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President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHwak
(Afghanistan).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. KAPWEPWE (Zambia): At this twenty-first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, we are in the midst of a world of rising tension and turbulence. Nevertheless, it is encouraging to note that our hope and yearning for peace have correspondingly risen to a new zenith of expectation. This is in itself gratifying, because it shows that humanity, even in the midst of the flaming passions of war, is still convinced that peace is the ultimate goal, and the only hope for man's survival in a modern nuclear age. However, let us not forget that the peace we seek must be a peace founded on justice and dignity for all the peoples of the world—not only for the privileged few and, indeed, not only for the strong and mighty.

2. The Republic of Zambia is of the opinion that our Organization should strive assiduously to achieve maximum universality. Because of this noble objective, we are always happy to welcome new Members in this world Assembly. We believe that the United Nations has paramount responsibility for the peace of the world, but we also know that the power of the United Nations is, in this regard, as strong as the power Member States give it to discharge its international obligations. Furthermore, the responsibility of the United Nations with respect to the peace and security of the world depends, for all practical purposes, on the universality of its membership and on the extent of the co-operation of its present Members in carrying out their obligations under the Charter.

3. Turning now to the problem of Viet-Nam, my delegation shares the concern of most of the Member States which have already expressed their views at this session on the war in Viet-Nam. The damaging effect this war is having on the world could hardly be exaggerated. In my opinion, no other problem of our time has contributed so much to the dampening of the

international climate. Viet-Nam hovers like a dark cloud over our heads, and continues to undermine the ideals and principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

4. We plead with all those responsible for, and intimately connected with, this conflict to end the hostilities, lest they expand to global proportions; we believe—we are convinced—that war has never brought any benefit to mankind but only the destruction of life. In the type of war now carried on in Viet-Nam, there is no victory; there is only the hardening of feelings and the worsening of human relations.

5. We are aware that opportunities leading towards a negotiated settlement have always existed. We believe that the 1954 Geneva Agreements may be a sound basis for a solution, if this is the desire of the parties concerned. In fact, any success in achieving an immediate settlement would evoke overwhelming praise from all the peace-loving peoples of the world, as it would, indeed, be in accord with their mutual desire.

6. I should like to move on now to the next point: the question of China. The question of China is bound up with the concept of the universality of the United Nations. The United Nations cannot make purposeful and binding decisions concerning disarmament and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons without the active participation of the People's Republic of China in all international deliberations. The attempt to isolate China, therefore, seems to us to be in contradiction with the declared purposes and principles of the Charter; it can only serve to postpone the solution of a number of important items on the present agenda; it is proving to be a costly exercise in futility and frustration. A nation of over 700 million human beings cannot be isolated. Our conviction is based upon the considerations that, first, the People's Republic of China is the largest nation on earth; secondly, by their ability to bring such a vast population under one coherent national administration, the leaders of the People's Republic of China have made an astonishing achievement in organizational skill; and thirdly, China's power and influence are growing steadily.

7. In the light of these facts, Zambia would like to appeal to the United Nations not to take the "problem" of China lightly. We have reason to believe that within the next few years China will probably be so big and strong a Power that it will be in a position to pose a real "threat" to this Organization and to the world, if it so wishes.

8. In this situation, the only solution seems to be the acceptance of China as a Member of the United Nations. My delegation feels that the best interest of this Organization would be served if the People's Republic

of China took its rightful place in this Assembly and in the other organs of the United Nations. This would be in the best interest of world peace, brotherhood and understanding and, I am sure, would strengthen the international mandate and moral power of our great Organization.

9. Like most developing countries, Zambia has a keen interest in world trends in economic development. In this area of human concern, it seems to us that there is urgent need for a reorientation of attitudes and approaches in both the industrial countries and the developing world. It is unfortunate that efforts made within the spirit of the United Nations Development Decade have been disappointing. Perhaps too much emphasis has been placed on the availability of foreign capital to developing countries, and too little regard given to the basic long-term needs of their peoples.

10. The United Nations should avoid polarization into rich and poor nations, where the rich are implored, in speech after speech and at session after session, to give more to the poor. It is a fact that social and cultural patterns in the developing countries are fundamentally different from those in the industrial countries. In this respect, we feel that there is great need for organizational direction in self-help, in co-operative endeavour and in the building of technologies suitable to the best cultural, social and economic interests of developing countries. Perhaps the United Nations should seriously consider the establishment of an international agency devoted to this special kind of function, which could also direct itself to ways and means of arousing enthusiasm in peoples for the economic development of their own countries. We hold the view that the prevailing attitude in the Development Decade should be transformed from one of international charity, where the rich give alms to the poor so that the gap between them may be narrowed, to one of self-help and self-reliance in the economic structuring of the developing lands.

11. The developing countries must be given the kind of aid and assistance that would best make them capable of standing on their own feet, thereby making their economic life viable and self-sustaining. The technologies and innovations introduced in these countries by means of capital aid are in most cases only short-term palliatives or patch-work; they sometimes aggravate the social problems, or create new ones, for which there are no solutions in these countries. The developing countries should be encouraged to develop, process and consume their own foods and other basic necessities. The Development Decade would be on the way to being well conceived if serious consideration were given to a change of course in this noble direction.

12. May I now turn to decolonization—the question of decolonization on the African continent is a matter of priority to Zambia and to all African peoples. We anxiously look forward to the day when the whole of Africa is completely free of both old and new forms of colonial domination. We are weary of the dangers of colonialism, the divisions it has brought to our continent, the bloodshed and confusion, the racism and hate that go hand in glove with the colonialists. The inhibition of economic, educational and social develop-

ment brought about by this hostile and diabolic element directed only towards human and economic exploitation is well known. We in Zambia have for long suffered at the hands of the colonialists so we know what they are capable of, and what they are up to. We would earnestly urge the United Nations to pause a moment, in all seriousness, and to ponder with the utmost sincerity the serious implications of what is now taking place in southern Africa.

13. Let it not be recorded in the annals of history that the whole of southern Africa was recolonized by a handful of white racists while the United Nations watched with indifference and indecision. If this unscrupulous racist minority in southern Africa is allowed to get away with its inhuman policies and unpardonable robbery while the United Nations looks on and remains ineffective, world peace and security will, in no small measure, be threatened. Let me warn those who live in a fool's paradise: the day will never come when slavery and domination will be accepted. Cannon and mortar will never stop man's fight for freedom and dignity. Further, let me remind this Assembly that the minority racist régimes and the colonial administrations in southern Africa are as much a threat to this Organization as they are to the indigenous people of Africa. The United Nations must stand up and assert its authority to protect its own principles on human rights, freedom and the equality of man, if it is to preserve its own dignity, integrity and survival.

14. I come now to my next point, which is the question of South West Africa. Before I continue, I should like to congratulate all the Members of this Organization who have supported the withdrawal of the Mandate over South West Africa from the South African régime. I think I should mention the United States Government which, a few days ago, stated from this very rostrum that South West Africa should be removed from the jurisdiction of South Africa. We in Zambia hope that the great Powers, and all the peoples of the world, will support this kind of action. It would promote a deep respect for this Organization on the part of all mankind.

15. May I quote an excerpt from this morning's newspaper, The New York Times, because there are some people who are under the impression that the South African régime is not moving slowly to envelop South West Africa. While we are talking and verbally condemning South Africa, this is what took place yesterday:

"The South African Government plans to extend the stringent measures of its Suppression of Communism Act to South West Africa.

"A new bill published in Parliament today would give South Africa greater powers to control subversion and terrorism in the territory. All the Government's sweeping security measures would go into general effect in the territory, which South Africa administers under a League of Nations mandate."

Although this may be confusing—some people might say that it is a very good thing to do, because it is a measure to suppress communism—this is a cover to suppress the black man in the southern part of Africa.

It is an Act with a misleading name—one definitely aimed at suppressing the African people.

16. On 30 September 1966, my delegation spoke at length to this Assembly on the question of South West Africa [1425th meeting]. We made our position very clear and I shall not repeat what we said then, except to remind this Assembly that our stand on South West Africa is firmly based on a deep sense of morality and human justice. The actions of my country are guided by certain unshakable principles and by a deep moral sense. The true greatness of any State is measured in terms of the moral power which it exerts. Zambia will not resort to expediency as a substitute for policy.

17. To reiterate, the issue regarding South West Africa is a moral and political one, falling within the ambit of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960. The so-called legal problem is nothing but a diversionary episode that could go on and on in perpetuity, with absolutely no positive result. The point of greatest importance is that the indigenous people of South West Africa demand their inalienable right to freedom, independence and self-determination from the yoke of a colonial system imposed upon them from 1885 to the present. It is now the duty of the United Nations, which is legally responsible for the present international status of South West Africa, to take effective action in response to the wishes of the indigenous people of the Territory. Let it not be said that the people of the world were dormant in the United Nations when the people of South West Africa were being suppressed and oppressed.

18. I turn now to another subject, that of Southern Rhodesia. However, before I go on with my prepared statement, I should like to thank on behalf of the President, Government and people of Zambia, all those peoples of the world who assisted us tremendously during our troubled days: those who gave us financial assistance, material and moral support. We thank them very much indeed; we appreciate their generosity.

19. To return to the question of Southern Rhodesia: first of all, I wish to thank Member States who have given the cause of the Zimbabwe people such encouraging support here in the United Nations and in other international forums. In particular, I wish to thank our friends in the Commonwealth for their support at the meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government at Lagos in January and at the London Conference in September.

20. The question of Southern Rhodesia has been before this body for many years, and representatives here in this forum will recall my presence at the twentieth session and the appeals I then made on the matter. As a result of our effort, this Assembly adopted three important resolutions on the question of Southern Rhodesia: 2012 (XX) of 12 October 1965, 2022 (XX) of 5 November 1965, and 2024 (XX) of 11 November 1965. The latter resolution, in particular, condemned the unilateral declaration of independence made by the racist minority in Southern Rhodesia on that very day, and asked the United

Kingdom to take immediate action to put an end to the rebellion.

21. At the Lagos Commonwealth Conference in January of this year, Mr. Wilson gave us the assurance that economic sanctions would work in a matter of weeks. We had asked for the use of force. His proposals did not seem very realistic to us, but coming, as it were, from a British Prime Minister, one thought that it bore some stamp of accuracy and authority. Doubtful as we were, we left the Lagos Conference hopeful that perhaps Mr. Wilson had something hidden up his sleeve.

22. But weeks became months, and it was at this stage that the African States decided to raise the matter—which was showing grave signs of deterioration—before the Security Council. In May of this year, I returned to address the Security Council, as an emissary of the Organization of African Unity, on this very explosive issue. The OAU had commissioned Senegal, Algeria, and Zambia to represent the united African case on Southern Rhodesia before the Security Council. Africa was never more united on any issue in its whole history at the United Nations. With prudence and reason, the African States joined forces and presented a joint resolution purporting to offer a solution to the problem. The Security Council, however, in its wisdom rejected the African proposal in favour of the United Kingdom proposal for having "talks about talks" with a rebellious régime that had previously been pronounced illegal by both the Security Council and the United Kingdom Parliament.

23. Africa was never more shocked and disappointed. It became clear that the motivation of the United Kingdom Government was racist. That Government, by the influence it exerts in the Security Council—particularly on the issue of Southern Rhodesia—was able to use this high organ of the United Nations in a way detrimental to its own interest and incompatible with its obligations under the Charter. We pay tribute to those Members of the Security Council who voted in favour of the African draft resolution.

24. The United Kingdom Government has never been right on Southern Rhodesia. From the very start, the Wilson Government played right into the hands of the racist minority in the Territory. By declaring in advance that force would not be used in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence, the British Government actually gave the green light to the speedy proclamation of the unilateral declaration of independence. One still wonders whether this was a tactical error on the part of Mr. Wilson, or whether it was a plot intended to produce the result that it did. Time will give us the true verdict. It is interesting to note that, on the question of the use of force to quell a rebellion, Rhodesia has been favoured to an extreme unknown in the annals of British colonial history. The entire British Empire, upon which the sun was intended never to set, was built on the concept of force, and indeed it was force that preserved it throughout its unholy history. It is ironical, therefore, to hear a British Prime Minister denouncing the use of force necessary to quell a colonial rebellion which the United Kingdom Parliament had condemned as a gross insult to the Crown.

