

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
 ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION

Official Records



**1579th  
 PLENARY MEETING**

Wednesday, 4 October 1967,  
 at 3 p.m.

**NEW YORK**

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President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Na Champassak (Laos), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. KAMANGA (Zambia): Let me first of all extend to the President the hearty and sincere congratulations of my delegation on his election to preside over the twenty-second regular session of the General Assembly. We are pleased to see him in that high post. We are confident that he will succeed in discharging the responsibilities of his office, for which he is eminently qualified. That the General Assembly should for the first time be presided over by a representative of a socialist country is not only a sign of changing times, but is above all a mark of the maturity of the United Nations. We wish him well.

2. I also wish to pay tribute to Ambassador Pazhwak of Afghanistan, his predecessor, who successfully piloted the world body through one of the most trying phases in its history. His patience and resoluteness did much to ensure the inevitably limited success which attended the twenty-first regular session and the special sessions on South West Africa and the Middle East.

3. As this twenty-second regular session opens, the settlement of major questions of peace and war continues to be a pressing necessity if destruction of human life and prosperity is to be averted. Greater and honest efforts will have to be made if words such as "understanding", "co-operation" and indeed "peace" are to be made more meaningful. The bloody war in Viet-Nam, the endless conflicts in the Middle East, the civil war in Nigeria and the continued persecution of a majority of human beings by a small privileged minority in southern Africa, let alone endless dis-

putes between nations—all these constitute in varying degrees very dangerous threats to the peace of the world.

4. Most of these problems continue to plague this Organization today. That more lives have been lost and more guns have boomed in the senseless destruction of human life with all the misery that it entails is a regrettable manifestation of the lack of progress in our search—in the search of this Organization—for a formula for the avoidance of physical conflicts. We have failed once again to secure peace and security for ourselves—for mankind. The progress man is making in science and technology is threatened by a complete lack of understanding of himself; by a lamentable failure to grasp the wider implications of the growth of the international community; by a tragic failure to get to the root causes of the problems which have confronted this Organization since its birth; by the dishonest and selfish approach, and the tendency to place expediency before principles which guide the international society in its ceaseless march into an unknown but unfolding future.

5. If I may say so, there is too much talk in the United Nations, but very little action, if any, on issues that really threaten world peace and security. Too many nations have been content with general statements of policy, with voting for resolutions, but they have later either refused to implement either their declarations or the resolutions calculated to remove not only the conflicts, but also the root causes of these conflicts, which have been the causes of stagnation and deterioration in the progress we are making in economic, social and technological development.

6. The real source of trouble in this world is that man, while capable of talking eloquently on various problems, is still not honest with himself; he is too parochial, selfish and egotistic. Values and principles are too readily overpowered by instincts of self-interest, self-preservation in the narrow sense, and expediency. The moment principles are overpowered by expediency then the guiding light is lost; where there is no light there is darkness; where there is darkness, the objectives are readily lost. A society that loses its objectives has no future but destruction. Too many nations pretend to adhere to the principles of the Charter and indeed, in this very General Assembly, we have been called upon by a representative of the South African Government [1565th meeting] to turn to the Charter of the United Nations "for inspiration". I repeat, "for inspiration". This is a call by one of the worst offenders among the Member nations, by a representative who in all honesty and justice should not be here. This is what constitutes the greatest source of the Organization's weakness—dishonesty and selfishness.

7. The success or failure of this Organization is a function of our honest, selfless and realistic approach to life; it depends in a large measure on what Member States do or omit to do either on the grounds of principle or of expediency mistaken for principle. The ideals and principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations can only be preserved if we, the Member States, individually pursue our policies and our national interests with the objective of ensuring the success of the Organization. The United Nations is what you and I make it. What do you want it to be?

8. Let me now turn to the specific areas of our failures and successes. In the first instance, the current conflict in the Middle East is an obvious and dangerous threat to peace and security. The efforts which the peacemakers are making are welcomed with the greatest appreciation. Peace will not come to the Middle East, stability and economic progress will never be assured, unless Israel withdraws from the Arab territories occupied by it since the end of the June war. There can be no understanding and co-operation among States in that area, there can be no reduction of tension, no peace for the world and for this Organization in particular, if Israel is allowed to retain and annex territories by conquest. Such a step would not be a solution but a further complication of the situation and an additional cause of future threats to peace and stability in the Middle East.

9. The Viet-Nam war goes on unabated and continues to escalate to dangerous proportions. The United States has reaffirmed its intention to fight the war to victory, and a threat of a nuclear strike on China has been voiced. The People's Republic of China has discounted the threat as nuclear blackmail, and the Soviet Union has promised more military aid to North Viet-Nam. There can be no greater demonstration that this is a conflict of great Powers. But who are the sufferers? They are the innocent civilians who desire nothing but peace and quiet for progress in their limited way. While we debate here on ways and means of ending the war, while the show of strength continues, while some Member nations experiment with new methods of warfare, death and destruction dog every Viet-Nameese family and individual every day, every hour, every minute and every second. But provided we are safe, provided we can make merry and celebrate the victories scored by a particular side in this senseless war, we are contented.

10. The four million people of Zambia look at the murder in Viet-Nam with horror and disgust. We believe the Viet-Nam war is not a mere military conflict; it will not be resolved by military victory. In our view, it continues to be a political problem, and it requires a political solution. Victory, peace and stability for Viet-Nam lie in winning the hearts and minds of the Viet-Nameese people who, in the final analysis, like you and me, must determine the destiny of their country, the future of their own children who are suffering the ravages of the current war of depopulation.

11. There can be no peace unless there is the desire and the will to work for peace. Peace can come to Viet-Nam today or tomorrow, provided those concerned genuinely feel the urge for and marshal their will-power and energies to make peace. The 1954

Geneva Agreements, in our view, still form the best basis for a lasting and satisfactory solution.

12. My Government will continue to give every possible support to the United Nations. In this troubled world, the strength and effectiveness of this world body, its successes and failures, will depend largely on the attitudes and actions of the Member States; for, as I have said before, the United Nations today is what all of us, great and small, old and young, powerful and weak, rich and poor, make it.

13. At this point, let me reiterate the firm view of my Government on the necessity for the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. China is a nation of more than 700 million people. These people will continue to influence the course of world events, not only in Asia, but elsewhere on this globe. Antagonism is not the answer. Accommodation and co-operation will provide a satisfactory solution. There will be no stable peace unless conditions for the removal of hostilities are created. Unless China takes its lawful place in this assembly of nations, in which, unfortunately, some minority Governments are entertained, the success of our peace-keeping operations will continue to be severely limited.

14. There are a number of other failures in the operation of the machinery of the United Nations which are a source of concern to us. There are too many problems which are left either half-solved or not solved at all. Resolutions have been passed but have not been implemented. This is a source of weakness in the Organization. If it continues, we cannot hope to accomplish anything significant enough to influence the future positively so that posterity may enjoy more peaceful and stable conditions. The failures of the United Nations manifest themselves in part not only in Viet-Nam and the Middle East, but also in South West Africa, Rhodesia, South Africa, the Portuguese colonial territories and other fields of peace-keeping operations. One debate after another has been conducted; resolutions have been adopted; men of good will have offered their services individually or in groups, and others have sacrificed their own lives in the search for right and lasting solutions.

15. The failure of the United Nations in the political field, in peace-keeping operations, stems from us, the Member nations. We have not given enough support to the Organization; we have not honoured our obligations. We are too ready to dissociate ourselves from those resolutions and operations which affect individual interests, even when those interests are purely selfish or contrary to the ideals and principles of the Charter, indeed even when the result is disastrous.

16. How many resolutions have been adopted but not implemented? There are numerous resolutions on decolonization, on apartheid and on South West Africa, to mention but a few subjects. Some Members, great Powers among them, have ruthlessly frustrated the implementation of important resolutions for their selfish ends. The United Nations will never be effective unless we implement policy decisions made in the General Assembly and various other United Nations agencies. The great Powers must lead in order to strengthen the Organization, in order to

revitalize its machinery for peace, stability and progress.

17. However, my delegation wishes to record its appreciation of the great successes scored in the fields of economic and technical co-operation. The United Nations programmes concerned with trade and development, the activities of such agencies as the Economic Commission for Africa, the United Nations Children's Fund and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, to mention just a few, give meaning to the practical steps taken to bridge the gap between the developed and the developing nations, to increase international co-operation and to promote the economic and social transformation of the international community, and also to the efforts calculated to combat the deadliest of man's enemies—hunger, poverty, ignorance and disease. They give meaning to our untiring efforts to remove the root-causes of conflicts in the world.

18. My Government reaffirms its fullest support for United Nations programmes designed to extend the scope of economic and technical co-operation among Member nations.

19. Let me now turn very briefly to the importance of co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Thirty-eight members of OAU are also Members—active Members—of the United Nations. The success of OAU will have a positive impact on the United Nations; its failure could have tragic consequences for world peace. There must therefore be close co-operation between these two organizations. In this connexion, my Government welcomed the presence of the United Nations Secretary-General at the recent Fourth Summit Conference of OAU held at Kinshasa, the most successful yet. The world cannot ignore the continent of Africa any longer, just as Africa, in its struggle for unity and economic progress, must be aware of and take into account the developments outside the continent, so that unity and economic progress may be fostered in peace between and among nations. African support for the United Nations is as invaluable as the world body's support for the unity of Africa.

20. Talking of United Nations support for African unity brings me to the problems of Africa. Disputes and differences among member States of OAU are nothing strange; NATO has them, the Organization of American States has them, the socialist nations have them. In any organization, regional or international, there are as many problems as there are members—often more. African leaders are tackling these problems with sincerity and frankness, and with all the candour they can command. There may be dissidents on certain matters, but we are united in our desire for unity amidst economic, social and political problems of considerable magnitude. We shall win.

21. But between us and this victory for unity lies the problem of racism, colonialism and fascist minority rule in southern Africa. There, south of the Zambezi, lies a belt in which racial discrimination, exploitation and oppression of the majority by the minority find sanctuary. In Rhodesia, South Africa, South West Africa, Angola and Mozambique the white minorities have defied world opinion with impunity.

They have violated and continue to violate even the most elementary principles of democracy, freedom and other rights embodied in the United Nations Charter. Today, all the speeches made, all pleas for action in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council read like fiction. It is regrettable that sensible men and women, professional politicians and diplomats, leaders of society and experts in all fields of life must spend their time for several years discussing a situation whose development they consider dangerous and even disastrous, but then take no action to create the necessary conditions for peace and stability through and with justice.

22. The real obstacles to peace in southern Africa, to the extension of democratic government, and to the exercise of the birthright of some thirty million human beings in this area are to be found in the Member nations of this Organization.

23. Look at Rhodesia, for example, a British colony with which the Republic of Zambia shares a long border. Here, as you know, a small clique among 200,000 white people declared this British colony independent for the sole purpose of maintaining white authority and dominance over more than four million black human beings. It is common knowledge that Rhodesia under the minority rebel régime is a police State; that oppression of the four million is the declared policy of Smith and his colleagues; that democracy is only for the white people, who are determined to follow a policy of segregation, political oppression, economic discrimination and exploitation of the non-white majority by force of arms, police dogs and other coercive means. It is common knowledge that an unholy alliance exists between Lisbon, Pretoria and Salisbury for the purposes of military and other support to maintain white minority rule in southern Africa. The tremendous suffering and humiliation of the African people beggar description; they have been described from time to time here and elsewhere in international forums. That the rebels in Rhodesia continue to enjoy their so-called independence contrary to the ideals and principles of the Charter is a challenge to the United Nations; that the four million people remain voiceless, are arrested, detained, imprisoned, tortured and murdered by men who call themselves civilized and Christian is the full responsibility of the British Labour Government, whose colony Rhodesia still is—at least this is what the British Government claims.

24. The Smith régime has not hidden anything from the British Government about what it intends to do nor its determination to subjugate the majority for all time, if possible. Despite the full knowledge that the British Government possesses about the fate of Africans, it has done nothing; indeed, it has refused to take effective measures for the discharge of its obligations under the Charter.

25. The British Government has not just failed to bring down the Smith régime, it has refused to do so, thereby causing considerable misery and suffering to millions in the whole of southern Africa. Everything that the British Government has been doing since November 1965 has been mere shadow-boxing and window-dressing, calculated to buy time for Smith

and Vorster. The groundwork has now been completed, and Mr. Wilson has now announced that British policy has not succeeded in bringing down the Smith régime; in the meantime, his Foreign Secretary immediately took the opportunity in his address to the General Assembly to deplore the courageous decision of the four million people of Zimbabwe to resort to arms in the fight for their freedom and for their birthright, which it is the duty of the British Government to restore. Instead of condemning South Africa's military assistance to the rebel Smith, the British Government has joined the minority régimes in labelling the Africans fighting for freedom as "terrorists", and yet those poor people have made the highest form of sacrifice in blood and with their own lives to secure a just solution, to secure for the voiceless majority conditions for a more decent and dignified life in freedom and independence.

26. It has taken the British Government almost two years to realize the folly of its policy. It was advised to crush the rebellion by force immediately after the unilateral declaration of independence; it refused and still continues to refuse to take this action. The Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom repeated this to you last week [1567th meeting]. It tried voluntary sanctions combined with persuasion; it failed. It reluctantly accepted selective mandatory sanctions with the support of the United Nations; those have failed lamentably.

