security Council the adoption of effective decisions including the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. One of the most serious colonial problems on which the General Assembly has to take a decision at this session is that of South West Africa. Our delegation is prepared to support any proposal which would make it possible to ensure the freedom and independence of the people of that territory.

137. In order to eliminate the traces of colonialism as quickly as possible, our Organization and its Members must increase their moral and material aid to the national liberation movements. This duty is also incumbent on the international agencies and organiza-

tions connected with the United Nations. However, some of these organizations are not only not coming to the assistance of the peoples struggling for their freedom, but are continuing to grant loans and economic assistance to Portugal and South Africa. We consider that the General Assembly must state its views on this activity which is contrary to the policy and decisions of the United Nations.

138. We well understand the Secretary-General, Mr. Thant, when he says that "The United Nations has not yet attained the goal of universality of membership" [see A/6301/Add.1, section X]. Despite the protests of many countries, our Organization committed at the time, under the pressure of the United States, a monumental error. For seventeen years non-recognition of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China has been weighing on the United Nations and hampering the effectiveness of its actions. Nothing can justify the adjournment from session to session, as a result of pressure and procedural subterfuges, of the problem of the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. That country should long ago have taken its place in the United Nations as the only legitimate representative of the Chinese people as a whole, with all the consequences deriving therefrom both with regard to the status of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the removal of the Chiang Kai-shek clique from its seat. The majority in the Assembly is conscious of the serious nature of the problem and the urgent necessity of correcting this error. The General Assembly should take a decision accordingly. The sooner it does so the better.

139. The facts and problems I have outlined explain the concern caused by the role of the United Nations in questions of peace and friendly relations between States. This concern leads us to seek the reasons which are hindering the activity of the United Nations as a machinery for collective security and international co-operation. But these reasons should not be sought primarily in organizational weaknesses or in the financial difficulties of the United Nations which in this case play only a secondary part.

140. The real causes of the difficulties of the United Nations and of the limitation of its role in international relations are to be found in the policy of violation of the principles of its Charter and of the standards of international law and in the non-execution of the Organization's decisions. Among these causes, the policy of intervention and aggression is of decisive importance because its harmful consequences hinder the proper functioning of the United Nations and paralyse its activity in numerous important spheres of international life.

141. There is only one way out of this situation: the uniting of all forces to put an end to the policy of interference and aggression, the creation of conditions for the consolidation of trust between peoples and the expansion of collaboration between them based on equal rights. Only then shall we be able to surmount the difficulties which are hampering the actions of the United Nations. In that connexion we appreciate the item placed on the agenda at the request of the Soviet Union on the implementation of the Declaration on the

Inadmissibility of Intervention [agenda item 96] and the item proposed by the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia entitled: "Strict observance of the prohibition of the threat or use of force in international relations and of the right of peoples to self-determination" [agenda item 92].

142. I cannot conclude without expressing to our Secretary-General, Mr. Thant, the Bulgarian Government's deep appreciation and gratitude for the devoted efforts with which he has carried out his difficult and highly responsible mission. Our Government would welcome a decision on his part to continue to carry on his functions for another term of office. I should like to assure him that he can count, as in the past, on the support and co-operation of the Bulgarian Government.

143. Mr. ELETA (Panama) (translated from Spanish): My Government and the Panamanian delegation are deeply gratified by the election of Mr. Abdul Rahman Pazhwak to preside over the twenty-first session, a wise choice which does honour to this Assembly.

144. This is also a fitting occasion on which to extend cordial greetings to all the representatives of Member States gathered here, and especially to those of the newly independent and sovereign States which have joined the United Nations, particularly Guyana, the latest to be admitted to membership.

145. The people of Panama, the product of a special conjunction of historical and geographical circumstances, are an open-hearted people with a lively awareness of all the issues that preoccupy the world. The Panamanian, who has been ethnically and spiritually shaped by the merging of several races and cultures, combined with the contribution of the proud American Indian, far from having become amorphous and nondescript possesses a clear-cut identity that expresses itself in a vigorous and independent sense of nationality which has more than once led him to the unyielding defence of his sovereign rights and of what is legitimately his.

146. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Panamanian has developed, almost as an absolute condition for survival, a considered and realistic judgement of his own position which enables him, by the same token, to understand that of other peoples of the world, who are indebted to Panama for having allowed its geography to be altered by the opening up of its heartland in order to provide passage for an unending flow of passengers and goods going to and from all corners of the earth.

147. This wise and realistic judgement, which is rooted in and focused on universality, makes Panama one of the most fervent believers in the work and mission of the United Nations. We have come before this Assembly on various occasions to support what is just, to denounce what is reprehensible, to condemn what is punishable, to offer our co-operation to the needy and to request co-operation ourselves, but always in a fair and reasonable manner.

148. My delegation regards the various symptoms of world crisis as a challenge to the United Nations, rather than as a manifestation of its inability to cope with them. The reason why we adopt this approach is

that it is for us the developing countries, which constitute the majority and contain most of the world's population, to take heart and join forces in order to strengthen, and never to hamper or weaken, the action of the United Nations. And this goal cannot be attained if there are any doubts concerning the Organization's efficiency.

149. With regard to such critical and complex problems as disarmament, control over the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the use of outer space and so on, the Government of the Republic of Panama will always vote and act in defence of the general interests of mankind, which should not be incompatible with those of each individual country.

150. We support those who from this rostrum have advocated the conclusion of a disarmament agreement that would release substantial resources needed to speed the development process. We also support the conclusion of an international treaty banning nuclear weapons, which threaten the world with the possibility of a holocaust whose consequences for mankind would be irreparable. It should be clearly understood, however, that we hope that nuclear power will be used to the utmost possible extent for peaceful purposes, and that it will be released from servitude to arms and placed at the service of world progress.

151. We must strive unceasingly for peace, for the signs we see augur ill for the future. We must therefore march shoulder to shoulder, even if that involves renunciation and sacrifice, in order to reap the incalculable benefits of a peace that exalts the principle of recognizing and respecting the human condition.

152. Various distinguished speakers have already defined clearly other more localized but equally complex problems which affect the international community and can be easily identified merely by mentioning the country or region concerned. The impression and assessment of the nature and intensity of each conflict vary according to the location of each observer of the world scene, but we are all in agreement on the existence and seriousness of those conflicts. From our analysis of all these problems, we Panamanians, placed as we are at a strategic observation point, have concluded that most of them have common denominators.

153. In our view, the political conflicts can be identified more accurately, since they are governed mainly by the imperatives of power politics, which still exist despite this Organization's efforts and in violation of the principles embodied in the Charter. This is inevitable, for the aim of power politics is the maximum furtherance of what each Power defines as its national interests.

154. A few weeks ago, on 30 August to be precise, Secretary-General U Thant told the students of the University of Chile that "the concept of power politics, whether as the instrument of nationalism or ideological extremism, is the natural enemy of international order as envisaged in the Charter". In our view, it is logical, although regrettable, that it should be so, for the unbridled competition between the various Powers makes it necessary for them to achieve the maximum satisfaction of their ever-increasing domestic needs. The exercise of power politics absorbs such vast

quantities of resources that despite the expressly defined policy of foreign aid to the developing peoples the industrialized countries, that is, the powerful ones, have reduced the volume of their foreign aid from 0.9 per cent of their gross national income in 1961 to a disquieting 0.7 per cent in the past year. It is a tragic anachronism that during the United Nations Development Decade the gap instead of closing, is becoming wider and is turning into a chasm which threatens to engulf the developing countries' future.