25. The history of the world is replete with examples of the British applying force to impose and maintain their imperial authority for as long as they thought it necessary in their interest. We have not forgotten their use of force in America, India, Kenya, Cyprus, British Guiana—I am happy now to say "Guyana"—and present policy in Aden, to name only a few; the same is true in regard to Zambia, which still nurses fresh memories of mass killings, imprisonment and restrictions. In speaking here today on the subject of the British use of force, we speak from experience. If we had been able to usurp the British authority without suffering serious consequences—as the Rhodesian Whites did—we would have grabbed independence many decades ago. If grabbing independence from the British had been as easy as Rhodesia's illegal unilateral action, Zambia would never have waited until 1964.

26. It is not enough for Mr. Wilson to cover up with the admission that he had been too optimistic on the issue of the speedy effectiveness of economic sanctions of a permissive nature. This self-criticism, genuine as it may be, is not going to change the present situation. What we need is a willingness for action to repair the damage done. What we ask for is a readiness to depart from a policy that has proved for nearly one year to be wasteful and ineffective, to a new one that offers positive hope of speedy success. Economic sanctions—the famous economic sanctions, as decided on by the United Kingdom Government—have failed, and we are convinced that they have failed.

27. If the United Kingdom Government could break away from its present disastrous course—a course that from all indications will result in hatred, bitterness and frustration in the world, a course that is likely to pave the way for a racial holocaust in Africa—then Africa and the African peoples would not hold this present Southern Rhodesian tragedy against the British Government and people, and the way would be open for a bright new era of increased partnership and co-operation between the independent peoples of Africa and the United Kingdom.

28. From the very start, Zambia was right on the issue of Southern Rhodesia. We saw this rebellion as a hydra that was going to grow, increase in virulence, and get out of hand. That is why we asked the Wilson Government for the speedy application of force to keep the danger from spreading. As we saw it, a rebel is a rebel, and the colour of his skin is immaterial. Instead of trying the criminals who had been declared rebels by the United Kingdom Parliament, the British Government undertook to hold talks with them, while the victims of their crime, the people of Zimbabwe, are left completely unrepresented. What could be the purpose of such "kith and kin" talks? Zambia was, of course, shocked by this disgraceful double-dealing on the part of the British Government.

29. In Zambia, we give this question of Southern Rhodesia the topmost priority. From our point of view, it affects policy at every level; it affects our economic development plans and our social attitudes; indeed, it is part of our every-day lives. I must stress here that the British Government has been preaching and saying that they are aiding Zambia; they are not aiding Zambia. We want to make it very clear: they

are paying compensation to Zambia because they are responsible for the problem of Southern Rhodesia. They are responsible constitutionally, and therefore they are not helping Zambia but are paying compensation for the damage that they are doing to our economy. We are spending money that was not budgeted for; we are spending money which should have gone to meet the needs of our poor people. We should have answered the needs that our people have, but because of the carelessness and selfishness of the British Government we are involved in unavoidable expenditure.

30. When we ask the British Government to use force, we are not prompted by a love of bloodshed and violence. Actually, it must not be forgotten that the Rhodesian action has been, in itself, a demonstration of blatant violence; thousands of Africans have been thrown into Ian Smith's prisons for their political views; the leaders of the African nationalist parties have all been detained and subjected to restrictions; and many African people have been shot and killed in resisting the illegal régime. Yet, the end is not in sight. Southern Rhodesia has become a mass prison where a racist régime, supported by a white minority, seeks to impose its rule with the tactics of a police state on the African majority that outnumber them in the ratio of eighteen to one. When we ask the British Government to use force, we are asking it—for it is the one legally responsible—to quell this violence that is now being inflicted on the Zimbabwe people. It is our conviction that a British military presence in Southern Rhodesia would minimize the violence and bloodshed. Because we love peace, we ask the British Government to step in and do their duty to the people of Southern Rhodesia, to the British people, and to mankind. The use of force by the British Government still remains the only effective way of bringing an end to the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia.

31. Zambia is convinced that the policy of sanctions, without the will to back it up with force, is not going to work. We hold this conviction because of our knowledge of the geography and the political realities in southern Africa. Southern Rhodesia has borders with South Africa and Mozambique. Unless the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique and the régime in Pretoria are willing to go along with permissive sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, the British sanctions policy seems doomed to failure; its failure has already been well demonstrated in the past months.

32. Our position on the Southern Rhodesian issue is guided by a profound sense of peace, human justice, and morality in the conduct of international affairs. We ask the British Government to see this issue in its pure human context, without the bias of race or economic interests.

33. *I should like to make some observations on what Mr. George Brown told this Assembly in his speech a few days ago [1436th meeting]. I am grateful to Mr. Brown for his open acknowledgement of the fact that "time is running out". This is exactly what we in Zambia were saying months ago, and that is why we have been urging the British Government to recognize the urgency of the situation. If time is running out, it is because the United Kingdom Government has failed to perform its duty in Southern Rhodesia and has sought to postpone the solution of a*

dangerous rebellion that calls for an immediate, positive response through the use of force. We in Zambia know that the longer this problem remains unsolved the more complicated it will become, not only for the sovereign people of that Territory but for the whole of Africa and, indeed, for the whole of mankind.

34. Firstly, the United Kingdom Government must declare itself resolved to grant independence under majority rule to the colonial Territory of Southern Rhodesia in accordance with the universal Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960. In this connexion, the granting of independence to Southern Rhodesia on the basis of majority rule must be unconditional and there must be no deviation whatsoever from this stand. When the United Kingdom representative says that "the British Government will not consent to independence before majority rule unless the people of Rhodesia as a whole are shown to be in favour of it" [*ibid.*, para. 62], this is shocking. This is a trick which some people here may not see, but it is double-dealing. It is interlocked with "talks about talks". And I understand that today the United Kingdom Government has sent another British official to start talks about talks.

35. The situation is one in which power is left in the hands of a minority, in which the African people, although it is the majority, cannot be granted independence unless the whole population of Southern Rhodesia says yes, which can never happen. The white minority would never agree that it was right to give independence to the majority—they would never say it. Now, how can the British Government change its own traditions that exist in all its colonies? It is when the majority expresses the wish to be free that they impose their independence on the people. But in Southern Rhodesia they want the terms for independence to be conditional and say that all the people must agree—which is impossible. This is a trick to maintain the power of the minority. What is the use of coming here and saying such things as: "I am a great socialist", or "I believe in socialism and the principles of socialism", when this is not matched by action? Why, English people say that "actions speak louder than words". There is no point in coming here and blowing one's trumpet about one's principles when they do not accord with one's actions.

36. We cannot forget what the Labour Party has done to Africa. The President of Botswana was exiled by the Labour Party for eight years. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was suggested and implemented by the Labour Party, costing a lot of lives and money. There are so many wrongs in the history of the Labour Party, yet its spokesmen stand here and tell this great Organization that they are great socialists. But their actions do not match their words. I thought socialists believed in majority rule, because majority rule is the machinery of democracy, and yet we are told here: "unless and until all the people agree"—which is an impossibility.

37. "Talks about talks" have been referred to as "nonsense about nonsense". In fact, you may be surprised to know that Ian Smith has been holding up

a sell-out. If he had agreed to return to the 1961 Constitution and the British Government had inserted the five or six famous principles into that Constitution, it would have meant that the Africans in Rhodesia would have been sold for ever because the minority would have given safeguards to the majority. This is exactly what happened in 1910 in South Africa. The British put safeguards into the Constitution of South Africa, and when South Africa saw that the British were out of sight they withdrew those safeguards. And what is happening today in South Africa?

38. This is the same method that the British Government is trying to employ in Southern Rhodesia, whereby they seek to cheat the world and the people by putting safeguards in the Constitution and yet leave the power in the hands of the minority. And when a group of people are determined to govern by themselves, what is to stop them from removing those safeguards? If today Smith can throw out the Constitution of 1961, what is to stop him from throwing away the safeguards when he is left alone?

39. Now, we are real socialists, not just speaking socialists but acting socialists.

40. The British Government has come here to say that unless the Commonwealth members give them support—but this is not true; the British Government has the full support of this Organization—as you heard from my quotation from one of the resolutions adopted by this Assembly [see para. 20 above]—for action taken to quell the rebellion immediately. It was this Organization that gave it authority to act. Not only that, but the whole of Africa agreed that the British Government should topple Smith. Africa gave it full support, and the Commonwealth Conference in London recently also supported it.

41. Now, it is not support that is lacking for the British; it is courage and sincerity. Support they have; the whole world supports them against Smith. But courage and sincerity are lacking. Let the British come out. Let them not hang onto the primitive policy of kith and kin. That philosophy is old and primitive. We are living in an age in which we are all brothers: black, white and yellow. The world has become so small that we do not consider ourselves different and can cling no longer to old and primitive methods of segregation, of kith and kin. We ask the United Kingdom Government to move and not stand idle. It has the support of the peoples of the world. We, too, have given it our support in three places: in this Organization, in Africa and in the Commonwealth. It can proceed with the task tomorrow, but what is its real interest? It is interested in talks, so that it can sell out the African people. We condemn the move, because the result will be the selling out of the four million people of Zimbabwe. It is right and proper that we should be sincere in this matter, because I cannot see why the United Kingdom Government is complaining about support; the support is there. We are asking it to act.

42. Economic sanctions have so far failed. Selective mandatory sanctions, which the British are proposing, are going to fail if Portugal and South Africa refuse to support them. The imposition of total mandatory sanctions will also fail unless it has the complete

support of all. The only answer to this situation is force. And we say this, not because we love force, but because we are convinced that, if the people are to be rid of this problem, it is the only effective means of doing so. Despite what one may say, even if we all fail, the African people of Zimbabwe are going to employ force. In the final analysis, it is force that will resolve the present situation in Rhodesia. There is no doubt about that. We can try any other method, but it is force that will end that problem.

43. It is shameful for anyone to think of asking Mr. Smith to hand back the government. He will not yield control to anyone. What the United Kingdom Government is doing is ridiculous. Smith would never give up his power; power is too sweet, for good or evil. The fact that when power is obtained one consolidates it with the police and the military should make us realize that the person who takes it loves it, and he will not turn it over to anyone by means of negotiation.

44. May I conclude by emphasizing the following points: first, the hostilities in Viet-Nam must be brought to a speedy end and the Viet-Nameese people, both North and South, must be left alone to solve their problems and to be masters of their own destiny.

45. Second, the dignity, prestige and moral power of the United Nations would be considerably enhanced by the presence and participation of the People's Republic of China in our international deliberations.

46. Third, the United Nations should seriously consider the establishment of an international agency devoted to research in technologies and innovations suitable to the best long-term interests of the developing countries. Such an agency would also devote itself to the ways and means of arousing enthusiasm in peoples for the economic development of their own countries.

47. Fourth, Zambia supports efforts towards decolonization throughout the world. We are opposed to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations—apartheid, "Bantustanism", and racism. We specifically denounce Portuguese colonialism in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea.

48. Fifth, the question of South West Africa is essentially a colonial problem and therefore falls for consideration within the ambit of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960

49. Sixth, the question of Southern Rhodesia calls for urgent action by the Security Council, because the United Kingdom representative, who should know the situation, recently admitted that time is running out.

50. Seventh, "talks about talks" have failed to stem the tragic tide in Southern Rhodesia and from all indications things are getting worse.

51. Eighth, Zambia holds the view that force is the only effective instrument to restore legitimate government to Southern Rhodesia. Indeed, mandatory economic sanctions, comprehensive or selective, presuppose the use of force.

52. Ninth, the United Kingdom Government does not have to worry about support in performing its duty in Southern Rhodesia. Indeed, support has never been lacking; the whole African continent was behind the United Kingdom last May in the Security Council and, as an emissary of the Organization of African Unity, I can assure the United Kingdom Government that Africa will back it to the hilt, if it will only act and accept its responsibility in Southern Rhodesia.

53. Tenth, Zambia calls for immediate positive initiatives from the United Kingdom Government in the Security Council with a view to putting an end to the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia which continues to threaten the peace and security of Africa and the world. I should like to invite the United Kingdom Government to take this matter to the Security Council, because there is no point in saying we should wait until the end of the year, since all methods tried so far have failed. I think it should come to this Organization and be assisted in bringing down the minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. I hope that, as good socialists, we will work together co-operatively.