27. Mr. Wilson's recent admission that his policy on Rhodesia has failed amounts to surrender in Rhodesia. If the British do not bring down the Smith régime, what is the alternative? What next? We understand it is negotiations; we further understand that the basis of such negotiations is the Tiger constitution. If Smith rejected the provisions of the Tiger settlement <sup>1/</sup>—which is one of the most iniquitous documents in British colonial history—in December 1966, then the basis for new negotiations acceptable to Smith and the agreement to be reached now or in future will amount to a legalization of the rebel régime in the name of a "negotiated settlement". That is the "honourable settlement" which has now been Britain's refrain for a long time. It certainly is neither honourable nor a settlement. It is a surrender by Britain of the four million people to the domination of a minority and to power-hungry authoritarians.

28. Let me emphasize that my Government believes that there can be no peace in Rhodesia and no honour for Britain in a settlement which goes even beyond the terms of the Tiger settlement. That settlement itself symbolizes a breach of faith on the part of the British Government, a betrayal of the interests of the majority in favour of a lunatic fringe of racialsists for whom human rights have no meaning and no place in their midst except as they affect the safety of the white people alone.

29. The British Foreign Secretary, in his address, referred to his country's proud record of decolonization in which 750 million people gained independence. I say that colonialism and slavery are among the worst

<sup>1/</sup> Embodied in proposals made following a meeting of the United Kingdom Prime Minister and Mr. Ian Smith on board HMS Tiger from 2 to 4 December 1966. The proposals were accepted by the United Kingdom Government, but were rejected by the Rhodesian régime on 5 December 1966.

blots on human history; they will leave one of the deepest scars in the international community. That we had even to struggle to be free and independent from Britain—whose citizens enjoyed freedom in their own country whilst oppressing others abroad—is shameful enough. That Britain, an adherent to the principles of the Charter, makes extravagant promises to act in Rhodesia, but never acts, is the tragedy of our age.

30. In his attack on the Committee of Twenty-Four—to which, along with the United Nations International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism,<sup>2/</sup> it was our pleasure to play host recently—Mr. Brown advised the General Assembly on the formula for granting independence. In handling what he referred to as "these grave matters", Mr. Brown said that "we must all ask two questions". The first question was: "What is best for the people?" The second question was: "What do the people want?"

31. I ask the British Government, in all fairness and honesty, to answer these questions exactly as counselled by Mr. Brown recently, in respect not of Gibraltar or the Caribbean alone, but of Rhodesia too. If the formula is good for Gibraltar, it is good for Rhodesia. The majority in Rhodesia, as in Gibraltar, wants to choose its own leaders and shape its own future. I suppose the only problem is that in Rhodesia the British Government has to define which people.

32. What is best for the people of Rhodesia is not the Tiger constitution or the modification of it in favour of Smith; it is not the promise of independence "in the long run", whatever that means in terms of years; it is not meaningless guarantees of majority rule. What is best for the people of Rhodesia is what is best for the British people: a democratic government; a government of their own free and unfettered choice; a government that will protect their interests and promote and improve their welfare without discrimination and other institutional impediments.

33. As for what the people want, it is simple. They do not want minority rule; they hate inhuman and humiliating treatment, police dogs, tear gas and other weapons of coercion and oppression. They want the rebellion ended and the traitor Smith and his colleagues sent to the gallows, not the seventy-odd innocent people now awaiting execution for trying to do the job for Britain.

34. Like you and me, they want freedom and the restoration of their human rights as defined in the United Nations Charter; like you and me, they want peace through justice in the pursuit of their individual and national objectives; like you and me, they want full participation in the progress of the land of their birth and in the shaping of its future destiny; like you and me, they are determined to prepare a better and more progressive future for their children. Economic progress is their goal, as it is that of anybody else in this world. Like you and me, they want a voice in Rhodesia, in the Organization of African Unity and in the United Nations.

35. The four million people of Rhodesia deserve to be heard and have made this clear by action. For two years they have waited for Britain to restore their

<sup>2/</sup> Held at Kitwe, Zambia, from 25 July to 4 August 1967.

rights; for two years Britain has shown no determination to do this. They will not sit idly by any more; they will not wait for Britain to free them. No pleas for patience from Britain and its supporters, no political sedatives, will slacken their determination to fight for freedom and independence. They will win.

36. Now the chips are down for Britain in Rhodesia. It must choose between the African majority, democracy and the United Nations Charter on the one hand, and the minority authoritarian oppressors on the other. Let it be known that with the South African military intervention, and Portugal's continued assistance, in support of the rebels, the British Government cannot come out of Rhodesia with peace and honour. Britain, and indeed the United Nations, cannot and will not solve the Rhodesian problem by mere declarations, with which we are so familiar, but by action. We are past the stage of declarations and pledges. We are at the stage of action. Rhodesian rebels have acted; South Africa and Portugal have acted; and the freedom fighters have acted. Only Britain, the supposed defender of freedom, has refused to act. It is now doing all it can to dissuade and to prevent everybody else from taking action, except South Africa and Portugal. The British Government has condemned the freedom fighters and their supporters in Zimbabwe, who have now no other alternative but to take it upon themselves to rid their motherland of foreign domination and extend the light of freedom and justice into the racial darkness south of the Zambezi.

37. The experience which my Government has had with the British Labour Government since the illegal seizure of independence by the Smith clique, and a few months before that, through all our discussions and correspondence, through pledges made and broken, leads us to conclude that the British policy on Rhodesia is "phony" misleading and dishonest. It is disastrous. My Government has declared elsewhere, and I wish to repeat in this Assembly, that if the unilateral declaration of independence was not a design of the British Government, then it is now its intention to legitimize the illegal act through the "gimmick" of a "negotiated settlement". I want to repeat what I have said earlier, that such a solution, if a solution it be, would be neither honourable nor a settlement. It would be an invitation to terror, misery and death, the consequences and extent of which would be hard to envisage, but certainly regrettable for this world body.

38. Mr. Brown recently told you that:

"The ordinary Briton feels puzzled, indeed resentful, when he hears that we of all people are being attacked about our attitude towards the great issues of freedom and independence" [1567th meeting, para. 74].

The British people must be resentful because their Government has put Britain in a position inviting ridicule and attack. Their Government's policy towards Rhodesia and southern Africa is incompatible with the principles of freedom and independence and democratic government as they have been brought up to understand them.

39. The British people must be puzzled because they have been misled by the British Government about its

Rhodesian policy for the last two years. My Government, with a number of sincere Britons, is agreed that the Labour Government's policy has been marked by duplicity and contradiction. It is no wonder that they are puzzled.

40. The United Nations must now act to save the situation before the crisis turns into a wider conflict. The people whom Britain has let down are prepared to take up arms, to rise against the rebels and to do the job for the British Government. The immediate obstacle is the Vorster minority régime. The continued presence of South African security forces in the British rebel colony is paradoxical. The British Government's diplomatic protest has left South Africa completely undaunted.

41. That Britain should merely protest to South Africa against military intervention in its colony, while at the same time condemning the freedom fighters, is the story of the year; that the Vorster régime has told Britain in no uncertain terms that South Africa will act anywhere where it is allowed to do so and that it will not have Britain dictate to it over its security forces in Rhodesia, which will remain there for as long as necessary, and that Britain has done nothing to have them physically removed, all amounts to abdication by Britain from the discharge of its responsibility for four million people in Rhodesia. The South African security forces are still in Rhodesia today. If this is not connivance with minority régimes, what is?

42. Two obstacles stand between peace and freedom through justice and the people of Zimbabwe. They are the British Government and the Vorster régime. I have dealt with the British policy of prevarication and duplicity at length. I hope I have also demonstrated the need for urgent action by the United Nations, since Britain has tried to dump the issue on the scrapheap of other resolutions on Southern Africa.

43. South Africa, on the other hand, has a minority régime representing the selfish interests of three million white people to the exclusion of twelve million other human beings. The régime's representation in this Assembly is a pure accident of history. It is a mockery of the Charter of the United Nations. Its status as a minority Government, its oppressive policies based on race and colour, its violation of human rights and all that the Charter stands for, completely disqualify the so-called representatives of South Africa. The policies of the South African Government, its practices—a compound of nazism, *apartheid*, militarism and adventurism—constitute an act of aggression against the twelve million people of South Africa who deserve to be heard; they constitute an act of aggression against mankind. Its military intervention in Rhodesia against Africans is especially dangerous and is a challenge to Africa and to the United Nations.

*Mr. Mănescu (Romania) took the Chair.*

44. The solution is to be found in a change of attitude on the part of the great Powers, particularly in the West. If tension is to be reduced, if racial conflict is to be averted so that all races the world over can live in peace together, sharing nature's fruits, then Britain, the United States, France, Canada, West Germany, and indeed others like them, and we, the

African Members of this Organization, must re-examine our policies towards South Africa and towards human rights. We believe that for these Western countries, having influence over South Africa, it is more honourable to help the twelve million on the road to emancipation than to appease the three million. We believe it to be the duty of independent Africa to help others in southern Africa to liberate themselves, just as we did.

45. The real obstacles to the solution of the South African question are to be found, firstly, in Western capitalism; secondly, in power politics and strategic considerations that are not South African in nature; and thirdly, in financial and economic self-interest on the part of those who are being invited to participate in the creation of conditions for peace, stability, justice and freedom.

46. South Africa will not move alone. Its new diplomacy is a calculated step to hoodwink independent Africa. If the Vorster régime has no respect for blacks in South Africa, it cannot have respect for them outside its borders. At the moment it is helping the Smith régime to kill Africans in Rhodesia in order to maintain minority dominance in the region.

47. My Government welcomed the formation of the United Nations Council for South West Africa. As a member of that Council, Zambia will do all it can within the limits of its resources to discharge its obligations to the United Nations and the people of South West Africa.

48. The only stumbling block to the accomplishment of our noble task of putting the South West Africans on the road to self-determination and independence is the minority régime in Pretoria. Appeasement will not alter the claims made by this régime over South West Africa as an integral part of South Africa. Once again this is not a matter for polemics, but for action. We must implement last year's resolution [2145 (XXI)] without delay. It is for the great Powers, particularly those Western Powers with influence on that intransigent régime, to take the lead in removing South Africa's administration from South West Africa.

49. To the west and east of Zambia lie territories under Portuguese colonial rule. Earlier I referred to colonialism as a blot and a deep scar on human history. Portugal is a Member of the United Nations, but it has defied the resolutions of this world body with impunity. Those of us who at one time or another were freedom fighters know well what sacrifices the people of Angola and Mozambique are making to achieve their freedom and independence. It is only right and proper that this world body should extend to them every possible support. They deserve to be free, as you and I are.

50. The rebellion in Rhodesia and the British policy of sheltering the rebellious régime, apartheid in South Africa, the annexation of South West Africa and colonialism thus all together constitute a very grave and dangerous explosive situation for the United Nations. Such is the problem of southern Africa.

51. Southern Africa is a challenge for the West because by a historical association the leading members of that group of nations have financial, trade, economic

and even military interests in the area. That group of nations can influence the policies of the Vorster régime for better or for worse.

52. Southern Africa is a challenge to independent Africa, whose declared policy is the total liberation of the continent and its ultimate unity through co-operation and through the machinery of OAU. We Africans have an obligation to discharge that role. The existence of minority régimes south of the Zambezi is incompatible with our objectives.

53. Southern Africa is a challenge to the world and to the United Nations in particular. The sum total of the inhuman policies and laws of the South African Government, its practices and objectives, are a negation of the principles and ideals of this world Organization. They are utterly incompatible with the objectives of establishing a decent world order as envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations. Member nations are faced with a narrow choice in this matter of human rights—a matter of life and death for about thirty million people. Either we renounce the Charter of the United Nations in favour of minority governments, or we continue with double standards in settling disputes—as between Gibraltar and Rhodesia in the case of Britain—or we reaffirm our adherence to the ideals and principles of the Charter in its entirety and act accordingly. That is the test before us in this year, 1967.

54. Southern Africa is a particular challenge to Zambia and its philosophy of humanism. Our human approach to political and economic development, our approach to social and cultural development, our attitude to religion, and our policy of non-racialism are all incompatible with racial discrimination and the non-democratic practices in minority-controlled areas in southern Africa. The foundations of our nation are firmly built on the importance we attach to each and every one of us in the nation and in every section of our community. We shall not allow prejudice and racial bigotry to destroy the edifice which even the international society is having to struggle to establish.

55. You will understand the reason for the strength of the feelings and anger of the Zambian people. Our people and its Government have endured hardships of considerable magnitude for almost two years now. That has not deterred us, however, from doing all we can to fight and stamp out injustice.

56. What can we do to prepare for the International Year for Human Rights, 1968? What is each representative's contribution, both as an individual and as a representative of a Government that believes in the freedom of man—of all men, women and children, regardless of race, nationality or colour? What is each one's contribution to the welfare of the millions in southern Africa, in particular?

57. To the British Government, I want to reiterate the plea of my President: show us the man to whom you are prepared to entrust the leadership of and the responsibility for the welfare of four million people—the man to whom you want to give the responsibility for shaping the destiny of not only 200,000 people, who now seem to be the only people who matter, but of all human beings. Your choice will indicate your attitude to human rights.