155. In his accurate analysis of this burning problem, Secretary-General U Thant also said: "This is, indeed, the most crucial and the most challenging long-term struggle of this century. For just as the internal stability of the advanced nations has proved to rest on narrowing the gap between rich and poor, so will the future stability of the relations between nations and of peace itself." The Secretary-General's statement is in line with the wise and felicitous words of His Holiness Pope Paul VI, who in his message to the Governing Council of the United Nations Development Programme at its recent session in Milan observed that "development is the new name for peace". ^{11/}

156. The widening gap between the wealthy countries' level of economic well-being and the multifarious needs of the low-income countries clearly results from a number of very complex causes. We recognize that the will to progress and self-help are indispensable and irreplaceable factors, and that far-reaching structural and institutional reforms are called for in the developing countries. These well-known facts have been cited by the industrialized countries as an excuse for not assuming fully their great responsibility to take part in the integrated development of the less privileged countries. That argument has even been developed, in some circles, to the extreme point of maintaining that economic orthodoxy is an essential condition for development. Unfortunately, that thesis does not square with the history of the development of the industrialized countries of our time, and also fails to take account of the upsurge of hope now stirring in the minds of the overwhelming majority of the peoples represented here.

157. The most dramatic consequence of economic orthodoxy can be tangibly detected in the terms of trade. Faced with the rapid decline of export prices of primary commodities and the increase in the prices of manufactured goods, the industrialized countries offer the explanation that this disastrous deterioration is simply the result of the free play of economic forces on the international markets. However, we note that a few decades ago the industrialized countries themselves established preferential price systems for their domestic primary production. More recently, the new economic organizations of the developed world have adopted similar practices.

158. Furthermore, when confronted with the deterioration in the terms of trade the industrial nations immediately draw our attention to the great evils of the single crop system. However, with one

^{11/} Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Forty-first Session, Supplement No. 11A, para. 4.

notable exception there has not been a single reduction in tariffs that would permit the underdeveloped countries to export their manufactured goods to markets with greater purchasing power.

159. The imbalance in the terms of trade leads to a continuing drain on the external resources of the countries exporting primary commodities—a drain so considerable that it already exceeds the volume of foreign aid they receive. This situation is creating a growing lack of confidence in the system which now determines international market prices; moreover—and this is even graver and more dangerous—this phenomenon is leading to the crystallization of two separate worlds.

160. A logical consequence of this division could be the formation of groups of countries which, although politically antagonistic, would align themselves according to their level of economic development, thus dramatically adding to the host of very serious problems now besetting the world. Before we are confronted with this dilemma we must try as far as possible to achieve true and effective economic interdependence at the international level. This should stop being voluntary and become mandatory, so as to overcome the negative effect of the combined influence of power politics and economic orthodoxy.

161. Proceeding from these considerations, my delegation invites the Governments of the States Members of the United Nations to consider the desirability and feasibility of setting up a system of economic co-operation and mandatory interdependence, based on the establishment of a sliding scale of contributions levied on the national income of every Member State. The funds thus obtained would be rationally invested in accordance with the developing countries' most urgent needs in order to supplement their domestic savings and their efforts to achieve a faster rate of economic growth. It would be for the United Nations to establish new bodies or adapt existing ones to collect, supervise and distribute the funds thus obtained.

162. My delegation feels that the proposal we have formulated deserves serious study and consideration, for the developing countries' limited domestic savings and the resulting increased rate of foreign indebtedness make it urgently necessary to find an effective solution to the problem of development financing.

163. My delegation is not so presumptuous as to claim that the formula we have suggested is a panacea for the ills afflicting the developing countries, but we do believe that it would contribute towards the establishment of an international community in which men would live and flourish under the rule of justice, with greater dignity, material prosperity and real opportunities to develop their spiritual forces.

164. The adoption of this formula for the redistribution of income at the international level would also generate and foster in the developing countries a sense of identification with and participation in the international order which now holds them in isolation from the rapid progress of the industrialized countries.

165. We also recognize the need for encouraging the formation of wider areas of production and consumption through the establishment of common markets. The obvious aim is to broaden and improve the basis for intensifying the development of those countries, which, by making initial sacrifices, can adjust their economic structures to the demands of wider markets and thus reap the benefits to be derived from economies of scale.

166. The financing of development requires that we pay due attention to the problems arising from the international flow of private capital. The critical demand for productive capital in the developing countries and the prospects of high returns attract resources from the international private sector. The mobilization of this private capital is usually effected in a manner expressive of great administrative skill, advanced technical knowledge and entrepreneurial dynamism. These characteristics are highly constructive, but the investment of the resources in question need to be regulated so as to provide short-term, medium-term and long-term benefits to both the investors and the recipient countries by channelling the investments so as to serve the purposes of development. In our view, this would mean adopting formulas that would permit an attractive and equitable distribution of profits and the establishment of machinery to control possible negative effects on the recipient countries' balance of payments.

167. These arrangements, which are already being applied in certain countries, should be supplemented by the effective exercise of the right of peoples and nations to control and administer their natural wealth and resources in the interest of their national development and of the well-being of the people of the State concerned. This is the principle laid down in paragraph 1 of General Assembly resolution 1803 (XVII) adopted on 14 December 1962.

168. Paragraph 3 of this resolution states: "The profits derived must be shared in the proportions freely agreed upon, in each case, between the investors and the recipient State, due care being taken to ensure that there is no impairment, for any reason, of that State's sovereignty over its natural wealth and resources."

169. The resolution also states, in paragraph 5, that "the free and beneficial exercise of the sovereignty of peoples and nations over their natural resources must be furthered by the mutual respect of States based on their sovereign equality". Furthermore, it is affirmed in paragraph 7 that "violation of the rights of peoples and nations to sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources is contrary to the spirit and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and hinders the development of international co-operation and the maintenance of peace".

170. My delegation wishes to lay special emphasis on these categorical principles, for their strict observance by the industrialized countries is fundamental for the developing countries. Our natural resources are so limited that their exploitation by others considerably restricts our own possibilities of exploiting them for the benefit of the countries in which they are found.

171. Panama, whose only substantial natural resource is its geographical position hopes to carry the provisions of the aforementioned United Nations resolution on natural resources into effect. It intends to achieve the effective exercise of its sovereign rights over the strip of its territory currently known as the Panama Canal Zone, and to derive from the operation of the Canal the benefits to which it is in justice and equity entitled.

172. With regard to this last point, my Government is aware that the benefits due to the State exercising sovereignty over the territory concerned should be in just proportion to the total benefits accruing from the inter-ocean throughway. However, it is interesting to note that in the half-century which has elapsed since the opening of the Panama Canal to world shipping, the extent of the economic and other benefits which international trade and other beneficiaries derive from the Canal's existence each year is fantastic, and is constantly increasing. Part of these benefits can be measured in terms of the ton-miles saved by using the Canal. We know what the amount of these savings is from the research carried out by experts from various well-known international institutions, who, on the basis of separate calculations and independent methods, have arrived at very similar figures.

Mr. Pazhwak (Afghanistan) resumed the Chair.

173. With the aforementioned objective in view, we are now negotiating a new treaty with the United States of America concerning the problems arising from the present legal status of the Panama Canal. I am happy to inform you, on behalf of His Excellency, Mr. Marco A. Robles, President of the Republic of Panama, that during the negotiations we have had evidence on the part of the authorized spokesmen of the United States Government, of a real desire to reach agreement with a view to abrogating the ignominious treaty of 1903, which is still in effect, and replacing it with one or more treaties that satisfy the legitimate aspirations of our people and reflect the interests of both parties on a basis of equality and co-operation.

174. In this connexion, the President of the United States, Mr. Lyndon B. Johnson, in a speech on 18 December 1964, clearly enunciated his decision to propose to the Government of the Republic of Panama the negotiation of an entirely new treaty on the existing Canal. This unilateral statement, which was welcomed by the Government and people of Panama, was confirmed and amplified in the joint statement issued by Presidents Robles and Johnson on 24 September 1965.

175. Fortunately, the interests of the Republic of Panama and of the United States of America are not incompatible; rather, they are complementary, and for that reason Panama reaffirms its optimism as to the successful outcome of the present negotiations. Panama's well-founded hopes for success are also based on the understanding and goodwill shown by this great country, which is host to the United Nations, and on the support that we find for our cause, and will no doubt continue to find, in this international gathering of the weak and the mighty, the small and the great, the poor and the rich.

176. During an unofficial visit which U Thant paid us a few weeks ago, we were able to see for ourselves the reasons why countries with contradictory and conflicting interests agree when it comes to recognizing his personal merits and his successful performance of his functions as Secretary-General. For this reason, once more on behalf of my President, I am happy to echo the appeal made to him by the President of the General Assembly urging him to continue to inspire, encourage, pilot and guide the destiny of the United Nations.

