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*President:* Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHwak  
 (Afghanistan).

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

*General debate (continued)*

1. Mr. LARA (Costa Rica) (translated from Spanish): May I begin by extending to you, Mr. President, my most cordial congratulations upon your election as President of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and by expressing my best wishes for the complete success of your term of office. I am convinced that your well-known ability and your moral and intellectual qualifications are guarantees to all the peoples and Governments represented here of impartiality in the conduct of the debates and wisdom in the solution of each and every one of the problems you may have to face.

2. I also take this opportunity to express our gratitude and sincere admiration to Mr. Amintore Fanfani for the able and distinguished manner in which he guided the work of the twentieth session of the General Assembly to a successful conclusion.

3. In this hectic time of international life, when the most extraordinary events succeed each other, at times providing men with grounds for profound satisfaction at the progress achieved in the arts and in science and for their growing control over matter, and at other times giving rise to anguish and sorrow at grievous breaches of the peace, the United Nations represents for the whole of mankind its best and perhaps its only hope of finding a firm highway that will lead it to times of greater peace and well-being.

4. As the representative of the people of Costa Rica on this great occasion, it is my duty and my pleasure to pay a justifiable and well-deserved tribute to the vision and far sightedness of those statesmen who laid the foundations of this great community of nations at a time when the cruel loss of life at that sorrowful moment in human history had barely ceased. Inspired by idealism and by faith in the fundamental qualities of human beings of all races and all continents, whatever their social background; the men who are rightly called the "Fathers of the Charter"

created this Organization on behalf of the peoples they represented. They were determined, in the words of the Preamble to the United Nations Charter, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war...to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small...to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

5. Those lofty thoughts, the embodiment of the highest aspirations of noble souls, should be the banner guiding men in this second half of the twentieth century; to a large extent they have already been translated into positive achievements. Conflicts which in other times would have caused inexpressible suffering to humanity have been solved by the deliberations of this community of nations and its executive organs and by the action they have taken; peoples whose longing for freedom and independence was repressed have achieved recognition of their sovereignty as free States through the intervention and assistance of the United Nations; and, guided by the warmth and light of the principles and ideals which gave birth to this world Organization, the nations which have achieved the highest degree of economic and cultural development are today offering assistance from their human, technical and financial resources so that the weaker communities may find a way to strengthen their economies and improve the living conditions of their inhabitants.

6. In this connexion, I should like to pause a moment to give a very warm welcome to the new State of Guyana which has joined our international community. We are especially happy to welcome a country belonging to our region, and we hope to cultivate the most cordial relations with Guyana in an atmosphere of full co-operation. I wish to assure this new nation of our best wishes for its future prosperity.

7. Yet we are far from having achieved the purposes of the Charter to the extent and depth that we should have done. Heavy storm clouds continue to threaten world peace. In a number of places in both hemispheres men continue to shed their blood in defence of freedom and their native land. Mankind has not yet been able to achieve the blessings of peace and the man of the space-age, of this century of astounding and unbelievable scientific and technical progress, has not succeeded in raising his thoughts to the idea of a world in which respect for the rights of others and faith and confidence in the principles on which our Organization is based would be the motives determining human endeavour.

8. Alas! It is still often necessary for us to take up arms in defence of freedom and human dignity.

9. Again, we have not been able to provide the poorer peoples with a sufficiency of the means to enjoy a minimum of the benefits which the progress of arts and sciences has brought to the more developed countries. There is poverty in the world; many of the peoples of the earth suffer from hunger; there is a lack of the most elementary public health standards in very many communities, and illiteracy is an evil which, at this stage of civilization, humanity has not succeeded in eradicating except in a very few areas.

10. There is an arduous task ahead for the United Nations. The flames of local fires must be extinguished before the sparks can produce a conflagration that would engulf all mankind. Where there are suppressed conflicts—racial conflicts, social conflicts, economic conflicts or conflicts about sovereignty—steps must be taken to prevent a fresh outburst which might later reach unimaginable proportions. But the method used to prevent that outburst must be one that does not involve the slightest departure from the basic principles on which the United Nations is founded. When from this rostrum we condemn war as a monstrous thing, we cannot and must not forget that true peace will not exist in the world unless it is based on justice towards peoples and towards men and on respect for human dignity.