58. For our part, we in Zambia made our pledge on attaining our independence to support firmly those struggling to liberate themselves from minority and oppressive rule. We shall continue to do so in OAU and in the United Nations. As a country whose independence and nationhood are a product of struggle, as a nation determined to honour its obligations arising from our membership in the United Nations, we shall render every possible assistance to thousands of political refugees from minority-controlled areas. Thanks to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, we are able to discharge our obligations more competently. Indeed, opportunities are given to refugees in Zambia who wish to do so to take technical courses at the International School for Refugees in our country. That is apart from the provision of settlements in which refugees can live their lives in peace and quiet and in freedom.

59. In conclusion, let me say that the question of Rhodesia and southern Africa as a whole is a matter of conscience; it is a matter of conviction and moral principles. In these matters, neither our geographical location as a land-locked country and as a neighbour to those iniquitous régimes, nor our poverty, nor our new independence, nor any other factor related to our status as a developing nation, will ever deter us from fighting the evils of racial oppression, colonialism and apartheid.

60. In matters of principle we shall yield to no one; we shall be subservient to no nation. We shall struggle, together with other peace-loving and freedom-loving nations, to bring honour to mankind. That honour resides in genuine peace, not imposed by all sorts of coercive instruments, but peace which has its foundation in the hearts of men, women and children; that honour resides in freedom and justice—that is, in the full and uninhibited exercise of our birthright by you and me, by each and every one of us on this globe. Pledges and declarations will not achieve the objectives of the United Nations in southern Africa; but action will.

61. Human rights are not negotiable. They were not negotiable either in the First World War or in the Second. They are not negotiable in Rhodesia and other Territories in southern Africa. The United Nations must take appropriate action to stop conflict which has already started. It may look small now, but if nothing is done it will one day be too late to prevent a wider catastrophe. What is needed is a war-avoidance action, not a war-stopping action. This is the hour for action in southern Africa. It would be dangerous for the United Nations to wait for any further warning signs, for delay may cost the world a fortune in blood and property.

62. In southern Africa lies the key to the unity of the continent of Africa. In southern Africa lies the real test of international understanding and co-operation across racial barriers. The future of mankind depends almost entirely on the evolution of relations among men of all races and colours. The minority régimes are the source of a dangerous virus which could upset the total body politic of the United Nations. This must be prevented and the virus ruthlessly removed. The task is yours and mine. So let us act.

63. Mr. JÓNSSON (Iceland): Mr. President, allow me, on behalf of the Icelandic delegation, to express my sincere felicitations to you upon your unanimous election as President of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly.

64. My Government welcomes this first election of a representative of the socialist countries of Eastern Europe to this high office. In our view, it both constitutes a confirmation of a gradual and gratifying relaxation of tension between East and West and will in itself, we hope, contribute to an increased understanding and co-operation between countries with different economic and social systems.

65. I take this opportunity also, Mr. President, to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Pazhwak of Afghanistan, for the skill and the dignity with which he directed the deliberations of this Assembly through three difficult sessions.

66. Our Organization has endeavoured bravely to live up to the aims and ideals of the Charter. One must admit, however, that it has not always attained those aims; but where it has failed, the reason has certainly not been lack of goodwill or persistent effort on this highest level of international diplomacy. The real reasons lie elsewhere. One reason is that too often, much too often, nations disagree on how questions of international importance should be resolved. Historic background, national pride, chauvinism and old enmities are elements which prevent the disputing parties from reaching across the conference table in a spirit of conciliation and accepting the compromise that often offers the only possibility of a successful settlement and a lasting solution of the problem at hand.

67. Another thing which often thwarts our efforts is the simple fact that the United Nations can do no more than our Governments are prepared to do themselves. We know only too well that the United Nations has not been able to implement resolutions adopted by a large majority because the executive power is lacking within the Organization. An illuminating example of this is Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) on the question of South West Africa. A nation is weak and will not prosper unless its Government is endowed with the necessary executive power. The same applies to international organizations.

68. In this connexion, I am reminded of the history of my own country. There, a Republic was established more than 1,000 years ago, in the year 930. The Althing, or Parliament, was endowed with the judiciary and the legislative powers, but the executive arm of the State was non-existent.

69. It did not take long until the defects of this system became apparent. Local chieftains, who maintained their own forces, soon refused to abide by lawfully pronounced judgements and took, so to speak, the law into their own hands. This followed from the fact that all central executive power was lacking for enforcing the laws of the land. The result of this marked imbalance of power was internal strife and the gradual disintegration of lawful order. When conditions were approaching the stage of civil war, in the middle of the thirteenth century, the nation lost

its independence and suffered foreign domination for centuries.

70. One can safely assert that if the old Icelandic Parliament, the remarkably advanced code of law and the highly developed judiciary system had been coupled with commensurate executive power, strong enough to prevent internal strife and enforce decisions of the high court, the course of my nation's history would have turned in another direction.

71. I have dwelt on these old memories for the very reason that, to my mind, the United Nations is in some respects in the same predicament as my own nation was some eight or nine hundred years ago. The Secretary-General makes proposals and the General Assembly adopts resolutions which the party or parties concerned think nothing of ignoring in certain well known cases. It is this situation which has brought to my mind the recollection of my own country's history.

72. I do realize, of course, that it is preferable to solve all disputes by mutual agreement and, fortunately, the United Nations has frequently succeeded in concluding such agreements. We must not, however, let this divert us from recognizing the importance of effective executive power vested in the Organization.

73. The United Nations peace-keeping forces have been a step in the right direction. And even though these forces have been small in size and have laboured under limited terms of reference, they have, in more than one instance, succeeded in containing situations and preventing armed conflict. But although these emergency forces have been very limited in size, funds have been lacking for their maintenance. This has undermined the whole financial basis of the United Nations and still does so. This situation must be speedily remedied. In my Government's opinion, the experience of the last three years shows that to rely upon voluntary contributions for the maintenance of peace-keeping forces and operations is too precarious. In response to the Secretary-General's appeal for voluntary contributions to help overcome the deficit, my Government in 1965 contributed approximately half a dollar for every inhabitant of my country. Other Member States, immeasurably bigger and richer than Iceland, have failed to give their share, although some of them have made vague promises to the effect that they would do so. My Government is therefore inclined to think that the best solution might be the drawing up of detailed rules under which all the Member States of the United Nations would be required to contribute according to their means. Proposals that have been put forward for devising a system of appropriations should therefore be further studied and elaborated.

74. Of course, a United Nations peace-keeping force cannot settle all conflicts that arise, for example, when the great Powers clash on important issues. But it has proved able to cope with minor incidents and it can play a vital role in preventing the outbreak of hostilities.

75. A major conflict that has proved beyond the means of the United Nations to stop is the war in

Viet-Nam. That war has been fought, in different forms, for more than two decades, and no break in the hostilities is, unfortunately, foreseeable in the near future. That tragic situation has been extensively discussed in the general debates of this Assembly, year after year, without any tangible results. Meanwhile, the list of casualties seems endless: soldiers and civilians, women and children on both sides are killed or maimed. The material waste is enormous and the very basis for the existence of the Viet-Nameese people is gradually being destroyed. The fighting goes on with ever-increasing fury despite the fact that everyone, indeed the warring partners themselves seem to agree, or at least to admit, that there can be no military solution to this conflict. All agree that a way must be found to bring the conflict from the battle-field to the conference table, in order to bring about a political settlement. Yet many peace overtures and appeals for the reduction or cessation of hostilities have either gone unheeded or met with little success. The Secretary-General has long since put forward constructive proposals which could have formed a real basis for the cessation of hostilities and for the initiation of peace talks. Other, or similar, proposals have been put forward by several Member States. It would seem that any or all of these proposals could form a satisfactory basis for sitting down at the conference table and starting discussions on a cease-fire and a peaceful settlement, if only the mutual lack of trust displayed by the belligerents could be overcome.

76. The Government of the United States has repeatedly declared its willingness to sit down at the conference table and to scale down military operations in order to facilitate such a step, provided that the Government of Hanoi would make some similar move or give some indication of its willingness to start peace talks. The Hanoi Government, however, has given no assurances and has made no conciliatory gesture that has satisfied the United States Government.

77. My Government would like to appeal to all parties to the conflict to abandon their attitude of mistrust, to make a new effort, to take a step further in order to convince the other party of its good faith and its sincere wish to end the war and to make peace. All possibilities, however remote, must be explored in the pursuit of a lasting peace in Viet-Nam.

78. One person whose sincere dedication to the cause of peace is an inspiration to all of us is our eminent Secretary-General, U Thant. I take this opportunity to express to him the thanks, appreciation and full confidence of my Government. We are all indebted to U Thant for his untiring efforts in furthering the ideals of the United Nations.

79. Another major conflict with serious repercussions was the war between Israel and the Arab States in June this summer. Here, the existence of the United Nations proved of decisive importance in bringing about a cease-fire acceptable to both sides. That crisis, however, has not yet subsided, as a state of war still exists in the area.

80. The state of belligerency must now be brought to an end. We must all co-operate in bringing about an atmosphere which will make it possible for Israel



and the Arab countries to reach a settlement and to remove the causes of war. In the opinion of my Government such a settlement must include the following elements: first, recognition of the State of Israel and of the independence and territorial integrity of all the nations of the area, and the end to any claims that a state of belligerency exists; second, respect for, and the guarantee of, the rights of all nations to innocent passage through international waterways; third, a just and equitable solution of the refugee problem—General Assembly resolution 2252 (ES-V) on humanitarian assistance, which my delegation co-sponsored, has duly emphasized the paramount importance of solving the plight of the refugees; fourth, an arrangement which will take into account the rights and interests of the three great religions in Jerusalem. The fifth and final element would be the withdrawal of Israeli forces. My Government does not approve of territorial gains by military conquest. But, regarding this vital point, I agree with the Minister of External Affairs of Canada [1569th meeting] that a withdrawal must be related to the other basic issues involved.

81. The position that my Government has therefore adopted is that all the points I mentioned must be interconnected in a final peace settlement, if one is striving for a lasting peace in that troubled area. And I want to emphasize that the peace negotiations must first and foremost take place directly between the belligerents, although they might be held under the auspices of the United Nations or some other neutral body.

82. The third major issue before the present session of the General Assembly is the question of South West Africa—a much debated issue at the twenty-first and fifth special sessions, if still an unresolved one. The subjugation by South Africa of the native population of the country can no longer be doubted. The facts of the issue are well known.

83. It is a long-standing conviction of my Government that the policy of apartheid is both alien and odious to the great majority of the world community and in clear contradiction to the ideals of the United Nations Charter.

84. By a near unanimity the United Nations General Assembly, by resolution 2145 (XXI), terminated the Mandate under which South Africa administered the Territory. My Government voted for the resolution, although in our view a more effective way perhaps would have been for the General Assembly to request the International Court of Justice to declare its opinion on the issue of whether South Africa had forfeited its Mandate. I am in no doubt as to what the judgement of the Court would have been. As it is, however, the General Assembly has itself terminated the Mandate.

85. If South Africa now persists in turning a deaf ear to the lawful decisions of this Assembly, the United Nations must promulgate these decisions in a new and more effective way.

86. The question of disarmament has been dealt with in the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament at Geneva for a number of years without much success. Now, at long last, we can welcome a definite step forward in the presentation by the United States of America and the USSR of identical

texts of a draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

87. My country, Iceland, has for centuries been unarmed. Therefore we have every reason to welcome all efforts towards disarmament, especially all reductions and limitations of nuclear weapons. Hence we rejoice at the prospect of effective international control being established under a non-proliferation treaty. Such a treaty will constitute a real milestone in true international co-operation.

88. The admission of the People's Republic of China to membership in the United Nations has been debated in this Assembly for several years now. My Government has not supported, and will not support, any resolution that calls for the admission of the People's Republic of China, on the one hand, and the expulsion of the Republic of China, on the other hand. This does not mean, however, that we oppose the admission of the People's Republic of China. On the contrary, we are fully aware of the dangers inherent in the present unnatural state of affairs, namely that in which a country which holds one fifth of the population of the world still stands outside this Organization and appears to have become increasingly isolated from the world community. We therefore supported, last year, a draft resolution submitted by Italy and other States which aimed at the establishment of a committee to try to work out proposals for possible ways and means of bringing the People's Republic of China into the United Nations without prejudicing the continued membership of the Republic of China. We shall continue to support efforts aimed at exploring this possibility further.

89. In my intervention in the general debate at the last session of the General Assembly [1430th meeting], I drew attention to the second most important role of the United Nations. Its primary role will, for a long time to come, be the prevention of war. This is rightly the main objective, because what is the value of prosperity or material possessions in time of war? But in times of peace, our second main objective is to secure a decent living standard for all nations of the world. Above all, we must banish the spectre of hunger from the face of the earth.

