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President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)*

1. Mr. JONATHAN (Lesotho): Mr. President, I extend to you my sincere congratulations on your election as President of this Assembly, and also an expression of my confidence in your ability to execute your difficult duties during this session to the satisfaction of all Member States. Further, I pledge to you an attitude of responsibility and co-operation by my country in your task of handling the affairs of this Assembly. Your distinguished predecessor handled with great ability the twenty-first session, the fifth special session on South West Africa and the fifth emergency special session on the Middle East concerning the basic issues of peace, justice and security to which we are all dedicated and to which we also know you will be equally dedicated.

2. I speak to you today as the proud representative of a small country a long way away. Lesotho is one of the poorest countries in the world entirely surrounded by one of the richest. We are just under 1 million people all speaking one language — Sesotho. Our country is an enclave in the Republic of South Africa, which is, I think, a unique situation. No other truly sovereign State in the world is entirely surrounded by another State. As a result, our problems are unique and require unique solutions.

3. As yet, Lesotho has no industries; we depend on agriculture and pastoral farming. Our economy is closely linked with that of South Africa, Botswana and Swaziland. With these countries, we form a customs union, which is an important source of income to us. In addition, we all use the same currency. About 200,000 Lesotho citizens are currently employed in the mines, industries and farms of South Africa, South Africa also provides virtually the only market for our exports.

4. Geographically and economically, therefore, we are an integral part of south Africa. It was, indeed, the original intention of our former colonial masters

that Lesotho should eventually be politically integrated into South Africa. But despite all these pressures, and despite the inequality of the struggle, we maintained our identity as a nation throughout the period of British rule, and we successfully resisted incorporation with South Africa. It is, therefore, unthinkable that we could ever contemplate having our independent country annexed to the Republic.

5. It is my appeal to this Assembly that our actions and our policies be judged in the light of the hard facts of life. Our relationship with the Republic of South Africa is a matter of geographical, historical and economic necessity. These circumstances entitle us to the sympathy and understanding of all Members of this august body when they consider our situation. I trust that sympathy will be forthcoming today. A basic purpose of the United Nations is the rejection of force as a solution to international disagreement, and the promotion of international harmony and understanding by rational discussion. We in Lesotho subscribe wholeheartedly to these aspirations. On grounds of principle alone, therefore, we cannot contemplate adopting a belligerent and hostile attitude towards South Africa. In practice, the disparity in resources and our geographical position make such a course unthinkable. If we were so ill-advised as to pursue that course, then we and the African peoples of South Africa would be the first to suffer the consequences—consequences that would not befall those who, from a safe distance and either in ignorance of or without reflection on the facts of our situation, urge us to adopt impossible policies.

6. As a freely elected Government, our first duty is to our people. Our primary task is that which faces the founders of any nation — that which some of you present here have experienced — namely, to survive. We are fighting for our national survival, and we shall survive. More than that, we shall survive without compromising our basic principles. We yield to no one in our rejection of apartheid and all it signifies. We, of all people, can claim a first-hand experience of its effects.

7. You cannot build Utopia overnight, and you cannot ignore the facts of geography and of economics. Necessity makes strange bedfellows. In material matters, in matters which deeply concern the daily life and well-being of every one of my fellow countrymen, Lesotho and South Africa have many vital interests in common. In pursuing these common interests in a realistic and practical way, we hope to achieve a mutual understanding which will benefit not only ourselves but all the peoples of Africa, including our own brothers in South Africa.

8. It is my firm conviction that the best and indeed the only feasible way of combating apartheid is by

*Resumed from the 1563rd meeting.

gradual and peaceful methods. One such method, especially for those who are the Republic's immediate neighbours, is to demonstrate by example that the new African Governments can run their own affairs with competence, assurance and stability. Finally—and this is perhaps the most important of all—the independent African Governments can set the Republic an example of racial tolerance and racial harmony. Threats against the Whites in the Republic will merely reinforce their lager mentality and harden their resistance to any kind of change.

9. The only way to bring real and salutary changes in the Republic is by example and the cultivation of realistic relationships. By maintaining a bridge between South Africa and the outside world we are permitting a dialogue to continue. Where there is no communication there can be no hope of progress.

10. A little more than a year ago, with these thoughts in mind, I met the former South African Premier, Dr. Verwoerd, and had four hours' discussion with him as man to man. Some four months later I met Mr. Vorster, his successor, on the same basis, and we had an equally frank exchange of views. No serious observer of African affairs would deny that these meetings amounted to a break-through of historical significance. Important and beneficial consequences have already flowed from them.

11. I am confident that if we independent States in southern Africa are given a fair chance, we can, by mutual understanding and co-operation with others in the region, do much to promote peaceful and stable international relations, not only in that region but ultimately throughout Africa. But if, on the other hand, the dialogue between myself and my counterparts in the Republic of South Africa is to be disrupted, then the foundations of mutual understanding which we have already laid down will be destroyed. In Lesotho we would have to abandon our hopes for economic progress and security, while in South Africa what seems to be a most promising reappraisal of attitudes would come to nothing.

12. I have tried to show you something of the problems confronting a small country endeavouring to find its place in the community of free nations. May I, at this stage, venture to speak for all the smaller countries, including those which have recently been somewhat derisively categorized as the "mini-States". Implicit in this description is the suggestion that they have no place in the international community, that they should forthwith surrender sovereignty and national identity and accept incorporation in some large political entity.

13. I have three comments to make upon that view. The first, as I have already indicated, is that my people did not struggle for over a hundred years to achieve anonymity and oblivion. Secondly, I believe that such a view does not truly reflect the collective opinion of this Assembly and that it would violate the spirit and intention of the United Nations Charter. Thirdly, I believe that the smaller States have a specific and vital contribution to offer in the field of international relations. In an age of rapid technological advance, vast organizations, global concepts and grand generalizations, it is too easily and too generally forgotten that the end-purpose of all government must

be the well-being of individual men and women. Collectively as a world body, individually as national leaders, our first duty is to meet their simple and basic need for food, for physical security, for freedom from pain, for personal fulfilment. The present state of the world does not suggest that this duty is being effectively discharged. We must all share in the common responsibility for failure. The Governments of the great Powers tend, I think, to survey the world from the mountain-tops. We of the little countries see it from the grass-roots. Both perspectives have their limitations and their validities. But we, in the smaller and less-developed communities are particularly concerned with people and with the basic problems of human existence. We can, therefore, provide a constant reminder of the human realities underlying discussion in this Assembly. This is, I think, a necessary function. I would also suggest that the great Powers have no necessary monopoly of political wisdom. You will remember that the philosophies which underly our modern political institutions and the very vocabulary we use in discussing them had their origins two thousand or more years ago in city-states far smaller than any nation represented here today.

14. If the right of the small States to continued existence is accepted, as I believe it must be, then it is not sufficient merely to tolerate their existence. The major Powers—the super-Powers—must also resolve to respect their sovereignty and their integrity, and to refrain from using them as pawns in a global conflict. Today the government of every emergent country is apparently regarded as a legitimate target for subversion inspired, directed and financed from foreign but nominally "friendly" sources. It is regrettable that some of the new States have themselves become willing tools in these manoeuvres, allowing their territories to be used as bases for subversive operations against their neighbours. Let there be no mistake here. Whatever the ideological justification, the whole concept of national sovereignty is under attack. It is a concept which cannot be applied selectively. If the attack succeeds, the newly independent States will be the first to suffer, and not one of their Governments will be secure. The ultimate consequence of external interference is reached when the emergent countries become physical battle-grounds in which the major Powers test their armed might without the risks of direct confrontation and total commitment. We have no illusions about the consequences to ourselves of a third world war—of a nuclear war. But surely the safety-valve for tensions created by international rivalry is sincere and rational discussion within the framework of this great Organization. It cannot be the slaughter of the unsophisticated and under-privileged and the devastation of the under-developed regions. If it is possible for the major Powers to reach agreement on the control of nuclear weapons and the exploration of outer space, they can surely agree to exclude the Third World from the scope of their conflict. Given such agreement, they would then be in a position to fulfil, in earnest, their declared desire to assist in the economic and social advancement of the poorer, under-developed nations.

15. In this field of peaceful and constructive endeavour, so much remains to be done. We in Lesotho

embarked upon political independence lacking the minimum equipment necessary for economic and social development. Our inheritance was one of poverty and ignorance. Our resources are so limited that we are often unable to accept aid offered to us because we cannot afford the modest, but necessary, counterpart contribution required. The basic economic needs of the emergent countries are capital and technical skills. The problems of capital formation in an economy such as ours are immense. We do not, however, ask for charity. We know that continued dependence on external aid is incompatible with political sovereignty. We also appreciate the limitations of external aid in promoting a viable economy. But what we do seek is initial aid to "prime the pump", and a realistic, business-like interest in whatever opportunities for productive investment we can offer.

16. As for technical skills, we value highly the services of the experts and advisers from the developed nations which are placed at our disposal by a variety of organizations. Even more, we value the opportunities granted to us for the technical education and training of our own people. I must express my particular appreciation of the aid given to us in these ways by the various United Nations agencies. It has been invaluable, and we look forward to close and continuous co-operation with these bodies in the future.

17. I wonder if there is any country represented here that can claim to be perfect. I doubt it, because if that were the case, why all these troubles in many countries of the world? The answer is simple: there is no perfection. There must be something wrong somewhere with many countries, although the mistakes might not be of the same nature. Member States would be wise to cease accusing one another, and instead find a common ground, to view objectively the mistakes which exist in almost all of us.