177. Before concluding, I should like to express our warm gratitude to the United Nations for the effective assistance it has given the Republic of Panama, through the services of its specialized agencies, in drawing up programmes and projects to promote my country's economic growth and social progress.

178. I must also express our faith in the United Nations which, in a difficult period of Panama's history, heeded our calls for justice and for respect of our national dignity, which, for the Panamanian people, is its most precious and most cherished possession.

179. Mr. ADEBO (Nigeria): Mr. President, in the name of Nigeria I offer you the heartiest congratulations on your richly deserved election as President of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly. As one who has had the privilege of previous intimate collaboration with you, I know that your occupancy of that Chair will be a great credit to your own country, enhance African-Asian standing and reputation in this Organization, and greatly improve the chances of the success of our work during this memorable session.

180. Nigeria warmly associates itself with the tribute that has been paid by so many speakers to the performance of the Foreign Minister of Italy as President of the twentieth session. That session was by no means a comfortable one to pilot, and we recall what a difference it meant to our proceedings that Signor Fanfani was the captain on the bridge.

181. The Nigerian delegation heartily congratulates the State of Guyana on its admission to the membership of this Organization. Both its Prime Minister and its Opposition Leader know with what genuine and sympathetic and, I may add, active interest we followed their passage from the period of struggle with the United Kingdom for recognition of the right of the Guyanese people to rule themselves, through the period of struggle among the Guyanese themselves to achieve the degree of consensus essential for a promising entry into independence, and on to the period immediately preceding 26 May 1966, the day that the Guyanese, regardless of political party affiliation, will always remember, as Nigerians remember the first of October.

182. The road to independence is usually long and hard, but the road to national unity, political stability and economic well-being is harder still and could be much longer. Its negotiation calls for the highest skill, sound judgement, and; above all, statesmanship. The Nigerian delegation can speak with some experience in this regard; for, like other new nations of Africa, Nigeria has been on this latter road for some six years now.

183. I should like to take this opportunity to address an appeal to those developed countries which seem to revel in judging events in the developing countries in isolation and not in the context of world history. The transition to independence and the development of democratic institutions have always been accompanied by stresses and strains. The present political stability in the developed countries was not achieved overnight, but after years of experimentation, internal strife and, often, bloodshed. To pontificate therefore about political stability and to talk of an "inherent" inability of the new nation to attain it shows at best a shocking lack of the sense of history and, at worst, downright chicanery, accompanied by undertones of racial superiority.

184. We welcome our brothers and sisters of Guyana into this great community of nations with especial warmth, because we know that, as Prime Minister Burnham promised in his remarks to this Assembly [1409th meeting] and as he already demonstrated at the recent Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London, Guyana will be a stout partner with us in the defence of the principles of the United Nations Charter and against manifestations of man's inhumanity to man everywhere.

185. We would also at this point express our gratification at the decision of the Government of Indonesia to resume its activities in the United Nations. Indonesia was always a valuable member of our African-Asian group, as well as of our non-aligned group of countries, and we look forward to a resumption of our happy co-operation with it in this Organization.

186. By the laws or conventions of most of our countries, an individual attains his majority at the age of twenty-one, a point in his life when he is expected to have acquired a maturity sufficient to enable him to look after himself with reasonable success. Some individuals never even succeed in reaching that age; of those who attain it, some do so full of wisdom and sagacity and vitality, but some continue to require after that age the tender guidance of the parents that begot them. As with individuals, so with institutions. Twenty-one years ago, a world which had just experienced the scourge and large-scale destruction of the most devastating war in history decided to establish an Organization which would uphold fundamental human rights, promote international peace and justice, eliminate all forms of discrimination and ensure economic and social progress among States. That Organization, the United Nations, attains its majority in this year of our Lord 1966, and it would seem to be "meet, right and our bounden duty" to try to assess the present state of the child that was born amid great expectations at San Francisco twenty-one years ago and that has been nursed amid considerable vicissitudes ever since.

187. The Secretary-General's statement of 1 September 1966 and the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization covering the past year contain his considered answer to that question. Because of his close interest in and dedication to the United Nations, which interest and dedication antedate his appointment as Secretary-General of the Organi-

zation and even his previous service as Permanent Representative of his own country at the United Nations, the views of U Thant on this subject must carry very great weight indeed. The Nigerian delegation shares most of those views. We feel that the founders of the United Nations are to be commended for the initiative they took in establishing this Organization and for achieving the degree of consensus that enabled them to agree to the present Charter, imperfect though some of its provisions undoubtedly are. We feel that the Organization cannot be written off as a failure. We feel this because, in the field of economic co-operation, in the field of technological co-operation, even in the field of political understanding and the maintenance of peace and security, it has within the twenty-one years of its existence marked up a significant record of achievement. But we are as conscious as anybody else of its failures or weaknesses in every one of these fields; for instance, its failure to remove the last strongholds of colonialism and racial domination from our own continent of Africa and elsewhere in the world; its degeneration from an Organization for the maintenance of peace and security into an Organization for the maintenance of cease-fires; its incapacity to deal with glaring cases of international misbehaviour by countries, great or small; its failure to solve the problem of increasing poverty and want suffered by the greater part of humanity in a world which is, by and large, getting increasingly richer; its failure to persuade the world to follow a policy of a gradual subordination of narrow national interests and prestige to the larger interests of humanity as a whole.

188. This, of course, is what the question raised here and there of the survival of the United Nations is all about. This, let us face it, is what our difficulty in retaining the services of our admired and respected Secretary-General is about. There must be very few mortals whose praise has been sung so lustily by so many people to his own face as this remarkable man. The Foreign Minister of Canada clinched it all when, in his speech from this rostrum the other day, he said:

"He has done much to inspire our joint efforts during these past five years. He has stated that no one is indispensable in the office which he holds with such distinction. Yet—despite the difficulties he has pointed out—the guidance he has given to our work, the sense of responsibility he has demonstrated, his gifts of compassion and understanding and, above all, his ability to speak and act on behalf of mankind, are all indispensable to the United Nations." [1413th meeting, para. 54.]

Mr. Martin was but echoing the sentiments of all of us.

189. But U Thant is not an ordinary mortal. In all this exercise, he is more concerned with the future of Viet-Nam, he is more concerned with the future of the mass of suffering, oppressed and underprivileged people all over the world, he is more concerned with the future of the United Nations itself, than he is concerned with what we think of him. For that reason, praise for U Thant will not suffice to get him to change his mind. We have, in addition, to

demonstrate that we share these great concerns of his and that we propose to do something about them. We are glad to note that many delegations are, happily, doing precisely that.

190. The major Powers, of course, have a bigger responsibility in this matter than the rest of us. It is they who possess the bulk of the economic and military resources of the world. It is they whose citizens most often display the arrogance of claiming to have the right to do what they please, regardless of the opinion of the rest of the world. It is they whose cold-war attitude makes international understanding and the restoration of international confidence, which is a prerequisite of that understanding, very difficult. It is they who set bad examples for the less developed countries to follow.

191. But Nigeria recognizes that it and the class of countries to which it belongs also have a responsibility in improving the performance of the United Nations. Do not some small countries also take, or endeavour to take, the law into their own hands? Do not some small countries also act as though they wished to be judges in their own cause? Do not some small countries sometimes act in a manner calculated to instil fear into their neighbours? And sometimes we wonder whether, as small countries, or as non-aligned countries, we have taken all the initiatives that we might have taken in the last couple of years, at least, to force the major Powers away from their cold-war mentality. In short, the Nigerian delegation considers that the admonitions of the Secretary-General were addressed as much to Nigeria, as much to other small countries of our class, as they were to the major Powers in particular. The Nigerian delegation hereby offers a solemn assurance to the Secretary-General and to you, Mr. President, that Nigeria will in the coming weeks, months and years do all in its power, in co-operation with our friends in the African group, in the African-Asian group, in the African-Asian-Caribbean-Latin American fraternity, and with all other groups in the United Nations, to make the Organization a better instrument for the achievement of the purposes enshrined in its Charter.