90. During the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, proposals were put forward which focused our attention on the immense unused food resources of the sea, on the one hand, and on their dangerous over-exploitation in certain areas, on the other hand. Attention was drawn to the fact that the fish stocks of the North Atlantic and adjacent oceans are rapidly diminishing. However, the resources of the sea provide exactly those nutritionally valuable foodstuffs—namely, proteins—which are in greatest scarcity in the developing countries. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance that the ominous depletion of these important resources be halted and that the spawning grounds be afforded adequate protection. Everyone should understand the logic of wisely husbanding such an important resource of nature wherever it is found in the world's oceans.

91. These considerations brought forth a large measure of support in the Assembly, which decided [resolution 2172 (XXI)] to establish a small group of

experts to assist in the preparation of a survey, *inter alia*, on the exploitation and development of marine resources, with due regard to the conservation of fish stocks. This group is already proceeding with its task in this field. The resolution on this question envisaged that the group should submit its report to the General Assembly at its twenty-third session, but the task is both comprehensive and complicated and I doubt whether we have allotted enough time for its completion. My Government deems it essential to allow the group ample time to complete its work and, if necessary, to extend the time originally allotted to the group. This would seem well justified by the magnitude and broad ramifications of the whole question of developing and conserving marine resources.

92. The United Nations is today facing new challenges and new tasks all around the world. Let us, however, not expect too much too quickly of our Organization. Undue optimism, without due regard to the hard realities of international life, is a poor guide on our way to new achievements. Many of the problems facing us may never be solved in an ideal manner, but I feel confident that many will be solved, and will be solved only through our concerted efforts within this Organization. Every problem solved, every task completed, is a confirmation of the right of existence of the United Nations and of the indispensable role it plays as an instrument of peace and conciliation.

93. Throughout history, the nations of this world have lived and developed through a series of strifes and wars which in turn have influenced the lives and the way of thinking of individuals as well as nations. No wonder, then, that it will take some time, perhaps a long time, and much work to establish a new and better world order. That task requires patience, much patience. What the United Nations need most is just patience, and work, and goodwill.

94. Mr. PICCIONI (Italy):<sup>3/</sup> Mr. President, in offering you the Italian delegation's sincere congratulations on your election to the office of President of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly, I am not simply complying with an agreeable formality. I am expressing a genuine and keenly felt sentiment, prompted by pleasure at the unanimous recognition of your outstanding merits and by the recollection of the part you played in strengthening the ties between our two countries and the long-standing friendship that exists between Italy and Romania. We are sure that under your guidance our work will proceed smoothly, and we regard your election as a clear indication of the current relaxation of tension in Europe.

95. I also take this opportunity to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Pazhwak, who presided over our work with such competence.

96. In my statement I shall touch upon only a few of the major political issues which seem to me to be pertinent to this general debate. I shall do this, first, because the Italian delegation proposes to state its position on all the agenda items in the various Committees and in the plenary meetings, and, secondly,

because by concentrating our attention on a few specific questions our statement, I trust, will gain in clarity and cogency. This, of course, does not imply any lack of interest on Italy's part or any lessening of its commitment on such issues as decolonization, the need to combat harmful and anachronistic doctrines of racial discrimination, the economic advancement of developing peoples and the reaffirmation of human rights throughout the world. On these and other matters Italy, as a democratic country, will continue to side with the just cause of the world's peoples.

97. First of all, I should like once again to renew our declaration of faith in the United Nations. The Italian Government will continue to consider the United Nations as one of the pillars of its foreign policy. This attitude does not merely reflect the opinion of an overwhelming majority in the Italian Parliament; it has been an unvarying factor in our policy ever since the United Nations met at San Francisco at the end of the Second World War to adopt its Charter. As early as 1945 the Italian Government, born of the Resistance, gave the highest priority in its foreign-policy programme to Italy's application for membership in the United Nations, and continued to do so until that goal was achieved. The disappointment sometimes experienced over United Nations actions in past years has not changed our belief in the usefulness of this Organization but, if anything, has strengthened it. Nor has it shaken our faith in this irreplaceable instrument of a new world order.

98. Of course, we, too, are aware of the United Nations weaknesses and the measure of its failures—weaknesses and failures on which many previous speakers have dwelt. But these shadows, however substantial, cannot obscure certain basic facts. One such fact is that historically speaking, this Organization is the best institution that the international community has ever known, being the crowning achievement in the development of international law.

99. These opinions of ours are prompted not by mere utopianism, but by the conviction that there is no other alternative if we wish to survive in a world based on law and order, and that sooner or later all peoples will accept this need and force their Governments to recognize it. Actually, even those previous speakers who have had nothing but words of pessimism to offer, by the mere fact of having expressed them here have demonstrated, consciously or unconsciously, that they still believe in the United Nations. For such fervent appeals would be incomprehensible if those who made them really felt them to be useless.

100. To have faith and belief in the goodness of a cause, however, is not tantamount to being blindly optimistic. We too can clearly discern and evaluate the existing obstacles. But they will not hold us back. We do not know how long it will take to overcome them, but we do know that if we are really willing and determined to do so, we shall make headway towards peace and conciliation. Besides, the picture before us is not entirely negative. Many speakers, recapitulating the events of the past few months, have mentioned the part played by the Security Council in achieving a cease-fire in the Middle East. May I, in turn, be allowed to emphasize another positive factor: that Europe, the breeding-ground of

<sup>3/</sup> Mr. Piccioni spoke in Italian. The English version of his speech was supplied by the delegation.

the First and Second World Wars, is now one of the continents least beset by tension.

101. Therefore, in Europe at least, experience has taught us something of value. Why should the co-existence that has prevailed in Europe not also prevail in the Middle East and in Asia? Is it really utopian to cherish such a hope? Our faith in the future now has, we feel, some definite justification, and the least we can do is to support the suggestions contained in the introduction to the Secretary-General's annual report on the work of the Organization [A/6701/Add.1], in which he recommends periodic meetings of the Security Council to permit closer surveillance of the international situation and thus improve peace-keeping.

102. At this point I should like to stress a fact which to me seems extremely significant. Although the problem of Viet-Nam is not on our agenda, and although there are those who, from this very rostrum, have asserted that the United Nations has nothing to do with Viet-Nam, all the speakers before me have dwelt at some length on the tragic conflict that is taking place in that area. This circumstance, in my opinion, prompts at least two considerations.

103. First, it seems to reflect a unanimous conviction that the problem of Viet-Nam should be dealt with, either formally or in a *de facto* fashion, directly or indirectly, in this forum. Second, that the Viet-Nam conflict, by reason of its extent and intensity and the increasing toll it is taking in human life, suffering and sacrifices, represents a serious threat—perhaps the most serious of all—to the maintenance of world peace.

104. In view of these considerations and of the clearly expressed wishes of the Italian Parliament, I should like to state my delegation's position on this question.

105. No one can remain indifferent to this serious and alarming situation, least of all the United Nations. Moreover, the Charter, which should govern our conduct, requires us to take up any problem that constitutes or could constitute a threat to international peace and security. In saying this, I am fully mindful of the difficulties caused by the fact that some of the parties involved in the conflict are not represented in our Organization. I am also well aware of the results of the deliberations in the Security Council when the problem of Viet-Nam was raised in that body. But, in my opinion, over and above the formal difficulties—which in any case were all foreseen by the San Francisco Charter—what really concerns us is the substance of the matter.

106. The substance of the matter leads us to point out that the main contending parties have said that they are seeking a political rather than a military settlement to the conflict. But that is not all. They also all agree that the 1954 Geneva Agreements provide the principal basis for such a settlement.

107. A political settlement means a negotiated settlement. The problem lies in finding a means of promoting such negotiations. Should it be the responsibility of the Security Council to invite the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference to reconvene the Conference or should the General Assembly recommend the convening of the Conference? Or should the Co-Chairmen

act on their own initiative? I do not know, but that is not the main problem. Any move that leads to the desired result will, however, be supported by us, as it should be by all loyal Members of the United Nations. At any rate, since the Security Council has already considered the question without adopting any decision and since the two Co-Chairmen have not yet succeeded in agreeing that the Geneva Conference should be reconvened, perhaps it is time for the United Nations to address a pressing appeal to the parties for a speedy reconvening of the Geneva Conference and for an early beginning of those negotiations that alone can end the military conflict. In other words, the United Nations has the right and the duty to deal with a dispute that endangers peace and to suggest methods and procedures for settling it, especially when such methods, whether regional or otherwise, are ready, as in this instance, to be accepted.

108. My approach may seem oversimplified, but I feel that it is useless to make lengthy, sweeping theoretical statements about Viet-Nam simply deploring the situation or calling for the capitulation of one party or the other. I believe that we must move forward and take a definite and formal stand, adopting a resolution calling on all the parties concerned to initiate peace negotiations. The moral pressure on the belligerents will not be negligible and might help to overcome the remaining obstacles—albeit superficial—which still prevent peace talks from starting. In any event, by doing this, we would be giving practical substance to our beliefs. Furthermore, should the Security Council recognize its competence and declare its willingness to act, we would unreservedly support any positive development of that kind and refrain from making specific procedural demands, for we feel that such a development would be an even more positive step than a recommendation by the General Assembly.

109. Another serious question confronts our Assembly: the problem of the Middle East. Not only has it been given the highest priority on the agenda, but also all the interested parties are Members of the United Nations. No one has any doubt as to the competence of our Organization, but no satisfactory solution is yet in sight.

110. The position of the Italian Government on the subject has already been fully expounded by its Prime Minister, the Hon. Aldo Moro, during the emergency special session of the Assembly last June [1530th meeting], and I will not repeat what he said on that occasion. Similarly unchanged since that time are our anguish and concern for the fate of the people and of peace in a region so close to us, a region which, being the bridge between three continents, is the most sensitive in the world. It is our fervent hope that the time which has elapsed since the cessation of hostilities has not been spent in vain.

111. In the first place, it seems evident that the majority of Member States of the United Nations agree on two specific points: every State has a legitimate right to its own existence and security, and military conquest does not imply territorial gain.

112. In the second place, as has been clearly stated in the introduction to the annual report of the Secre-

tary-General on the work of the Organization, there cannot be any disagreement over the fact that the underlying cause of the present crisis was the failure during the previous twenty years to find a solution to the fundamental problems of the region, namely, the right of all States to free and innocent passage through the Strait of Tiran and the Suez Canal, the formal and effective cessation of the state of belligerency between the Arab countries and the State of Israel and the problem of the Arab refugees.

113. On those aspects of the problem, there is a significant concurrence of views in the General Assembly. There has been no official change, however, in the position of the parties directly concerned, and they still do not appear to be ready to accept the views of the majority, views for which the Secretary-General has acted as spokesman.

114. Faced with this situation, we must not only not be disheartened, we must not, even for an instant, either relax our efforts to achieve the peaceful solution for which we all hope or lose sight of our clearly defined obligations.

115. Those obligations are manifold. In the first place, we have an obligation to promote a relaxation of tension by refraining from inciting one party against another. Secondly, we have an obligation to halt the dangerous arms race in the area. Thirdly, we must all do our utmost to heal the wounds suffered by the innocent victims of the military conflict. Lastly, our main task is gradually to bring the parties concerned, by means of example and persuasion, to accept the rules of international law as the supreme law and to fulfil strictly all the obligations imposed by the Charter.

116. The world is watching us, the world is watching you. If we, who are not among the parties most directly involved, are guided by our conscience, then I have no doubt that our attitude and our conduct will greatly help those States which are directly involved to readjust their respective positions gradually and on a reciprocal and simultaneous basis, so that it will be possible to achieve the satisfactory lasting and peaceful solution which at present is still so remote. If any help in this direction can be provided from such sources as a special representative of the Secretary-General or by a mediator appointed by him, such a development will be most welcome.

117. We know that we are asking a great deal of all the countries in the Middle East, but our only desire for all of them is justice, peace and prosperity. We must, therefore, be patient, steadfast, fair and unprejudiced. We do not know how much time will be required before this work of reconciliation and co-existence can be fully completed, but we do know with certainty that it is the only valid, just and constructive solution. The Italian Government will spare no effort to achieve this end.

118. On the question of disarmament, there seems to be general agreement that in the last twelve months a considerable advance has been achieved with regard to the proposed measures against the proliferation of nuclear weapons. In effect, we have progressed from academic discussions of principle to the consideration of a specific text. What is more, that text

is the result of negotiations between Moscow and Washington which have led the USSR and the United States of America to submit two identical though incomplete texts to the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament at Geneva.<sup>4/</sup> At this point, I should like to repeat most firmly and most emphatically that the Italian Government is resolutely opposed to the dissemination of nuclear weapons in any form.

119. We are fully aware of the importance for the future of the whole international community of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. In fact, we are faced with a fundamental choice between order based on law, and disorder which might degenerate into anarchy and lead eventually to the self-destruction of all mankind. In Italy, I repeat, the Government, Parliament and public opinion are well aware that we must make this choice and are determined to make the right choice. But between the loyal and voluntary acceptance of a principle, which I have no doubt in qualifying as fundamental, and the methods of implementing that principle, much still remains to be done. This is not at all surprising when we consider that we are confronted by a completely new problem for which there are no precedents.

120. Before mentioning some of the points which cause us some concern with regard to the proposed methods of implementing a principle which we not only accept unreservedly, but which we will help to implement fully, I should like to emphasize one important point.