54. Mr. SAKKAF (Saudi Arabia):^{1/} In the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate.

55. Mr. President, your unanimous election to the Presidency of this session of the General Assembly is an indication of the high esteem in which you are held by the international community. Since I cannot surpass those who have preceded me to this rostrum in extolling your high qualifications, I do add my voice to all that has been justly said about your representing admirably the Asian character. No wonder that this is so. For does not Afghanistan lie in the heart of the mother continent? For is not Asia the cradle of ancient civilization and diverse cultures which radiated knowledge and wisdom to the whole world? And it would not be amiss, Mr. President, for me to say that you represent the best tradition in Islamic culture, which is one of the major contributions of Asia to the world at large.

56. As representative of a Government which is honoured to be the custodian of the holiest cities of Islam, where in his bounty God Almighty chose to inspire the Prophet Mohammed—peace be upon him—with his divine wisdom and a way of life that has been since adopted by hundreds of millions of believers, I do salute Afghanistan and her illustrious son presiding over this august Assembly. It is no less an honour, Sir, for the continent of Asia than it is for Saudi Arabia to have you as our President at a critical period in the life of this Organization. I humbly pray God that He will guide you in all your endeavours to be a link amongst all nations so that justice and peace may ultimately prevail over this troubled world.

57. It behooves me to express my deep appreciation of the dedicated services rendered by your predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Fanfani, the Foreign Minister of Italy, who, with admirable tact and skill, succeeded in bringing harmony to this Organization after it was drifting towards total inaction. It was not by resorting

^{1/} Mr. Sakkaf spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

to the old Roman discipline but rather by his keen insight, innate refinement and, above all, by his affectionate smile, that he won the hearts of all. After the light of the United Nations had dimmed at the nineteenth session, Mr. Fanfani brightened it with a new Italian Renaissance.

58. On behalf of my Government, I hereby declare that we have been greatly concerned in Saudi Arabia ever since the Secretary-General decided, after deep thought, not to accept renewal of his mandate for another term. Even in less turbulent times, it is not easy to find a Secretary-General who would be able to withstand the stress and strain of his office.

59. We can doubt how profoundly dismayed U Thant must have been whilst time and again, as a messenger of peace knocking at the doors of the great Powers, to plead with them the cause of humanity, he has been rebuffed, either by negative stands or untenable excuses, which were merely high-sounding and rhetorical, and obtained no positive results. At the expense of his precious health and disdaining his own comfort, he persisted in his noble endeavours to pave the way for peace, which is still being obstructed by those who have blocked their ears to the cries of humanity and shut their eyes, so as not to witness its sufferings.

60. Instead of so many Powers addressing their appeals to U Thant to reconsider his decision not to serve again, let them sincerely search their hearts and mend their ways, so that, in the end, the voice of reason may prevail. U Thant needs no persuasion to stay. What he needs are the fruits of goodwill on the part of those who hold the fate of humanity in their hands. Therefore, all we can hope for, at this stage, is that those who are in great measure responsible for the present unsatisfactory state of world affairs will take drastic steps to save humanity from the threat of global war, which may erupt should the voice of wisdom be stifled and grave warnings remain unheeded. Be just unto humanity and you will be just unto U Thant.

61. The Saudi Arabian Government and people rejoiced when our sister State Indonesia decided to resume its place in this Organization. We have no doubt that this great country is in a position to play a major role in promoting peace and prosperity in Asia.

62. The emergence of an independent Guyana from its former colonial status has gladdened our hearts, and we seize this opportunity to tender our deep congratulations on its admission to our Organization.

63. Each session of the General Assembly affords its members the opportunity to clarify their internal and external policies and present the Assembly with those facts that may well have a bearing on international relations between States. I may be allowed, in making such a survey, to touch upon the progress Saudi Arabia has recently achieved in both the social and economic fields.

64. Since His Majesty King Faisal has been chosen to direct the affairs of the State, our people have enjoyed more political stability and continuous prosperity and this has deeply impressed observers of

progress in the Middle East. Schools and hospitals are on the increase, social security is assured for all those who have no source of income. The cost of all these services is borne entirely by the State.

65. The family remains the corner-stone of our society. The young respect and listen to the counsel of their elders, and the elders cherish and encourage the young.

66. Our economic resources are being developed to the full extent of our financial means. Moreover, His Majesty's Government has pursued a most liberal policy by opening the doors of the kingdom to foreign investments. Perhaps one of the most significant facts is that Saudi Arabia continues to shy away from all sorts of unorthodox ventures in the fiscal field. His Majesty's Government has always opted for a balanced budget as it clings to the belief that deficit spending would sooner or later lead to insolvency.

67. The Saudi Arabian people at large firmly believe that without their deep faith in God, all their material blessings might turn into a curse, as they have often done when man becomes so arrogant as to think that, as an individual, he is an end unto himself, without due regard to the well-being of his fellow men.

68. Saudi Arabia is first and foremost an Islamic State. Our religion does not only embody a moral code which has withstood the test of centuries, but Islam also provides a legal system which regulates the conduct of man in his relations with other men.

69. To those who have, time and again, inquired whether we have a Constitution, we have always replied that the Holy Koran is our Constitution. If the teachings of that sacred book were not adequate for guiding man in this world and enriching him with the noble purposes of life, there would not have been well nigh six hundred million Moslems today, nor would there have been thirty-six independent Moslem States, leaving aside large Moslem communities living in other countries—Moslems who have staunchly clung to their faith even when atheism became the creed of the States in which they live.

70. One of the most moving events witnessed annually is the Moslem pilgrimage to the Holy City of Mecca and other Holy Places in Saudi Arabia. Hundreds of thousands from the four corners of the earth, belonging to all races of the earth, from all stations of life, with no distinction whatsoever, and no privileges whatsoever, humbly mingle with one another, and in unity commemorate the universal brotherhood of man.

71. A good many leaders from every clime have impressed upon His Majesty the special responsibility thrust upon His Majesty as custodian of the two holiest cities in Islam; and it has come to pass that, during the last few years, a good number of Moslem monarchs and Heads of State, have earnestly discussed with His Majesty the necessity of promoting better and closer understanding among Moslem peoples everywhere. They have also suggested the need to examine questions of common interest, and explore ways and means for setting in motion any action that may bring peace and prosperity to all Moslems. Last, but not least, it has also been thought advisable by many Moslem leaders, during their pilgrimage, that efforts

should be made to live in harmony with the adherents of other world religions who have the same aspirations.

72. All this underlies the various trips His Majesty King Faisal deemed appropriate to make during the last year or so to various Moslem countries in both Asia and Africa, with no other purpose than to fulfil the desire of his brothers, who have graciously invited him to visit them.

73. In view of the fact that such visits by His Majesty have been wilfully misrepresented as paving the way for political alliances, I am authorized to declare, unequivocally, that there is nothing further from the truth than these assertions.

74. Inasmuch as we are all fearful that the conflict in Viet-Nam may well engulf us in a world war, we, the representatives of small countries, can only appeal to the major States directly or indirectly involved to lose no more time in search of a just solution acceptable to all the parties concerned, lest the rapid turn of events get out of hand and belated regrets be of no avail.

Mr. Waldheim (Austria), Vice-President, took the Chair.

75. We small States are in no position, even collectively, to exercise world power. However, we would be failing in our duty if we did not endeavour to wield a moral force and thereby influence not only the Governments of the major Powers but also public opinion the whole world over.

76. As long as we Arabs are members of this Organization, and as long as our long history attests to the fact that we have never submitted or become resigned to injustice perpetrated upon our people, we shall ever raise our voices and exert all efforts until such injustice is eliminated.

77. It is almost twenty years since an alien people—hailing mostly from Eastern European countries, and using their religion as a motivation for political ends—were encouraged, and so far, have succeeded, under the aegis of the United Nations, in colonizing Palestine.

78. Though the General Assembly recommendation to partition Palestine [see resolution 181 (II)] is in opposition to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, it was exacted from the United Nations by a narrow majority, under tremendous pressure from certain great Powers, and, since 1947, has written a tragic chapter in the modern history of the Arab East.

79. It is not only most regrettable, but an extremely tragic and drastic departure from diplomatic practice and civilized behaviour that the offices of a Member State of this Organization—none other than Syria—have been occupied by Zionist hoodlums in New York City. We should like to know whether this city of New York is the headquarters of the United Nations or the capital of world Zionism par excellence. This is not the first incident of this nature, whereby the freedom and dignity of the diplomatic missions, whether African or Asian, have been subjected to outrageous insults. It is no exaggeration to say that harm or indignity

befalling any Member of this Organization is harm and indignity which touches the heart of every Member, and of the Organization itself.

80. I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to set forth before this august Assembly, in the most unequivocal language, the position of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on this dangerous problem. We maintain that this flagrant Zionist aggression in occupied Palestine is the most pernicious form of colonialism—similar to the European colonialism in Africa and other parts of the world—and must be totally eradicated.

81. If, indeed, the United Nations is earnestly determined to liquidate colonialism in all its forms in the world, then it is incumbent upon this world Organization to deal with Zionist colonialism in occupied Palestine with as much determination as it has been dealing with other colonial problems.

82. We wish to reiterate that peace in our area will never prevail as long as this flagrant, illegal Zionist enclave continues to exist in a part of our Arab homeland.

83. My Government will make itself amply clear, with full details which our representative in the Special Political Committee will provide on this issue, to those new Members of this Organization who may still be in the dark about the truth of the Palestine tragedy.

84. Colonialism is not entirely dead, as one would expect it to be after it was solemnly declared by the great Powers that the Second World War was fought for the liberation of peoples wherever they are living under a colonial yoke. There are still sizable regions, especially in Africa, which some metropolitan Powers in Europe consider as provinces of their own countries. Angola and Mozambique are flagrant examples. This idea of considering an overseas territory, thousands of miles away, as being an integral part of a so-called mother country has been exploded and utterly discredited.

85. That being the case, we venture to expect that, should the majority of the people of French Somaliland opt for independence, the French Government would meet the wishes of the Somali people by granting them independence in conformity with the French Government's policy of decolonization in Africa.

86. It is, therefore, strange that the United Nations should still feel complacent about legalistic quibblings of the sort our Portuguese and South African colleagues annually bring to this rostrum, when they should know that such arguments have long since become obsolete.

87. The Mandate of South West Africa and the so-called Portuguese provinces in Africa are nothing but naked colonialism. Who can still justify apartheid as a State policy, except the bigoted South African and Rhodesian racist Governments? When found in some of the highly developed countries, racial discrimination is at least being fought by the authorities, using various means, including national legislation. But in South Africa, new legislation is enacted to reinforce apartheid in all its nefarious forms. It is indeed high time that the Security Council took this grave issue

in hand, as sooner or later it is bound to threaten world peace.

88. Across the Red Sea from the eastern coast of Africa sprawls the Arabian peninsula, which has not been immune from turbulence during the past few years. It is heartening to note that the United Kingdom has finally come to the conclusion that it is the better part of wisdom to withdraw its forces from South Arabia, so that the people in that area may achieve the full independence they deserve. We sincerely hope that, by 1968, a new Arab State in South Arabia will emerge and become worthy of taking its rightful place in the international community.

89. While the United Kingdom has acted wisely in deciding to relinquish its control over South Arabia, it does not seem to see the dangerous portents surrounding Oman. This unhappy land—many of whose sons have been slaughtered or dispersed—does not enjoy the freedom to which it is entitled. The régime in Oman might well be called British colonialism by proxy. Until the question of Oman is settled in accordance with the wishes of the people at large, we are afraid there will always be trouble in that area.

90. If I have so far taken the liberty of defining certain phases of our policy and expressing our views on certain issues, I do not wish to create the impression that other problems are of less concern to our Government.

91. We were gratified that the Tashkent agreement^{2/} was designed to bring together two sister States in the Asian sub-continent, so that they could, in a peaceful atmosphere, find a just solution to the Jammu and Kashmir dispute in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter as well as the decisions of the Security Council on this issue.

92. When in the late forties the Saudi Arabian delegation, participating with others, elaborated the principle of self-determination into a clear fundamental human right, India played a major role in supporting that endeavour which, after five years of cogent debate with the colonial Powers, was crowned with total success. The right of peoples and nations to self-determination now stands as the corner-stone of the two draft Covenants on Human Rights. Furthermore, many General Assembly resolutions have clearly stated that all the other fundamental human rights may not be enjoyed fully unless a people is free to determine its own fate.

93. We appeal to both these sister States not to lose sight of the provisions of the Charter and the various resolutions on human rights which made it possible for many peoples under colonial rule to attain their independence. Suffice it to say that the peoples of India, Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan are all brothers, and should settle their differences like brothers.