192. The twenty-first session of the United Nations meets under the most ominous clouds. The international situation is as tense and dangerous today as it ever has been at any time since 1945, except at the height of the 1962 Cuban crisis; a war is raging which may develop into a global conflict; the United Nations has yet to establish an effective system for peace-keeping; in spite of the United Nations, the Ian Smith régime continues in Rhodesia and South Africa not only pursues its policy of apartheid more relentlessly, but bluntly refuses to carry out its sacred international obligations in respect of South West Africa; the International Court of Justice now stands discredited and the confidence, particularly of the developing countries, in the international judiciary has been seriously undermined; the discussion on disarmament is practically at a standstill, while the spread of nuclear weapons with its concomitant dangers seems to be gaining momentum, and the avowed determination to help the developing countries to overcome their development problems has yet to

be matched, in several fields, by practical action, as was pointed out in the recent address by the head of the Brazilian delegation [1412th meeting]. Negotiations for an international price stabilization scheme for cocoa started over ten years ago. In spite of the helpful work done by the Food and Agriculture Organization in the form of technical and other studies, in spite of professions of belief in such schemes by the Government of the largest consumer country, in spite of consistent support over these many years by a number of other consumer countries, notably France, in spite of the renewed drive for an agreement generated by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development since its establishment, in spite of continuous pressure for it by all the producer countries, up to this moment no agreement has materialized.

193. To make progress with these issues will require very hard work on the part of us all. It will also call for great courage and the readiness to face up to critical challenges. Take the case of South West Africa, a case that has been under consideration by the United Nations for so many years. When over five years ago two African countries, acting for the rest and themselves, took the case to the International Court of Justice, it became a test case for the integrity of that international judicial body. Those of us who, in spite of its defects of composition and its appearing to be wedded to old-fashioned juridical concepts and to the *status quo* in international relationships, believed in the acceptance of the Court as an instrument for the maintenance of international law, and believed that we should seek to improve rather than destroy it, were praying that the Court might pass this test with honour. Instead, the majority opinion recently given by the Court in the case of South West Africa has been such as to confound its advocates and to give joy to its opponents. It is a most lamentable development; but I shall say no further about it in this context, since it is the subject of a separate debate by the General Assembly.

194. Next on the list of unfinished business of the United Nations in regard to Africa is the question of Southern Rhodesia. Nigeria has maintained from the first, and continues to hold, that some force will be inevitable in order to bring Ian Smith to his knees. Speaking last year from this rostrum, the Nigerian representative stated in connexion with Southern Rhodesia:

"The British Government has asserted its intention to apply economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence. Nigeria does not think that this is enough. The British Government must live up to its full responsibility in this matter, including the responsibility to apply as much force—especially military force—as may be warranted by the situation." [1348th meeting, para. 23.]

We have consistently held that, sooner or later, the use of some force will be necessary in this case, in spite of our national preference for peaceful means for the settlement of disputes, because we are dealing here with people who have shown themselves to be quite impervious to reason, because voluntary sanctions cannot be effective if some people are deter-

mined to ignore them, and mandatory sanctions necessarily imply the threat of force. We say that the sanctions should be made mandatory, and we are told that this would bring us into conflict with South Africa, which is known to be determined to flout the sanctions order in any event. As one eminent journal pointed out recently, this case reminds one of the criticism by Mr.—as he then was—Winston Churchill of the similarly ambivalent position of the then United Kingdom Prime Minister on the occasion of the half-hearted decision of the League of Nations to impose economic sanctions against one of its members. Mr. Churchill spoke as follows:

"First, the Prime Minister had declared that sanctions meant war; secondly, he was resolved that there must be no war; and thirdly, he decided upon sanctions. It was evidently impossible to comply with these three conditions."

Needless to add, the sanctions effort on that occasion came to nothing.

195. At the recent Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London it was decided that the United Kingdom should be given a little more time to persuade Smith to back down. Nigeria, in common with other African Governments represented at the Conference, accepted this compromise only with the greatest reluctance. Well, we wish Prime Minister Wilson the best of luck, but we hope that, if he fails, he will feel in honour bound to co-operate in promoting the application, on a mandatory basis, of sanctions sufficient in scope to meet the case effectively. We also fervently hope that the United Kingdom Government will live up to its promise that independence will not be granted to Rhodesia before majority rule is granted, unless the peoples of Southern Rhodesia as a whole wish otherwise.

196. This year we shall again be discussing apartheid and colonialism. The Nigerian delegation will reserve its full comments on these subjects for the appropriate Committee sessions. Meanwhile, in regard to apartheid, we should like, in our capacity as one of the trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa established last year [General Assembly resolution 2054 B (XX)], to appeal to those countries which have been remiss in that connexion to be good enough to come along with their contributions. Nigeria, I am glad to be able to say, has done this, and so have a number of other countries.

197. Before leaving African questions, the Nigerian delegation would like to thank the Secretary-General for establishing appropriate channels of co-operation with our regional organization, the Organization of African Unity, in consonance with the resolution [2011 (XX)] to that end adopted by the General Assembly last year. The OAU, like other regional organizations, and like the United Nations itself, has its problems. But we will overcome them. Nigeria, which had the privilege and the honour of playing a substantial role along with others in founding the OAU, will contribute all it can, again in concert with our fellow-members, in ensuring that it is continued and strengthened to bring to fulfilment the aspirations of all Africans for unity.

198. Nigeria has always taken great interest in United Nations peace-keeping efforts. We were a member of the Working Group of Twenty-One,^{12/} which at one time was charged with the working out of proposals for the financing of peace-keeping operations and did succeed in getting adopted by the General Assembly, in resolution 1874 (S-IV) of 27 June 1963, a set of general principles which have been of some value to the Organization. We are also a member of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, which inherited the too-limited mandate of the old Working Group, but along with the broader mandate to examine the subject of peace-keeping in all its aspects. We have also been a member of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of Fourteen, which was entrusted with the task of examining the whole of the financial operations of the United Nations.

199. We have therefore had plenty of opportunity of putting on record our views on the financial problems of the United Nations, their causes and the possible solutions to them. We have proclaimed, times without number, our firm belief in the principle of collective responsibility, subject, however, to certain other and equally vital principles, namely, the accountability of the aggressor for the consequences of his action, the principle of equitable apportionment of expenses, the principle of compliance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter. Within the context of these principles, Nigeria has consistently co-operated in the search for a set of arrangements which would be acceptable as a compromise aimed to enable the Organization, not only to function normally in the sense of being able to debate and to vote, but also in the sense of being able to discharge its practical obligation of helping to put out "brush-fires" wherever they might occur and to minimize such occurrences. We would also add, in all humility, since our contribution is not in absolute terms among the largest, that Nigeria has faithfully lived up to its profession of support for the United Nations by meeting all its financial obligations and, in addition, joining from time to time in responses to appeals for voluntary contributions. Finally, we pledge our co-operation in seeking some way at this session of advancing the search for at least a temporary solution to this complicated problem of peace-keeping authorization, administration and finance.

200. Nigeria remains attached to the principle of universality of membership of the United Nations. We have never been in doubt that the exclusion from membership of a country which contains within its territory about one quarter of the population of all the world does the world no good. We appreciate the difficulty of finding appropriate modalities for remedying a situation that has been made uncomfortably complex by the passage of time, but we hold that to delay further the tackling of the problem is to allow it to become even more complex.