121. In making these remarks, we are moved solely by a desire to help to create an international instrument which may prove acceptable to the majority of States and which will in fact be scrupulously observed, one which will last in time, one which will set in motion the process of disarmament and lead to the gradual implementation of a general disarmament, one that will establish a relationship between all the contracting parties based on a proper balance of rights and obligations. We are not in any way seeking to quibble or to produce arguments in order to delay the implementation of an excellent plan or even cause it to fail. The crucial preliminary point to which I wish to draw the Assembly's attention is the fact that Italy was the first to formulate at the right time, both at Geneva and at the United Nations, a specific and still valid proposal for a moratorium.<sup>5/</sup> That was a proposal under which the non-nuclear Powers would immediately, on a voluntary and unilateral basis, commit themselves to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

122. This is an indication that we do not wish to gain time in order to become a nuclear Power, but that we wish to ensure the maintenance of the status quo while we discuss the question and whilst we seek a formula to meet the requirements of all the contracting parties without creating an imbalance in the commitments to be undertaken by the parties and without excluding the possibility of an adequate development in nuclear achievements for peaceful purposes.

<sup>4/</sup> ENDC/193 and ENDC/192.

<sup>5/</sup> Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965, document DC/227, annex 1, sect. D.

123. If our proposal for a moratorium is borne in mind, together with the fact that, although among the Powers which are technically capable of becoming nuclear Powers, Italy is certainly the furthest removed from any decision of that kind, the observations which I propose to make may be appreciated in their true light.

124. In substance, and without going into too many details, since these will be explained in due course by the Italian delegation in the First Committee after the Italian Parliament has reached a final decision on the matter and when the report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament is being considered, let it suffice if I say here that the text of certain articles of the draft treaty submitted at Geneva has still not entirely dispelled some of our doubts on the subject of the commitments to be undertaken by the nuclear Powers with regard to their own future disarmament; on the subject of the period of time to be covered by the treaty, we would like to have an indication of a specific period of time; on the subject of controls, we would like to avoid a situation in which the non-nuclear Powers belonging to EURATOM would find themselves in a disadvantageous position; and on the question of research into the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, we would like to avoid being placed in a position of permanent inferiority. In this connexion, last summer at Geneva the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Fanfani, submitted a specific and important proposal under which certain quantities of fissile material processed and owned by the nuclear Powers would be reserved for the non-nuclear Powers for peaceful purposes. 6/

125. Our main concern is, therefore, I repeat, to endeavour to create a sound and effective instrument, bearing in mind, above all, the general, balanced, controlled and complete disarmament of which nuclear weapons are only one aspect. The proposals under discussion are certainly of fundamental importance, but, in the future, they should not continue to apply only to the non-nuclear countries. Only when progress has also been achieved in the field of general disarmament, both nuclear and conventional, will all the countries of the international community be able to benefit from the use of the resulting economies in accordance with the appeal made by the Supreme Pontiff, His Holiness Pope Paul VI [1347th meeting] and from the enjoyment of local and general security. For this reason, Italy also continues to give favourable consideration to the other proposals concerning collateral measures of disarmament which are still on the agenda of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

126. This is the position of the Italian delegation on those few points which we consider typical of the general debate. We do not presume to possess the monopoly of truth, but we do know with certainty that the motives which have dictated our decisions and the faith which has inspired them are fully in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the obligations of Member States.

127. Mr. President, at this point, and with your permission, I find myself compelled to prolong my

statement in order to reply to the comments made this morning [1578th meeting] by the Foreign Minister of Austria concerning the dispute between Rome and Vienna over the implementation of the Paris Agreement of 5 September 1946, a dispute on which the General Assembly made recommendations at its fifteenth and sixteenth sessions.

128. In actual fact, substantial progress has been made during the past twelve months on the measures which the Italian Government, of its own accord, intends to adopt for the benefit of the German-speaking minority in Alto Adige, measures which should also bring an end to the international dispute. However, the positive result reached in the conversations with the Austrian Government appears to have been offset by growing demands from Vienna on the extent of an international guarantee which Austria would like to see cover even those future measures which we are quite ready to adopt, of our own accord, but which do not come within the implementation of the Paris Agreement of 5 September 1946. For our part—anticipating the suggestions made by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report on the advisability of using the International Court of Justice more fully—we proposed that any future disputes concerning the implementation of all treaties now in force between Italy and Austria should be submitted for judgement to that Court. This is, therefore, not merely a procedural obstacle.

129. Moreover, the situation seems to have worsened appreciably because of the dangerous and unacceptable intensification of terrorist activities on Italian territory. I myself have already had occasion to draw the attention of the General Assembly to this problem in the past, since the Government of my country is convinced of the need for greater and more effective vigilance by Austria on its territory, where these nazi-type and criminal activities originate, and where those committing such crimes find refuge. In the past three months, not fewer than six innocent persons have died, and the latest slaughter occurred the day before yesterday and could at any moment have become a general massacre. We have heard of the condemnations of terrorism voiced by the Austrian Government, and we have taken note of them, but we cannot ignore the fact that the crimes have been committed and we cannot fail to remember how inadequate are the results of such condemnations, which must not be merely verbal, but must lead to appropriate prevention and punishment. Although we do not intend to play into the hands of the terrorists, whose main aim is to prevent any agreement, we cannot and we will not endure this cruelty and violence which has been going on for several years at a steady rate, and which is still going on today. These, therefore, are events which are not unrelated to the dispute, events which had led the Italian Government to adopt certain positions of principle which have had a bearing on the negotiations.

130. Despite what I have said, we have not lost our hope that good sense will prevail, and we therefore trust that the main material obstacles in the way of a satisfactory and peaceful settlement of the dispute with Austria will soon be removed.

131. Mr. YIFRU (Ethiopia): Mr. President, having had the good fortune of working with you within the framework of bilateral relations between our two countries, it gives me great pleasure to congratulate you upon your election to the high office of the Presidency of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly, and at the same time, to pay a tribute to your great abilities as a statesman and a diplomat.

132. That you, Sir, the Foreign Minister of a socialist country with which Ethiopia has had good relations over the years, and with which it is now enlarging the scope of its economic and political relations, as testified to by the recent exchange of official visits by our two Heads of State, should be President, is a source of great satisfaction to my Government.

133. I wish also at this moment to pay a tribute to the great contribution which Ambassador Pazhwak made to the United Nations as President of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, on whose shoulders fell the task of also guiding the Assembly at its fifth special and fifth emergency special sessions. Indeed, without his experienced guidance our work in one of the busiest years in the history of the United Nations would have been more difficult than it has been.

134. The general debates of the General Assembly, in which I am today privileged to participate, have in the years since the inception of the United Nations served the international community admirably. They have provided a widely attended forum for drawing up a balance-sheet of achievements against setbacks, hopes against disappointments. The more frank the Governments of Member States have been in the expression of their views at these annual sessions the more enhanced has their value undoubtedly been. At no time in the recent past, however, have we more reason than at this session of the Assembly to be most critical and searching in our assessment of the international situation, if only because we do not have very much this year to cheer about.

135. So little has in fact been registered in the past year in terms of positive achievements that this year's stock-taking might usefully and quite appropriately be devoted to some soul-searching and introspection. So dismal indeed have our achievements been that our highly esteemed Secretary-General, a person who is not easily given to excessive optimism nor to unrealistic pessimism, could only say to us in the introduction to his annual report that developments on the international scene in the past year have been discouraging.

136. If the twenty-second session of the General Assembly, in keeping with the sober tone and assessment of the Secretary-General, is to fulfil an important function to the international community, beset at this time by a crisis of confidence, it cannot but engage in a critical exercise of self-analysis and introspection, in an atmosphere not only free from recrimination and a "holier than thou" attitude, but marked by dispassionate and reasoned exchanges of views inspired by our immense responsibility to the peoples of the world we represent, whose ardent desire for peace we know all too well. We cannot slacken our efforts for peace without being derelict in this great responsibility to our own peoples.

137. Looking back today at the post-war years, in the light of history, despite the many tribulations and agonizing moments of danger we have lived through, we all agree that there has been a gradual—even though at times hesitant—process of amelioration of conditions favouring peace. It seems, however, that in the last couple of years we have been hard put to it to see or discern a qualitative improvement in those conditions. That pause, moreover, does not seem to forebode better times. On the contrary, if we go by present indications in the patterns of international behaviour, it will not be pessimistic for anyone to foresee an untoward movement away from the general détente which has been such a welcome development in international relations, and in the acceleration of which so much hope and faith have been placed by the nations of the world.

138. Thus, an examination of those causes which have held back that auspicious development should be the overriding concern of the United Nations at this session of the General Assembly. It is therefore in this spirit that I wish to add, to the accumulating reservoir of assessment flowing from the general debate, my Government's considered views concerning the general deterioration of the international situation.

139. The underlying causes of the deterioration are, of course, many and varied. But as the report of the Secretary-General and statements in the General Assembly indicate, there is general agreement as to its apparent and immediate causes.

140. As all the combatants introduce more men, war material and sophisticated weapons, the hostilities in Viet-Nam are growing in intensity and ferocity, with the result that with each passing day an acceptable solution to the problem is getting more unattainable, while at the same time the ugly passions of hatred and revenge are spreading unchecked and the toll on the lives of combatants and civilians alike, and the general destruction and havoc brought about by the war, are increasing at a frightful rate.

141. The sudden flare-up early in June of a full-scale war in the Middle East—which, considering its short duration, was singularly remarkable for its ferocity and the widespread catastrophe it brought to a whole region—has compounded a difficult situation which was already complicated by forces and passions released by two previous wars in less than twenty years involving the same countries. While the flame of war has been extinguished, thanks mainly to the timely intervention of the United Nations, the smoke released by it still hangs heavily and the embers are still burning.

142. The last citadels of colonialism in Africa—mainly those of Portugal and the racist, rebel régime of Rhodesia—have not only succeeded in defying United Nations decisions, but in many respects have also strengthened their defiance by consolidating an alliance, whose real nature has been recently manifested, with the apartheid régime of South Africa. That has been accomplished, it must be emphasized, as the world community, beset by a crisis of will power and unable to act appropriately, looks on helplessly.

143. Notwithstanding the significant advance registered by the United Nations in setting standards in



the field of human rights, the alliance of colonialism and racism in Africa has in the past year stepped up its assault on basic human rights.

144. In the economic and social fields, despite the tremendous advance on all fronts in knowledge concerning the nature of the malaise of economic and social under-development and its cures, the magnitude and the complexity of the problems, and the enormous requirements needed to meet the situation, and despite the growing awareness of the implications to peace and stability of the anomaly of a world in which two thirds of the population live a life of dire poverty while one third leads a life of comparative ease, the will and determination to match the problem with adequate resources have not been forthcoming, especially from the richer parts of the world.

145. Those are but a few of our shortcomings which have become more manifest, especially in the past year. However, the list of unfulfilled hopes and the disappointments and setbacks encountered in the past few years can be a long one unless we place them in a balanced perspective. It is also human that we should be preoccupied with our shortcomings while we are unable to see immediately any encouraging signs.

146. Be that as it may, however, there is no doubting, the fact that the Viet-Nam war has been at the root of the recent deterioration in the international situation, and it remains today potentially fraught with far more dangerous consequences to the peace of the world than any other single situation or controversy. Aware as it is of the gravity of the possible consequences of the ever-increasing escalating tendencies generally characterizing the situation, my Government feels that the least that can be said under the circumstances is that there should be a moratorium on further escalation and that a process of de-escalation of hostilities should immediately be initiated, even before talks concerning the underlying issues commence. In that respect, my Government agrees with the assessment of the Secretary-General, as well as the assessment of the vast majority of Governments in the non-aligned world, that a stopping of the bombing of North Viet-Nam will usher in a process of de-escalation of hostilities and will also create the kind of climate within which we can reasonably expect that some useful talk could take place. If the bombing of the North is stopped, we can also reasonably expect that it will be in the interest of all the combatants to de-escalate or to halt all further expansion of military operations connected with the prosecution of the war both in the North and the South. One can hopefully expect such a gesture from all the combatants, because it is only too obvious that unless the balance of military advantages is held constant for the duration of the necessary talks, the alternative will be to continue the present process of chain-reaction, whereby a move from one side calls for a similar or more intensified counter-move from the other.

147. It is also the view of my Government that if any move for talks is to have a reasonable chance of success, all the combatants involved should be brought to the conference table, and the talks should take place without onerous and unacceptable conditions and demands being attached to them by any of the

parties. Such demands, as we all know, are in most cases the very causes of the fighting. If there are to be conditions and terms for such talks, obviously those should be the provisions of, and the obligations inherent in, the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

148. I now wish to turn my attention to the situation in the Middle East.

149. The anomalous situation that has persisted for the last twenty years in the Middle East—one in which real peace has never been established—and the emotionally-charged human and political problems created by two wars in the area in less than twenty years, have always been a source of great concern to my Government. It is therefore understandable that when a third war broke out last June between the nations of the Middle East, with which my own country is closely tied by deep spiritual, cultural and historical bonds, as well as by reason of geography, no country could have been more painfully saddened by that third visitation of tragedy than my own; for it cannot be denied that in our case, leaving other considerations aside, even that of purely narrow, national self-interest, the maintenance of peace in that neighbourhood of ours is indispensable to our well-being.