94. It has been intimated to us that some serious exchanges of views have recently taken place at a high level between the Governments of Greece and Turkey. Such desire on the part of these two Governments to come to an understanding regarding the problem is Cyprus is indeed most encouraging. My

Government has not swerved from the stand which it took after long thought last year during the twentieth session. If we touch upon this issue again during the present session of the Assembly, it is because this Organization is still dealing with it. Since 1951—and even earlier—our delegation has played an important role, joining its efforts with the efforts of those who clamoured for a free and independent Cyprus. The records of the United Nations attest to what I say. We were all jubilant when Cyprus was admitted as a fully fledged State to the United Nations. To us, the inhabitants of that island, whether Greek or Turkish in origin, became free and proud Cypriots, inasmuch as the Greeks and Turks were free and proud citizens of their respective countries. Therefore, it saddened us when, after Cyprus had hardly gained its independence, talk of partition and union with one country or another became the focal points in a dispute which led to the shedding of innocent Cypriot blood. Furthermore, quite a number of States, including Saudi Arabia, which had striven in the United Nations for the independence of Cyprus, had done so with the full understanding that Cyprus would not merge with Greece or Turkey. Politically, our stand is still the same.

95. Any debate in the General Assembly would be lame unless each Member State pronounced itself on the question of disarmament and nuclear weapons. We, the small States, consider ourselves fortunate in not suffering from the complexes of the world Powers. No argument is valid if it claims that it is imperative for the major Powers to keep up the armaments race, for there can be no end to emulation in this field when new lethal weapons are being invented and manufactured in deep secrecy. The small nations can appeal to the great Powers until eternity, but unless these Powers are jolted by the gravity of the worsening situation into making a halt, the pessimists in this world may be justified in believing that the whole of mankind is doomed.

96. Mr. BA (Mali) (translated from French): The twenty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly opens, to our deep regret, inauspiciously, under the shadow of the most serious episode in the crisis that has shaken our Organization for many years, and especially since the accession to independence of many developing countries, which, as we know, has profoundly changed the balance of world forces. This crisis merely reflects the more general crisis of the colonialist system of imperialism. It has been suggested that the resignation of U Thant precipitated a crisis: but we must place this resignation in its true context within the over-all international situation. U Thant did not resign because he felt his burden was too heavy or that he was too tired and wanted to rest. He did not resign because he was weak or did not know which way to turn.

97. U Thant's resignation is a dramatic and at the same time noble and courageous gesture, a cry of distress and alarm at the inexorable march of international events towards a world war, at a time when the United Nations, the instrument of international peace and security, is paralysed and no longer able to play the role given it by the Charter. U Thant's resignation is an appeal to the world conscience to awaken and to restore to the United Nations its

^{2/} Tashkent Declaration of 10 January 1966.

responsibilities and its rights. His resignation is an unreserved condemnation of the attitude of certain great Powers that have abdicated in face of their duty, and certain small non-aligned Powers that have refused to play their role in maintaining a balance of world forces. U Thant's resignation did not precipitate the crisis: it is merely a consequence of the crisis in the United Nations. But why is the United Nations paralysed? Mali has already given the answer, in recent years, from this rostrum of the General Assembly, and will repeat it today.

98. The United Nations is paralysed because one of the great Powers of the world, arrogant in its supremacy of force (as one of the most outstanding United States Senators, Senator Fulbright, the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate, has himself recognized) has violated the sovereignty of a free and independent country which it is bombing daily, destroying towns and villages and subjecting a courageous and proud people to indescribable suffering. By such action, this Power has violated the principles of the United Nations Charter, of which it was one of the main architects. It has violated the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements and has committed flagrant aggression against an independent State, although it is precisely the maintenance of international peace and security with which it is charged under the United Nations Charter. If the policy of brute force, the policy of arbitrary and unilateral intervention in the domestic affairs of an independent country, is henceforth to take the place of the rules of international law and the principles of the Charter—as we have already seen in the Dominican Republic and in Cuba—then the law of the jungle may prevail in future in international affairs.

99. The United Nations is paralysed because it is not capable of fulfilling its obligations in the face of this violation of the Charter, since its universality is being impaired by efforts, employing pressure, manoeuvres and blackmail, to prevent the restoration of the rights of a people who constitute one quarter of the whole of mankind, and the admission of certain countries that are refused membership in this international Organization on abstract legal grounds. But how can the United Nations make an effective contribution to the settlement of the Viet-Nameese problem as long as the People's Republic of China and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam are not Members of the Organization? The reason why those countries and the National Liberation Front deny the United Nations any role and there are no prospects of positive action by the Organization under present circumstances, is that they realize—and rightly so—that their rights cannot be fully defended and safeguarded until such time as they have an equal voice with other Member States. Let those who speak of possible United Nations intervention in the Viet-Nameese conflict and those who preach a "United Nations role" simply ask themselves whether they would agree to their own vital interests being discussed and settled without them: let them ask themselves whether they would tolerate any discussion of their problems in their absence.

100. We raise the question of Viet-Nam from this rostrum because events, and life itself, impose this

problem, in all its gravity and incalculable consequences, on the universal conscience.

101. The United Nations is paralysed because, in its present form, it is powerless to intervene where it should properly intervene; it is powerless because, in its constituent bodies and in its Secretariat, there is an imbalance in the relationship of world forces. However great the integrity and impartiality of international civil servants, those who are "excluded" and "banned" from the United Nations cannot be prevented from mistrusting the Organization and wondering whether they can expect any justice from it. Are they not right to doubt and mistrust our aims and intentions when they have been systematically kept away for years?

102. The United Nations is paralysed because it is today politically and practically impossible for it to prevent wars of aggression; for if the Security Council faithfully reflected the reality of our times and was able to act as it should, how could the unilateral and arbitrary interventions of certain great Powers against small States be explained and justified? Yesterday it was Suez, Cuba, the Dominican Republic; today it is Viet-Nam.

103. The United Nations is paralysed because, as a rule, the resolutions of the Security Council, like those of the General Assembly, remain to a great extent a deadletter; because seventy-three resolutions against South Africa have not toppled the abominable racist régime of Pretoria; because not one of the many decisions against the Portuguese colonies has been complied with; and because the measures prescribed against the racist and illegal régime of Ian Smith are being ignored by the great and by most of the small.

104. Finally, the United Nations is paralysed—and this must be said—because the great Powers seem to prefer discussion and negotiation outside the United Nations. More and more is heard of the special responsibilities of the great Powers, and some are even toying with the idea of setting up a weighted voting system that would create a kind of supremacy for the great Powers, in proportion to their financial contribution to the Organization and their opinion of themselves. And, on the other hand, the small Powers, regrettably, are not sufficiently anxious to impose the views of the vast majority of peoples by co-ordinating their policies and synchronizing their actions.

105. Thus, we see that the United Nations is living in an unreal atmosphere. For how many years have we been talking of disarmament, the cessation of nuclear tests and the control of outer space? Yet we all know that all agreements, discussions and negotiations will be fruitless and vain as long as they do not include all the nuclear Powers, without which no agreement can in fact work.

106. U Thant has been asked to reconsider his resignation. Why? So that he may continue, powerless and disillusioned, to witness the collapse of the Organization to which he has unceasingly devoted his efforts, his energies, his dedication and his life? So that he may continue to preside, from the thirty-eighth floor, over the downfall of the United Nations?

So that he may bring ignominy upon himself? U Thant is right in refusing a second term of office under these conditions, and our respect and admiration for his worthy and noble stand are shared by the peoples of the whole world.

107. Let us first of all mobilize our efforts to settle the problems besetting the international organization. Every day, every hour, let us campaign against the dreadful war in Viet-Nam. Let us co-ordinate our efforts to ensure that the aggression against North Viet-Nam ceases and that South Viet-Nam, led by the glorious army of the National Liberation Front, realizes its aspirations. Let us stop giving aid to the aggressor by justifying his attacks against North Viet-Nam or his presence in South Viet-Nam. Let those who state that the puppet régime of Saigon has the right to appeal for external assistance remember their own experience in the struggle against colonialism and realize that the soldiers of the National Liberation Front, who are fighting in the rice fields and the jungle, are waging the same struggle that they, like other African and Asian peoples, waged for their national independence. All this means that if we want U Thant to reconsider his decision or if we want a possible successor to be able worthily and honestly to accomplish his task, it is essential that those who bear the responsibility for the aggravation of the world situation and those who, by their passivity and indifference, perpetuate this crisis, should act immediately to create the conditions in which the Organization can operate soundly and effectively.

108. First of all, the bombing of North Viet-Nam must stop, the foreign troops in South Viet-Nam must withdraw, the National Liberation Front must be recognized as the only valid negotiator—for it is the Front that is fighting, and it is the Front that is being fought—and the settlement of the Viet-Nameese problem must be negotiated within the framework of compliance with, and complete implementation of, the Geneva Agreements. The Viet-Nameese people alone must decide how they wish to be governed in future, without outside interference.

109. Finally, if the United Nations is to play the role it ought to play, it must be "restructured" and must stop ostracizing certain countries; the People's Republic of China must resume its seat in the Organization; the Secretary-General must have the wherewithal to make his contribution to the maintenance of peace; and the great Powers must cease to think in terms of power and force and learn to regard the United Nations as an instrument of peace and not of pressure on the great number of small States.

110. A distinguished representative has stated, in this very Assembly: "The greater a nation's power, the greater is its responsibility for peace". We endorse this statement provided it is more than just a slogan. Those who can do most can, indeed, also do least. Such a Power, if it really wants to maintain peace and retain the services of U Thant, a tireless worker in the cause of peace, can say to U Thant tomorrow: "In the name of peace, I ask you to remain at your post, I shall halt the bombing of North Viet-Nam, I shall begin the evacuation of military forces based in South Viet-Nam, and I propose a round-table

conference with the National Liberation Front, North Viet-Nam and all the signatories of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements; and, lastly, the Charter will no longer be violated."

111. In our opinion, this would be the best way to retain the services of U Thant and to consider the cause of peace in South-East Asia and perhaps throughout the world as victorious. The United Nations would then be saved from the disintegration which now threatens it.

112. You will have remarked that throughout my analysis of the continuing crisis which imperils our Organization year after year and of which the resignation of U Thant is but one of the dramatic consequences, I have been led to emphasize what is, in the eyes of my delegation, the problem of the hour: the war imposed upon the people of Viet-Nam. In the opinion of the Government of Mali, the Viet-Nameese conflict must take precedence over all other problems because, in the present state of international affairs, it is the one which more than any other raises the question of whether there is to be war or peace. On its speedy settlement will depend peace or a deterioration of the world situation ending in a world war.

113. The position of my country is well known and has not varied; my country staunchly supports the struggle of the martyred Viet-Nameese people. At the opening of this twenty-first session of the General Assembly, it is with deep dismay that all peace and progress-loving countries note the obvious desire of the imperialists to exterminate this brave people. Our Organization can and must face its responsibilities—it must not be a helpless witness of genocide.

114. In the name of the principles of the Charter, in the name of the permanent humanitarian principles of all ages, our Assembly must halt this massacre of innocent victims, the bombing of schools, marketplaces and houses, the use of poison gas, the destruction of an entire nation's means of production. It is time to bow to the wishes of all the peoples of the world, including the great people of the United States, only 42 per cent of whom, according to Dr. Gallup, are in favour of the war in Viet-Nam. It is time to listen to the agonized appeals of hundreds of millions of peace-loving, honest people of every nationality, way of thought and religion; the appeals and encyclicals of the Pope and those of many prominent persons in the United States, Senators and Representatives, whether it be William Fulbright, Robert Kennedy, Mansfield or Pastore, or the Vice-Chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy who only recently implored the United States leaders and Chiefs of Staff not to use nuclear or thermo-nuclear weapons in Viet-Nam.

115. The unpopularity of the war in Viet-Nam needs no further demonstration. The legend of the North's aggression against the South no longer deceives anyone, no more than the old outworn bogey of communism, all slogans intended to disguise the real situation, that is the national liberation struggle of a people who have risen as one man to defend their country. An end must be put at once to the long Calvary of the Viet-Nameese people if the rest of the world is to avoid the risk of a general conflagration.

116. Hitler too began by disregarding treaties and agreements and despising world opinion, he too had a power complex and believed in the superiority of a "chosen" people over the rest of the human race. His fight, for a moment victorious, ended in blood and universal condemnation. Men of peace and progress such as we must say "No" to genocide, "No" to the kind of adventure that begins with the destruction of a small, peaceful and courageous people and may well end in a Hitlerian extravaganza that will spare no one.