11. My country has a firm tradition of democracy and respect for individual rights. Throughout its history it has succeeded in living in peace and it joins its voice to those of the great spiritual leaders who have launched a supreme appeal to all peoples to make common cause and, setting aside minor interests, to take concerted action to put an end to the unhappy conflict in Viet-Nam in such a way as to guarantee to its people the free exercise of the right of self-determination.

12. The Government of Costa Rica warmly welcomed the United States Government's statement that it is its aim to initiate discussions which might lead to a solution of the conflict, on the basis of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962 and within the framework of that Conference or of a conference proposed by the Asian nations. My Government is happy to state that it fully supports that approach and the satisfactory plan submitted to this Assembly by Mr. Goldberg [1412th meeting] to put an end to the conflict in Viet-Nam.

13. But this is not the only conflict by which men are divided. The events of the last war and its aftermath divided peoples and nations previously forming one State, and they now yearn to be reunited. We cannot and must not remain indifferent to situations of this kind, which may be a source of dangerous conflicts in the future. Peoples have national aspirations, and these deserve as much respect and consideration as the spiritual aspirations of free men. We cannot, without detriment to the basic principles of international law, continue to close our eyes to these anomalous situations.

14. Provision is made in the San Francisco Charter for bringing about the reunification of these peoples

by peaceful means and the United Nations has full moral authority to take such steps as might achieve this end. I am thinking in particular of the German problem and the Korean problem. We must try to ensure that by the exercise of the basic right to full and free self-determination, the highly civilized German people, whose country is today divided and partly occupied, can solve the problem of its reunification and enter this assembly of the nations, and so contribute to the maintenance of peace and the achievement of the other noble ideals of our Organization. Nor should we spare any effort to enable the Korean people, with its long cultural traditions, to achieve in the near future the unification of its people and territory and thus once again form a single country free to develop the full potential of its material and spiritual resources. All peoples have the right to self-determination and it must not be denied to those who are deprived of the full enjoyment of their nationhood.

15. Our objective is, and indeed must be, peace; this is the very foundation. Only if there is peace can we put an end to poverty and raise the standard of living of the peoples of the world who are today the victims of hunger, incomprehension, intolerance and the absence of social justice.

16. In the same context, we continue to be concerned by the ever more acute social and political problems caused by the apartheid policy of the Government of South Africa and its persistence in continuing and reinforcing that policy. The Costa Rican delegation has worked with unremitting zeal in the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa and wishes to place on record once again its total repudiation of that policy and of the doctrine on which it is based. It also expressed the hope that this source of discord and unrest will soon disappear to the satisfaction of the peace-loving nations whose fears will thus be allayed.

17. My delegation believes that it is a basic human right for man to receive equal treatment with his fellows; it also believes that it is the right of the various nationalities to maintain their identity and retain their customs and traditions and that there can be no justification for legislative or political measures—vicious relics of bygone days which now happily belong to the social history of the past—which deny those rights to minorities.

18. The United Nations must continue to press forward with every measure designed to ensure that these and other human rights are recognized and safeguarded. We hope that the Organization will support my country's proposal<sup>1/</sup> for the creation of the post of a High Commissioner or Tribunal whose task it will be to supervise the observance of the provisions of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights concerning this essential aspect of life in society and to strengthen them.

19. Another field of United Nations action in which our joint efforts must not falter is assistance in the economic development of nations. With its small

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes, agenda item 98, document A/5963.

population and limited resources, Costa Rica can only participate to a very minor extent in the financial effort called for under the vigorous programmes of local or national development which must be carried out through totally or partially concerted action in order to bring to people living in the most remote areas the blessings of culture, social progress and economic development. But within these limitations and in accordance with the ideals of the San Francisco Charter and the other Charters which preceded or supplemented it, my country, with the assistance of friendly nations, has been implementing these noble ideals. Each day sees a small increase in the well-being of its people, and it hopes to celebrate in 1969 the centenary of free compulsory primary education by completely eradicating illiteracy from the whole of the national territory.

20. Before concluding this brief statement, I wish with all deference and sincerity to urge the countries of our continent, who are today at variance for a number of reasons, to solve their differences in a spirit of generous understanding and with the noble aim of helping to establish an era of peace and harmony in this sadly afflicted world. I also wish to address a sincere and courteous appeal to our distinguished Secretary-General, U Thant, to accede to the unanimous wish that he should continue to fill the office the duties of which he discharges so honourably and with such efficiency. The manly virtues of justice, wisdom and prudence which distinguish him make us feel sure that the Organization will then be able to continue its arduous task of seeking to bring happiness to all peoples through peace.