150. Near as we are to that region, we know how complex and deep-seated the causes of the conflict are. The issues involved are also compounded by a long and turbulent history—a history measured not in decades but in centuries. No one can indeed approach these problems without being sympathetic towards the peoples of the area, a theatre of historical forces, the full measure of which those peoples cannot grasp, as they themselves are the victims of those same forces.

151. Fundamentally, the problems are not so much political as they are human. They involve the rights of a people which has lived in that beleaguered part of the world, a veritable crossroads of civilization, for several centuries. They also involve the deepest sentiment of a people which, despite its dispersion to the four corners of the world, has throughout the years maintained strong spiritual, cultural and emotional ties with the area. The situation is thus characterized by a clash of two nationalisms which, in keeping with developments in much of the world today, are trying to assert themselves.

152. There is, of course, nothing wrong with such a phenomenon. The tragedy of it is that in this case, as indeed in some other situations marked by recurrent conflicts today, the human mind has been unable to think of any better way of trying to accommodate nationalism than by the establishment of an exclusive nation-State, without the full and due recognition of the right to existence of another nationalism.

153. Thus, the long-term objective of our collective effort should be to seek an equitable and just accommodation between the Arab and Jewish nationalisms in the Middle East—a true and lasting accommodation, not based on force, but on a mutual recognition of rights and obligations. This is a historic task which the United Nations has initially accepted and one which it should now help the peoples of the region to accomplish. Finally, it must be emphasized that it is also a task that can be fulfilled. In this respect it

must be pointed out that the world can show many instances where the harmonious accommodation of conflicting nationalisms has been achieved.

154. Of course, the situation in the Middle East is further compounded by the fact that memories of the clashes between Arab and Jewish nationalisms are fresh. Moreover, the consequences of the hostilities of 1949 and 1956 having remained unresolved, they have now caused a third war to break out.

155. If we wish to avoid a recurrence of hostilities in the region—and this is the overriding concern of my Government, as I am sure it is the concern of all Member States of the United Nations—the least we can do is to make some kind of start in tackling the problems that arose as a consequence of those armed hostilities, at the same time as we earnestly and constantly continue the search for an equitable and just accommodation between the Arab and Jewish nationalisms in the Middle East.

156. While the situation created by the recent war cannot be divorced entirely from the framework of a general political settlement, since the recent brief clash was only a violent manifestation of an explosive situation of long standing, certain aspects of it should be viewed independently in the context of priorities within a possible and acceptable programme of political solutions, even if such a programme can now be envisaged only tentatively and in its general outlines.

157. Thus, the first requirement of a political settlement in the Middle East is the withdrawal of Israel forces from all Arab territories which they occupied during the recent war. On the other hand, it is only fair to expect that this withdrawal should be effected in an atmosphere in which all parties to the conflict will undertake the obligation not to use force. Such an undertaking on the part of all the States involved in the recent hostilities could also be strengthened by a guarantee provided by the great Powers to ensure the territorial integrity and political independence of all States in the Middle East. Since these Powers, acting in concert in the United Nations, are primarily responsible for the maintenance of peace and security, such a guarantee could be forthcoming either through the Security Council or through some other arrangement agreed upon by the great Powers and the Middle East States concerned.

158. The United Nations should make it clear that it will not recognize territorial claims based on, or advantages gained by, the recent war. In this connexion it cannot be emphasized too strongly that the international status of Jerusalem must be respected, and that no recognition should be given to any unilateral act to change that status.

159. In the view of my Government, no accommodation could be realistic in the Middle East unless the right of Israel to a national existence were respected in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. A mutual renunciation of all claims of rights of belligerency, as indeed of all hostile and belligerent acts, is the first obligation devolving upon all States living in the Middle East. Only then will their relations conform with the normal characteristics underlying the relations of all the other Member States of the United Nations with one another.

160. Secondly, the wrong and the injustice inflicted upon the Arab Palestinian refugees should be redressed; not only should their right to a just compensation for the property which they lost be recognized, but also they should have the right to return to their homeland if they so choose.

161. After everything is said about the Middle East, however, one thing must be made very clear: no lasting solution can be founded on force. One side may gain short-term advantages through force, but these advantages will prove to be illusory and evanescent the moment the other side gets ready for the next round. If we wish to lay the basis for a realistic solution to the problem of the Middle East, we shall have to break the vicious circle of the psychology of force whereby the temporary advantage of force will tempt one side to seek to impose a political solution, while at the same time the other side tries to redress the imbalance.

162. While the war in Viet-Nam and the situation in the Middle East have been to a great extent uppermost in our minds because of their dramatic escalation and the danger of big-Power confrontation which they present, the crisis of confidence which the international community is experiencing is, in no small measure, aggravated by the lack of any appreciable progress in the field of decolonization. True, some progress has been registered with respect to certain Territories whose significance in terms of the freedom of their peoples is obvious, but the same cannot be said with respect to the size of their populations and the areas which they represent. In a number of them, important although not always conclusive referendums have been held with a view to consulting the peoples concerned regarding their future.

163. We have generally acquiesced in such efforts, not without reluctance at times, whenever they seemed to us to be genuine and whenever there was no valid reason of an economic and strategic nature to cast doubts on the motive of the administering Power concerned, and when indeed the record of the administering Power with respect to the decolonization of other economically and strategically more important territories should allay all such doubts. In these instances my Government has felt that, given the short time available and the advanced stage of preparation of the election process, United Nations supervision of the conduct of referendums could have been merely symbolic. Thus, in our view, although United Nations supervision might have been desirable to safeguard the requirements of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), that should not become a valid reason to delay unduly, and in some cases quite unnecessarily, the self-determination process or to entertain misgivings as to the choice which the people themselves might make. But at any rate, we should not allow others to use such a pretext for their own purposes.

164. The situation in southern Africa, by far the largest remaining colonial enclave and the most significant in terms of population, presents a totally different picture. To those who in the past have had honest doubts, it should now be abundantly clear that we are no longer confronted in that part of the world with Portuguese colonialism, racism in South Africa, the usurpation of an international territory in South

West Africa, and the rebellion of the white settlers in Rhodesia—each defiance, as it were, on its own—but with an unholy alliance of these forces, not only in the political arena but decidedly also in the military field, in a master design to frustrate all United Nations decisions. This alliance is buttressed by trade with the West, and by the sustenance provided to it by international finance. This bastion of colonialism in southern Africa also disposes a significant military power, much of it acquired either by open or secret purchase of arms from the major Powers in the West or provided by them through a military alliance.

165. In these circumstances, the past year has demonstrated one thing vividly; that is, the futility of separate and piecemeal action by the United Nations when dealing with the problems of southern Africa. It should be clear by now that piecemeal and separate action will tend to frustrate the effectiveness of all such actions.

166. In this respect the situation in Rhodesia is a case in point. Whatever teeth there might have been in the selective mandatory sanctions voted by the Security Council—and it must be said that we maintained at the time they were contemplated that there would be not much to them—have been knocked out by the complicity and duplicity of South Africa and the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique in evading them by acting as middlemen and carriers to and fro of the prohibited commodities. It is now becoming increasingly clear that even if these sanctions were to be comprehensive and inclusive of all the commodities imported and exported to and from the Territory, the same routes and channels of evasion would no doubt be used successfully.

167. Despite the inescapable fact that the assumption by the General Assembly of the United Nations of direct responsibility for the administration of South West Africa would imply—in case South Africa continued its proclaimed and well-known defiance—that resort would have to be had to the enforcement mechanism of the Charter: all that the Assembly could see its way to decide on at its fifth special session was the creation of a Council which does not, in fact, provide for an immediate establishment of United Nations authority in the Territory. Its essential and immediate task is to undertake contact with the South African Government for the transfer of administrative functions.

168. Timid and limited as the mandate of the Council is, with no reference to enforcement action, whatever usefulness it might have had was, in fact, nipped in the bud by the refusal of the big Powers to participate in its work.

169. We are now awaiting the habitual negative reply from South Africa to a request by the Council to transfer to it all the functions of administration. When the unavoidable reply comes, the international community will be faced with yet another proof, if ever proof were needed, of South Africa's continued intransigence, and, we also hope, a reminder of its inescapable responsibility to enforce its decision concerning the destiny of a people for which it has always had responsibility.

170. The war in Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea continues unabated. In Mozambique, a similar war, but more intense and more ominous as a pointer to the future, has been raging for the last two years. Yet, despite the uprising of the people and the many decisions of the United Nations, no move has been made by Portugal to accommodate the wishes of the people. This was to be expected, because what has been so far done in terms of international action against Portugal has not been so painful as to make it see things differently. Moreover, Portugal is still getting, either through military alliance or through purchase, an adequate supply of arms to enable it to prosecute its colonial wars in Africa.

171. Apartheid, the State philosophy of the Republic of South Africa, is getting more elaborate and sophisticated with every passing year, with an imposing array of an ever-increasing intricate labyrinth of legislation and edicts. The system has now blotted out any semblance of political right the African and the other non-white peoples might have had. As was to be expected also, the elaboration of apartheid has necessitated an ever-increasing resort to repression.

172. The implementation of apartheid in South West Africa is also proceeding at an accelerated rate; it has now reached the advanced stage—as the Ovambo-land declaration points out—of carving up the entire Territory into non-viable, anomalous tribal units on the lines of the South African Bantustan.

173. Thus, if the United Nations is to solve the problems posed by the twin alliance of colonialism and racism in Southern Africa, it must recognize the problem for what it is: a concerted conspiracy designed to frustrate United Nations action in each and all of the territories in southern Africa. It behoves the United Nations, therefore, in response to this concerted defiance and conspiracy to launch its own concerted and co-ordinated series of actions by resorting to the enforcement mechanism of the Charter. Once this basic decision is made, the actual implementation could, of course, be effected in stages both with regard to the timing and the types of measures to be chosen. A resort to the enforcement mechanism of the Charter does not have to be, nor need it be, a call to arms, as we are sometimes given to believe. There are many methods of enforcement available to the United Nations. What indeed is lacking is the political will.

174. I have so far dealt with situations which are marked with hostilities and which also contain the seed for their ever-increasing intensification. It was only natural, therefore, that I should have dealt at length with them. But while we grapple at the United Nations with actual breaches of peace, we tend to lose sight of what varied use could be imaginatively made of United Nations machinery and diplomacy to settle differences among Member States, and in the long run to promote conditions that would work for peace and stability. Some aspects of this work have been felicitously called peace-keeping or peace-making. I shall now deal with some of them.

175. The United Nations effort in the economic and social field is one aspect of this long-term strategic planning for peace. The framers of the Charter em-

phasized the close relationship between international stability and peace, on the one hand, and over-all economic and social well-being on the other. If we keep this vital nexus in mind, perhaps our collective efforts in the economic and social field might take on the urgency and the sense of direction the problem in this area calls for.

176. If we accept the validity of this relationship and its long-term implications for a world which, on the whole, is increasingly getting poorer while it is baffled by the ever-increasing revelation of its unlimited potentialities for the satisfaction of the demands of a better world, we might perhaps regard United Nations efforts in the economic and social field as being not only humanitarian, but as undertakings which require the exercise of our collective responsibility. Unless we approach the problem in such a spirit, the present tendency to place increasing reliance on voluntary funds will no doubt erode in the long run the concept of collective responsibility enshrined in the Charter.

177. It has now become clear that the means of the United Nations and its family of institutions are being exhausted, while increasing demands are being made on them, especially by the developing countries. If we go by present indications, the future seems almost bleak; it appears as if the United Nations family of agencies may soon reach their optimum level of expansion, thus limiting further expansion and the launching of new programmes.

178. The United Nations Industrial Development Organization and the United Nations Capital Development Fund seem to be destined to suffer from a scarcity of funds unless the international community lives up to its responsibility.

179. As regards the United Nations institutions in the economic and social field, the effort to rationalize, co-ordinate and integrate their activities—an effort which has been going on for several years now, and which is still proceeding—seems to pay off in terms of better efficiency, economy and usefulness. Of course, this is a continuing task that will have to go on.

180. What is also auspicious particularly in this regard is that such a systematization of the institutional framework has been preceded in most cases by an appreciation of the interrelated nature of the problems of economic and social development and the need to approach them in an integrated and co-ordinated attack.

181. Trade, which is the mainstay of the developing countries, will receive another scrutiny from the international community at the forthcoming session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at New Delhi. After three years of intensive study and consultations, carried out mostly under the auspices of the Conference, it remains to be seen whether the forthcoming session will provide an opportunity for taking the kind of action that will contribute to correcting the trade imbalance that still exists as between the developed and the developing countries and will favour the expansion of international trade to the benefit of all.

182. I now turn to disarmament. Progress over the past year in disarmament—another effort connected with preparing and planning for peace—although significant in terms of achievement, is becoming increasingly fraught with new problems. The big Powers seem never to have come nearer to an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons than they were this summer at Geneva.

183. The Soviet Union and the United States have now submitted separately identical texts of a draft for a non-proliferation treaty. That the two great Powers have found sufficient common grounds and identity of interests to submit identical texts of a treaty is in itself progress. But that, on the other hand, they have failed to agree on an inspection mechanism despite intensive negotiations and that the whole question of inspection is left out does not seem to bode well for the future.