117. Since we are all convinced of the vanity of a military victory over a people as fiercely determined as the heroic people of Viet-Nam, we must find a peaceful and realistic solution. My delegation believes that the four-point programme of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the five-point programme of the National Liberation Front remain perfectly valid. We also believe that in order to make possible a meeting at the bargaining table, de-escalation is essential and troops and military supplies based on the national soil of Viet-Nam will have to be withdrawn. Talks could then open in an atmosphere of calm and realism, within the framework of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962—for the aggressive manoeuvres against the peaceful peoples of Cambodia and Laos must also cease.

118. The initiative would then be returned to the Viet-Nameese peoples, who are alone entitled to determine freely their future and to decide on the ways and means of reunification, to make their own choice in full sovereignty. This is the self-determination of peoples, this is the pledge of peace and security in this heroic and ravaged Indo-China which has been fighting for a quarter of a century for its freedom and its right to an independent national life.

119. Fundamentally, whatever happens in Viet-Nam directly affects the interests of all the countries of the Third World. If aggression wins in Viet-Nam, each one of us risks being its victim tomorrow, because what the imperialists are fighting against in Viet-Nam is the right to the just struggle for national liberation which every people—including the people of the United States—has had to wage. It is interesting to remember that President Kennedy, when he was only a member of Congress, uttered a serious warning against all Western intervention in Indo-China, during the Franco-Viet-Nameese war.

120. The Third World must condemn this war of extermination by the world's greatest military and economic power against one of the smallest countries. The honour and the dignity of the small nations are worth as much as those of the Great Powers. Only if the latter bear in mind the sovereign equality of States, which is one of the basic principles of the Charter, discard their power complex and refrain from pursuing a "big stick" policy, can an era of understanding and brotherly co-operation—transcending ideology, race and religion—begin in international relations.

121. We hope that the worthy successors of Lincoln, Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy, in a surge of greatness, will put an end to this undeclared war by deciding to accept the realistic proposals put forward

by many countries which are friendly to the people of the United States.

122. My delegation, anxious to work for a real peace among all nations and to strengthen our Organization, has never ceased to advocate the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. For us it is not a purely formal question which is automatically laid before the General Assembly each year. At this point, the presence of the People's Republic of China is vitally necessary to the Organization itself, for one fact which is at present universally recognized is that we cannot in these days examine any problem at the international level without at the same time feeling the need for the People's Republic of China to take part in its solution.

123. The United Nations can no longer be conceived as serving the interests of a single group of Powers. Either it will be an organization on the world scale or it will have failed in its task. Its reason for existing is still to bring nations together, not to divide them. Its essential purpose is to preserve peace by permitting a dialogue among all peoples without any distinction, on a basis of strict equality and respect.

124. Every day makes it clearer how impossible it is for the international community to exclude any longer from great decisions which affect the future of the whole human race the country which holds nearly a quarter of that race. The Chinese people are one and indivisible, and their true Government is in Peking. To claim that they are represented by Chiang Kai-shek's régime is a denial of justice which the United Nations can no longer tolerate.

125. There is another phenomenon which has dominated the international political scene for the whole of this decade: the fact of colonialism, in its most abominable form, apartheid.

126. Of course, the international community long ago realized all the danger which these two plagues constitute to humanity. It is true that six years ago the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, in resolution 1514 (XV). The Special Committee which was set up to study its implementation has so far carried out its duties effectively. There is also the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa. These are positive contributions, in the sense that they demonstrate the determination of nearly all States Members of the United Nations to wipe out these two phenomena completely as systems of shameless exploitation of man by man, contrary to the spirit of our time, and thus to the spirit of the United Nations Charter.

127. Each year, our Assembly reaffirms the Declaration on decolonization by adopting a general resolution in which it recognizes the inalienable right of the subject peoples to self-determination and independence. It has exhorted the administering Powers to cooperate more closely with the United Nations, calling upon them to apply the resolutions which it has adopted to hasten the liberation of millions of human beings who are still suffering under colonial rule. Lastly,

it has recognized the legitimacy of the national liberation movements of the oppressed peoples and their right to freedom and dignity, a right which is written in the Charter. In our view, it is a question now of implementing principles which we have for the most part recognized. The end of colonialism should come now, this very year.

128. When all the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council continue to be ignored—not to say flouted—by the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and their allies, and when these two Governments, scorning the unceasing appeals of the entire world, continue to encourage the white racists of Southern Rhodesia to follow their example, we cannot but express here our anxiety as regards the future of this region of Africa. In fact, a year ago, we made a prophecy at this very rostrum which has, alas, since come to pass, for today Ian Smith is governing by force in Rhodesia. The racist minority of white settlers is imposing its will on four million blacks in their own country—Zimbabwe—contrary to all human laws. All of us, every day, see this state of affairs being consolidated, some countries offering scarcely veiled assistance and others not even deigning to decide what action is necessary to prevent it. Economic sanctions against Ian Smith are not enough; the United Kingdom, which is solely responsible for the sorry state of affairs in Rhodesia, must, in obedience to the General Assembly, bring itself to use force, which is all that is capable of restoring order and legality in Zimbabwe. The dilatory manœuvring of the Wilson Government must cease.

129. The future of the former British High Commission territories of Botswana and Lesotho, whose independence we hail, cannot but be uncertain: landlocked territories, in the heart of the immense empire of apartheid, these countries are, now more than ever, threatened in their sovereignty and in their economic and social development, since the Pretoria régime no longer leaves any doubt of its real intentions, after the judgement handed down by the International Court of Justice on South West Africa.^{3/}

130. The recent statement by the International Court of Justice was like a dagger in the heart of all Africans, for it has merely strengthened the lust of South Africa for all this area left to its mercy by the defunct League of Nations. We urge those judges who assumed the grave responsibility of such a decision to examine their consciences as men. There can be no doubt that they will feel, as well as the weight of their verdict, the disappointment and indignation of other men. We think of the three million Africans now handed over to their executioners because of the complicity of seven members of an institution whose aim, by a tragic irony of fate, is to do justice, to ensure equality and to defend the rule of law and international custom.

131. We cannot refrain from denouncing the attitude of those capitalist Powers which are supporting and encouraging the white racists of southern Africa. The African nations have sadly come to the conclusion

that the encouragement given to the régime of Ian Smith, and the persistent contempt shown by Portugal and South Africa for our resolutions, result from the fact that the imperialists wish to continue through these régimes to pillage the vast wealth of Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and South West Africa. The independent African States are entitled to demand that these Powers should reconsider their policy of investing in non-self-governing countries and should dismantle their military bases there.

132. There are urgent tasks awaiting men of goodwill. Vigorous action must be taken to force the usurpers to give up their madness in Rhodesia, in South Africa, and in the Territories under Portuguese rule, before it is too late. The States Members of the United Nations must live up to their responsibilities in the face of the tragedy that besets the colonial peoples and those which live under a régime of racial terror. The United Nations should tolerate no longer the existence of forms of society that degrade human beings.

133. The dark picture that is emerging in this part of southern Africa, which mankind as a whole must now be aware of, must not prevent us from saluting a happy event: the recent accession of Guyana to independence and its admission as the one hundred and eighteenth Member of the United Nations. Mali had the privilege of voting in favour of that admission when it came up in the Security Council. On that occasion, we did not fail to greet the courageous struggle waged by the people of that country to free themselves from the colonial yoke. I should like to repeat to the representatives of the new State present here the congratulations of the Government of the Republic of Mali, and to assure them of my delegation's desire to co-operate with them, as with all Members of this Assembly, in the achievement and consolidation of the objectives which the Organization has set for itself.

134. Since the beginning of this year, the Republic of Mali has had the honour of sitting on the Security Council, the organ charged with the maintenance of international peace and security. My country appreciates the full weight of the responsibility and the confidence which its brother States and friends have placed upon it in these circumstances. Our brief experience of the work of this body has been enough to show us how certain particularly explosive situations, as for example that in Palestine, persist.

135. We know how this tragedy began. The fate of the Arab people of Palestine is unjust and intolerable. Indeed, it is impossible to remain any longer impervious to the fact that a million and a half human beings continue, after nearly two decades, to live outside their country. The Arab refugees from Palestine must return to their homes and to the land of their forefathers. This is an inalienable right which cannot be ignored indefinitely. The peace and stability of the entire Middle East are at stake. The Government of the Republic of Mali, which has often displayed its sympathy for these people forced into exile, once again reaffirms its unswerving support for their courageous efforts in the last twenty years to recover all their rights in their fatherland.

^{3/} South West Africa, Second Phase Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 1966, p. 6.

136. There are other very urgent tasks with which our Assembly must deal. They include an examination of the situation created by the armaments' race. In fact, as long as trouble spots continue to exist at certain points on the globe, the arms race will be a permanent distress to peace-loving countries. Conscious of this danger, my Government has joined with those who have advocated the early convening of a world conference on disarmament. It is quite clear, however, that the success of such an enterprise pre-supposes the participation of all countries, without exception.

137. Foreign military bases implanted by force or by intolerable pressure in the national territory of small States should be eliminated. The Organization of African Unity has always condemned the existence of foreign bases in Africa. It must, more than ever now, be vigilant to see that the African continent does not become the "refuge" for the dismantled bases of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Europe. Moreover, the Organization of African Unity has always demanded that the continent of Africa should be a nuclear-free zone, protected from the spread of nuclear devices. Africa should regard as its enemy any Power that assists in the "atomic progress" of South Africa, which dreams of dominating and reconquering the entire southern region of the continent.

138. Another important question is that of interference in the domestic affairs of States, which is in our view the chief cause of international tension. It is at the bottom of all sorts of conflicts between States—the most striking example is the war in Viet-Nam. For more than a year now its favourite field seems to have been Africa, where neo-colonialism has brought about the conflicts we have been discussing in order to impose régimes that are in the service of the colonialist trusts and monopolies. In the countries where coups d'état have resulted in qualitative changes for the people, imperialism at bay creates insecurity and instability, and prepares the way for puppet régimes which collaborate with the colonialist exploiters and offer no prospects for development or for building an independent national economy.

139. Interference in the domestic affairs of other States must cease. To this end, my delegation supports the USSR draft resolution on the implementation of the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty [see A/6397] which should bring into operation resolution 2131 (XX) unanimously adopted by the Assembly at its twentieth session.

140. We shall also support the initiative of the Czechoslovak delegation regarding the "strict observance of the prohibition of the threat or use of force in international relations, and of the right of peoples to self-determination" [see A/6393], because of its direct implications for the struggle of the peoples of Africa and the Third World against the old and new colonialism.

141. Another important question which attracts the attention of my delegation is the Korean question, which is also automatically included each year in the

Assembly's agenda. In our view there should be an immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops occupying South Korea under cover of the flag of the United Nations, and the notorious United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea should be disbanded. The inalienable rights of the Korean people must be respected. The maintenance of peace in the Far East depends upon it.

142. In the field of growth and progress, the persistence of a phenomenon which seems to be characteristic of our age must also sooner or later present a serious threat to peace: the coexistence of two worlds, one in which hunger, poverty and ignorance reign, and another where the saturation point has been passed in satisfying man's essential needs. All mankind should be made aware of this and should be thinking even now of suitable means of remedying it.

143. We know, of course, that a dialogue to this end has been going on for a long time between the industrialized and the developing countries, and at the highest level, as in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. The Third World is still waiting for some concrete reflection of the good intentions and principles which have so often been set forth as the right future basis for international trade and co-operation.

144. Before concluding, I wish, on behalf of my Government, to pay a special tribute to all the members of the Secretariat for the enormous amount of work which they perform every day for our Organization and its noble and difficult mission of achieving that great universal harmony to which mankind has always aspired. To these men and women who, far from the glare and the glitter of publicity, work untiringly to carry out our various and innumerable wishes, I should like to convey the assurance of our satisfaction. We are sure that the Secretariat will again make every effort to publish and circulate within the necessary time-limits, in the various working languages, all the documents which delegations need to study in advance in order to be able to participate fully and effectively in the work of this Assembly and its various committees.

145. This critical analysis of the serious crisis which our Organization is undergoing, the dark prospects for the international situation which arise out of the war in Viet-Nam, which threatens the peace and security of the whole world, and the warmongering and racist fury of South Africa, Portugal, and the clique of Ian Smith, have not made us lose sight of the universality and the irreplaceable value of the ideals of the United Nations. Our Assembly's potential, in the battle which has been joined to safeguard the universality of the United Nations and the principles of its Charter, and to save the Organization itself, is immense, if all Member States, great and small, live up to their responsibilities, and impose the rule of the majority on those who try to take command through their vast financial and economic power. The countries of the Third World and those which are progressive and peace-loving are a majority in these halls. They must not be content to bow the knee, as Jean Jaurès put it, before the "triumph of lies".