21. Mr. VIDAL ZAGLIO (Uruguay) (translated from Spanish): In the first place, Mr. President, may I congratulate you on your well-deserved election and wish you success in achieving the objectives of the United Nations Charter, objectives which, today as in the past, provide the indispensable foundation of peace and security which will enable mankind to contemplate the future without fear or anxiety.

22. Speaking for myself and for my Government, I also wish to thank Mr. Fanfani, who presided over the twentieth session of the General Assembly with the authority and efficiency which distinguish him.

23. I further take this opportunity, on behalf of my Government, to welcome a fellow American country, Guyana, as a new Member State. Guyana was already a member of the community of free nations and it has now joined our Organization, an event which rejoices us all.

24. A year ago when the General Assembly met to mark the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations [1347th meeting], the desire for peace was solemnly and unanimously affirmed and we heard the august words of the Supreme Pontiff in an unforgettable message appealing to the conscience of mankind to make peace and security a reality in international life, where co-operation and progress alone should prevail and whence hatred, aggression and violence should be banished for ever. Yet today the world situation, kept in a state of continual crisis which arouses anxiety in every country, has in no way

improved despite the fact that in a few cases practical results have been achieved.

25. Thus, as an instructive symbol of what can be done and providing a demonstration that discussion is the best way in which to reach mutual understanding, two closely related countries, India and Pakistan, showed us what the will for peace can achieve when it is exercised effectively and when understanding is sought through international organizations. And so the possibility of a new and wasteful armed conflict was avoided. Uruguay pays a tribute to the Governments and peoples of Pakistan and India for the practical lesson they have given to the international community.

26. Or again, consider what has happened in America, the blessed land in which we live, where, despite all its social and economic problems, peace and the desire to co-operate prevail. In America we are witnessing concerted action so that we can face the future with unity of purpose, and an attempt to improve the regional system, which we visualize not merely as an organization to enable the American continent to fulfil the objectives of peace and security laid down in the United Nations Charter, but also as a means of achieving economic integration, co-operation in every matter and the progress of the American States, thus giving men a free, honourable and happy future.

27. In this connexion, I should like to draw attention to the establishment of the Latin American Parliament, a forum in which the views of our peoples will be represented. This will further the process of integration in our continent.

28. In 1966, another encouraging event took place in this region: the crisis in the Dominican Republic was successfully overcome by the free will of its people, through the exercise of their right to vote.

29. At the appropriate moment, Uruguay clearly stated that its policy was one of non-intervention and it now confirms that policy. Events subsequent to April 1965 have proved that our views were correct and that the proper way to solve the difficulty was to rely solely on the conscience and will of the people.

30. My Government does not believe that these events provide any reason for changing or qualifying the principle of non-intervention in force in this continent, a principle which was ratified by the General Assembly in its historic resolution 2131 (XX) of 21 December 1965 and one that is not incompatible with international action when such action is legally and politically relevant.

31. From the point of view of harmonious relations in the American continent, my Government considers it important to draw attention to the following wise and categorical statement in that resolution: "No State shall organize, assist, foment, finance, incite or tolerate subversive, terrorist or armed activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the régime of another State, or interfere in civil strife in another State."

32. Nevertheless, the existence of instances such as these—and others could be cited—where the situation today can be regarded as being better than it was a

year ago, is in no way a reason for taking an optimistic view of the international situation.

33. We continue to live in a world in a state of constant tension, a world in which there are localized wars that endanger world peace, because peace is indivisible: in the modern world there is no important international problem which can be of no concern or significance to us.

34. Uruguay is the smallest in size of the countries in the southern part of the American continent. It has no substantial mineral wealth; its economy is based mainly on the marketing of agricultural and stock-farming products. At first sight, we would seem to represent here only a small, poor country. I say "at first sight" because actually Uruguay can take pride in being a country of great wealth, since it is a genuine example of representative democracy, social well-being, full civic freedom and integrity in international co-operation.

35. My country has consistently pacific traditions and sincerely and whole-heartedly supports the work of the United Nations, because it is convinced that in our time poverty, hunger, illiteracy, hatred, exaggerated ideas about national grandeur and the unbridled desire for power are more dangerous to peace than the ideological or political differences between Member States.