18. We are all Members of the United Nations because we all agree on the good principles on which the United Nations was founded and also the good Articles of the Charter of the United Nations, and we have all pledged ourselves to abide by them. But the question is: do we, in practice, really abide by the provisions of the Charter? If so, why all this snarling, grabbing and tearing one another to pieces in these cruel wars which are causing much bloodshed and destruction of the human race? Why the denial of the right of people to choose a government of their own liking? In my own country, I would even be prepared to create an opposition if there was not one. The Constitution of Lesotho contains an entrenched Bill of Rights.

19. One of the cornerstones of United Nations policy is that of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. Yet non-interference does not mean lack of concern when we see Member States of this Organization pursuing policies that run contrary to its Charter, with regard not only to race policies but also to colonial situations.

20. As regards Southern Rhodesia, let me make several points perfectly clear. Firstly, we do not recognize the present illegal régime, and we subscribe wholeheartedly to the doctrine of majority rule. Secondly, we believe that the ultimate responsibility for restoring legality rests with the British Government. Thirdly, we do not believe that force or violence

can provide a solution to this problem. We accept, although with some reluctance, the application of sanctions, because we are obliged by the provisions of the United Nations Charter to do so, and we will honour our obligation. But terrorism we deplore and condemn without reservation. Finally, we can foresee only the most disastrous consequences if the Rhodesia situation is allowed to escalate, either in economic or political terms. Those consequences would be especially disastrous for the African peoples of southern Africa, for one million of whom my Government has a direct and inescapable responsibility.

21. The situation in Angola and Mozambique is very disturbing and ominous for the future of southern Africa. We wish to warn Portugal as the Administering Authority of those Territories that its policies may also have extremely dangerous consequences, for already many States experience tension in their relations with Portugal, simply because of its colonial policy—because colonialism is always so unjust and unrealistic that it automatically raises barriers to normal relations between States. And such barriers, my Government believes, can be removed only by the granting of freedom and independence to the people who are still living under colonialism.

22. The Government of Lesotho has given long consideration to the question of China's representation in the United Nations and has come to the conclusion that it is far too complex to allow for the simple solutions which have been proposed in recent years. There is no doubt that the issue raises fundamental questions in the minds of all who consider it, but there is a danger that in the final analysis both those who are for the seating of Peking and those who are against it may overlook some of the realities of the problem. My Government is concerned that the solution of the problem should be a just solution, in the sense that it must give due cognizance to all the factors pertaining to the situation.

23. It would appear to us manifestly unjust if the representatives from the Republic of China were to be expelled from this Organization, as some Members have suggested, because such action, in our view, would merely create greater problems than the ones it is intended to solve. It is for this Organization to be constructive in building a peaceful and harmonious world, and such a task cannot be achieved by the gratuitous expulsion of some representatives. Such a step would be destructive, and nothing that could be done afterwards could repair the damage done to the integrity of the United Nations. Moreover, the representatives from Nationalist China have always adhered to the provisions of the Charter: they have fulfilled their obligations and, indeed, have played a constructive role during the entire history of the United Nations. To interfere with their membership and role in this Organization would indeed affect the principles of the Charter. That is why we believe that the question of Chinese representation is an important question within the meaning of Article 18. The only solution that will be acceptable to my delegation is one which will guarantee the right of the delegation from Nationalist China to remain in this Organization.

24. The Organization has been faced over the years with the problems of the divided countries of Korea

and Germany. After studying closely the situation in each area and hearing the arguments in favour either of change or of retaining the present arrangements, I am convinced that the United Nations can help the peoples of the two areas only marginally, and on condition that the peoples concerned recognize the competence of the United Nations to assist in such matters. Until that happens the United Nations Organization can deal only with those areas where it has been accorded proper recognition. In order to retain its dignity and prestige, the United Nations must endeavour to offer practical solutions to problems and thereafter do all in its power to ensure that the correct implementation is carried out. Fellow Members of this Organization should feel themselves obliged to abide by the decisions taken.

25. The South West Africa question, like the Rhodesian one, is a question whose developments my Government follows with deep concern. As in the case of Southern Rhodesia, we acknowledge our obligations, under the United Nations Charter, to accept the decision of the Security Council and General Assembly, but we are also deeply conscious of being geographically close to the problem and its possible consequences.

26. I wish to express to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and his assistants in the UNCTAD Secretariat the best wishes of my Government for the success of the Second Session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to be held in New Delhi next February and to pledge my Government's support of its conclusions. We believe that the Conference will provide another opportunity to reach concrete agreements in the crucial areas of aid and trade, especially from the point of view of the developing countries of the world, which have so much at stake in the outcome of the Conference. The economic and social well-being of Governments and peoples is one of the pillars of our concepts of justice, and peace with justice must include economic justice, which is one of the conditions for peace.

27. Coming as I do from a geographically awkward area, the major responsibility of the United Nations in the development of international law for our contemporary world seems to me to be quite fundamental. We are an enclave within South Africa, and the problems we face are acute. For example, what are the rights of the citizens of Lesotho when it comes to transit to enable them to reach the outside world? What are the laws which govern this situation? This responsibility of the United Nations to develop international law is very urgent because of the new international relationships which are currently developing within the Organization, in regional associations, and in bilateral relations between States. We feel that all the changes must be accommodated within the framework of international law.

28. Equally, there is a need for the review of the composition, the functions, and the authority of the institutions which interpret and apply international law. It is imperative, and clearly in the interest of world peace and order, that the relations which we seek to foster between States be governed by clearly defined regulations. Furthermore, the Secretary-General has already warned about a disturbing ten-

dency for States to take unilateral decisions on grounds of national interests without regard to commitments previously entered into and without regard to the significance of the main provisions of the Charter to which we all subscribe. There cannot be justice in chaos and we believe that all possible efforts must be made to restore respect for international law.

29. Recent voyages by man into outer space must also serve to remind us of the potential of our achievements in this world if only we dedicate the use of all our knowledge, our common resources, and our trust in one another to the common good of all mankind. It is this fact that accounts for our faith and hope in the United Nations.

30. It would not be proper for me to come to the end of my speech without expressing my full support of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and my sympathy with its aims and aspirations. The reason why Lesotho joined the OAU was our belief in the principle of African unity. I would advise all African nations and people in this Organization that to achieve this unity we must refrain from interference in the internal affairs of other States. In this respect I wish to convey to the Secretary-General my full support of the words in his address to the fourth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity, held at Kinshasa from 11 to 14 September, in which he stated that African leaders must be more international and less African in their outlook. We, the nations of Africa, would do well to pay heed to what he said, and if we could bring ourselves to abide by his advice we should benefit greatly. It is also appropriate for me to refer to the resolution passed at the OAU conference with regard to the condemnation of financial support given by other States to opposition parties, and with a sense of pride I pledge my full support of this resolution because in it I see a move in the direction of more reality and responsibility in Africa.

31. Although the work of decolonization properly belongs to the United Nations, we have no objection at all if the OAU helps by using its influence to achieve decolonization within the shortest possible period. What concerns us is that some Member States resort to means which cannot be acceptable to us—for example, giving financial support to opposition parties and also helping to train young men from member countries in guerrilla warfare and sabotage with the aim of overthrowing colonial Governments, only to find later that when they have nothing to do they turn against duly elected Governments. It is wrong to assume that some African Governments are more African than others. It is also wrong and contrary to the Charter to assume that all African Governments must think alike simply because they are all Africans.

32. I should like to touch on a matter in respect of which Lesotho has come in for what I consider to be some unjustified and ill-informed criticism. I refer to our refugee problem. It has always been the policy of the Government of Lesotho to render as much assistance as possible to refugees from South Africa residing in Lesotho. In return, the refugees must desist from indulging in domestic party politics and

stirring up political unrest against their host Government. This policy was clearly outlined in the speech of His Majesty King Moshoeshoe II at the third session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held at Addis Ababa in November 1966, when he said:

"There is one further problem of concern to us all, with which our Government is most preoccupied at this moment. It is that of political refugees. We, in Lesotho, will always be ready to welcome and give asylum to those courageous and unfortunate men and women who, because of their devotion to their principles, have been driven to seek refuge in a country other than their own. Our people are proud of their record in this respect. The conditions we have laid down are the bare minimum necessary for our own security and their welfare. We have in Lesotho a number of political refugees who are happily employed in commerce, industry, journalism and even in our Civil Service. For our own security, however, we must distinguish carefully between such people and the criminal refugees who deliberately seek to exploit our hospitality, to subvert and destroy our peace for their own purposes. We have no intention of expelling genuine and law-abiding political refugees, but if they themselves wish to leave us we would be prepared to assist them by taking up the question of an airlift with the Government of South Africa. Whatever happens, no political refugee will be handed over to South Africa."

33. In accordance with its declared policy on refugees, the Government of Lesotho, even during our internal crisis last December, when we suspected that certain refugees were actively involved in trying to subvert my Government, stuck to its promise that no political refugees would be forcibly returned to South Africa. Pursuant to this policy, the Government of Lesotho recently obtained transit rights and paid the expenses of sending one man and his family to Zambia and another to Kenya.