146. For us, the sight of Africa, which for so long suffered so tragically, the sight of all these liberation movements, this strong and militant determination of men and nations in every continent to free themselves from oppression, domination and tyranny, the sight of men in Viet-Nam, southern Arabia and Palestine, Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, the Dominican Republic or Cuba, striking back at aggression, is a vision which, far from bringing terror to our hearts, rebuilds our faith in the value and dignity of man, of proud free men everywhere, our brothers. We like to remember the tragically beautiful words addressed by the blind man to Narses, as she watched the fires rage from the roof of Agamemnon's palace and grew fearful at so much flame and bloodshed as a few wicked men perished: "Woman, that light has a glorious name, its name is dawn". Yes, the dawn of a new life, an era of justice and freedom born of the courageous struggle of all of us, all progressive men and nations, to bring about the triumph of the cause of man, of free man on every continent.

147. Mr. ARAM (Iran): Although circumstances beyond my will have deprived me of the privilege of being among the first to welcome Ambassador Pazhwak on the occasion of his unanimous election to the high office of the President of the General Assembly, I nevertheless wish to be considered as ranking among the first in appreciation of his great qualities not only as a diplomat and statesman but also as a man of heart and intellect. In him I salute a beloved brother.

148. Two of my colleagues have already had the opportunity of recalling here the exceptional ties which bind our peoples and our common roots of language and history. It is therefore with a sense of particular pride that I am moved on behalf of my delegation and myself to offer Ambassador Pazhwak my most sincere congratulations on his new dignity. We are convinced that under his wise and able leadership the delicate work of this session of the Assembly will be marked by success. Before turning to the matters before us, I must give expression to my appreciation of the distinguished services rendered by his eminent predecessor, the Foreign Minister of Italy, Signor Fanfani, who presided over the twentieth session of the Assembly with such distinction.

149. At this late stage of the general debate, when so many have already dealt at length with the international situation in its many aspects, I prefer to limit my observations to comment on the major elements which emerge from the statements already made here.

150. Without exception all delegations have expressed the gravest concern over the situation of the world in general and over the prospects of the United Nations in particular.

151. At the very time when the economic problems of the world multiply and almost two billions of our fellow men struggle desperately against the ancient enemies of hunger, disease, ignorance and fear, political and military dangers are pressing harder upon the peace and security of men. The search for solutions of a truly lasting character to some of the problems which the world has faced since the founding

of the United Nations has, so far, been fruitless, and time is running out. In Africa, the judgement of the world continues to be challenged with impunity in such areas as South Africa, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the territories occupied by Portugal, in all of which racist practices and ultra-colonialist policies have built up an explosive situation.

152. In the Middle East, fratricidal wars are being waged in some areas; in others, major trouble lies hardly concealed under the surface. In Kashmir, despite United Nations resolutions and the recent Tashkent Agreement, the basic elements of the dispute remain intractable. In Cyprus, a shaky truce papers over the persisting basic divisive problem. I need hardly say that our attitude toward these two questions is well known: it remains the same.

153. Most urgent of all, war continues to devastate the unhappy land of Viet-Nam, and to pose a dire threat to world peace and security.

154. On the wider scene of international relations, unhappily, the declarations of intent of the Great Powers made outside or inside the United Nations have yet to bear fruit in bringing us nearer to the indispensable conditions of a lasting peace, namely, the realization of the first concrete steps towards disarmament.

155. Most disturbing is the progressive disability of the United Nations in coping with the common danger. I use the word "disability" rather than "inability" of set purpose to indicate my continued faith in the ability of the Organization to serve the cause of peace, in the present crisis, as in earlier ones, were it not disabled by the failure of those on whom primary responsibility rests to respect the requirements of the Charter. What appeared in the guise of a financial crisis, capable of solution through the exercise of goodwill and wisdom, seems to have developed today into a crisis of much greater magnitude reflecting the major political and economic contradictions of our time.

156. The many aspects of this crisis are stated in the letter of 1 September 1966 from the Secretary-General to the Security Council [A/6400], in which he set out the fundamental reasons that finally led him to the decision not to offer himself for a second term as Secretary-General. Let me say at once that I consider this to be a most significant document, for it reflects some of the basic challenges of contemporary history as seen through the eyes of a man whose character and office give his observations and evaluation of the situation unique weight. They therefore require our closest consideration.

157. To what has been said by all the speakers who preceded me in appreciation of the Secretary-General, I wish to join the voice of the Government and the people of Iran and to pay tribute to U Thant for his five years in office, during which he has rendered valiant service in furthering the cause of peace and the United Nations. We are grateful to him for so clearly lighting the way we must go. We respect him for his decision and the reasons which moved him to make it, but it is our earnest hope that he will give serious consideration to the wishes which have been expressed here and, indeed, throughout the world.

The Iranian delegation would welcome his continuation in office most whole-heartedly.

158. Turning to the considerations set forth in the Secretary-General's letter, I think it evident that dedication to the objectives of the Charter means, among other things, fully supporting the Secretary-General in the performance of his duties—based on the principles of the Charter—in the service of peace, removing the divisions which have disabled the Organization, and restoring the capacity of the United Nations to act truly as a "potent force for peace".

159. The chief cause of the present critical situation and of the debility of the United Nations in the face of the major problems of the world, is, as the Secretary-General has said, "the tragic error . . . of relying on force and military means in a deceptive pursuit of peace." [see A/6400.]

160. The great Powers, instead of letting themselves be guided by the rule of international law and responding affirmatively to the "conscience of mankind", as reflected in the views of the General Assembly, have often appeared to prefer to act independently of both in major matters. This policy of the Great Powers has, more than anything else, weakened the United Nations and dimmed its light. The necessary respect for the Organization will be restored only when such respect marks the policies of the great Powers. Respect for the Charter signifies not ignoring the Organization even when national interests are deemed better served outside; it means also giving up the tendency to come to the Organization only to serve one's own interests.

161. There should be no need to read a lesson on the true meaning of "interest" in a world which daily grows more interdependent, yet the evidence on every hand that no nation is an island, goes unheeded. It serves no purpose to join in fervent calls on the Secretary-General not to give up the struggle, if the conduct of national policies continues to belie the authority of the Organization on whose behalf he acts. How is it possible for him to fully perform the responsibilities of his office, if the Organization is deprived of authority and of the means to carry out the tasks with which we have charged him in the Charter? This is the question which the Secretary-General has posed. It merits a sincere and convincing response in deeds, rather than words. The most urgent priority must, therefore, be given to restoring the strength of the United Nations as an effective instrument of peace, and this will be done by restoring respect for the common opinion of mankind.

162. The grave concern of my Government over the situation in Viet-Nam, and its basic position on the issues involved, have both been given public expression. We hold the opinion, which is generally shared, that the situation in South-East Asia constitutes a formidable danger to world peace. The right of the people of Viet-Nam freely to decide their own future, without interference from outside, admits of no question. We hold that it is our duty to help the people of Viet-Nam to realize their aim of independence free of all external pressures. The war causes the people of Viet-Nam untold suffering. It

threatens to escalate and spread its horrors. Our anxiety is only too well justified.

163. It is acknowledged that there can be no military solution of the Viet-Nam question—and, in any case, none which can endure. Any answer to the problem, therefore, can only be of a political nature. The basis for such a solution already exists in the Geneva Agreements of 1954. A peaceful solution of the conflict requires, first of all, that ways be found to bring the parties concerned to sit round the conference table. The prerequisites to this indispensable step are those which have been stated by the Secretary-General. In our view, it is above all in this supremely important aspect of the matter that we must follow his efforts. My delegation concurs in the ideas underlying his proposals for bringing the parties together. Agreement along these lines seems the right way to achieve a constructive result.

164. The universality of our membership is a matter which we cannot much longer evade, if the United Nations is properly to reflect the great changes which have occurred in the world. Without taking account of those changes in this forum, the United Nations cannot hope to realize its purposes and function effectively as an instrument for the peaceful resolution of conflicts, and for the harmonization of policies. The time seems already upon us for new steps towards the attainment of the goal of universality, in conformity with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter.

165. While on the subject of universality, I am glad, on behalf of my Government, to welcome the newest Member of our Organization, the State of Guyana, and, with equal satisfaction, Indonesia's resumption of her place in our midst. It presages a restoration to us, particularly needed now, of her ability to make a strong contribution to the realization of our common objectives.

166. I have already noted that not the least injurious effect of the political crisis has been to divert us from the single-minded search for ways out of our economic dilemmas. The gravity of these is recognized on every hand. The last session of the Economic and Social Council and the reports of the Secretary-General have provided us with new elements of concern.

167. While, in 1965, the gross national product of capital-exporting countries was climbing to an unprecedented \$1,300 billion, allowing them to waste some \$150 billion per year in military expenditure, the difficulties facing the developing countries were becoming ever greater. To old, unsolved, long-term problems, new ones had been added, growing in part from the inadequacy of the remedies devised for our chronic ills. The burden of debt-servicing, in particular, has come to outweigh the benefits of capital inflow in many cases; food is in short supply, aggravated by problems of over-population, while the deterioration in terms of trade eats away the national substance. Above all, the momentum of international aid has slackened. This has been recognized as one of the most serious problems of the past year.

168. To be sure, efforts continue to be made, within and outside the developing countries, to deal with the great economic difficulties of our time. The developing peoples are making efforts which have been described

as heroic. International aid, although it does not yet exceed 0.65 per cent of the gross national product of the developed countries, is nearing the level of \$10 billion per year. United Nations plans and resources for assistance have also improved. However, if the outcome of these efforts gives no promise of ever being adequate, the reason, in the opinion of my delegation, is that there has not yet been a global approach to the problem of under-development, and that an approach has indeed not been made in terms corresponding to the long-range needs of a stable and affluent world economy.

169. The tendency is still strong in the developed countries to take a parochial view of the objectives of the fight against under-development. They do not aim to bring the so-called developing regions into the main economic currents of our time; they limit themselves to a frustrating process of bailing out a leaky craft, partly by bilateral aid, partly by the traditional unequal methods of exchange. As long as this narrow and faulty notion of the possibilities of development prevails, the programme offered will necessarily have the limited and temporary nature of emergency aid. Only by changing the aim of our common endeavours to the creation of a new economic order, and to the foundation of a dynamic and expanding world economy can the diverging economic destinies of the peoples of the world be reconciled in the interest of all, whatever their degree of development.

170. Here again, if the need to lay the foundations of an expanding and balanced world economy should meet with continued lack of understanding on the part of the developed countries, this could indeed constitute a serious danger to the cause of international co-operation.

171. In a vast area of our Asian continent, a line of economic action, based on the concept of "going it alone"—called "self-reliance"—already prevails. It is construed by some as a reaction of despair against some of the fruitless and frustrating outcomes of the present structures of international co-operation. If this attitude were to gain ground and win new converts among the increasing number of developing countries which are losing faith in the present world economic order, the result would be to imperil the ideas of harmony which constitute the very basis of our action within the framework of the United Nations Charter.

172. It is more important than ever that the world community should accept the objectives of the seventy-seven developing countries for a better economic world order as no mere defence of their selfish interests. It has been pointed out often enough that they seek neither charity nor narrow advantage, but justice. Their action within the United Nations family, as outside it, aims at breaking out of the restrictive vicious circle of global under-development to wider mutually beneficial participation in economic activity on a world-wide plane, creating a system of economic rules and relations which hold promise of prosperity for all the peoples of the world.

173. It is in this spirit, and in accordance with these principles, that Iran will continue to manifest its solidarity with the other developing countries. We still

hope that, at its second conference, UNCTAD may yet prove a milestone on the road to a healthy and balanced economic order.

174. While stressing the importance of a new order in world trade and a new philosophy in foreign assistance, I must add that in breaking the barriers to prosperity the paramount factor is the determination of a people to burst their bonds and their readiness to pay the cost in hard work and self-help.