201. It may sound like a cliché, but it is only too true that the survival of humanity today hangs, so to speak, upon a thread. All the world recognizes that the way to survival lies through complete and uni-

^{12/} Working Group on the Examination of the Administrative and Budgetary Procedures of the United Nations.

versal disarmament. To be fair, one must admit that many countries have been expending a lot of energy, both by individual initiatives and by collective action, to try to bring about complete and universal disarmament. One result of such collective action was the establishment of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, of which our own country is a member. Unfortunately, owing to the impossibility of reconciling the widely differing views of the two super-Powers of the world, only very little progress has been achieved by that Committee. Because of long and direct involvement in the negotiation proceedings, Nigeria appreciates that the problems to be solved are more complicated than is commonly realized by those not involved. The chief of those problems is, of course, the lack of confidence, between the great Powers, resulting in what sometimes seems to us to reflect a lack—in some measure—of even the will to agree. The Nigerian delegation respectfully submits for the consideration of the other members of the Committee on Disarmament, outside the major Power category, that a bolder approach on our part, in the form of pressing with greater vigour what we ourselves believe, whether or not that approach offends one or the other bloc of great Powers, would be advisable in the future. In this connexion, we hope that we shall be able, to secure endorsement of the suggestion by the Secretary-General that:

"... an appropriate body of the United Nations" should be appointed "to explore and weigh the impact and implications of all aspects of nuclear weapons, including problems of a military, political, economic and social nature relating to the manufacture, acquisition, deployment and development of these weapons and their possible use" [see A/6301/Add.1, p. 4].

As the Secretary-General correctly points out in putting forward the suggestion:

"To know the true nature of the danger we face may be a most important first step towards averting it." [*Ibid.*]

202. I have touched upon a number of items which are on our agenda. May I, like others who have preceded me on this rostrum, venture a word or two upon one that is not on that agenda but one which in fact will, more than any other subject in the world, affect the results of this session? I refer, of course, to the question of Viet-Nam. The cold war was in the process of thawing until the aggravation of the conflict in Viet-Nam began in real earnest. In the opinion of the Nigerian delegation, there is little prospect of putting the United Nations back on its feet, financially or in any other respect, until we have found an answer to that unfortunate problem. Because several of the parties to the conflict are not represented in the United Nations, that dispute is better tackled, as the Secretary-General has time and again pointed out, outside the formal organs of the United Nations. Nevertheless, the United Nations can hardly ignore an issue which has already caused untold suffering to so many and which, if not successfully tackled within a reasonably short time, could lead to human massacre on an unspeakable scale and prove to be the beginning of the end for mankind as we know it today. It is therefore not surprising that this issue

fills a premier place in the thoughts of all of us assembled here, small or great, and figures so prominently in our contributions to the general debate. It is clear from those contributions what the great bulk of the world's population represented here feels on that issue. We are all putting on record the indisputably world-wide sentiment for a de-escalation of the conflict in Viet-Nam, for its peaceful settlement without delay, for restoration to the Viet-Nameese of the right to determine their own future and their own way of life, free from foreign military presence, free from foreign interference of any kind, from any source whatsoever.

203. How should that happy state of affairs be brought about? In the view of the Nigerian delegation it cannot be done by the "trading" of proposals and counter-proposals in public. The present spokesman for the Nigerian delegation was asked the other day by a member of an audience that he had just addressed what his proposals for solving the Viet-Nam dispute were. He replied that if he had any that he felt were good enough to try out, the last thing he would do was to blurt them out in a public forum. In the opinion of the Nigerian delegation, the settlement of this most dangerous and most delicate issue can only be accomplished by "quiet and confidential diplomacy". There must be at least one country in this world, there must be at least one world statesman, or a group of such, whom the parties to this dispute can trust for the purpose of helping to secure agreement between them on the modalities preliminary to the peaceful negotiation of a complete settlement. The fact that so many efforts of this kind have failed is no reason for not trying again, for some of them would appear to have been frustrated in their purpose by premature publicity.

204. In brief, we of the Nigerian delegation feel that when the different delegations have in this debate made their different comments on the general nature of the settlement they would like to see of the Viet-Nam dispute, the United Nations as such will have done its bit and, in our view, rendered quite a useful service. Thereafter what we have called "quiet and confidential diplomacy" should take over again, but we trust that then the international Press will do us the kindness to co-operate in furthering it by refraining from all harmful speculation on the matter.

205. Mr. President, the Nigerian delegation believes that if our deliberations during this session continue to be informed and governed by the spirit which, under your experienced leadership and the inspiration provided by the recent statements of our Secretary-General, has shown itself in the contributions made by most delegations to this general debate, the twenty-first session of the General Assembly could be a phenomenal success.

206. Mr. NIYONGABO (Burundi) (translated from French): From this rostrum, which I mount for the first time since the welcome changes which have taken place in my country, I wish to offer you my sincere congratulations on your very well-deserved election to the Presidency of the United Nations General Assembly. Speaking for myself, I feel particularly proud, because you have been and still are truly one of us. You are one of us as a worthy repre-

representative of your country, Afghanistan, which forms part of the great family of non-aligned countries. Your admirable qualities, which have secured your elevation to the supreme post in this world organization, will, I am certain, enable you to direct the debates of this session with the skill, balance and impartiality that have always distinguished the representatives of the third world who have succeeded one another on this rostrum.

207. On behalf of my Government, I welcome the return of Indonesia to the fold as a triumph of reason and common sense over passion. This is a personal success for the able diplomacy of the man who has devoted himself body and soul to the cause of world peace and of harmony and concord among nations -- H.E. U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations.

208. At the outset of my statement I should also like to extend a welcome to the youngest member of the Organization, Guyana, which has now cast off its fetters in order to make its contribution to the world as a sovereign and independent State.

209. My sole reason for wishing to speak today is to voice my Government's anxiety at the international situation. This has been described as extremely serious by the very person who has been privileged to preside over the destinies of nations with an intelligence, wisdom and unselfishness which will remain an example to us all, U Thant, the Secretary-General. At the same time a moving appeal has been launched by one of the world's spiritual leaders, Pope Paul VI. Shortly before this, the President of the French Republic voiced his distress in the message he addressed to the conscience of the world from Pnom Penh. Everyone knows that the peace of the world is seriously threatened. Throughout Africa there are centres of disturbance.

210. The distinguished speakers who have preceded me on this rostrum have condemned the seizure of the Territory of South West Africa by South Africa in the most vigorous terms. The racist leaders at Pretoria wish to perpetuate the traditions of their Boer ancestors. These "conquistadors", who only yesterday were engaged in a veritable crusade to exterminate the black man in the Orange and Transvaal districts and thus reap the spoils of the land they had plundered, not content with imposing the criminal practices of apartheid on those coloured brethren who are our kinsmen by blood or adoption, have now extended the refinements of Hitler's Nazism to the mandated territory of South West Africa in violation of the mandate obligations. These "supermen", who deny the status of humanity to other human beings, know no other law than that of force, no morality other than that of self-interest and no religion other than that of race. To justify themselves they have fabricated a whole structure of monstrous ideology which they have euphemistically termed "the theory of separate development". From Malan to Vorster, the implacable and merciless theory of segregation, in other words the policy of the whip, the concentration camp, the reservation, the sewn-up mouth and the severed hand has prevailed. It is therefore only right that this policy, which calls for universal reprobation should always have been condemned by every United Nations body.

211. It is revolting, and even heart-breaking, to find that such cynical individuals, who kill with a Bible in their hand, believe themselves to be invested with a sacred mission in the name of the racial superiority and infallible reason which they brandish before the world. Because they think they have a monopoly of truth and that the rest of the world wallows in error and ignorance, they have no scruples in braving the universal conscience and defying the world organization itself. That is why they have not hesitated to annex the internationally mandated Territory of South West Africa.

212. Yet one South African statesman, General Smuts, the promoter of the idea of the international mandate at the 1919 Peace Conference, saw things differently. He regarded the mandate as investing the League of Nations with the role of "trustee" for such communities and as temporarily entrusting the administration of the territories to certain of the great Powers under the League's supervision. The institution was based on the fact that the territories concerned were not yet capable of governing themselves under the particularly difficult conditions of the modern world. The League of Nations therefore believed that it had a sacred trust of civilization to confer the tutelage of such peoples on advanced nations who, by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position were able to undertake that responsibility. Hence the territories subject to this system were never intended to pass under the sovereignty of the mandatory Power. The mandate could not therefore be construed as involving any form of domination, nor could it be confused with any kind of annexation or protectorate. I conclude that the mandate was a mission of honour, a moral obligation, an international function, and not a title of ownership.