184. It is obvious that if a non-proliferation agreement is to be useful, it has to be based on an acceptable and mutual balance of responsibilities and obligations among those who will sign it, as well as on the balance of benefits and risks inherent in the system. The twin problem is thus to provide a suitable guarantee that atomic weapons will not be used against those who do not have them and that countries lacking nuclear power will not be deprived of the immense economic opportunity provided by atomic technology.

185. As regards the question of guarantee, I humbly submit that the proposal which my Government first offered in 1961 and to which it has since repeatedly called attention in the United Nations, that is, the convening of an international conference to sign a convention to ban the use of atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons in case of war, could be a useful corollary to any parallel undertaking and guarantee which the nuclear weapon Powers may give. The most useful step in this direction remains, however, the acceleration of progress in nuclear disarmament.

186. The sharing of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes under the supervision of the International Atomic Energy Agency could, in our opinion, given the best of efforts and co-operation, solve the problem of sharing atomic technology for peaceful purposes without raising the risk of proliferation. In this regard, there is no reason why regional institutions in this field could not be brought within the fold of the Agency without destroying the identity of interests of those regional institutions.

187. If the fate of a non-proliferation treaty is, in the long run, to depend on the speed with which nuclear disarmament is to be effected, it is equally true to say that the immediate prospect of its conclusion is contingent upon the extension of the prohibition of testing to include underground testing as well. As long as the super-nuclear Powers are allowed to go on testing underground, thus improving upon the sophistication of their nuclear and thermo-nuclear weaponry, it does not seem possible to persuade those who are on their heels as far as development in this field is concerned to accept an ever-increasing gap in their nuclear technology.

188. What is even more ominous is the fact that underground testing, connected as it is with the de-

velopment of anti-missile missiles, might usher in another arms race which would be harder to control.

189. In the field of disarmament, the signing of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America is an important milestone. It provides, for the first time in history, for a nuclear-free zone in an inhabited part of the world.

190. Let me say in that connexion that in Africa, also, we have made significant progress within the framework of the Organization of African Unity towards finalizing such a treaty, and it will not be too long before we can crown with similar success our endeavours in this field.

191. The signing by eighty States of a treaty prohibiting the stationing of nuclear weapons or any other kind of weapons of mass destruction in outer space and limiting the use of the moon and other celestial bodies to use exclusively for peaceful purposes is a signal achievement of our time.

192. Discussions regarding United Nations peace-keeping operations have been stalled at a time when the world has been reminded rather dramatically of their potential usefulness. Those who might have had misgivings about certain aspects of United Nations peace-keeping in the past should now understand that not only will it be in our common interest to maintain United Nations peace-keeping operations as a useful innovation, but—to the extent possible and, of course, by the agreement of Member States and especially that of the great Powers—the ability and capacity of the United Nations to act in this area should, in fact, be enhanced.

193. On a number of occasions, and particularly in the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations we have made known our assessment of the controversy surrounding the initiation, conduct and the financing of peace-keeping operations. It is our view that the problem is neither financial, nor constitutional for that matter, as we are sometimes given to understand. Basically and essentially the controversy is political, and it relates to the position of influence of the great Powers in the Security Council.

194. For the great majority of small and medium-sized States the political question of peace-keeping is one of making the Organization readily responsive to any exigency that might require United Nations action, without such badly-needed action being slowed down or hindered altogether by the requirement of great-Power unanimity.

195. What is required in future discussions concerning peace-keeping is to approach the problem in terms of what the problem is; that is, in terms of a political solution. In this respect, we have, for our part, indicated that a possible solution might be found by circumventing altogether the apparent constitutional dispute through the evolution of a number of gentlemen's agreements concerning the procedures to be employed for the initiation and financing of peace-keeping both by the General Assembly and the Security Council. We shall at the appropriate time again call attention to such an approach to the problem.

196. If we want to enhance the peace-keeping capacity of the United Nations, there is no doubt that we shall have to do some innovating by bringing into play some of the important provisions for safeguarding peace envisaged in the Charter. The Military Staff Committee, for instance, could be made to serve many purposes. It could, in our view, assume many functions related not only to enforcement action, but also to the planning and initiation of peace-keeping operations, while at the same time some role and responsibility could be found for it in the actual conduct and direction of peace-keeping operations.

197. The traditional means of pacific settlement of disputes—negotiation, inquiry, arbitration, mediation and conciliation—could be elaborated and institutionalized by a formal protocol to make their operation to some extent automatic. Regional organizations could be encouraged to play a similar role in their respective areas, thus complementing the efforts of the United Nations.

198. In Africa, we have continually sought, since the creation of the Organization of African Unity, to solve intra-African disputes within the framework of that Organization. Our Heads of State and Government have met without fail in the last four years. True, we have not always succeeded in solving all our problems, but let it be said, nonetheless, that we have always tried, and I submit that our contribution to peace is our constant attempt to solve our problems.

199. We have also provided in the Charter of the Organization of African Unity a vital link with the United Nations. At the practical level, we have also tried to associate our efforts with those of the United Nations. Thus, the presence of Secretary-General U Thant at the last session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, held at Kinshasa last month, underscores vividly this vital link between the United Nations and OAU.

200. These and other means of dealing with disputes should be studied. Before we can do all that, however, we shall have to free our imagination from the vestiges of the past. We have to learn to be neither afraid of innovations nor wary of them.

201. If the United Nations is to become an effective instrument in maintaining peace, there can be no doubt also of the fact that we will have to realize the promise of universality that is inherent in the very principles of the Charter. It is obvious today that the United Nations cannot be effective in practical terms in dealing with the problems of war and peace in South-East Asia, for example, and disarmament, without the presence of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

202. I should now like to deal very briefly with an item recently inscribed on our agenda at the request of the USSR, that is, the question of defining aggression. It is common knowledge that in the days of the League of Nations and also since the inception of the United Nations, the international community has continually sought to define in terms of international law what constitutes aggression. We now welcome the opportunity provided us by the inscription of this

item to discuss this question in the Assembly. We feel that it is quite opportune for the international community to discuss the new modes and methods of aggression that have become known to all of us, especially in the post-war years. Some of the newer means of aggression are, of course, related to new technological advances such as, for example, the wide use of the media of mass communication to subvert governments. What is important now in this respect is that we should try to identify conceptually what would constitute aggression in the context of the changing conditions of the times before we ask the technicians to translate these into international legal norms. This is a much needed service, as it is apparent that there is some serious confusion regarding what constitutes aggression. Only last week a spokesman of a neighbouring country, in an obvious attempt to present as innocuous the design of his Government for territorial annexation of a part of my own country, as well as that of another neighbouring State, had the temerity to explain that this could be done, apparently to him quite peacefully and legally, in the name of the principle of self-determination of peoples. As everybody knows, the principle of self-determination of peoples cannot, of course, be applied to a people which has already exercised that right for centuries. To clothe territorial designs with the time-honoured and highly respected principle of self-determination and to engage in hostile acts against neighbouring States in the name of a purposefully misconstrued principle is, in our understanding, to practise a form of aggression.

203. In the view of my delegation, the international community will be well served if the United Nations, even though it cannot define aggression in terms of precise and juridical norms, can identify, for the purpose of guidance, the types of action—with which we are all familiar—which do or do not constitute aggression or, at the very least, aggressive or hostile acts.

204. Having thus covered most of the problems that have been uppermost in our minds, I would not be consistent if I were to conclude my remarks without referring to the useful role the United Nations is playing in containing situations that could otherwise explode, and also in providing a suitable platform on which a continual confrontation of opposing and varied views can take place. Without the United Nations the world would indeed be a far worse place to live in. The fact that in the past year one or more of the principal organs has, at one time or another, been meeting throughout the year as Member States have found it necessary to bring their disputes to the United Nations, is, in itself, a testimony to the usefulness of the United Nations as an indispensable instrument of international diplomacy.

205. While the United Nations is in fact what we make of it, the opposite is also true to a great extent: we should be to some extent what the United Nations would want us to be. There is always room for give-and-take. What is important is that we should try harder and harder in our search for peace. We have to try harder, if only because we cannot afford to despair. On the contrary, we have an obligation to hope, even when there is little to hope for.

206. Mr. NWAKO (Botswana): At the outset, my delegation would like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election as President of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly. You are following a distinguished line of predecessors. Your immediate predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Pazhwak of Afghanistan, carried a very heavy burden with distinction during the twenty-first session of the Assembly and the special sessions on South West Africa and the Middle East. The whole international community is indebted to him for his service. My delegation wishes to express the hope that you will be more fortunate in the burdens you will have to carry during this session. We have no doubt that you will discharge the duties of your high office with the same dignity, impartiality and wisdom that we have come to expect from Presidents of this august Assembly.

207. The agenda of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly shows that the Assembly will be confronted, as usual, with a wide variety of subjects of great importance for the welfare of mankind and the maintenance of international peace and security. Some of these subjects have appeared again and again on the agenda of the General Assembly, and this demonstrates that the task confronting the nations of the world is a continuing one, with difficulties and obstacles that cannot readily be overcome. We must continue to wrestle with these problems in the hope that in the course of time solutions will be found and measures adopted which will enable us to fulfil more adequately the aims and objectives of the United Nations Charter.

208. I should like to refer briefly to some of these topics.

209. As a newly independent State, Botswana is naturally interested in the granting of independence to those countries and peoples that still remain under colonial rule in one form or another. Coming as we do from Africa, we deplore the fact that there still are a number of peoples and Territories in our continent that have not yet achieved self-determination and independence, and we would urge those Powers which continue to hold millions of people in subjection to give serious consideration to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. This refers particularly to Territories such as Rhodesia, South West Africa, the Territories under Portuguese domination, and to all other Territories under colonial domination.

210. The Government of Botswana has recently participated in the United Nations International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa. It did so because it is convinced that these evils should be rooted out from that part of the continent to which we belong and in which we are endeavouring to develop a society free from racial discrimination. The Government of Botswana will support all practical and reasonable measures designed to achieve freedom from racial discrimination and from the domination of one group by another in any part of the world.

211. It will be recalled that during the twenty-first session a resolution was adopted terminating the



Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa and deciding that the United Nations should assume responsibility for the administration of that Territory. At the fifth special session, it was decided to establish a United Nations Council for South West Africa to discharge this responsibility on behalf of the United Nations. We in Botswana are, however, uneasy about the impracticability of attempting to do anything in respect of South West Africa except in consultation with South Africa, which, *de facto*, administers the Territory. It is realized that the Republic of South Africa is at present unwilling to take part in such consultation, and we can only hope for an early change in this attitude. Furthermore, it is our hope that South Africa will not take any unilateral step to alter the international status of that Territory.

212. I will not at this stage expand at too great length on what will probably be the subject of separate discussion later. I would, however, like to say generally, in respect of Rhodesia, that the position of Botswana is what it always has been, and that is that Botswana strongly condemns the unlawful declaration of independence by the Rhodesian Front Government, and hopes for an early negotiated settlement which will restore a lawful government in which, after a relatively short period, the majority of people in Rhodesia will rule their own country on the basis of representation by an elected majority.

213. It will be recalled that limited mandatory sanctions were adopted against Rhodesia last year. It seems clear, however, that these sanctions have not brought about the desired results, and the whole question will have to be examined afresh to see what further measures should be adopted, especially by the United Kingdom Government.

214. So far as the Middle East dispute is concerned, there has been no substantial alteration in the Botswana viewpoint. Our belief, first, in the territorial integrity and political independence of all States in the Middle East, including Israel; second, in a termination of the state of belligerency; third, in a serious effort to solve the growing refugee problem in the Middle East; fourth, in free passage through international waterways; and fifth, a peaceful solution of the problem of Jerusalem, is unchanged.

215. All these questions require to be dealt with as a matter of urgency before another eruption breaks out in the Middle East. Botswana hopes very much that reasonable attitudes will prevail among all the antagonists which will make it possible for them to meet round the conference table and to work for a just, peaceful and lasting settlement which will be acceptable to and supported by the international community.

216. In respect of the Viet-Nam war, Botswana deplores the savage and wholesale destruction of life and property, the misery of the continual wounding and maiming of innocent people, the impossibility of social and economic development and of the raising of living standards for all because of the devastating war. It is, here again, most earnestly hoped that the two sides can be brought at an early date to the conference table and that the dispute can be settled peacefully and honourably. The international community as represented by the United Nations is anxious to have

this war brought to a peaceful and honourable end, and my delegation will support all measures intended to bring the parties in the dispute to the conference table and to allow the people of Viet-Nam to exercise the right of self-determination and to resume normal peace-time activities.

217. The question of the representation of China in the United Nations will no doubt again be considered by the General Assembly. This question is complicated by the fact that there are two States which claim to be China. In this connexion, my delegation would like to reiterate its previous stand. Ambassador Matthews said last year:

"My delegation finds itself unable to approve of the idea of doing justice to one group by doing injustice to another. We are probably all agreed that we should like to see only one China in the Assembly, but the question is whether it is the business of this Organization to seek to impose an artificial unity upon the Chinese people.