175. We believe that development requires attack on all fronts: the mobilization of resources and the renovation of institutions at home, joint efforts at the regional level and close economic co-operation with all the nations of the world. I am pleased to state here what we, for our part, have done in this respect. On the home front, the mobilization of resources, both human and material, has gone hand in hand with the institutional changes initiated by His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah in the renovation of our society. Land reform has released the energies of three quarters of our population, has created in them the motivation to work for a better future, and has given them ever-brightening prospects of social justice. Administrative reform is instilling a new sense of values in the civil service. Overhaul of the governmental organization is bringing into being more effective machinery for the tasks of development. The creation of a Literacy, Health and Development Corps of educated conscripts has brought the services of teachers, doctors, civil engineers and agricultural experts to the remotest parts of the country. Thus our defence system serves us twice—first, to protect the national patrimony and, second, to help protect it.

176. It is with pleasure and pride that I point to last year's rise of 12 per cent in our gross national product, as some measure of the results of Iran's revolution for progress. If the way to peace lies through social and economic development, ignorance is a difficult barrier to those who seek to travel that road. For this reason my Government assigns exceptional importance to the national campaign for literacy and education, believing that thereby not only can the task of development be made easier, but even world understanding improved as men's horizons are broadened.

177. As a correlative to our campaign against mass illiteracy at home, we seek to further the world campaign against mass illiteracy, and at the same time to contribute to an eventual reduction of the world burden of armaments. His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah took the initiative in the course of this year of urging Member nations to contribute to UNESCO the monetary equivalent of one day's military expenditure and so establish a fund from which to assist in the eradication of mass illiteracy. Iran itself has already allocated a total of \$700,000 from its military budget to UNESCO for this purpose. We are gratified that Mali and the Ivory Coast, and now Tunisia, have joined us in this constructive measure. Others have expressed enthusiastic support of the idea. The distinguished Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, the Right Honourable George Brown, stated the other day [1436th meeting] that about 250 million children of school age in the world get no education at all but he gave no indication of what should be done

about it. We think that a more affirmative attitude, preferably expressed in actions like ours, is needed to educate these 250 million children. No less important are the 700 million adults who cannot read or write. It is estimated that a world programme for the eradication of illiteracy would require \$4,000 to \$5,000 million. To win this battle, the necessary tools and funds must be provided, not only on the national level by the countries concerned, but also on a world scale through a great international endeavour.

178. In every forum of the United Nations stress is placed, and rightly so, on the importance of regional co-operation as a means of co-ordinating and eventually integrating the efforts of countries to accelerate economic development. In this connexion, I would mention the establishment in 1964 of the Regional Co-operation for Development by Iran, Pakistan and Turkey. It has enabled them to expand their economic co-operation and to achieve results which have proved most beneficial to the entire region. The Regional Co-operation for Development, which is not a closed organization, has not only laid the foundation for accelerating the economic growth and welfare of 160 million people of the three countries bound by historic ties of amity, but has brought about closer co-operation in other fields also.

179. Thanks to an enlightened leadership and, as a result of the unprecedented stability it has created in the country, Iran has been able in the past year to develop relations of constructive co-operation with other peace-loving nations of the world, regardless of their social and political systems. The object of the State visits of the Shahinshah to foreign countries has been to give positive meaning to our basic concept of active international co-operation on the basis of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and mutual respect for national sovereignty. These visits and the establishment of personal contacts between the Shahinshah and the leaders of these countries have been most useful inasmuch as they have enabled us to extend deeper our relations with the other Members of the United Nations.

180. I should like here to indicate briefly the elements of Iran's foreign policy as they were set forth by the Shahinshah a few days ago, in an address to the Joint Houses of Parliament. His Imperial Majesty observed that Iran's international policy rests upon the basis of independence in national policy, respect for the Charter of the United Nations, the quest for peace, coexistence and co-operation with nations and States regardless of their forms of government.

181. Iran firmly supports guaranteed complete disarmament, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, and the creation of zones free of nuclear weapons. Iran holds firmly that the way to the fulfilment of the country's real interests is the way of understanding and fruitful co-operation with all nations of the world, on the basis of respect for national sovereignty. Iran's position is that peace and international understanding are the fundamental and necessary requisites for its society's progress, as well as for the advancement of all societies of the world.

182. We have sought as well as we could to contribute to the peaceful settlement of disputes, especially in our part of the world. This has been a constant concern of Iran. While on this matter, I should like to respond appreciatively to the kind words of the distinguished representatives of Pakistan and Malaysia concerning the mediatory effort undertaken by my august Sovereign. It is indeed gratifying to find that these efforts contributed to the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between two Moslem States.

183. Because of the importance we attach to the promotion of human rights and out of a desire to further that cause by concrete action, we have offered to act as hosts to the International Conference on Human Rights to be convened in 1968 in accordance with the call issued by the General Assembly at its last session, in resolution 2081 (XX) of 20 December 1965. We anticipate that the Conference will mark a further step to the attainment of our common objective of promoting respect for human rights.

184. In conclusion, let me warn against taking a discouraged or despairing view of the present difficulties of the world, deep though they go. In the first two decades of our Organization's life the prophets of pessimism have been confounded more than once by the ability of the world in times of stress to redeem the common pledge to preserve the ideals of the Charter of the United Nations.

185. In some ways, the most encouraging fact of our time is the growing awareness among all peoples of their solidarity. This finds expression in the almost instinctive reactions of strong and spontaneous support which we have given our Organization whenever it has been confronted with a major crisis. It is because of this and because of our conviction that the future of the human race is bound up with its solidarity that we share with the Secretary-General his abiding and unshakable faith in the ultimate success of our Organization. We believe that the entire membership should intensify its efforts to develop the United Nations as an indispensable instrument for the attainment of a peaceful and just world order.

186. Despite the crisis that our Organization is facing, we abide in the faith that the deliberations of this Assembly will enable us, once again, to find a means of surmounting present difficulties and thereby of clearing the way to the two great goals of this Organization: to keep the peace in our time and to build lasting structures of peace for the future.

187. Mr. GANAO (Congo, Brazzaville) (translated from French): I have pleasure in once again conveying to the President, on behalf of my Government, the congratulations addressed to him by the Congolese delegation before my arrival in New York, on the occasion of his election to office. I should also like to repeat those addressed to his distinguished predecessor, Mr. Amintore Fanfani, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy, whose skill and wisdom all of us here appreciated so highly.

188. We are sincerely delighted that the Ambassador of Afghanistan has been elected unanimously to preside over our deliberations. In the eyes of the Congo (Brazzaville) delegation, this choice is highly significant. We regard it first as the culmination of the

sustained and impartial labours of a diplomat who, coming here to represent his country in the United Nations, lost no time in placing himself at the service of the whole international community. Secondly, the fact that our President is the representative of a small country is a comfort to those of us who must hope that the day will come when the Organization will once again regain its neutrality and universality, so necessary when the subject of our deliberation is peace.

189. My delegation is sure that the President will play his part effectively and that under his watchful guidance a start at least will be made on solving the problems on our agenda. There is one such problem, however, which although it is not on the agenda is nevertheless a subject of grave concern to my country: I refer to the tragedy of Viet-Nam. We are, I believe, unanimous in recognizing that the conflict in Viet-Nam directly threatens the maintenance of peace which the Organization set as one of its main goals, in order, and I quote the Charter, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

190. Who, among the representatives present at this session, has not expressed publicly or privately the anguish felt by his country at seeing the war in Viet-Nam expand every day? Every speaker here has recounted his version of the conflict in Viet-Nam. As far as we are concerned, we will make no claim to give you the history of the Viet-Nameese question. We sincerely believe that we shall have said all that there is to say on the matter if we repeat out loud before this General Assembly that there is aggression in Viet-Nam, that the aggressor is United States imperialism, and that the victim is the Viet-Nameese people.

191. It is time for peace-loving peoples—and the people of the United States are among them—to denounce publicly and unequivocally the cowardly aggression of the imperialist Government of the United States against Viet-Nam. The direct intervention of Washington in the domestic affairs of this country, perpetrated in defiance of the Charter of the United Nations and the Geneva Agreements on Indo-China, the dangerous "escalation" which has culminated just recently in the unjustifiable bombing of the suburbs of Hanoi and Haiphong, the use of poison gas against the civilian population of Viet-Nam—is there really any need to go on?—are such cruel, such savage, such barbarous acts that it is difficult to discern the slightest difference between the United States Administration and Hitler Germany.

192. Of course, the United States Government will have no lack of arguments to seek to justify its inhuman acts in South-East Asia. It will say that it was, perhaps still is, a question of combating communist infiltration from the country of President Ho Chi Minh, of defending the freedom of South Viet-Nam, and who knows what else? As far as freedom is concerned, have the Viet-Nameese really anything to learn from the United States imperialists who dare not even—as President Massamba-Debat said—grant their country men the elementary rights which they ought to enjoy, merely because they have skins of a different colour? And if a people is firmly

convinced that its way to happiness is through socialism or even communism, in the name of what sacred principle of anti-communism can the United States imperialists arrogate to themselves the right to prevent them from taking it?

193. Today more than ever the Viet-Nameese problem is a human problem, a moral problem, and not simply a political problem, as the Government in Washington would have us believe. In our eyes, this is the significance of the visit of Pope Paul VI to our headquarters last year, and of the Holy Father's unceasing calls for peace.

194. We are glad, for our part, to note the failure of the attempts by the United States to use the United Nations once more as a cover to justify and continue its war of aggression against Viet-Nam. On the contrary, we believe that the United Nations should use every appropriate means to bring the racists and imperialists in Washington to their senses and to make them understand that Viet-Nam does not belong to them and that they should leave as they came.

195. My Government continues to believe that the departure of the United States interventionists would make it possible to restore peace in South-East Asia, that peace so dear to all of us, which is, as you know, also being threatened in Africa, where the principles of the Charter are violated every day and where decolonization is blocked by the ill-will of the proponents of white supremacy and apartheid. Whether in the Territories still under Portuguese domination such as Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea, or in the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, the problem takes on more agonizing dimensions every day.

196. The question of the Territories under Portuguese domination has been the subject of several debates in the Security Council, which has stated quite clearly that the situation resulting from this policy, both for the African population and for neighbouring States, constitutes a threat to international peace and security. It was because it recognized the seriousness of the situation that the Council asked for the immediate application of the principle of self-determination and called upon Member States to refrain from supplying military assistance to the Government of Portugal, if it was to be used to oppress the peoples placed under its administration. What has been the result?

197. Portugal continues in its backward-looking attitude and the Powers which are its accomplices continue to supply it with substantial military aid. All the recommendations and resolutions of the United Nations on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms advocated in the Charter have remained empty words for the fanatical believers in racial supremacy, who continue to behave like slave-owners and torturers, with the connivance, of course, of the Western Powers.

198. The United Nations contents itself with repeating pious hopes to a world already grown sceptical, and is almost on the point of declaring itself officially powerless. In these circumstances, there can be no doubt that the only form of effective action for the

oppressed indigenous peoples will be by armed force. The Salazar clique, which lets the humble people of Portugal lie sunk in poverty and under-development in order to buy expensive weapons and indulge in colonialist adventures, will rely in vain on its NATO allies, it is the one that will wear itself out trying to keep the African people in a state of slavery. There can be only one end in Guinea, Angola and Mozambique: the defeat of the Portuguese slave-owners and their loss of the immense profits drawn from the shameful exploitation of man by man. Ill treatment, imprisonment, massacres, will avail them nothing. On the contrary, they will serve to strengthen the patriots' will to fight.

199. The United Kingdom Government, for its part, which gave a solemn undertaking to quash the rebellion of the illegal Smith régime in Rhodesia in record time, was merely concealing its collusion with a government which protects British interests and the white minority, when it refused to use force, which is the only way of settling the crisis.

200. Mr. Wilson may ask now for the application of selective sanctions compulsory for all, but this will not change the attitude of Salisbury, which knows it can count on the alliance with Pretoria, Lisbon, and the great Western Powers. The situation in Rhodesia is very serious, and we trust that the Members of the United Nations and more particularly the African Members will realize this.

201. How can anyone realize that four million Africans are enslaved by a tiny minority and still rely for a settlement of the problem on the goodwill of the British colonialists? This sad and serious problem has unfortunately divided Africa, not all of whose sons as yet understand the need for firmness in making decisions. In view of the seriousness of the situation my Government can only deplore the African countries' passivity, procrastination and failure to persevere, regardless of the arguments they put forward. We in the Congo believe that appropriate solutions to African problems can only come from the Africans themselves, with support from the United Nations.