213. Even if we admit the distinction drawn at the time between the various types of mandate, South Africa's bad faith is still patent. It will be recalled that under an "A" Mandate the role of the administering Power was limited and short-lived, being confined to the rendering of advice during the transitional period preceding independence. Under a "B" Mandate, the administering Power had the more concrete responsibility of administering the territory. Under the "C" Mandate conferred on South Africa, the role of the mandatory, pursuant to Article 22, paragraph 6, of the Covenant of the League of Nations, was to assume the administration of the area under its own laws "as integral portions of its territory".

214. South Africa's rapacious instinct obviously singled out the phrase "as integral portions of its territory" as a pretext for the annexation it wished to accomplish when the League of Nations, the Commission and the Trusteeship Council disappeared. Was this a reason for subjecting this Territory to the infamous laws of South Africa? Fortunately, despite South Africa's obstinate refusal to agree to the trusteeship system and its desire to maintain the status quo, a Special Committee for South West Africa was set up by the United Nations General Assembly [resolution 449A (V)]. The bridges were not broken -- South Africa thus remained under United Nations supervision and was bound to administer the Territory.

in accordance with the terms of the mandate and with the ideals of the United Nations.

215. With regard to the Judgement given by the International Court of Justice at The Hague on 18 July 1966, my Government wishes to recall one or two fundamental principles before stating its position. First, the system of mandates provided for under the Covenant established jurisdictional supervision by attributing compulsory competence to the Permanent Court of International Justice in any dispute regarding the interpretation or application of the provisions of the mandate. The International Court of Justice, as its worthy heir, has now succeeded to the rights and duties of its predecessor.

216. Although South Africa was not strictly bound by Article 77 of the Charter of the United Nations to convert the mandatory régime into one of international trusteeship, the Statute of the International Court of Justice continued and still continues to apply to it. The procedural alibi it has invoked is regarded by my Government as nothing less than a denial of justice intended to cover the odious practices of South Africa.

217. The plea of lack of legal interest invoked against the applicants seems to be motivated by a desire not only to prevent the shameful acts of the Mandatory Power from obtaining publicity but to attempt to justify the unjustifiable by sheltering behind a procedural barrier reminiscent of the puritanical, narrow-minded and essentially iniquitous principle of "summum jus, summa injuria".

218. How can anyone claim in good faith that Ethiopia and Liberia, as members of the League of Nations, the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, or simply as African States, had no legal interest entitling them to apply to the International Court of Justice? Those conditions being fulfilled, it is hard to imagine a better qualification or a more obvious interest in the maintenance of peace, based on respect for the inalienable rights of the individual and the right of peoples to decide their future. We are Africans, and nothing which is African can be alien to us.

219. It will thus be seen that the Judgement clearly exposes not only the weakness of a no doubt respectable institution but also the need to ensure that the States of the Third World are more fairly represented in the world Organization and its subsidiary bodies, and especially in the seat of international judicature. Far from wishing to cast doubts on the eminent abilities of the members of the Court, we are simply confining ourselves to noting a fact, namely that the international Judges, who are distinguished and respected jurists as required by Article 2 of the Court's Statute, are influenced by different schools of thought and subject to different political tendencies. Despite their great knowledge and extreme probity, they have not succeeded in excluding personal factors in playing the game of the conservative Powers. Clearly the presence of African Judges would have tipped the balance in the right direction, that of reason and justice.

220. Crucial as it may be, the South African problem must not distract us from other questions equally vital to us. Another centre of anxiety in Africa, as we all know, is Rhodesia. Despite Great Britain's

solemn promises, despite repeated condemnation by the Organization of African Unity, despite the vehement appeals from all pacific forces, the racist régime in Salisbury becomes more deeply entrenched and consolidated every day. It represents an extension of the policy of apartheid which has its seat at Pretoria and has already invaded South West Africa. Logically it is to be feared that the contagion of apartheid will carry beyond these pockets of privilege, spreading its infection throughout Zambia and then passing on to Katanga. The progress of the mercenaries recruited in these areas for service in the Democratic Republic of the Congo marks the path of the invasion which, unless we are careful, threatens to realize on the racist level the ancient dream of Cecil Rhodes—from the Cape to Cairo via Katanga. One centre of subversion has just been rooted out at Kisangani, thanks to the determination of President Mobutu. The danger is therefore imminent. We confine ourselves to drawing attention to it, in the expectation that practical measures to repel the aggressor will be devised by the Organization of African Unity.

221. These trouble spots are so fertile, so infectious and so prolific that we have been tempted to forget a number of them. With the connivance of international financial groups, to whom a grain of copper is worth more than a black man's head, a veritable arsenal of war is stored on the Congo-Angola border, whilst mercenaries are recruited in Europe, Rhodesia and South Africa with the blessing of the bloodthirsty State of Portugal. The threat is not merely to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Every African is involved; it is our future which is at stake in the Congo. Its victory is our victory and its defeat our defeat. We have not lost sight of the fact that Portugal is pursuing an evil and murderous policy in Angola and Mozambique, and we should redouble our efforts to free these two territories with the help of friendly Powers and the assistance of the United Nations.

222. Before dealing with the problem which divides international opinion on the thorny question of China, I should like to ask this Assembly if the presence of these two countries, which constantly and with disconcerting unrepentance violate the aims of the United Nations and the fundamental rights of man, does not shock the very conscience of humanity, which is the universal conscience. The representatives of those two countries are here to defy the world. They are guilty of contempt of mankind. We could tolerate their presence as long as we were in a position to recall them to reason by argument, but unfortunately their obstinacy and bad faith leave us no hope. Both of them come within the provisions of Article 6 of the Charter, and should be expelled from the United Nations as authors of crimes against peace and humanity.

223. As regards the responsibility of South Africa, my Government is of the opinion that it is the Organization's duty to revoke the mandate hitherto exercised in a manner contrary to the aims of the United Nations and either to transform it into a trusteeship system under the direct administration of the United Nations or to internationalize the Territory under the protection of the Security Council until it has acquired independence.

224. With regard to the question of Rhodesia, my Government urgently appeals to the United Kingdom to show proof of its good faith and sincerity concerning its undertaking to crush the Rhodesian rebellion and to ensure the triumph of democratic principles, that is to say, the rights of the majority in this part of Africa.

225. Although, as was only logical, I have dwelt at length on the trouble centres in Africa, I have not lost sight of the dire threat to peace hanging over the world in South East Asia. This blind and ruthless war, which, if it continues, can only lead to the annihilation of a whole nation, is a matter of constant concern to my Government. As a small country, Burundi cannot pretend to impose a solution on the great Powers, but it can and does appeal to reason and common sense in denouncing the stupidity of this steadily expanding war which threatens to plunge mankind into appalling peril.

226. The delegation of Burundi is firmly convinced of the need for a dialogue between the belligerents. Whatever good reasons may exist on either side, I am certain that a military solution will inevitably entail the slaughter of the entire Viet-Nameese people, if it does not cause the outbreak of a third world war. To be effective, the dialogue presupposes that weapons will be silenced and the conditions of an honourable armistice negotiated for all parties to the conflict.

227. The Burundi delegation believes that in order to achieve this, the parties must submit to the provisions of the Geneva Agreements, which have proved themselves in two States of former French Indo-China which accepted them, namely Cambodia and Laos. It is nevertheless difficult to expect enemies to sit at a table when they only see each other on the battlefield and only speak the language of the rifle and the machine-gun.

228. It is urgent to acknowledge the facts and give due weight to reality, common sense and reason. All the belligerents must be brought on to neutral ground. No better oasis of peace for this purpose can be imagined than these precincts of discussion at the United Nations. China and Viet-Nam should therefore join us so that a fruitful dialogue can be instituted in the presence of witnesses and possible arbitrators. China must resume her place in the concert of nations, because in one way or another we must sooner or later bow to the obvious. Without being untrue to itself, the world organization cannot allow the lawful rights of such a major nation as China to be disregarded any longer. If it does, it will condemn itself to impotence and will fail in its vocation as a universal organization and in its mission of peace, equilibrium and harmony in the world, because whether we like it or not, the solution to the problem of Viet-Nam is closely linked with that of China. These realities must be recognized today; tomorrow it will be too late.