34. Last May, in my capacity as Minister for Foreign Affairs, I met Dr. Muller, the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs, and it has since been confirmed that safe passage will be granted to twenty-five refugees who applied through my Government to the South African Government to be allowed to leave Lesotho for other countries. The South African Government has further confirmed that it will be prepared to consider sympathetically other applications from refugees for similar safe passage. This agreement was achieved only because my Government had maintained relations with South Africa at the level on which I was able to negotiate. It should also be pointed out that only twenty-five refugees have elected to leave, whilst more than one hundred, although they are not citizens of Lesotho, prefer to remain.

35. I must, however, make it clear that in spite of the assistance given to refugees, our national interest comes first. We cannot allow our country to be used as a spring-board for attacks against South Africa. However, having made the necessary arrangements for the refugees to leave Lesotho, we sincerely trust that other African countries will co-operate in granting asylum to them.

36. In conclusion, my talk would not be complete and constructive if I were not to give what we think could be the solution to all these troubles. The root cause of all these conflicts seems to be that although much has been achieved in the fields of science and technology, very little has been done to develop the human mind to think correctly and be considerate, and perceive that compromise is the essence of all politics. What we are trying to point out is that the human mind is still inclined to look down upon the less fortunate and even wish to dispossess them by the use of force of what rightly belongs to them, whilst the less fortunate envy the prosperous ones and for that reason fail to consider world problems objectively and rather rely on their power of voting. Those who consider themselves more progressive than others believe right thinking to be their own monopoly to the exclusion of the less progressive, which is wrong in principle, because each one is free to think as he pleases. It is my belief that our little country of Lesotho, distant, poor and insignificant as it may appear, by virtue of the very geography and history to which it owes its creation and its problems has an important role to play in providing a link between South Africa and the rest of the world. At the same time our primary task remains to survive.

37. Mr. HARLLEY (Ghana): Mr. President, it is with great pleasure that I join the speakers who have preceded me in congratulating you on your election to the Presidency at the twenty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly. Your election is not only a recognition of your fine qualities as a person and your reputation as a statesman and a diplomat, but also a recognition of that principle of equitable geographical rotation which governs elections to various offices within this Organization. Above all your election is a tribute to your country, Romania, which has, by its determination to preserve its independence, earned the respect of the whole world. My delegation is happy to pledge its full support and co-operation to you and is confident that under your able guidance the deliberations of the present session will yield fruitful results. My delegation would also like to congratulate and express its appreciation to your predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Abdul Rahman Pazhwak of Afghanistan, who so ably and successfully guided the deliberations of the twenty-first session.

38. The delegation of Ghana wishes to renew its appreciation of the efforts of the Secretary-General who, in the long period of his stewardship, has rendered such efficient and selfless service to this Organization. Since assuming this high and all-important office, which has rightly been described as one of the most difficult in the world, Secretary-General U Thant has had the full and unquestioned support of the Government of Ghana, and my delegation is happy to pledge continued confidence in and support for him.

39. Since the founding of this Organization over two decades ago, the world has passed through a series of crises, some of which have brought it almost to the brink of disaster. But on each occasion the overwhelming urge for peace throughout the world has sustained the Organization's efforts to prevent a third world war, in which, it is now certain, there would

be neither victor nor vanquished but total destruction of the world as we know it.

40. Even though our progress towards durable peace and inter-state harmony has been painfully slow, the prospect of mankind's progression towards extinction in a violent global holocaust should constantly re-charge our determination to make this Organization an effective instrument for keeping and building the peace of the world. It is this conviction that has determined and will continue to determine our position on the major problems that disturb international peace today.

41. The fundamental basis of the foreign policy of the Republic of Ghana is non-alignment and balanced neutrality, and this we have repeated many times over. I consider it necessary, however, in view of recent events, to clarify the concept of non-alignment as professed by the present Government of Ghana. In our view, a policy of non-alignment does not mean the automatic acquiescence in or support for actions or positions adopted by any nation or group of nations styling themselves non-aligned or believing in the concept of non-alignment. For, if this were so, it would constitute bloc action or bloc position, thus robbing the concept of non-alignment of its true meaning. Non-alignment as understood by my Government means the right and ability of a given State to consider any international issue on its merits without undue regard to bloc considerations or pressures. Such an interpretation might result, on occasions, in individual divergencies over issues even within a group of States claiming adherence to the concept of non-alignment. Non-alignment to my Government, therefore, implies the sole right of the Government of Ghana to examine every international issue on its merits and to take what in its view constitutes a just and equitable stand. Without disregarding the principle of collective or group action in appropriate cases by like-minded States, Ghana, in the pursuit of this policy, will be guided by earnest, honest, sober and objective appraisal of events and circumstances.

42. As was stated last year by my late colleague and patriot, Lieutenant-General Kotoka, when he addressed this Assembly [1435th meeting], the new Government of Ghana brought into being by the timely revolution of 24 February 1966 seeks friendship with all countries both inside and outside Africa. If there are any Governments that do not maintain friendly relations today with Ghana, this is a situation not of our creation. We have sought this friendship even in the face of provocations. We wish no quarrel with anyone, but we seek peace and concord with all.

43. Let me now turn to the troubled continent of Africa generally. Ten years ago, Ghana achieved its freedom and with it began the chain reaction which found colonialism on the retreat all over the continent. This exciting process was soon to bring in its train a multiplicity of independent African States and there was every expectation that Africa would be completely free within a comparatively short time. But, alas, in this tenth year of the birth of African freedom, the southern part of Africa still remains in the firm grip of incorrigible colonialists and arch racialists and the "wind of change" appears to have expanded its force on the banks of the Zambesi River.

This situation, coupled with the present unstable political image of Africa, has caused deep concern and brought distress to the people and friends of Africa.

44. While individual African Governments try to put their own houses in order, we cannot close our eyes to the slavery and suffering that other men still continue to impose on our kinsmen in other parts of Africa. There seems to be forming a dangerous alliance in the southern part of Africa of the arch racialists of South Africa, the unrepentant Portuguese colonialists and the arrogant rebels of Rhodesia. The Government and people of Ghana will never acquiesce in the perpetuation of the evil doctrine and policy of apartheid, nor will we accept that the colonial struggle has ended at the Zambesi River. In concert with our African brothers and under the guidance of the Organization of African Unity, we will continue the struggle to ensure that not an inch of African territory remains under foreign domination and that no African is discriminated against and deprived of political rights in his own homeland.

45. Sitting in this Assembly is the representative of a Government that has consistently shown contempt for most of the principles and purposes for which the United Nations stands. The time has come to call upon South Africa to heed the urgent yearnings of mankind for equality and social justice and honour its obligations under the Charter. No greater disservice could be rendered by this Organization, and particularly by the major Powers of this body, to the peoples of Africa than a passive acquiescence in the gradual extension and consolidation of apartheid and colonialist subjugation by more powerful white minorities against weaker black majorities. The African peoples themselves may be weak today, but it is short-sighted to expect that they would not one day be strong enough to liberate the millions of Africans still suffering under the yoke of their Afrikaner "bosses".

46. Let me state clearly the disappointment of the Government of Ghana with the attitude so far of the major Powers on this whole question of apartheid and South Africa and the expansionist designs of the Boer leaders on South-West Africa. It is not enough to condemn apartheid; it is essential that such condemnation be coupled with concrete action aimed at undermining apartheid and forcing realism on those who rule South Africa today. If the big Powers feel that sanctions against South Africa would be ineffective, then let them take the lead in proposing alternative measures that would speedily bring about the objective that they claim they join us in seeking. They have the means and the power to do this. In spite of the negative attitude that most of these States have taken in the effort to execute the General Assembly decision terminating the mandate over South West Africa [resolution 2145 (XXI)], we are hopeful that they would now find it possible to back to the full the efforts of the United Nations Council for South West Africa [resolution 2248 (S-V)] and to sanction the use of force in carrying out this mandate, if this has to be done. On apartheid and on South West Africa, this is not time for more dialogues with South Africa. It is the time for positive action.

47. Foremost in our minds also is the situation in Rhodesia. The rebel régime in Rhodesia will soon be celebrating the second anniversary of its illegal and infamous seizure of power from a colonial administration under whose rule no other colonial people had ever dared to rebel with such unchallenged impunity. The world is witness to the failure of the limited sanctions programme so half-heartedly launched by the Government of the United Kingdom and so shamefully honoured in the breach by the major trading Powers. When we are told that sanctions are biting, we wonder whom they are biting: is it Rhodesia or Zambia or Britain? Is it the Whites or the Blacks? We gave warning in the Security Council last year against the half-measures taken. We demanded total mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. We are told that we should give the British proposals a chance to work. Now reliable statistics show that certain Member States of this Organization have considerably increased their trade with Rhodesia and that South Africa is brazenly flouting the sanctions resolution [Security Council resolution 232 (1967)] and is determined to buttress the economy of the Rhodesian régime. Resolutions have been passed here and have been flouted, inflammatory and impertinent declarations have been made by Ian Smith and his followers; the British Government has attempted to negotiate with Ian Smith, but all to no avail as is evidenced by the failure of the series of "talks" and the "talks on talks".

48. There is no deluding ourselves that economic sanctions as a punitive measure against the illegal régime of Ian Smith have failed, as they were bound to fail given the known attitudes of certain key Members of this Organization. And now we hear that Rhodesia, having beaten sanctions, is feverishly working to consolidate racism and apartheid by a systematic programme of subsidized white immigration and support by South African security forces. What is the next step, we ask? Ghana is convinced that the use of force is the next, indeed, the only logical step left in this long and protracted effort to save the people of Zimbabwe from the cruel oppression of the minority white settlers. This Assembly must ask itself what the fate of the United Nations Organization would be if its decisions were continuously ignored and its principles violated with impunity.