"The question of the unity of China is one for the Chinese people to solve. All we are entitled to say is that we are prepared to welcome to the United Nations all the people of China and to express the hope that they will find ways and means of coming to this Organization as a united people. But if, for the time being, they come as two Chinas, my delegation feels that we should accept them as such and do all we can to encourage them to resolve their difficulties, but not seek to impose a false unity upon them. Both Chinas, it would appear, claim to be working for the ultimate emergence of a single, united nation, but that day is not yet. In the meantime, we must recognize the realities of the situation as it is today.

"My Government is in favour of the admission of Communist China to the United Nations, but it is unequivocally opposed to the expulsion of the Republic of China." [1481st meeting, paras. 31-33.]

218. The delegation of Botswana is prepared to support all measures and efforts directed towards the reduction of armaments among nations to a level consistent with the requirements of self-defence. The armaments race in any part of the world is not only a crushing burden upon the country or countries involved but represents a constant threat to all, in that war may at any time engulf the whole world.

*Mr. Rutabanzibwa (United Republic of Tanzania), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

219. As a peace-loving nation, Botswana subscribes to the principle that war should be outlawed as an instrument for the settlement of international disputes. Botswana recognizes the right of every nation to defend itself against armed attack and that no nation should be allowed to benefit from its aggression. Aggression must be interpreted broadly to include the threat or the use of force to bring about change. Botswana will support all measures calculated to decrease tension between nations and to promote the settlement of disputes by peaceful means and the maintenance of peace and security. Peace is indivisible and therefore the maintenance of peace and security in all parts of the world is a matter of great concern to Botswana.

220. My delegation recognizes the danger to mankind represented by the possession of nuclear weapons, the necessity to limit the number of nations in possession of nuclear weapons, and the need for the protection of those nations which do not possess nuclear weapons, and it will therefore support all measures intended to promote international agreement on the use of nuclear power for peaceful purposes.

221. Botswana is already a signatory to the Treaty on Principles Governing the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies. In terms of this Treaty [Article IX], signatories to the Treaty undertake to be guided in their activities in this connexion by the principle of co-operation and mutual assistance, with due regard to the corresponding interests of all other States Parties to the Treaty.

222. I feel that it is necessary to add a few words on what is, in the minds of many, a major issue, and that is the relationship of States outside the Republic of South Africa with the people and Government of that country, and particularly the relationship of Botswana. You, Mr. President, and representatives are aware of the establishment of Botswana as a non-racial State in which all races can live in amity and self-respect, with equal opportunities for advancement. We are determined to succeed in this ideal, which we believe is becoming a reality. Indeed, it is our great pride that we feel that we have already gone a long way towards success, and it is gladdening that already several people of other races have become citizens of what is a predominantly black State.

223. We judge other countries by the standards which we have set up for ourselves and to the extent that the stand of South Africa on racial questions differs from ours, to that extent do we regret the South African attitudes. We cannot agree to the principle of separate development; we believe that all races can advance together to prosperity and happiness as one community, given the right conditions of education, standards of living and opportunity.

224. It has recently been reported that the Republic of South Africa is contemplating establishing diplomatic relations with African States on a basis of equality. Provided that such diplomats are accorded complete non-racial equality of treatment, that would be a step in the right direction, demonstrating that the barriers of race can with goodwill be removed. We think that South Africa cannot exist indefinitely in the African continent without African or black friendship, in the same way as we are convinced that the other States of Africa could profit from South Africa's friendship and benefit from its developed skills, expertise and know-how.

225. As I have said before, we should be able to move forward to prosperity together. South Africa, as the most highly developed State in Africa, is, we understand, prepared to offer technical assistance and aid to other States in Africa. Naturally, aid offered by South Africa will, like aid from any other country, be scrutinized very carefully for any strings that may be attached and will only be accepted if there are none.

226. In connexion with the situation in southern Africa, I wish to refer to a serious problem which has recently arisen in my country. Freedom fighters, originally from South Africa, returning from countries further north and desiring to re-enter South Africa to continue their struggle for freedom, have been engaged in military activities with Rhodesian security forces, and when hard pressed have retreated into Botswana, where my Government has been compelled, in accordance with our laws, to arrest them and to disarm them. Not only does this represent a serious security problem as far as Botswana is concerned, but it involves my country in economic and other difficulties with which it has to cope.

227. The international community cannot continue to overlook the seriousness of this situation, which may develop into something much more dangerous for the whole of southern Africa.

228. We can but hope and pray that the day is not too far distant when South Africa will change its present policies and fall into line with other nations in upholding fundamental human rights and freedom for all.

229. It will be futile if, in its desire to improve its relations with other African States, the South African Government does not take positive steps to remove the social, economic and political disabilities now suffered by its indigenous peoples. We would wish to see the Government of South Africa genuinely and unreservedly restore the natural rights and liberties of the non-Whites of that country. How proud would we be to see the day when we would have amongst us in this august Assembly a South African delegation which was truly representative of the cross-section of the population of South Africa. Botswana holds the view that South Africans of every colour or creed have a stake in their country and that all must share equally in the wealth and other gifts of nature with which it is so richly endowed.

230. In conclusion, I should like to say a few words on the matter of development. It may be thought that, because Botswana is a poor country, what I say concerns Botswana alone. This, however, is not the case. I plead on behalf of all developing nations and peoples. This century—and this applies particularly to the years since the Second World War—has seen unprecedented progress made in the achievement of self-determination and independence throughout the world by the developing peoples. Some peoples have achieved independence through the miseries of forceful rebellion against the former colonial Powers, but much has been achieved by and with the willing consent of those Powers. For this there is great reason for many millions of people to be happily thankful.

231. At the risk of stating the obvious, I should like to point out that in very many instances independence is somewhat of a mockery. Political independence—the ability to look the other man in the eye as an equal—is a splendid thing. It has been gladly welcomed and is most heartily appreciated. Pride may sustain an empty stomach, but the wearing of a loin-cloth when the other man is well fed and clad in elegant robes is not enough in the long run.

232. Eventually, standards of living throughout the world must be raised to a point where political inde-

pendence is matched by really viable economic independence. We are willing to use our maximum effort and personal endeavours to this end, in increasing measure as we overcome tribalism, sectionalism and other obstacles which frustrate us. But, except for a few lucky countries with natural wealth, we cannot do this without assistance. We look to the developed countries of the world, while they are endeavouring to raise their own standards, to do as much for us. Those of us who at present benefit from aid generously given are most truly appreciative of what has been done. But it is not enough that the burden of aid to developing countries should be carried by only a few countries in the world.

233. There will never be peace, nor prosperity, nor stability in this world until the wide discrepancy between the "haves" of the developed world and the "have-nots" of the developing world has been narrowed. In the same way as the devastated countries of Europe were assisted after the Second World War, developing countries can be helped until they can stand on their own, if only in their own interests of peace and security and their own peaceful further development, it seems vitally necessary that the more fortunate, wealthy developed Powers should ensure that the world in which they live should contain no soil in which the seeds of bitterness, frustration and disappointment can be sown. I would say that it would be most far-sighted and in the best interests of all the peoples of the world if those Powers' own development were slowed down if only to that little extent which would enable the developing countries not only to stand on their own feet but indeed to assist them in their own further progress.

234. The PRESIDENT: I now give the floor to the representative of the United Kingdom in exercise of his right of reply.

235. Sir Leslie GLASS (United Kingdom): The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Zambia has spoken at length, and with great and understandable intensity, of the problem of Rhodesia. This is a most important problem, a very difficult problem, and to date an unsolved problem. It cannot fail to be of the most grave concern to all of us.

236. But, in the course of his address, I regret that the Foreign Minister made a number of serious charges against my Government's policy in this matter. The Fourth Committee is, from today, considering in detail all aspects of this problem. My delegation has just this afternoon made a detailed statement of our policy, and I do not think it right to take up the time of the Assembly in answering the Foreign Minister point by point. I would appeal to him and all the representatives who heard his speech to read with care and an open mind the full statement made by my delegation in the Fourth Committee this afternoon.

237. I wish, however, to place now on record that my delegation firmly rejects the Foreign Minister's accusations. By way of correction, let me repeat exactly what my Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs said in the Assembly on 26 September:

"... of all these problems I am now discussing, the top priority for Britain must be Rhodesia. Here

we shall continue faithfully to pursue the action we have advocated and to carry out the measures we have put into effect. It may be difficult to measure exactly at any moment the progress we have made, but I should not wish anyone here at the United Nations or in Rhodesia itself to doubt the determination of my country to see the matter through to an honourable conclusion. There can be no going back." [1567th meeting, para. 104.]

238. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Austria, who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

239. Mr. TONČIĆ-SORINJ (Austria): I do not wish unduly to retain the General Assembly's attention. However, in view of certain remarks which the representative of Italy has made in his statement concerning my country, I consider it necessary briefly to exercise my right of reply in order to enable the General Assembly to form its opinion objectively and on the basis of information received from both sides. Indeed, both Austria and Italy suffer from the terrorist activities. I share the opinion expressed by the representative of Italy that it is the terrorists' intention to frustrate the conclusion of the bilateral negotiations between Italy and Austria. On the other hand, I must take strong exception to the apodictic statements made by the representative of Italy, allegations which in the terms in which they were presented are in no way substantiated by evidence, namely, that the terrorists come from Austria and find refuge there. I must furthermore categorically reject the generalized accusations, derived from these allegations that the Austrian Government is tolerating terrorism through negligence.

240. Austria has established stringent and, in their present form, quite unusually far-reaching measures in order to ensure security in border areas. Austria has put into effect the strictest possible control over all persons suspected of engaging in extremist activity. Austria is taking all security measures compatible with the principles of a country committed to the rule of law in order to fight terrorism. The fact that in spite of all these measures it has not yet been possible completely to eliminate the terrorism cannot be held against the Austrian Government, particularly since the Italian Government, in spite of the far more powerful apparatus at its disposal, has equally not succeeded in eradicating the terrorism.

241. In these circumstances, Austria has for years made the offer that the measures taken by the Austrian Government be impartially examined by an international commission of inquiry. This offer was made in the Special Political Committee [296th meeting] at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly and again in the Assembly's general debate during the eighteenth session [1217th meeting]. Only recently the Austrian Government has again reaffirmed this offer to the Italian Government through diplomatic channels. It has not been accepted by the Italian Government. I should like today formally to renew this offer.

242. Terrorism, wherever it occurs, grows out of unsolved problems. It is precisely because we firmly

reject violence that we strive with all energy for a speedy solution, through negotiations, to the problem of South Tyrol. I am, therefore, pleased to agree with the wish expressed by the representative of Italy in concluding his pertinent remarks, and I express the hope that the Italian and the Austrian delegations will soon be in a position jointly to report to the General Assembly on the successful conclusion of the negotiations.

243. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Italy, who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

244. Mr. PICCIONI (Italy): I should like in a very few words to reply to the Foreign Minister of Austria. The Foreign Minister rejected what I said in my previous statement, namely that the terrorism has its origin in Austrian territory, a territory where the terrorists are able to take shelter. The facts, however, seem to contradict flatly the words spoken by the Foreign Minister of Austria. In point of fact, it is the terrorists of Austrian nationality who confess—as was recently the case of their leader, Mr. Burger—to having organized and to intending to continue to organize in Austria terrorist activities to be carried out in Alto Adige. On the other hand, the fact that the Government of Vienna refuses to extradite a number of terrorists, contending that they are the authors of political and not criminal actions, confirms what I have said, namely, that the terrorists find shelter on Austrian territory.

245. As I already pointed out, what is relevant is not preventive measures but, rather, the results of such measures. These results show the inadequacy of the measures taken by Austria—otherwise, terrorist actions would have by now been brought to an end.

246. As to the activities of the Italian police, I am bound to point out that even in recent weeks they have prevented several acts of terrorism prepared by Austrian citizens, all of whom have confessed to their deeds. However, it is much more difficult to deny

<sup>1/</sup> Mr. Piccioni spoke in Italian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

access to Italian territory to all terrorists, which is the duty of the Italian police, than to prevent their leaving a territory, as we expect the Austrian police to do. Then, too, we have no knowledge of terrorist activities being repressed in Austria before they are actually carried out.

247. With respect to the proposed international commission of inquiry, we cannot accept it. The point is not to ascertain facts, since they are unfortunately all too well known because of their tragic results, but rather to prevent them from being repeated. What we see behind these Austrian proposals is rather the desire to carry out external political interference in a dispute of a purely legal nature concerning the implementation of the Paris Agreement of 1946.

248. For a long time Italy has proposed referring the matter to the judgement of the International Court of Justice. Why does Austria not accept this suggestion? Why does Austria instead request, or hide behind the request for, a committee of inquiry? I should like at this time once again to draw attention to the offer of the Italian Government.

249. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Austria has asked to speak again in exercise of his right of reply. I now call on him.

250. Mr. TONČIĆ-SORINJ (Austria): I apologize for taking the floor again, but the statement just made by the representative of Italy leaves me no other choice. In my statement this morning I explained the position of my Government on the problem of South Tyrol. After the observations of Senator Piccioni this afternoon I gave some additional information in connexion with the specific problem of terrorism. I can only emphasize that the accusations made by the representative of Italy against the Austrian Government are without any foundation. They will not gain credibility by mere repetition.

251. I have nothing to add to what I have said in the course of the debate, and I leave it to this Assembly to form its own opinion on the merits of the case.

*The meeting rose at 6.50 p.m.*