229. We can now appreciate the full value of the courageous decision of the Secretary-General, who, despite his formidable abilities and his steadfast devotion to the cause of peace, has refused to seek a further term of office at the head of the Organization. His succession gives rise to many difficulties and

will lay a heavy responsibility on those who are attempting to transform the international organization into an instrument of their foreign policy in the service of their expansionist aims and in defiance of the principles of the Charter.

230. This feudal attitude on the part of certain Powers is highly prejudicial to world peace and to the advancement of mankind. Untold sums are vainly sunk in the needs of war when they could be utilized for peaceful ends in the service of co-operation or assistance to poor nations. How can we accept a civilization which is digging its own grave and cold-bloodedly preparing for its own destruction?

231. It seems a shameful state of affairs that present-day mankind, which has vanquished space, mastered the atom and triumphed over matter, and is now seeking to conquer the heavenly bodies, should still be incapable of resolving the more mundane problems of hunger, poverty, ignorance and disease. At one time we congratulated ourselves on the promotion of an international conference on trade and development, but the results have belied our hopes. Although the active "Kennedy Round" negotiations would undoubtedly strengthen the already over-developed world, they offer no prospects of recovery to the developing world.

232. The big nations overwhelm us with speeches on disarmament whilst continuing to increase their own armaments. This hypocrisy and lack of realism are the keynotes of the present state of international relations. That is why the delegation of Burundi is in favour of any initiative, whatever its source, designed to strengthen the powers of the United Nations for the consolidation of peace.

233. It records its preference in all fields for the multilateral form of assistance, which stands a greater chance than bilateral aid of achieving development under conditions of co-operation and freedom from political pressures. It is to this peace and this co-operation that Burundi, in absolute respect for different social systems, intends to devote its efforts so as to build a better, more fraternal, more united and more human world.

234. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Somalia in exercise of his right of reply.

235. Mr. GUDAL (Somalia): Mr. President, as this is the first occasion on which my delegation has spoken since your unanimous election as President of the General Assembly, please allow me to extend to you our heartfelt congratulations.

236. My delegation has asked to speak in order to exercise its right of reply to certain statements on the question of French Somaliland, and of the Somali Peninsula in general, which were made by the Foreign Minister of Ethiopia to this Assembly earlier this afternoon. My comments will be brief, since my delegation will deal in great detail with the issues he has raised when the question of French Somaliland comes up for discussion. However, in view of a number of false claims involving Ethiopia's relationship with the Somali Peninsula, it is necessary for me to reject categorically the Ethiopian claim that the

Somali Peninsula has ever formed part of the Ethiopian empire.

237. The Ethiopian representative mentioned in his statement that the Emperor Haile Selassie "fully supports the exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of the territory". In that same statement, the Foreign Minister claimed that French Somaliland formerly constituted a part of Ethiopia, and said that Ethiopia would never allow that territory to fall into or be controlled by "unfriendly hands".

238. The contradiction in these statements is obvious. What Ethiopia is really suggesting is self-determination for the territory, provided that it results in its subsequent annexation by Ethiopia. There is no need for me to elaborate on the spurious nature of this Ethiopian claim to French Somaliland. A most telling refutation of the claim lies in the fact that all political parties in French Somaliland have rejected it outright. My Government has also stated its opposition to the Ethiopian claim and has made it clear that the Somali Republic would never agree to any proposal concerning the territory's political future which did not conform with the freely expressed wishes of the majority of the inhabitants. The threats which are contained in this claim, and in Ethiopia's preoccupation with its economic interests in the territory, constitute another form of pressure designed to complicate the problems already facing the people of French Somaliland. Clearly, it is the responsibility of the United Nations to ensure that that territory is not turned into a problem area. In the view of the Somali Government, there is only one way in which this can be avoided, and that is by ensuring that the eventual political future of the territory is one which emerges from the free choice of the people of the Territory—in other words, by applying the principle of self-determination.

239. There is also no justification for opposition by Ethiopia to the political demands of the people because of its economic interests in the territory. There are other ways of safeguarding those interests besides resorting to spurious claims to the Territory. Ethiopia's interest would be best protected through goodwill and co-operation and by a scrupulous regard for the rights and aspirations of the people concerned. Under such circumstances there should be no difficulty in the two countries developing economic links and concluding commercial or economic treaties that protect equally the interests of both parties.

240. The United Nations, both in the Committee of Twenty-Four and in the Fourth Committee, has made it a cardinal point that no reservations or conditions should be placed on the right of a colonial people to achieve independence. If the United Nations accepts the arguments put forward by Ethiopia, the whole process of decolonization will be reversed.

241. It is necessary for me to clarify my own Government's position on the question. In the two submissions which my Government made before the Committee of Twenty-Four when it visited Africa in 1965 and 1966, it was made quite clear that, whatever might be the interests of Somalia in the territory, the wishes of the people of French Somaliland must remain paramount. It is for this reason that my

Government has insisted that the people should be allowed to decide their own political future through the exercise of their right to self-determination.

242. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of India in exercise of his right of reply.

243. Mr. Swaran SINGH (India): I am conscious that the hour is late and we all have other pressing engagements, I shall therefore be as brief as possible.

244. The Foreign Minister of Pakistan referred today to India in abusive, but familiar, terms. Like other representatives of Pakistan who have exploited—indeed, misused—this august forum, he offered to the representatives assembled here a mixture of half-truth and fantasy. What is painful is that in the process of his long abuse against India the Foreign Minister of Pakistan completely ignored that provision of the Tashkent Declaration which stated the specific agreement of the two sides that they would "discourage any propaganda directed against the other country, and . . . encourage propaganda which promotes the development of friendly relations between the two countries".

245. Among other things, India has been branded an aggressor, and India has been compared to South Africa. The fact of India's defensive action in September last year has been presented by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan to this Assembly as aggression. The fact of Pakistan's aggression on the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir twice within the last nineteen years has been completely ignored and kept back from this Assembly.

246. Now, I prefer to be constructive; I prefer not to violate the Tashkent Declaration. As far as the record is concerned, the same charges have been made time and again, and refuted by the delegation of India on every occasion. I am not going to take the time of this Assembly by once again covering the whole ground. There are two points, however, which need to be brought to the attention of this Assembly.

247. First, it is amazing that the Foreign Minister of Pakistan has taken exception to the reiteration by the leaders of India of the Indian stand that the State of Jammu and Kashmir is a constituent State of India. The Indian position has been stated by the Indian delegation on innumerable occasions, both in this Assembly and in the Security Council. Participating in the general debate last year, I myself stated:

"It is therefore necessary for me to make my Government's position clear beyond any shadow of doubt. Legally, constitutionally, morally and on the basis of the will of the people, the State of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of the Indian Union. This is the position on which India takes its stand and will continue to do so. The people of Jammu and Kashmir, together with their fellow citizens in other parts of India, are the architects of the largest democratic State in the world, a State rooted in popular will expressed through freely chosen institutions and periodic general elections, based on adult franchise. There is no better way of giving reality to the freedom of a people." [1358th meeting, para. 56.]

248. The fact that India is prepared to discuss all differences with Pakistan in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Tashkent Declaration and to settle those differences by peaceful means in a spirit of good neighbourly relations does not mean and cannot mean that India must give up its stand in regard to the status of the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir.

249. If each side were to insist on pre-conditions, would we not be entitled to say to Pakistan that it must first not only give up its point of view on Kashmir, but also, as a prior condition for talks, vacate two fifths of the Indian territory in Jammu and Kashmir that it illegally occupied, and still occupies?

250. In our reading of the letter of the Tashkent Declaration and in our appreciation of its spirit, what is required is that the leaders of the two countries sit down and settle all their differences without conditioning the settlement of one dispute on the settlement of another.