36. My country does not want a world marked by the irreconcilable confrontation of two antagonistic groups which keep humanity in a state of precarious peace, as a result of rivalry based on atomic power. Despite the complications and despite all the difficulties it entails, what we want is an active and creative peace based on law and on international co-operation, a peace that is the fruit of a conviction that nothing great or permanent can be created without such co-operation, in which States with different régimes must be partners in a common effort to achieve peace and economic and social progress.

37. There can be no true peace unless there is sovereign equality of all States, and unless there is full acceptance of the idea that international law applies to every nation, whether large or small, whether strong or weak.

38. So, inspired by these ideas, by the proud example of our political structure and by our conduct in international affairs, we have on more than one occasion, both now and in the past, raised our voices in this place to urge strongly that world peace should finally become a reality.

39. On this occasion, like many sincere and high-minded speakers, we should like to draw attention to the great and serious perils facing the world today.

40. We read with deep emotion the recent Encyclical Christi Matri Rosarii in which His Holiness Pope Paul VI, after referring again to some of the ideas he expressed in his address to the General Assembly on 4 October last year [1347th meeting], states:

"A settlement should be reached now, even at the expense of some inconvenience or loss; for it may have to be made later in the train of bitter slaughter

and involve great loss. But this peace must rest on justice and the liberty of mankind, and take into account the rights of individuals and communities. Otherwise it will be shifting and unstable."

41. Let us bear in mind, too, the deep concern expressed by the Secretary-General—to whom once again I wish to convey in public my Government's hope that he will not relinquish his office—in the striking introduction to his annual report in which he paints this gloomy but realistic and sincere picture of the present situation:

"The international political situation has not improved. The cloud over Viet-Nam has grown larger and more ominous. The serious open conflict between India and Pakistan over Kashmir has, with the help of the United Nations, been calmed but tensions have been heightened and violence has erupted elsewhere. Nuclear as well as conventional armaments have developed apace. Comparatively little has happened to brighten the prospects of those who occupy the two thirds of the world where poverty, disease, ignorance and lack of opportunity are the most conspicuous facts of daily life. Frustrations have been more dominant than constructive change in respect of such long-standing problems as the situations in South Africa, South West Africa, and Southern Rhodesia, and such long-standing disputes as those in Cyprus and the Middle East.

"These are conditions which, even if they strongly underline the need for the United Nations, are at the same time not conducive to the most effective action of which the Organization is capable. Generally speaking and as reflected by positions taken in the United Nations, the powerful nations have not during this period shown themselves able to rise above the suspicions, fears and mistrust that spring from their different ideologies and from their different conceptions of the best interests of the rest of the world; nor the rich nations above their concern for the continuation of their own prosperity; nor the poor nations above the dead weight of their chronic poverty and their anachronistic social structures." [A/6301/Add.1, p. 1.]

42. Those are the words of the Secretary-General and that is how he summarized the situation.

43. For Uruguay the continuation of the conflict in Viet-Nam is—as U Thant also stated in his letter dated 1 September<sup>2/</sup>—a constant reproach to the conscience of humanity.

44. Surely in the entire course of history no other generation has held such a responsibility as ours towards the whole of humanity. For we must bear in mind that we—all of us—are perfectly well aware that this conflict which is actually taking place and which we appear to wish to ignore may be the prelude to a general war and to a possible atomic holocaust. So we are rehearsing our own annihilation.

45. People nowadays know full well that a conflict of that kind would lead to their destruction and total elimination.

<sup>2/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-first Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1966, document S/7481.

46. The United Nations cannot remain indifferent to this war, which grows more serious and more threatening every day.

47. We must put an end to the distressing conflict in Viet-Nam. Public opinion throughout the world demands a solution to this long and bloody conflict which, as I have said, may have irreparable consequences if it continues.

48. The most productive part of the land on which the conflict is taking place, the land of an ancient people whose existence goes back to the dawn of history, has been virtually destroyed. The country's youth, representing its hopes and its future, is being mercilessly liquidated. Young people are dying on either side, the victims of ideas that are no concern of theirs and using weapons provided by foreign Powers.

49. What is the world waiting for, when this terrible conflict is daily becoming more serious and when it is confronted with the sufferings of Viet-Nam? Perhaps Schiller's words would be apposite here: "Since when have the seeds of happiness no longer been growing in this earth?"