202. The same is obviously true of the serious problem caused by South Africa's mandate over South West Africa, on the subject of which my delegation has already expressed its point of view [1431st meeting]. The Congolese Government holds to its conviction that the mandate is still in force. It is well aware of the imperialist longings and designs of the white colonialists in Pretoria who wish to extend the vicious and ignoble policy of apartheid which they cynically apply in the usurped territory of South Africa to South West Africa, in flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter and contempt of the recommendations of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

203. Lesotho and Botswana, newly independent States, already stir the appetites of Vorster, fed by the presence in power of a few puppets in his pay.

204. Since South Africa is violating the Charter and threatening peace, as we have already said, only one type of energetic and coercive action can be envisaged against it. Since South Africa has not fulfilled its

obligations as the Mandatory Power, the Organization must draw the appropriate conclusions, in order to safeguard world peace, that peace which, to be real and lasting, must inevitably be brought about by disarmament. Here we touch upon a problem which affects the whole world, great Powers and small alike.

205. In the space of one generation, two world wars sowed wretchedness and desolation everywhere. For the last twenty years, mankind has been dreaming of lasting peace and security, and hoping that such calamities will never occur again. This precarious peace is more than ever threatened. For the great Powers, the arms race has become a means of pursuing their policy of hegemony. Appeals have been made from this rostrum for an end to the policy of a balance of terror; but we are forced to admit that these appeals have gone unheard.

206. Although the peoples of the world put great hope in the results of the deliberations of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament at Geneva, the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee—now numbering only seventeen—has been rather discouraging. Differences of opinion have come to light regarding the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the question of general and complete disarmament has not yet been fully examined.

207. We shall soon have to accept the evidence. The great Powers are not in favour of disarmament, for otherwise how is it to be explained that at a time when everyone is talking of disarmament, including themselves, they are expanding and continuing to expand to unimaginable proportions their stock of weapons?

208. Efforts to organize a world disarmament conference as the General Assembly requested [resolution 2030 (XX)] have not progressed. My Government believes it would be useful to convene such a conference, which would open the way to lasting solutions and the inauguration of true peace in the world. Nevertheless we must note that such a conference could only succeed if all the great Powers, including the People's Republic of China, were to take part in its work.

209. The delegation of the Congo (Brazzaville) believes that none of today's problems, whether it be disarmament, de-nuclearization, the Viet-Nameese tragedy, or peace itself, can be settled without the participation of the People's Republic of China. We must realize here and now that it is useless to seek an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons without the effective participation of Peking; such an agreement would be without interest or significance. How then are we to explain the absurdity of systematically excluding from the international arena a country of 700 million inhabitants on which depends, as we have noted, the solution of many of the problems preoccupying the United Nations?

210. Year after year, our Organization has seen its number grow, from fifty-one States at the time of the signing of the Charter to 119 at the present time, thus demonstrating the universal character of this institution. It is a curious fact, however, that this increase in the number of Member States does not correspond in reality to the principle of universality which the

United Nations adopted for itself. Thus, we can but note the shortcomings, not to say the weakness, of our Organization, as long as the United States imperialists and their acolytes persist in keeping out the largest country in the world.

211. It is even being forgotten that when the Charter of the United Nations was drawn up. China was the subject of much concern, because it was regarded as an essential factor in world equilibrium. It is for this reason that it became not only a founder Member of the United Nations but also one of those countries in which was to be vested, in the terms of Article 24, paragraph 1, of the Charter, primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

212. Today, the United States and its lackeys are doing their best to persuade us that this is no longer the case, and that China has lost both its power and its influence. There seems to be some danger in practising the head-in-the-sand policy and refusing to look facts in the face, however unpleasing they may be, because there they remain. The People's Republic of China exists, becoming increasingly modernized and also more and more powerful.

213. It is not the United Nations business to evaluate the merits of a particular régime. A Member State has a sacred right to change its political system, if it decides that at a certain stage in its evolution that system no longer corresponds to the legitimate aspirations of its people. The change which took place in China in 1949 was a transfer of power like any other. Since 1949, we have seen many revolutions and series of coups d'état in many Member States, and the new régimes, regardless of their political tinge, have lawfully and immediately replaced the former representatives of their countries at the United Nations. No objection has been made to this. To make such an objection would not only run counter to the spirit and the letter of the San Francisco Charter, but would also constitute interference of the kind condemned in Article 2, paragraph 7.

214. Our delegation therefore requests the outright expulsion of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the United Nations and all its organs, and the restoration to the Government of the People's Republic of China of the seat to which it is entitled.

215. We also wish to recall in this Assembly that Taiwan is a province of China and has been so since remote times. Its occupation by the Japanese at the end of the last century does not change in any way the fact that it constitutes a part of Chinese territory. The Declarations of Cairo and Potsdam specified that Taiwan was to be returned to China after the Second World War. Thus it was that, after the surrender of Japan, China took back Taiwan and made it into a Chinese province. This situation was publicly recognized by Harry Truman, the then President of the United States.

216. The United States and the ardent supporters of what is wrongly called the non-admission of China to the United Nations do not wish the People's Republic of China to be restored to its rights in the Organization for a very obvious reason: such a restoration would undoubtedly damage certain interests and would call into question some positions

that have been adopted. We live in an absurd world, and in this realm Kafka could have imagined nothing better. In point of fact, how is it conceivable that the very parties which deny all rights to the People's Republic of China should negotiate with that same country for the settlement of certain international disputes?

217. The United States knows very well that as General de Gaulle said "nothing that is done in Asia, in war or in peace, can be done without China". Is not this a de facto recognition of the People's Republic of China as a determining factor not only in the equilibrium of Asia but of the world at large? How in these circumstances can the Americans explain to their own consciences this equivocal attitude which leads them to negotiate with the real Power which they pretend to ignore and to recognize those traitors to the Chinese nation who represent nobody but themselves?

218. My country makes a solemn appeal to the General Assembly, this high international body, to recognize its responsibilities and to show the world that it has rediscovered its universality and that it is beginning, in this "finite world" of which Paul Valéry spoke, to repair the injustice done to the People's Republic of China, one of the five permanent members of the Security Council.

219. The United Nations has adopted the concept of peaceful co-existence as one of its fundamental principles, and hence the need for all peoples, regardless of their political, ideological or economic choice, to accept one another and co-operate. We should take as our text this thought of Saint-Exupéry: "Let us profit from our differences".

220. This year once again the so-called "Korean question" is included in our agenda. The Congolese Government believes that to settle the Korean question with justice we must put an end to the illegal discussion of this matter by the United Nations. To do so, the United Nations must annul all the illegal resolutions which have been adopted so far in connexion with this question. It will also have to decide to withdraw the aggressive troops of United States imperialism and all the foreign troops occupying South Korea under the United Nations flag.

221. The notorious United Nations Commission for the Rehabilitation and Unification of Korea, which the United States created by trampling the Charter itself underfoot, must be dissolved. My delegation believes that the unification of Korea is a Korean internal affair affecting only the Korean people and that no interference, even by the United Nations, can be tolerated. Having now informed you of my Government's position on the burning political issues of our time, I should like to add that the Congo is experiencing the same anxieties as the rest of the Third World over economic matters. This is a field which has been the subject of many speeches and many plans, all seeking to find a remedy.

222. Among the decisions adopted to this effect, I shall refer only to resolution 1710 (XVI) entitled "United Nations Development Decade", which recommended that by the end of the decade the rate of growth

of the national income of the developing countries should be 5 per cent.

223. Now that we are entering the second half of this decade, we are forced to recognize that there is no indication that the hoped-for improvement can be achieved. On the contrary, the gap between rich and poor is growing ever wider, with the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer, to use a time-honoured phrase. It is clear that despite the efforts that our countries make, it will be impossible to achieve any perceptible and satisfactory progress as long as the industrial Powers have not changed the selfish concept of their economic relations with us which they have maintained up to now.

224. Lastly, as we did already from this rostrum two years ago [1307th meeting], we should like to draw the General Assembly's attention to the fact that the internal problems which are constantly increasing within the United Nations itself must end by paralyzing it.

225. At this moment we note, for example, not without bitterness, that the place given to French as a working language no longer corresponds fully to the real and effective importance of this precious vehicle of civilization.

226. We have also been officially informed of the Secretary-General's decision not to ask for another term. In this connexion, my delegation must first pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General for the immense contribution that he has made during his period of office. Called to this high office at a tragic moment in history, U Thant has carried out his duties admirably, thanks to his exceptional qualities as a great diplomat and also as a great man, and has cleared up an international situation which was at the time extremely confused.

227. Faced with his refusal to accept a second term, a refusal which we can quite understand, we shall not content ourselves with merely voicing the hope that he will reconsider a decision whose fatal consequences to the United Nations we can already foresee. We shall go further and make an appeal touched almost with desperation: we firmly hope that this appeal from the Congo will be heard by U Thant.

228. The PRESIDENT: Two delegations have asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I call first on the representative of Cuba.

229. Mr. ALARCON QUESADA (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): I am taking up your time at this hour simply in order to reply in a single statement to a number of remarks made in the course of the last few meetings.

230. First, I shall refer very briefly to two further references made yesterday and this morning to the Tricontinental Conference held in Havana.

231. I shall not weary you by making a detailed reply to these allegations, which are exactly the same as those which we have already had to answer in the Special Political Committee. The reply which we gave on that occasion is equally valid for all representatives who follow the same well-worn track. The

same master inspired them and they owe the same obedience; therefore they deserve the same reply.

232. I would however like to dwell for a moment on the statement made this morning by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Dominican Republic (1442nd meeting) who, in the course of his remarks, specifically attacked my country.

233. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Dominican Republic, it seems, is worried lest there should be a repetition in the Americas of military conflicts such as that taking place now in Viet-Nam as a result of imperialist aggression. The Minister, apparently, is worried about peace in the Americas and the sovereignty and integrity of the Latin American States.

234. There is nothing surprising in such an interest if we remember that the speaker is the Foreign Minister of a country which was recently the victim of the grossest and crudest military aggression by United States imperialism; the Foreign Minister of a country which saw thousands of its citizens slaughtered by the forces of the invader; the Foreign Minister of a country whose name is still referred to in this general debate as a synonym for imperialist aggression against small nations.

235. What did His Excellency say to us? Did he perhaps denounce United States imperialism which in the course of this century has occupied Santo Domingo militarily three times? Did he perhaps denounce the imperialists who looted its custom-houses and imposed one-sided treaties on it by force? Did he perhaps denounce the imperialists who, as a sequel to their last intervention but one, imposed on the Dominican people for thirty years the most ferocious tyranny ever known by our continent? Did he perhaps dare to refer to the latest United States military occupation, condemned from this rostrum by so many speakers?

236. No; His Excellency took great care to omit these details. In fifteen pages he did not find room even to suggest any of the truths so nobly and heroically shouted aloud by his people in the streets of Santo Domingo during their exemplary resistance to Yankee barbarism.

237. No; His Excellency referred only, with great delicacy, to the withdrawal, which according to him went off so well, of the foreign troops. He forgot to mention that if there had been a successful withdrawal, it was because there had first been a bloody, unjustifiable and criminal intervention.

238. No; His Excellency did not accuse those who have acted as the hangmen of our continent and especially of the Caribbean countries. His Excellency attacked Cuba. He attacked it in a passage so obscure and tortuous that it might have been drafted by a conscience caught red-handed.

239. Did a single one of those attacks to which the Dominican people have so often been subjected come from Cuba? Were the troops which occupied his island in April 1965 by any chance Cuban?

240. In attacking my country, His Excellency obeyed the orders of the United States Government, which maintains a permanently aggressive attitude towards

Cuba. In so doing he placed himself on the side, not of his own people, but of those who massacred them. Through his attack, the Dominican Government stood revealed for what it is: a monstrosity born of foreign intervention.

241. The PRESIDENT: I give the floor to the representative of the United States in exercise of the right of reply.

242. Mr. NABRIT (United States of America): The Chairman of the delegation of Saudi Arabia this afternoon referred to an incident involving the entrance of intruders into the premises of the Permanent Mission of Syria to the United Nations. This highly regrettable incident is of justifiable concern, not only to the Governments of Syria and Saudi Arabia, but to every Member of this Assembly. I

would, therefore, take this opportunity to repeat, on behalf of Ambassador Goldberg, the statement he made in the Security Council earlier today on behalf of our Government:

"The intruders in the Syrian Mission have been arrested and removed by the police on the complaint of the United States Government, made and signed by me. They will be prosecuted in accordance with our laws. I profoundly regret and apologize to the Syrian Government for this highly regrettable incident."^{4/}

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.

^{4/} See Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-first year, 1305th meeting.