49. Every year from this rostrum and in several of the Committees of the General Assembly we condemn South Africa for its racist policies and for its suppression of the natural rights of the indigenous people of South Africa. We should not relent in our fight against the inhuman régime of South Africa. It is a matter of great gratification to my delegation, as a member of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid, that in July and August of this year a successful International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa was held in Kitwe, thanks to the ready generosity of the Government of Zambia. The Seminar in its final Declaration affirmed:

"That effective international action, so long delayed and obstructed, is imperative if the racial tensions which have accumulated and now rage in the area are not to transform the southern part of Africa into a cockpit of bloodshed, with incalculable perilous

consequences for international peace and security." [A/6818, par. 124 (1).]

50. The Seminar also appealed to

"all the Governments and people dedicated to the ideals of non-racialism, international co-operation and peace enshrined in the United Nations Charter, to redouble their efforts to secure immediate and effective international action in support of the legitimate struggle of the oppressed peoples of Southern Africa so as to prevent the grave dangers of a racial conflagration in the area". [*Ibid.*, para. 124 (5).]

51. In Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea, African freedom fighters are sacrificing their lives to secure the self-determination that this Organization so long ago called for for all colonial peoples. Unfortunately, Portuguese colonialism continues to deny those people their natural rights to self-determination and to regard those territories as part and parcel of the metropolitan homeland. No matter how benevolent the rule of a foreign overlord, this can never satisfy the urge and desire of a people to control its own destiny. It is for this reason that poorly armed African freedom fighters are daily displaying acts of courage on the battlefields of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea against the NATO-armed troops of Portugal. The Government and people of Ghana do not accept the constitutional fiction of the oneness of the metropolitan country and colonies and will continue to support with all the resources at their disposal the just struggle of the freedom fighters against Portuguese colonialism in Africa.

52. We also have Spanish domination to contend with in Africa, and while Spain has recently shown signs of liberalizing its attitude towards the territories it dominates, we consider that it can hasten the process of bringing freedom to those territories. We call on this Assembly to join us in an appeal to Spain to grant independence to the territories under its domination and to settle speedily and amicably the territorial disputes with the North African States so that a new relationship of friendship and fruitful co-operation can be established between Spain and the African States.

53. On 19 March 1967, the people of former French Somaliland were given the chance through a referendum to determine the type of future it wanted for its country. We believed that the presence of United Nations observers during the conduct of the referendum would ensure its fairness, and this was recommended to the Administering Authority. Regrettably the French Government could not accede to this request—an attitude which contributed in no small measure to the suspicion with which the results of the referendum were received. May I from this rostrum appeal to the innate sense of fairness of the great French people to ensure an equitable solution to this problem.

54. The Congo has again been in the news, troubled by those who refuse to recognize the fact that this country is no longer a colonial appendage but an independent and sovereign State. The Congo situation, as we all know, has been one of Africa's thorniest problems. Our needs and weaknesses have made possible the involvement of non-African Powers in our

affairs. How otherwise would it be conceivable that after seven years of self-rule, foreign mercenaries should venture to enter the Congo? My Government has already demonstrated by concrete action its full support for the Government of the Congo in its fight against those hired brigands. In our view, whatever reservations any Government might have had about the authorities in the Congo the Government that now controls the Congo truly and genuinely seeks the welfare and progress of the Congolese people, and it is about time that those external forces which seek to control the destiny of this long-suffering State abandoned such designs and gave a chance to the constituted Government to pacify the Congo and secure for its people the peace and security it so ardently desires.

55. My delegation would like to draw attention to the threat which the operation of mercenaries in Africa constitutes to world peace and security, particularly in Africa where those human specimens of amorality appear to have found a convenient source of immoral income.

56. In our efforts to raise our peoples from the depth of poverty, disease and illiteracy into which our continent was plunged by its erstwhile colonial masters and to create new conditions that will enable us to progress together, we have created the Organization of African Unity. We in Ghana today have no illusions about the immense problems that beset our path to real and meaningful unity, but it is a mark of our implicit faith in the idea of unity in Africa that, in spite of its imperfections, we still pledge our support for the Organization of African Unity. We believe firmly in the principles and purposes for which that Organization was established four years ago. These principles and purposes are in complete accord with those of the United Nations. In a sense, the Organization of African Unity is complementary to this Organization, and my delegation is happy to note the fruitful collaboration now developing between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

57. The Organization of African Unity, we confess, has not always shown the capacity to fulfil its mission in Africa. Perhaps the visionaries amongst us expected too much of it, but like all organizations of this type and size it could not be expected to solve all the problems that we would wish it to solve. There have been and there will be contradictions within the Organization. There have been and there will be divergent views held by its member States on some major issues. Yet, in the four years of its existence, the Organization of African Unity has rendered significant service to Africa, and my Government believes that the trend towards regional groupings within the Organization of African Unity, especially on an economic and cultural basis, should give the Organization a better and durable basis for the ultimate continental unity for which we all so devoutly wish.

58. I know that there are several urgent matters which are at present exercising our minds in Africa and which some of our well-wishers would like to see tackled and solved by the Organization of African Unity. Prominent among them is the situation in Nigeria which is indeed a source of anguish and grief to all of us. I should like to assure this Assembly

that everything possible will be done by us in Africa to assist our brothers in Nigeria to end this most regrettable fratricidal war and to restore the country to peace and harmony.

59. If I have spoken at length on matters affecting Africa it is only natural, for the continent of Africa holds a special place of interest for my delegation. But our continent moves and has its being in a world of interdependence, and we cannot ignore what is happening elsewhere.

60. I should now like to turn to the Middle East. The war which erupted in June of this year exposed the weaknesses of our Organization and brought home to us more clearly than ever before the imperative need to find a permanent solution to the question of Palestine and the related problems of the Middle East. This question has been on the agenda of the United Nations since 1947, and the record is a sorry catalogue of vacillations and piecemeal solutions. Palliatives will no longer do. The situation is too dangerous and explosive to admit of this.

61. What the Organization must aim at now is the search for a cure, a permanent cure, for the problems of the area. There must be a clear identification of the basic causes of the conflict and a rethinking of the ways and means of arresting the deteriorating situation. It is unrealistic for anyone to suggest a negotiated solution outside the framework of the United Nations, for this Organization is the only acceptable organ capable of playing a constructive role in bringing about lasting peace in the Middle East.

62. May I be permitted to reiterate what Ghana believes to be some of the basic principles which must underlie any realistic and permanent solution of the conflict in the Middle East. In doing this I would like to emphasize the adherence of my Government to the principle that there should be no annexation of territory through the process of armed conflict.

63. In the view of my delegation, Israel should withdraw its troops from the territories occupied by conquest and should not dispose unilaterally of these territories. This, however, must simultaneously be accompanied by the territorial integrity and political independence of all the States in the Middle East being safeguarded and guaranteed.

64. The unilateral forceful annexation of the Arab section of the city of Jerusalem by Israel, in contravention of a nearly unanimous United Nations call to the contrary, can only worsen the already explosive situation and must be categorically rejected. Israel should be prevailed upon to carry out the resolutions adopted by the fifth emergency special session requesting it to rescind all measures taken to that effect [resolutions 2253 (ES-V) and 2254 (ES-V)].

65. There should be a recognition of the right and freedom of all States to have access to all international waterways wherever they may be situated.

66. The refugees and all displaced persons in the area must be resettled under an international emergency relief programme. In this regard there must be a rapid implementation of the relevant General Assembly

resolutions calling for adequate compensation to be paid to refugees. And we issue a fervent appeal to Israel to show imaginative statesmanship and magnanimity in the search for a solution to this question.

67. The Government of Ghana is convinced that it should be possible, given goodwill on the part of all and a desire for peace and stability in the Middle East, to formulate a general peace treaty incorporating the principles stated by my delegation to outlaw belligerency in the region and control the disastrous arms race. Such a treaty must be underwritten by the major Powers. In this search for a just and equitable solution to the problems disrupting peace in the Middle East, my delegation and Government are ready and willing actively to participate.

68. Strife in the Middle East is not restricted to the Arab States and Israel. For apart from the conflict in the Yemen, of which we now see some hopeful signs for a solution, we are still saddled with the problem of Cyprus. In spite of the attempts by the United Nations to secure peace for Cyprus, the crisis there remains latent. It must be now be obvious to all that a lasting solution of this problem can only be found on a basis which guarantees the interests of both the Greek majority and the Turkish minority. It is the view of my delegation that the United Nations should take resolute action to solve the Cyprus problem, particularly since it has assumed responsibility for peace-keeping on the island. In any such endeavour, the Government of Ghana will give the fullest support to the Organization, and will also support any good offices which might be considered necessary to achieve lasting peace in that country.

69. My delegation indeed looks forward to the day when there will be peace and reconciliation throughout the strife-torn Middle East, and when the resources of the region and the collective talents of the people of the area can be devoted to constructive efforts to achieve a better life for all.

70. No review of the international situation will be complete without reference to the troubled country and people of Viet-Nam. This conflict is a most serious threat to world peace and it is a matter of some regret that the United Nations has so far failed to become the focal point in the search for a peaceful solution.