50. This peace which is essential, which the world desires and my country demands obviously cannot come about merely as a consequence of an admission that subversion and aggression have triumphed. Discussion and negotiation are essential and inescapable. We believe that by that method and by recognizing the fundamental principles of international law and justice, it would be possible to obtain a negotiated peace and one which at the same time would be just and honourable. The possibility of immediate negotiations without prior conditions could become a reality now if there is a sincere desire for peace.

51. What the world longs for is that the two great Powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, in addition to the clear and emphatic statements they have made here and on other occasions that have attracted attention throughout the world, should, by adopting a positive approach and by deeds which speak louder than words, bring about the events which will lead to peace for this long-suffering Asian people. And so this people will be able to begin its life anew—a life disrupted for countless years by the scourge of war—to bring up new generations of its children and prepare them for the future, and to remove the scars of war from its martyred land, making it fertile and fit for sowing.

52. In our view, Mr. Goldberg's recent statement to this Assembly [1412th meeting] on behalf of the United States, was a significant contribution to the settlement of the conflict. It was an important act of collaboration, since, on behalf of his country, he said that it was ready to undertake unconditional negotiations.

53. That is how we see the present situation. So we cannot understand why negotiations with a view to a peaceful settlement are not being begun forthwith and why no attention is paid to the anguished appeals of all mankind. Meanwhile the war goes on, a war which will settle nothing and inevitably make our present problems more difficult.

54. This question must arouse concern within the United Nations and fall within its competence. Although there are parties to the conflict which are not members of the Organization, Uruguay hopes—and indeed makes a fervent appeal to that effect—that the United Nations will give impetus to efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement of this conflict, thus making it clear that all its Members sincerely desire peace and that its purposes and principles, which are of universal application, must be complied with in order to put an end to any conflict which may endanger international peace and security.

55. No one can doubt that it is desirable—indeed, I might say necessary—that the United Nations should achieve true universality of membership and that it should represent all States and all peoples. Surely it is a matter of world-wide importance that mainland China, with its 700 million inhabitants, should be a member of the Organization and that its voice should be heard in the United Nations?

56. Yet, despite this, the truth is that today we cannot contemplate the possibility of membership in the case of a State which has not only made it clear that it is not peace-loving, a condition laid down in Article 4 of the Charter, but has refused to recognize the Purposes and Principles of the Organization, and continues to do so. So long as mainland China does not show that it intends to carry out loyally and in good faith the international obligations which it would incur under the Charter, it cannot be admitted, whatever the legal form in which the question appears in the agenda.

57. Another relevant point that should be mentioned in order to clarify the position is the fact that no request for membership has been submitted by the Peking Government to the United Nations and that, strictly according to the applicable legal principles, it is questionable whether the United Nations is competent to decide, on its own initiative, the question of the legitimate representation of China in the Organization.

58. Turning to another topic, we may well say that the process of decolonization, the ratification of the right to self-determination of all peoples, has been one of the most successful chapters in the history of the United Nations.

59. The application of the historic General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), a task in which my country has played its part with constant devotion, has led today to the almost complete elimination of the political colonialism which until a few years ago cast its shadow over large parts of the world.

60. Nevertheless, the Organization's work in this connexion is not only unfinished but complex and difficult as well.

61. The campaign for the total abolition of colonialist oppression and for the eradication of the evil and abhorrent policy of apartheid must continue.

62. In particular, Uruguay considers it essential to find a solution for distressing and dangerous situations such as that which exists in South West Africa.

63. We feel bound to say, in this connexion, that the Judgment of the International Court of Justice of 18 July last astonished and saddened us.

64. On legal grounds that in our view are wholly mistaken, the Court dismissed, for formal reasons, the application by Ethiopia and Liberia. This means that the Mandate for South West Africa will continue unchecked, at least for the time being. This deplorable judgement does not, however, alter the conclusions on the substance of the affair reached by the Court in its advisory opinions and in its decision of 1962. Consequently my delegation considers—and we shall make a special statement on this point when the actual item is under discussion—that the United Nations must continue to examine the problem with a view to taking decisions which, while respecting law and justice, will make it possible to put into effect the principles and purposes of the Organization with regard to the ending of colonialism, oppression and all policies of racial discrimination in South West Africa.

65. The question of Southern Rhodesia has been a matter of deep concern to the United Nations in recent years, and its anxiety has increased since the crisis brought about last October as a result of the unilateral declaration of independence by the present minority regime in Southern Rhodesia.