251. It is necessary to recall that at the time of the signing of the Tashkent Declaration each of the sides set forth its respective position on Jammu and Kashmir, and this fact is mentioned in article I of the Declaration. Recognizing this absence of reconciliation of the respective viewpoints on Jammu and Kashmir, India and Pakistan agreed to take the several steps mentioned in articles II to IX of the Tashkent Declaration. Article IX has a special significance in the present context. It states:

"The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the sides will continue meetings both at the highest and at other levels on matters of direct concern to both countries. Both sides have recognized the need to set up joint Indian-Pakistani bodies which will report to their Governments in order to decide what further steps should be taken."

252. The second point which I wish to clarify relates to the ministerial meeting between India and Pakistan in March of this year. The Foreign Minister of Pakistan has made reference to the communiqué issued after that meeting [see para. 57 above]. The operative part of that communiqué states that the two parties will meet again and discuss all their differences. In spite of India's best efforts to start these talks, the intransigence of Pakistan has made it impossible for a further meeting to be held, as contemplated in the communiqué issued after the Rawalpindi talks in March of this year.

253. The Foreign Minister of Pakistan did not—perhaps he could not—refer to the substance of the discussions held in March. This was perhaps because he was not present at the talks. Since I led the delegation of India to the ministerial meeting, I can speak with some authority and assurance in regard to the attitude taken by India then, an attitude which remains the same today. It is that, regardless of the differences between the two countries, indeed because of those very differences, the most important provision of the Tashkent Declaration, that is, the restoration of relations between the two countries, must be brought about by all possible means.

254. As we in India see it, the way to the settlement of all differences is not to lay down conditions for the conclusion of agreement on all problems at one and the same time. What Pakistan desired in March was that, even though the two countries might arrive at an agreement on a specific issue between them, that agreement should not be implemented as long as there was no settlement of the question of Kashmir. The Tashkent Declaration has been registered with the United Nations, and copies are available to all delegations. I invite all those who are interested to study the document. There is no basis in that Declaration to support the thesis of Pakistan that the restoration of normal relations between the two countries—in other words, the settlement of the differences between them—could not come about unless there was first an agreement on the question of Kashmir.

255. As recently—as last month, we offered to hold discussions with Pakistan on all the outstanding issues between the two countries, without any pre-conditions. To our deep regret, and, I believe, to the deep regret of this Assembly, Pakistan has once again rejected our offer.

256. Today, the Foreign Minister came to this Assembly and complained that India is not prepared to implement the Tashkent Declaration. On behalf of India, I should like to reiterate that India continues to adhere to the letter and the spirit of the Tashkent Declaration and is ever ready to start talks for settling all the differences between India and Pakistan by peaceful means, in a spirit of good neighbourly relations and with a view to reversing the deteriorating trend of the relationship between the two countries. I make this offer here and now to the Foreign Minister of Pakistan: let us sit down and discuss ways and means of implementing all the provisions of the Tashkent Declaration.

257. Before I conclude, I should like to quote from a statement made by the Prime Minister of India to the African-Asian group here on 1 April 1966. She said:

"It is not enough that there should be peaceful coexistence among the great Powers of the world. We should also set an example and coexist peacefully among ourselves. The essentials for peaceful coexistence are the determination not to use force and not to intervene in each other's affairs and the desire to settle all disputes by peaceful means. It is in this spirit that India, less than three months ago, signed the Tashkent Declaration with Pakistan, in which the two countries reaffirmed their obligations under the Charter not to use force, but to settle their disputes through peaceful means. The Tashkent Declaration provides India and Pakistan with a new framework in which to restore normal and peaceful relations between the two countries and to promote understanding and friendly relations between the two peoples.

"The underlying concept of the Declaration was a deep conviction that peaceful relations between India and Pakistan are vital for the maintenance of their political independence and the achievement of their economic and social development. If all the provisions of the Declaration are implemented faithfully in letter and in spirit, an atmosphere will

be created in which all differences between the two countries can be settled peacefully. Political problems with emotional overtones—and there are strong emotions on both sides in this problem—cannot be solved unless the peoples of both countries appreciate the vital necessity of peaceful and friendly relations between them."

258. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Pakistan in exercise of his right of reply.

259. Mr. PIRZADA (Pakistan): In view of the lateness of the hour I shall confine myself to a few remarks by way of rejoinder to the so-called reply made by the Indian Foreign Minister.

260. In my earlier statement before the General Assembly I referred to the India-Pakistan situation because I considered it our duty to keep Member States informed of the factors which jeopardize peace in our region. I anticipated that the representative of India would mount this rostrum; and he did, and resorted to the time-honoured practice of—I am sorry to say—confusing the issue. This Assembly has good experience of such tactics, employed by all those who defy the decisions of this Organization and the dictates of world opinion.

261. The Foreign Minister of India has distorted the Tashkent Declaration and, with respect, I would say that informing delegations of this august Assembly of the true state of affairs is not propaganda. To consider it as such is to show disrespect to this Assembly. I do not intend to reply to the representative of India in kind. He has made various misleading and incorrect statements. Anyone can indulge in hair-splitting, but that cannot obscure the central fact.

262. Our case in the India-Pakistan question needs no reiteration. We want the people of Jammu and Kashmir to determine their future themselves. India denies them their inherent right of self-determination. If it were not so, what prevents India from arranging the plebiscite—under the direction and control of the United Nations—in Kashmir that would settle the issue once and for all? This is the long and the short of the Kashmir dispute.

263. As far as the present situation is concerned, I should like to put the question straight to the Foreign Minister of India and his delegation. Are you willing to enter into negotiations with Pakistan for the settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute on the basis of justice and the principles of the Charter? The question can be answered "yes" or "no" in a clear way without resorting to elaborate arguments.

264. The Government of India claims that it has made an offer to Pakistan for unconditional discussions. What does it mean by discussions? Are we supposed to discuss the history of Kashmir? Are we supposed to exchange lyrical remarks about its famed beauty? Or does the Indian Government propose that we should meet at a conference and merely reiterate our respective standpoints? Will that in any way remedy the situation? If the Indian Government does not propose an exercise in futility but has a more serious and purposeful intent, then why not

say: let us enter into negotiations for the settlement of this dispute. In that case, obviously, its oft-repeated statement that India's sovereignty over Kashmir is not negotiable becomes untenable.

265. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Ethiopia in exercise of his right of reply.

266. Mr. YIFRU (Ethiopia): It was not my intention to take the floor again at this later hour, but the representative of Somalia has not left me any alternative but to speak at this time.

267. In his statement a few minutes ago, the representative of Somalia quoted from my statement, I think that it would have been better for him to have quoted my statement *in extenso*, and not only what it pleased him to quote. What I said was that we support the right of self-determination of the people of Djibouti, provided—and that word "provided" is very important—that this right is not tampered with and not fettered by outside influences. I did not say what influences; I did not mention any country's name; I just made a general statement.

268. Secondly, I made statements of fact. Historical facts, economic facts, facts—whether you like them or not—are facts; you cannot suppress them.

269. My delegation will, of course, put forth its point of view about the question of Djibouti in the appropriate Committee at the appropriate time.

270. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of India in exercise of his right of reply.

271. Mr. Swaran SINGH (India): I must apologize for asking for the floor. I thought that I had said in very categorical terms that India was prepared to enter into discussions without any pre-conditions and that in such discussions each side would be fully justified in raising any point. I said also that India would be prepared to discuss any matter raised by the Pakistan delegation, just as the latter should be prepared to discuss any matter raised by India.

272. The fact that the Foreign Minister of Pakistan could anticipate what I would say and, therefore, come with a prepared text to reply to it only shows that we are going through this exercise, knowing each other's point of view and trying to meet it with statements and counter-statements.

273. I do not wish to delay the Assembly by taking any more time. I make this appeal to the Foreign Minister of Pakistan: let us begin talks in real earnest, and not just continue to exchange diplomatic notes or statements and counter-statements on the floor of the General Assembly. There is no substitute for direct talks and no substitute for trying to understand each other's point of view. Let us devote ourselves to improving the relations between our two countries. It is only by adopting that attitude that the people of India and the people of Pakistan can live in peace and friendship and good-neighbourly relations, an objective which is very dear to us and, I hope, dear also to Pakistan.

The meeting rose at 8 p.m.