71. At the twenty-first regular session of the Assembly last year, the Secretary-General [1483rd meeting] and several delegations, including Ghana, emphasized the need for quiet diplomacy and for the good offices of third parties to help in the search for a negotiated settlement of the Viet-Nam war. The Ghana delegation has since followed with extremely keen interest the laudable efforts made by the Secretary-General himself to pave the way for peace talks. It is to be regretted that, in spite of the confidence we have all openly expressed in the Secretary-General, the parties to the conflict have not made it possible for him to put his good offices to good effect in this matter. From this rostrum we plead for peace, and our sincerest appeal goes to all the parties, both within and outside this Assembly, to lend their fullest co-operation to the Secretary-General in his renewed efforts to reconvene another Geneva conference on Viet-Nam. We support the Secretary-General in all

his endeavours because his impartiality is beyond question, and through him this Organization can sue for peace in an area which has, in it the seeds of a world-wide conflagration.

72. It shall be the endeavour of my delegation to support any practical moves towards peace in this region in order to stem the tide of this tragic and gruesome war before it escalates into a major conflict.

73. Asia reminds us that the 700 million people on the Chinese mainland are still not represented in this Organization by the legitimate Government of China. The question of China's representation in the United Nations is one that must be decided on the basis not of expediency but of principle. The question is whether, when a government of a State is replaced or overthrown, the new government which is in complete control of the State is or is not competent to represent that State. In the view of my delegation, the law of state succession in this regard is settled and unambiguous, and, considered in this light, it is unrealistic to attempt to evolve a "package deal" formula which provides for the implementation of a so-called "two Chinas" theory which is totally unacceptable to the two parties directly involved in the controversy. Saying this, however, does not mean that the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should prejudice the claim of Taiwan as a member of the international community.

74. The Ghana delegation has noted the progress made by the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament in Geneva on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. It is the hope of my delegation that whatever treaty is finally presented to this Assembly will include adequate safeguards for the security and protection of the non-nuclear States. Ghana also welcomes the successful conclusion this year by the Latin American States of a declaration on the denuclearization of Latin America.^{1/} This should serve as an example to the other regions of the world. In the final analysis, however, my delegation believes that it is only through general and complete disarmament that the security of mankind can be assured.

75. My delegation notes with satisfaction that the breakthrough achieved in the field of human rights by the adoption during the twentieth session [resolution 2106 (XX)] of an International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination was followed during the last session by the adoption of the covenants. My delegation has come prepared for active participation in the formulation of the remaining measures in the social and humanitarian fields.

76. The economic and social development of the developing countries continues to be one of the most pressing tasks of our time. In spite of the numerous resolutions adopted by this Assembly urging active and concerted international support of the developing countries in their economic and social development. The economic situation in the developing countries as a whole deteriorated further in 1966. The rate of

^{1/} Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, signed at Mexico City on 14 February 1967 (see A/6663).

growth in those countries receded again. The developing countries thus entered 1967 in a weak and vulnerable position.

77. One of the most portentous problems of the international community for the next generation is the problem of the deepening gap between the rich and the poor countries. Time and time again the voices of those who have analysed the causes of this problem have recommended positive actions which should be taken by the richer nations, not only in their own interest but also in the interest of a free and expanding world, to accelerate the economic development and reconstruction of the poorer half of the world. When the developing countries clamoured in the forums of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) for immediate solutions to their trade and development problems, they were told to be patient and wait for the Kennedy Round, which was expected to help resolve some of these difficulties. The Kennedy Round has come and gone and, according to the Secretary-General of UNCTAD, Dr. Prebisch, whose indefatigable effort on behalf of developing countries remains one of the shining and hopeful signs of UNCTAD, the results of the Kennedy Round cannot be claimed to have done much towards solving the trade and development problems of the developing countries. It has done more to solve those problems of the already developed and richer countries.

78. My Government expects more fruitful agreements at the second Session of UNCTAD Conference to be held in New Delhi in 1968. One of the areas in which action is immediately possible is the area of commodity agreements. The failure of the 1966 United Nations Cocoa Conference was a great disappointment to my country not only because Ghana is the biggest producer of cocoa, but also because only a little more co-operation and understanding were required to bridge the gap which divided the producers on the one hand from the consumers on the other. However, since the Conference, significant progress has been made on some of the issues on which no agreement could be reached at the Conference. This development leads my delegation to the conviction that an international agreement on cocoa can be concluded before the second session of UNCTAD. But an agreement of this kind requires a spirit of goodwill and accommodation on the part of both producers and consumers. This spirit has characterized the consultations which have recently taken place. It is the earnest hope of my delegation that both producers and consumers will continue to show this spirit in all future consultations and negotiations so as to achieve a cocoa agreement before the second UNCTAD.

79. We still have before us an item on the agenda entitled "Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects" [item 37]. Thus it is pertinent for me to reiterate the consistent position of the Government of Ghana that, while the Security Council has primary responsibility in the peace-keeping field, this responsibility is not exclusive. And if the General Assembly, to prevent a paralysis of the United Nations as a result of a failure on the part of the Security Council to fulfil its role, acts to maintain international peace and security, all Members of the United Nations have

a collective responsibility to bear the costs of operation and provide the wherewithal for the undertaking of the Assembly's recommendation.

80. My Government also believes that in all peace-keeping operations the principle of the consent of the host State must be held inviolate. If recent experience has shown that complete adherence to this principle could raise problems of its own, then it is necessary, prior to the stationing of a United Nations force in the host State, to obtain a formal legal commitment from the State with respect to the determination of the conditions under which the force could be withdrawn. Barring this, it would be unrealistic to expect the continued presence of a United Nations force in a country that had withdrawn its consent for such presence.

81. I stated earlier that the challenge of our time is to ensure progress achieved by peaceful means. In spite of the many problems that beset our Organization my delegation is convinced, judging by its record so far, that the United Nations has the vision and the will to meet this challenge.

82. Mr. DAVID (Czechoslovakia) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, on behalf of the Czechoslovak delegation permit me to congratulate you on your election as President of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. We are pleased to note that for the first time in the history of our Organization, this distinguished and responsible office is finally being held by a representative of a socialist country. We hope that under your guidance this session will meet the expectations and aspirations of the peoples of the whole world and will achieve significant progress in solving the problems of strengthening peace, security and the development of international co-operation in all its forms.

83. At the same time, I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to pay tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Pazhwak, the representative of Afghanistan, who successfully discharged the duties of the President during the difficult past term.

84. The General Assembly convenes in a situation marked by serious deterioration in international relations. In various parts of the world, we see the overt and unrestrained use of force, acts of aggression and armed intervention against nations that have chosen the path of independence and progress, and the systematic flouting of the generally recognized principles of international law and of the fundamental principles of the United Nations, by which relations among States and nations should be governed. Events in Viet-Nam, in the Middle East and elsewhere attest to the fact that these are not isolated phenomena but ever more conspicuous manifestations of a policy of force on a global scale and of imperialist desires to apply the law of the jungle to international relations in the struggle against fundamental progressive tendencies.

85. The growing aggressiveness of imperialism is giving rise to deep concern among the peoples. At the same time, however, it is increasing the peoples' determination to establish such relations among States as will guarantee security, freedom and peace.

ful development to all of them. The present situation likewise requires that the United Nations should consistently follow the goals and apply principles which it has set itself, and act resolutely against the policies of oppression and force. The manifestations of arbitrary imperialist activities must be brought to an end; and, with that goal in mind, the progressive and peaceful forces must unite for peace and social justice under the banner of the struggle against war.

86. The Great October Socialist Revolution, whose fiftieth anniversary we are marking this year, has become the symbol of the struggle to build a new and happy world. The historic achievement of the Great October Socialist Revolution, its ideas of social justice and of peace and friendship among nations and its policy of peaceful coexistence with respect for the equality and independence of nations are gaining ever more sympathy and support. The victorious fifty-year march of the ideas of that Great October prove the futility of reactionary efforts to reverse the progressive development of our world. The Czechoslovak people, in whose struggle for freedom the Great October Socialist Revolution played an enormous role, will celebrate that greatest event in the history of mankind in a manner worthy of it.

87. The gravest manifestation of the flagrant and brutal use of force in present-day international relations is the continuing war of the United States of America against the Viet-Nameese people. This flagrant aggression by one of the Powers which, as a permanent member of the Security Council, bears a particularly great international responsibility, constitutes a serious threat to peace and security not only in South-East Asia but through the world.

Mr. Molina Ureña (Dominican Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.

88. The Government of the United States has thwarted the implementation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements since their very inception and has prevented the people of South Viet-Nam from freely exercising its right to self-determination. In an attempt to impose its will by force upon that people, the United States unleashed an aggressive war, in which it does not hesitate to use barbarous methods of warfare. Above all, the massive bombardment by the United States of the territory of a sovereign State, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, which is directed in an ever increasing degree against the densely populated areas of that country, is a mockery of all generally recognized norms of international relations.

89. The responsibility of the United States Government for the countless victims and sufferings of the Viet-Nameese people, as well as for fanning the flames of war in a dangerous trouble spot which might lead to a world-wide military conflict, cannot be concealed by the declarations of the United States representatives on alleged intentions to end the war in South-East Asia. The true position of the United States is evidenced by its negative attitude toward the willingness displayed by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to start talks with the United States following the cessation of bombing over the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and of other aggressive acts by the United States against that

country. The United States responded to that proposal, which was received with great approval by world public opinion at large, by constantly intensifying the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and increasing the numbers of United States troops and supplies of war material in South Viet-Nam. This is new proof that the Government of the United States is not interested in a peaceful settlement of the conflict. Nor can anyone be deceived by the farce of the recent elections in South Viet-Nam. That is why just indignation with and opposition to United States aggression is growing throughout the world, including the general public in the United States for that aggression is having an extremely injurious effect on the development of the international situation in general and is jeopardizing the possibility of finding solutions for a number of outstanding international issues.