66. In the various organs of the United Nations, Uruguay has repeatedly upheld the right of Southern Rhodesia as a whole to self-determination and independence, and has opposed any political system based on racial discrimination and not truly representative of the majority of the population.

67. In the Security Council [1261st meeting], the Uruguayan delegation fully aware of the gravity of such a step maintained that, as the measures that had been taken had up to then failed to produce the desired results, the time had come to apply certain mandatory sanctions of an economic nature, under Chapter VII of the Charter, against the Salisbury régime, in a serious and determined effort to ensure that the people of Southern Rhodesia became masters of their own destiny.

68. As regards the question of the Malvinas and the question of Gibraltar, my country has made its attitude clear both in the Committee of Twenty-four and in the last session of the General Assembly. We wish to express our satisfaction at the start of the negotiations recommended by the United Nations with a view to achieving an amicable settlement of these two problems.

69. Uruguay's pacific policy and its belief that any conflict, even if localized, constitutes a danger to world peace, lead us to hope that a final settlement will be found in the Near East by peaceful means, thus ensuring that States with whose peoples my country enjoys very special ties of friendship and co-operation will together live in harmony and go forward.

70. The fight to establish an international order which will guarantee to every individual, irrespective of race, political ideology or religion, the recognition

and enjoyment of all his personal rights, must go on unrelentingly.

71. A matter of major concern to my country, which is a secular State, is the all too familiar persecution of religious ideas which unfortunately takes place in various parts of the world. In Uruguay, there is no official religion and the State permits the practise of any creed that believers choose to establish; we cannot therefore comprehend the persecution of people who make a pure offering to their religion of all that is best in themselves, mind, spirit and soul.

72. As we all know, crosses and symbols may be buried, men may try to efface the figure of Jesus, close synagogues or shut mosques and other places of worship, but there is no known human force that can divest man's noblest sentiments of the symbol of his faith, which is itself the greatest hope that can inspire any inhabitant of this earth, be he rich or poor—and here indeed there is no discrimination.

73. Uruguay therefore records its protest against any form of religious persecution and any attempt to close places of worship.

74. My country, which has co-operated in all the attempts to achieve these aims and has helped in preparing the ground for the International Year for Human Rights in 1968, will support with its voice and with its vote in this Assembly any step representing real and positive progress in this sphere.

75. The world struggle against poverty, whether of States or individuals, must be given fresh impetus, with a view to ensuring economic co-operation, a fair level of prices for raw materials and a system of international trade based on equality rather than spoliation. The unbelievable sums now devoted to creating almost diabolical weapons of destruction—a result of the failure of attempts at disarmament and of competition in space, which is often nothing but a pretext for perfecting and augmenting the means of man's destruction—should fundamentally be employed in promoting, with all the immense resources of modern science and technology, the economic development of the whole of mankind. No one anywhere on this planet can feel safe or happy as long as he knows that there are hundreds of millions of human beings lacking shelter, food and any hope of a decent future.

76. In conclusion, I wish to thank you for giving me the opportunity to express the feelings, opinions and convictions which stir the hearts and minds of the people of my country, Uruguay, on matters of international politics. Although I have done my best to explain the anxieties of my Government and my country, it is difficult for one man to give an adequate picture of the deepest feelings of my people on all these matters and so to reveal and explain to you what lies behind our policy.

77. The wise saying of Heraclitus of Ephesus, handed down to us through the centuries, is perhaps a fitting judgement for us: "The fairest harmony springs from discord."

78. Uruguay wishes to state once again that it is in favour of peace, respect for human rights, the policy of non-intervention and the maximum opportunities for the self-determination of peoples. It hopes that, when we come home, we can say that on this occasion and at this session of the General Assembly the dreams and hopes of those who conceived the San Francisco Charter are receiving a glorious fulfilment.

79. Mr. AL-SABAH (Kuwait):<sup>3/</sup> Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to express to you my warmest congratulations and those of my Government and delegation upon your unanimous election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its twenty-first session.

80. In view of the traditional brotherly relations that bind our two countries, I feel proud to see as President of the General Assembly a distinguished son of our own region, a region noted for its ancient culture and civilization. Indeed, this demonstrates that the nations which created a great culture and civilization are still, in this age as they were in their illustrious past, a positive and dynamic factor in the making of history, in peace and security and in accordance with right and justice.

81. We believe that your talent and experience, wisdom and good judgement, and the profound understanding you have of the political, economic and social life of the international community will enable the General Assembly, during its present session, to overcome its present difficulties, enlarge the scope of international co-operation in the economic and social fields, and find solutions for the political disputes that threaten world peace and security.

82. I should also congratulate our former President, Mr. Fanfani, on the exemplary manner in which he guided the proceedings of the twentieth session, despite its heavy agenda of items accumulated from the nineteenth session. He was a model of firmness and patient skill. To him we express our gratitude and appreciation, and we wish him great success.

83. I wish to congratulate Guyana on its admission to membership of our Organization. By admitting Guyana into this international family, the United Nations takes one more step towards the achievement of its objectives. I should like also to express our admiration for the integration among its good people which is proceeding so harmoniously; to them we extend best wishes for progress, stability and prosperity.

84. It is a source of great satisfaction that the circumstances which prevented Indonesia from taking part in the activities of the United Nations for a short period no longer exist. We hope that this great Asian nation will soon resume its role as a bulwark of the principles of right, justice, and peace in this world Organization.

85. The decision of the Secretary-General not to serve another term is a matter of great concern to the Organization, as this step does not concern

his person alone but affects the destiny of the Organization, the more so as the United Nations is torn by the conflict between the big Powers, which pursue their cold war to the detriment of the majority of Members.

86. The adherence of the Secretary-General to the principles and ideals of the United Nations is in harmony with the sentiments of the small countries, which view the United Nations as the mainstay of their peace and security. Acting in accordance with the dictates of his conscience, the Secretary-General has warned the world against the dangers to the Organization implicit in the present international situation. As a small country, we hold the big Powers primarily responsible for safeguarding the United Nations. It is incumbent upon them, therefore, to co-operate with other countries so that the Organization may fulfil its great task.

87. The Secretary-General reminded us of our duty to save the United Nations. Kuwait is keenly aware of its responsibilities and takes this opportunity to call upon the Members to do their duty in this respect. Kuwait understands the motives of the Secretary-General's decision and would like to assure him of its support, as he expresses the state of anxiety which now prevails in the Organization.

88. The Organization is now badly in need of a man of Mr. Thant's gifts—a man with a high sense of responsibility, dedication to human values, and love for his fellow man. We informed Mr. Thant of Kuwait's individual viewpoint, and supported the delegation representing the Asian group which appealed to him in an attempt to dissuade him from his decision. We now pledge our whole-hearted support for any step the General Assembly may take to strengthen the Organization, enhance its prestige, and enable it to do its duty.

89. World peace and security are challenged by the forces of evil. The great task of construction and development is menaced by greed, selfishness and destruction. The tragedy of the world today is that the poor and developing countries are the victims of the injustice, exploitation and apartheid policies practised by the colonial Powers. The native African population of Southern Rhodesia is the victim of such an outrageous policy.

90. During its twentieth session the General Assembly adopted three resolutions [2012 (XX), 2022 (XX) and 2024 (XX)] which were in harmony with the dictates of right and justice. It is pertinent to ask what contribution those resolutions have made towards a solution of this question. The preconceived imperialist plan to nullify those resolutions and deprive them of any efficacy has so far been successful. Thus, the people of Zimbabwe have gained nothing. No progress has been made and the foreign minority still retains its control of power and remains an arbiter of the destiny of the whole native population.

91. The Rhodesian question is still under discussion at the United Nations, awaiting a peaceful solution. The minority which usurped power still defies the United Nations, and the people of Rhodesia are, therefore, entitled to entertain the conviction that there are alternative methods, if peaceful means should

<sup>3/</sup> Mr. Al-Sabah spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

fail. Peace-loving nations all over the world pray that the need may not arise for such drastic action.

92. The problem of the people of Southern Rhodesia is yet another example of the same type of tragic situation the Arabs have been faced with for the past eighteen years. The problem of Rhodesia pre-occupies the countries of Asia, Africa and the other developing countries at an advanced stage in their political life, when they are imbued with a spirit of national pride and independence. The injustice suffered by the people of Palestine, however, was inflicted in those unfortunate days when the Afro-Asian continent was under the colonial yoke and a prey to exploitation by various foreign monopolies. As happened recently in Rhodesia, the colonial Power in Palestine had relinquished its responsibilities in favour of the Zionist terrorists who were alien to that country, and thus created a situation which indeed enabled those terrorists to regroup themselves and carry out their plan to usurp the rights of the Arabs of Palestine. Whole towns and villages were evacuated and hundreds of thousands of people were expelled from their homes and driven across the frontier as a result of threats, killings and atrocities.