90. The escalation of United States aggression in Viet-Nam increasingly threatens the security, integrity and sovereignty of other countries in South-East Asia which have embarked on a course of independent development. The Czechoslovak Government strongly condemns the violation of the sovereignty and neutrality of Cambodia and supports the Cambodian Government in its firm decision to safeguard the security of its territory and the inviolability of its frontiers. There must also be an immediate end to the aggressive actions of the United States against Laos, and there must be consistent respect for the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos.

91. The Czechoslovak people and their Government are lending and will continue to lend effective support and assistance to the fraternal Viet-Nameese people in their heroic struggle against United States aggression. We are in complete sympathy with the just stands taken by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam, the only true representative of the South Viet-Nameese people, on the solution of the situation in Viet-Nam. Those stands are in accordance with the 1954 Geneva Agreements and provide a real basis for a peaceful settlement. It is for the United States to take the first step towards and finally and unconditionally halting the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam instead of setting conditions and making appeals on all sides, such as those we have heard here, including appeals to our Organization which is not authorized to consider the solution. The fact that perhaps only the Government of the United States today opposes this reasonable demand attests to its isolation.

92. Indeed, the time has come for the United States to realize that it will not be able to bring the valiant Viet-Nameese people to its knees and that it must withdraw from that country and respect the right of that country to decide its own future freely.

93. We are convinced that the just cause of the independence and sovereignty of the Viet-Nameese people will triumph.

94. A continuing serious threat to world peace is the present situation in the Middle East, caused by Israel aggression and the continued occupation and exploitation of the captured territories of neighbouring Arab countries. That situation has already gone so far that the Israel representatives, who had tried to

represent Israel as a peace-loving victim of its neighbours, now openly declare their intention to annex the occupied territories. The seizure of Jerusalem, as well as the statement by the Prime Minister of Israel, Eshkol, on 6 September 1967, concerning the natural frontiers of Israel at the Suez Canal, give clear proof of Israel expansionist policies which imply the danger of a new outbreak of the conflict. The anti-humanitarian character of the aggressor has shown itself also in the treatment of the refugees from the West Bank of the River Jordan, most of whom were prevented from returning to their homes by the militarist ruling circles of Israel. The attitude of those circles towards United Nations General Assembly resolutions on Jerusalem [2253 (ES-V) and 2254 (ES-V)] shows contempt for the United Nations, to which Israel owes its very existence.

95. These facts highlight all the significance of foreign support, without which Israel would not be able to commit aggression and exploit its results. The support given to the aggressor by the United States and certain other countries and here in the United Nations only proves that the Israeli aggression, as Jozef Lenárt, the Czechoslovak Prime Minister, stated from this rostrum: "was but one more link in the general policy of certain imperialist circles to increase tensions which led to the aggression by the United States of America against the Viet-Nameese people and forcible interference in the internal affairs of States, especially in those parts of the world where the people use their right to self-determination and throw off the yoke of the old and new colonial domination". (1527th meeting, page 42).

96. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic considers it natural that all nations should have the right to independent existence. Under no circumstances can we accept the expansionist policy of the Israel ruling circles. For that reason we firmly take the side of the victims of aggression, in support of the just struggle of the Arab countries. We consider it essential that the aggressor, who has been condemned by world public opinion, should withdraw his armed forces from the occupied territories and make retribution for the damage he has caused. That is the only way to move forward on the road to peace for all States in the Middle East.

97. The Czechoslovak delegation is prepared to consider all realistic proposals and to co-operate with other delegations in finding an effective way of eliminating the consequences of the Israel aggression. In our opinion, that is also the aim of the initiative taken by the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as set forth in the message of President Tito, which has received the full support of the Czechoslovak Government. The United Nations must exert every effort and use every opportunity to ensure the achievement of a just peace and security in the Middle East.

98. The course of international events stresses the significance of efforts made by the peace-loving States which want the situation in Europe to be normalized. The safeguarding of peace and security in Europe is not just the narrow concern of European nations; it is in the interests of all peace-loving forces in the world because it would eliminate the threat that war might flare up again in Europe and, as in the past, spread to other continents.

99. This is the viewpoint from which Czechoslovak policy regards European questions. As President Novotný of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic recently stated:

"What we are striving for in Europe is also a contribution to and support for all nations of the world in their struggle for freedom and national sovereignty, against efforts to suppress by force their inalienable right to decide their national and social affairs."^{2/}

100. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic consistently contributes to efforts to establish friendly relations among European nations, to eliminate the dangers of war, and to safeguard peace and the mutually advantageous co-operation of European countries. The common determination of the European Socialist States members of the Warsaw Treaty to attain these objectives was expressed in the Bucharest declaration of July 1966. That declaration contains a number of proposals for the gradual solution of problems which create a state of tension and unrest and threaten the peace in Europe. Another important step in this direction is the joint statement of the European Communist and Workers' Parties adopted at a Conference which took place at Karlovy Vary in Czechoslovakia in April 1967. The programme of action for safeguarding European security as contained in that declaration is meeting with positive response from the general public. The European nations are being shown ways to protect their vital interests. European policies must be based upon realistic considerations, combined with genuine efforts to achieve normal conditions. That goal can be reached only through unconditional respect for the situation established after the Second World War and in the post-war era.

101. In order to safeguard peace and security in Europe, all European States must make an effort to build up a dependable system of collective security which would replace the present division of Europe into military blocs and would create a firm basis for peaceful coexistence and co-operation among the countries of Europe. We welcome the fact that more contacts are being made and that consultations have been resumed on these questions between the Governments of European countries with different social systems, and we shall continue to support this trend. Together with other socialist States, we want a conference of all European countries to be convened in the near future to discuss security and co-operation in Europe.

102. However, this desirable trend in the development of European affairs is being seriously hampered by the policies of the United States in particular, which is maintaining hot beds of tension in Europe and trying to draw West European countries into its global great Power plans.

103. The attempts of militarist, revanchist and neo-Nazi circles in West Germany to bring about a change in the *status quo* in Europe are a dangerous source of conflict and area being supported by the Government

^{2/} Statement made at the Conference of European Communist and Worker's Parties on safeguarding European security, held in Karlovy Vary from 24 to 27 April 1967.

of the Federal Republic of Germany. These forces do not wish to reconcile themselves to the boundaries which were justly established after the Second World War will not renounce their aim of changing conditions in Europe by force, and try to gain access to nuclear weapons in order to put their plans into effect. Although the Federal Republic of Germany is threatened by no one, it maintains at present the largest army with modern equipment in Western Europe. All this understandably gives rise to concern and tension in relations between European states, hampers the process of normalization and forces the peace-loving European nations to maintain the utmost vigilance.

104. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, a neighbour of both German States, has a vital interest in seeing that aggression, which twice in this century has led to the unleashing of a world conflagration, will never break out again on German territory. That is why we appreciate and support the peace-loving policy of the German Democratic Republic which, in the spirit of the Potsdam Agreements, has abandoned the heritage of German imperialism and has become an important factor of peace in Europe. This was proved last week by the proposal of the Government of the German Democratic Republic concerning the normalization of relations between the two German States, made in the letter of Prime Minister W. Stoph to the West German Chancellor Kiesinger. We have recently confirmed our friendly ties with the German Democratic Republic by a treaty of friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation.

105. We are also interested in establishing good-neighbour relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. We do not refuse to develop ties with the Federal Republic of Germany, in view of the level of development it has now reached. However, in the interests of the peace and security of the European nations and of the West German people themselves, the Federal Government must put an end to out-dated policies and respect the actual situation and the justified demands of the peoples of European countries and of the realistic elements in the Federal Republic of Germany. That means that it should give up its illegal claims to the exclusive representation of the whole of Germany in international relations, that it recognize the existence of the other sovereign German State, the German Democratic Republic, as well as the inviolability of the present frontiers in Europe, that it admit the invalid nature of the so-called Munich Agreement since its very inception and that it renounce all plans for the acquisition of nuclear weapons. Mere assurances of peaceful intentions and good will are not enough. The time has come to prove the sincerity of such declarations in practice.

106. The Czechoslovak delegation considers it to be an important fact that in the Eighteen-Nation Committee in Geneva identical draft treaties on the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons^{3/} have finally been submitted by the Governments of the Soviet Union and the United States. We would point out that those drafts include a number of proposals submitted in the course of many years of negotiations and consultations

among many States. In our view, the drafts respect the fundamental interest of all countries in safeguarding the effectiveness of the treaty and removing all possibilities of disseminating nuclear weapons in any form.

107. The preparation of the treaty and its early adoption by the greatest possible number of States would constitute a major step towards the reduction of risks resulting from the existence of nuclear weapons. The treaty on non-dissemination would undoubtedly contribute also to the improvement of the international atmosphere and would give fresh impetus to negotiations on disarmament, particularly in view of the substantial diminution of the possibility of the outbreak of a nuclear war.

108. As early as 1961 the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons [resolution 1653 (XVI)], in which it declared nuclear war to be a crime against mankind. That is why the Czechoslovak delegation listened with great interest and understanding to the proposal of the USSR delegation for the conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons (A/6834). The purpose of the USSR proposal is to carry out what had already been agreed on by the States Members of the United Nations six years ago.

109. The General Assembly should give its support to that proposal and promote the conclusion of a convention under which States would pledge themselves not to use nuclear weapons, not to threaten the use thereof and not to incite other States to do so. We agree that such a document, as mentioned in the Soviet proposal, should include an obligation that the signatory States will do everything in their power to conclude, as soon as possible, an agreement on the cessation of the production of nuclear weapons and the liquidation of all nuclear stockpiles.

110. The adoption of a solemn pledge by all States not to use nuclear weapons would be a significant step on the road towards the elimination from the world of the spectre of a nuclear war. The cessation of the production of nuclear weapons and the destruction of all its stockpiles, which should follow the adoption of the obligation on the non-use of nuclear weapons, would constitute complete nuclear disarmament and would become an historic milestone on the road towards general and complete disarmament.

111. The Czechoslovak delegation has studied the text of the draft convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and wishes to express its full support for it. There can be no doubt that the adoption by the General Assembly of a resolution in support of the Soviet proposal would be one of the most useful achievements of the present session and that world public opinion would welcome the adoption of such a resolution with the utmost satisfaction.

112. One of the factors exerting a profound influence on the present era is the continuing disintegration of the world colonial system. However, events of the past year have shown that further efforts are needed if the generous ideas contained in the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples are to be fully put into

^{3/} See ENDC/193 and ENDC/192.

effect. There must be more resolute opposition to the colonial Powers that are suppressing by armed force the struggle of the peoples in the colonies for their freedom and independence. A serious obstacle to the liberation of those peoples lies also in the activities of the international monopolies in these colonies that exploit the natural and human resources there.

113. However, the fact that colonialism has been doomed by history to inevitable destruction must not weaken the anti-colonial struggle. The present session of the General Assembly should therefore examine the implementation of previously adopted resolutions and take measures to overcome the opposition offered and the obstacles erected by colonial and racist régimes on the way to completion of decolonization.

114. The alarming events in various parts of the world which I have mentioned offer a direct challenge to the principles of the Charter and of international law. The General Assembly must use all the means at its disposal to help to direct the development of the situation towards better results and to restore international legality, which has been violated by the arbitrary use of force in international relations, by intervention in the internal affairs of various States and nations, and by the suppression of national liberation movements of the peoples of colonial and dependent territories.

115. Therefore, if the United Nations is to accomplish its task, it must concentrate on finding means that will help to tie the hands of the violators of peace. Events in Viet-Nam and the Middle East have once again brought to the forefront of the attention of the General Assembly the urgent need to work out a definition of aggression. In spite of the untiring efforts made over a period of many years by the USSR and other socialist countries, it has so far proved impossible to fulfil that task. No wonder that it is precisely those who have present aggressions on their conscience who defend the view that this is not an appropriate time to consider that question.

116. The elaboration of a precise definition of aggression would, under present conditions, constitute one of the effective political and legal instruments for unmasking the aggressor, pillorying him and compelling him to comply with the valid principles of international law. That is why the Czechoslovak delegation welcomes the proposal submitted to the Assembly by Mr. Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, on 22 September 1967, that an item entitled "Need for accelerating the definition of aggression in the light of the present international situation" (A/6833) should be included in the agenda of our session. We consider it right to set up a special committee which would submit a draft definition of aggression to the next session of the General Assembly.

117. In its foreign policy the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic bases itself on the principles of peaceful coexistence among States with different social systems. However, that by no means signifies that we should reconcile ourselves to the intrigues and aggressive nature of imperialism. The principles of peaceful coexistence must be valid in relations among all States, without geographical restrictions and, as

a consequence, also in the relations of large countries with small ones.

118. Resolution 1815 (XVII), adopted exactly five years ago, contained a provision that fundamental legal principles of peaceful coexistence should be studied with a view to their progressive development and codification. Even though some results have been achieved in the preparatory work on the draft declaration of those principles, the Special Committee on the codification of the principles of peaceful coexistence is still far from accomplishing its tasks. This is true, chiefly, of those parts of the declaration which concern the principle of the non-use of force and the principle of self-determination of peoples. The recently concluded session of the Committee in Geneva was unable, as the result of the opposition of certain Western States, to achieve progress in the codification of those two principles, despite the fact that the General Assembly had, at a previous session, adopted a resolution confirming the two principles of the Charter and urgently calling upon the States for strict compliance therewith.

119. The Czechoslovak delegation considers that the present session of the General Assembly should devote primary attention to the preparation of the declaration and to ensuring that the prohibition of the threat or use of force and the right of peoples to self-determination should receive full legal expression.

120. Member States are increasingly directing their efforts in the United Nations to assist in solving the complex problems of economic development and international economic co-operation.

121. In the forefront of our attention is the serious economic and social situation of the developing countries. Unfortunately, the gap between the economic and living standards of those States and the standards of the economically advanced countries has been continually widening. The responsibility for this situation rests above all with the former metropolitan countries which distorted the development of the economies of their former colonial territories. Along with the other capitalist countries, they are today using their political, military and economic power for the purposes of neo-colonialism, to keep many developing countries in the position of semi-dependent adjuncts supplying raw materials, and to perpetuate conditions of exploitation.

122. Socialist Czechoslovakia supports the just demands of the developing countries aimed at eliminating all manifestations of old and new colonialism. Our economic co-operation with these States is based on respect for the actual needs of those countries, helps to overcome the defects in their economies, and is founded on the principles of equality and mutual benefit. We also participate to the best of our ability in the main programmes of assistance to the developing countries.

123. Since the United Nations was founded, significant changes have taken place in the world and in the Organization itself. The membership of socialist and developing countries has widened and their weight in the solution of all problems has increased. However, the United Nations still does not consistently fulfil its duties under the Charter, and this fact greatly detracts from its authority.

124. The strengthening of the effectiveness of our Organization urgently requires that the United Nations should finally rid itself of all vestiges of the "cold war" period and that the time when this Organization was unilaterally governed by a single group of States should be relegated to the past once and for all.

125. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic holds the view, already set out in the Czechoslovak document of 26 November 1964 on strengthening the effectiveness of the United Nations, that "compromises between those who abide by strict observance of the Charter and those who adjust the Charter to their unilateral needs would be harmful primarily to the Organization itself".^{4/} This applies particularly to the precise definition of the role of United Nations organs in safeguarding international peace and security. Instead of inventing unrealistic machinery beyond the scope of the Charter, we must concentrate on the utilization of all the possibilities provided for by the Charter. Only an approach of that kind will save the United Nations from difficulties, will lead to the creation of a sound basis for United Nations measures to safeguard international peace and security, and will exclude the possibility of their being misused against national liberation movements and the democratic and progressive forces in the world.

126. One of the constant sources of threats to peace and international security is to be found in the unsolved problems connected with the so-called Korean question. Czechoslovakia is among the States which proposed the inclusion in the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly of the item on the withdrawal of United States and other foreign military forces which occupy South Korea under the flag of the United Nations. (A/6696 and Add.1-3). The United States occupation of South Korea is the main obstacle to the unification of the country, which is the internal affair of the Korean people. The United Nations must see to it that the rights of the Korean people are fully exercised. This also implies the liquidation of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, which has never had and does not have any justification whatsoever. That is why the Czechoslovak delegation hopes that the overwhelming majority of Member States will recognize the illegality and danger of the present situation and will express themselves in favour of the withdrawal of United States and other foreign military forces from South Korea and the dissolution of the so-called Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.

127. In view of the desirability of achieving the universality of this Organization, consideration should also be given to the request for admission to membership in the United Nations submitted by the German Democratic Republic.^{5/} That State complies with all the conditions of membership stipulated by the Charter and we are therefore in favour of its admission at the earliest possible time. We have no objection to the admission at the same time of the other German State, the Federal Republic of Germany. The question

of the representation of the Chinese people in the United Nations by its legitimate Government should also be considered and the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which does not represent anyone, should be removed.

128. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic considers the United Nations Organization and its Charter to be important instruments for the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of international security and a significant means for the promotion of universal co-operation among States and nations.

129. The Czechoslovak people is vitally interested in the elimination of the danger of war and in the consolidation of peace, which is an indispensable prerequisite for the successful completion of the building of an advanced socialist society. Acting upon the instructions of its Government, the Czechoslovak delegation will therefore do its utmost at this session to make the greatest possible contribution to the fulfilment of the Organization's main tasks and to the safeguarding of lasting world peace.

130. Mr. MULLER (South Africa): On behalf of the South African delegation I wish to add my congratulations to those already extended to the President on his election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. I am sure that under his wise guidance the business of the Assembly will be conducted expeditiously and efficiently.

131. The United Nations was created in the hope that world peace would replace armed aggression, that peaceful and fruitful co-operation would take the place of discord and friction and that the international rule of law would be restored to its honourable position. It was believed that the United Nations would maintain justice and uphold respect for international obligations, that well-being and higher living standards would be promoted within the framework of freedom, self-determination and the sovereign integrity of States and that friendly relations between States, based on equal rights of all nations, would be developed. Members undertook to carry out their obligations under the Charter in good faith and, in their international relations, they agreed to refrain from the threat or use of force.

132. Now, twenty-two years later, this Assembly is convening in an atmosphere of frustration and impotence. The representatives are overwhelmingly conscious of the intractability of the problems with which the world is confronted.

133. We are all familiar with the problems which have recently been posing a very real threat to world peace, as well as those which may erupt at any time. As Ambassador Pazhwak, our distinguished past President, stated in his farewell address to the General Assembly [1501st meeting], the United Nations has suffered no lack of warning signals. Apart from the problems of the Middle East and Viet-Nam, there has been civil strife, with considerable loss of life and property, and a sustained campaign of subversive aggression in various parts of the world. We are no less aware of the fundamental problems which must be solved if mankind is to have that future which we should all like to see: a future free, or relatively free, from poverty, disease, famine and despair.

^{4/} Official records of the General Assembly, nineteenth session, Annex no. 21, document A/5821.

^{5/} Official records of the Security Council, 21st year, supplement for January, February, March, 1966, document S/7192.

134. Far be it for me to suggest that those problems are easily solved. It is nevertheless difficult to avoid the conclusion that the serious issues which confront this Organization are largely of its own making, firstly because it has tended to deviate from the provisions of the Charter and secondly because it has permitted itself to be turned into an arena where different nations contend for personal political advantage, regardless of the high ideals of the Organization and of the interests of the world at large. As a result, much of the Organization's energy has been expended in pursuing selfish interests, while friction between nations has increased rather than diminished.

135. As the Secretary-General has on several occasions pointed out, the resources of the United Nations are sorely taxed today. We cannot afford the luxury of dissipating our energies in the pursuit of controversial ideological or political objectives when the problems of the world are so pressing as to threaten untold misery in the remaining decades of this century.

136. What, then, are we to do about the present situation? I suggest that we turn for inspiration to the Charter. I would in particular commend for consideration a simple injunction in the Preamble, an injunction which has its roots deep in all civilizations and its counterpart in all the great religions of the world, but one which has proved appallingly difficult to implement on a world-wide scale. I quote: "... to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbour". The first concern of the United Nations in the opening words of the Charter is: "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". But if we are to create a climate where this is possible, it is imperative that we should practise tolerance in our international relations on a basis of mutual respect, regardless of ideological differences.

137. One of the main reasons for the history of incessant disputes between nations and the impotence of this Organization is the fact that Member nations have tended to concentrate excessively upon furthering their own interests, with resulting friction between them, instead of coming to grips with the real problems of the world. High enough priority has not been accorded to alleviating the suffering and want of the world's peoples. Those are the real problems. Their solution is vital but instead of diminishing they assume greater dimensions each day.

138. The urgency of meaningful action has recently been emphasized by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the organization when he said: "We are not winning the war on want" [A/6701/Add.1, para. 91], to which he added a serious warning:

"We are near the point of no return. Unless all countries are prepared to do more, much more than they have been doing, the world will not solve the food problem. The lives of hundreds of millions of rural youth will be wasted. The swelling migrations to the cities will make living in urban centres in developing countries almost intolerable. Violence will become the rule rather than the exception." [ibid., para. 83]

139. It is clear therefore that we should concentrate our efforts and resources on the elimination of basic evils such as poverty, ill-health and illiteracy, instead of squandering them on unproductive and disruptive ideological activities. Our starting point should be the recognition that modern technological progress has not been able to remove the disparities in the economic levels of peoples it has tended rather to accentuate them.

140. Economic development is essentially human development, and human development requires respect for and understanding of the social and cultural systems peculiar to a given nation. Development planning which does not take into account the needs and aspirations of a nation, but which is based on a dogmatic approach to be indiscriminately applied, might be administratively convenient but will not promote well-being and progress for all. If the developing nations are entitled to assistance, surely they are entitled to receive that assistance in a way which will not jeopardize their traditions, characteristics and national consciousness. The human family is a diverse family. To impose preconceived formulas on a nation or group of nations amounts to ideological imperialism. Human development can only be viable if it respects the history of a nation and if it is applied to meet the needs and aspirations of a given society. As our President so aptly put it in his opening statement:

"Every nation has its own special background deserving of respect, interest and a receptive attitude. Obviously, every nation has its peculiar historical development which ultimately determines its particular physiognomy and personality within the great family of nations. Far from being a source of tension and conflict among States, this diversity, viewed in the light of the aims and methods of the Charter, constitutes a valid basis for their joining together, a factor calculated to stimulate increasing participation by each of them in consolidating international peace and security" [1560th meeting, para. 60].

141. We have all subscribed to the high ideals of the Charter. In doing so we have agreed to be led by certain principles. But we have not committed ourselves to preconceived immutable methods in achieving our aims. If the aim of self-determination of all peoples, or peaceful coexistence, or the promotion of well-being of less developed peoples is to be achieved, should we not first agree to show respect for the different methods employed by different States in striving to achieve those aims? Should we not be slow in passing judgement involving the good faith of fellow States simply because we differ politically? And in our deliberations in this Assembly, would it not be wise at least to make the experiment of practising respect and tolerance in our relations with one another?

142. In the conduct of our debates, in the selection of items for consideration by the Assembly, in the elaboration of our budgetary and administrative programmes, the bold acceptance of realities will make it easier to concentrate more on the basic needs of mankind: the raising of living standards, the provision of essential housing, the combating of food

shortages, the development of health standards, the improvement of communications, the extension of energy and power sources, the eradication of illiteracy and the advancement of education, the training of a cadre of administrators to provide a competent administrative infra-structure and, above all, a greater recognition of each other's needs. Those are the basic problems and, if we should devote our major attention to their solution, it will become easier for us to co-operate, without any ulterior motives, as neighbours or as groups of States; for, however much we may differ in our social, religious, economic, political or cultural outlooks and systems, we cannot escape being neighbours.

143. My own Government takes the stand that international friendship and co-operation should at all times be based on mutual respect, the recognition of the sovereign independence of all States, and non-interference in the affairs of others. Differences in political beliefs and approaches with regard to internal affairs ought not to be an obstacle to fruitful co-operation between Governments in matters of common interest.

144. It is obvious that no country or nation should endeavour to dominate another politically, economically or otherwise. Only in this way can every nation be assured of the free exercise of its right of self-determination. Various methods have from time to time been evolved for achieving progress in the fields of government, economy, education, social welfare, health and the like, and each State is entitled to respect for the sincerity of its approach. Our own efforts in those fields are meeting with success and are already producing results which are there to be seen by all.

145. In southern Africa, my Government has committed itself in word and deed to maintaining the closest economic and technological co-operation among all the countries of the region, for their mutual benefit and joint development, while each nation continues to retain its political autonomy and therefore the right freely to choose its own political, social, cultural and economic systems. This is the regional situation, but my Government has also continued to extend the hand of friendship to all other countries in Africa, and indeed elsewhere, wishing sincerely to co-operate on a basis of mutual understanding and respect.

146. In the southern African international community we have a widely heterogeneous mixture of peoples, States and territories, with widely differing political philosophies and orientations. Despite these differences, and perhaps because of them, we in the region as a whole are now reaping the fruits of practising tolerance and mutual respect in our relationships with one another. We have developed a sense of good neighbourliness, with recognition of the responsibilities and duties of being a good neighbour, which augurs well for the future stability and progress of our area. In other words, in our part of the world there already exists evidence of the peaceful

coexistence of a number of diverse nations which by chance find themselves in the same geographical area. The nations concerned can thus by their example make a valuable contribution to greater harmony and fruitful co-operation between States in general.

147. The spirit of co-operation, good neighbourliness and tolerance which is being displayed by the countries of southern Africa, particularly at a time when there is so much naked hostility in the world, should surely therefore be welcomed and nurtured by Member States of the United Nations. It should not be undermined by false accusations and imputations.

148. It is regrettable, therefore, that there are elements in this world which are not content with this happy state of affairs and which are attempting to disturb this harmony. Their failure has more recently driven them to one of the most pernicious forms of aggression—namely, terrorism—in a desperate attempt to create disorder. Terrorism is another form of piracy. Terrorists obey no law, not even the laws of those who shelter them. Their activities are directed indiscriminately at members of all population groups and the victims are usually those who can least protect themselves, including women and children. However, in this respect too, the nations and Governments of southern Africa have demonstrated their resolve to stamp out this evil.

149. I have taken as my basic theme the necessity of observing tolerance and good-neighbourliness in the conduct of international relations, and of concentrating on making our world a better world instead of continually quarreling. This thesis is as valid and as incontestable in the collective activities of this Organization as it is in the pursuance of relations among individual States. My Government, consequently, views with deep concern a serious deviation from the principles of the Charter in several recent United Nations resolutions. These resolutions introduce a new practice which permits and indeed encourages the dissemination of hostile and biased propaganda, even by the Organization itself, against the individual Member States. This deplorable and illegal development is bound to undermine the whole structure on which the United Nations is based. It will lead the Organization away from its fundamental purposes and ideals, for it can only accentuate differences and increase friction among Members. The United Nations should be a forum for serious discussion and debate and should not, by the introduction of practices of this sort, sow the seeds of suspicion, resentment and discord.

150. However, I do not wish to end on a note of despondency. I would rather conclude with an urgent appeal that we should all make a special effort to leave our differences aside and to concentrate on the practical implementation of the ideal of good-neighbourliness extolled in the Charter. I am convinced that the results of such an effort will be both encouraging and rewarding.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.