93. The international propaganda organs of Zionism have been making painstaking efforts to mislead the world into believing that the Palestine question is merely a problem of refugees. Had this false allegation been true, the past long years would have sufficed to settle those so-called refugees.

94. The feelings of the people of Palestine have remained unchanged and now, eighteen years after their expulsion, they are more determined than ever to return to their homes. World Zionism carried out its plan to render the majority of Palestinian Arabs homeless and practised a policy of racial discrimination against the people of occupied Palestine, regardless of their religion. The Nazi system, which had been the bane of Europe, was thus introduced by Zionism into our peaceful region. All this was done while its propaganda organs abroad portrayed its form of Government as a model of democracy and equality.

95. The magnitude of this human tragedy and the harshness of these colonial conditions served as an incentive to the Arabs of Palestine to organize their ranks and proclaim the establishment of their Organization, the Palestine Liberation Organization. Zionist propaganda has been trying to propagate the idea that the Organization is an instrument of terrorism and sabotage. This should cause no surprise as the colonialists have always viewed liberation movements as another form of terrorism and sabotage.

96. Kuwait believes that the Palestine question is part of the national cause and destiny of the whole Arab nation. It therefore extends its whole-hearted support to this liberation movement and stands by the side of the people of Palestine in their sacred struggle for the liberation of their country from Zionist colonialism.

97. The world yearns for permanent peace which cannot be established except on the basis of justice. The strength of the oppressor and the powers of evil behind him have neither undermined the will

of the Palestinian Arabs nor bred in them a feeling of resignation. How can we ask them to accept a fait accompli? The only solution to the Palestine question must be based on right and justice which dictate the repatriation of the refugees and the restitution of their rights.

98. Giving aid and support to this colonial Power which operates through the Zionist authorities in occupied Palestine constitutes recognition of oppression, support for aggression and complete disregard of right and justice as solemnly proclaimed by the United Nations Charter.

99. The services provided by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) are the minimum that the United Nations can do for the Arab refugees. Responsibility for the plight of the refugees lies squarely on the shoulders of the United Nations, which cannot disregard its obligations. It is only to be deplored that the margin of subsistence provided by UNRWA is now exposed to a plot concocted by Zionist and colonialist circles aimed at reducing the funds of the Agency and withholding the ration from the thousands of people who are in need of this form of aid. One may commit a crime. Persistence in criminal conduct, and the sadistic pleasure derived from torturing the victim is, however, inhuman. This is what Zionism and its supporters are doing right now, for to them, the six cents spent on food, medical care and education, constitute a danger to be averted. At the same time, they want us to believe that it is perfectly valid and legitimate for Zionist agencies, particularly in the United States, to collect millions and millions in contributions, which are turned into deadly weapons and used to strengthen the colonial base in the Middle East.

100. The injustice suffered by the people of Palestine at the hands of the Zionist terrorists will remain in the history of the United Nations as ineffaceable evidence of the criminal plot concocted by the colonial Powers and their tools. The past ten years have witnessed the triumph of national struggle over colonialism in Asia and Africa. The people of Palestine, whose aspirations are represented in the Palestine Liberation Organization, are determined to regain their rights and return to their usurped homeland.

101. UNRWA is the only remaining link between the 1,200,000 Palestinians and the United Nations. The responsibility of preserving this Agency lies on the shoulders of the United Nations, and especially on those big Powers which played a decisive role in the colonial plot which created the refugee problem. It is, therefore, the duty of the United Nations and those big Powers to strengthen the Agency and oppose the sinister attempts aimed at liquidating it. No wonder Israel is striving to liquidate it, as its presence is the terrifying ghost and lasting evidence which indicts the crime of Zionism and condemns the very existence of Israel.

102. Everyone will agree that the funds of the Agency are insufficient for the bare subsistence of the Palestine refugees. We therefore expect the United Nations to take all possible measures to protect Arab property in Palestine and the income derived there-



from. The Palestine refugees who look forward to the day of their return to their usurped homes and country reject all attempts aimed at destroying their identity and liquidating their rights.

103. South West Africa is one of those regions from which colonialism is reluctant to part and where it is striving to maintain minority rule over the people struggling for their freedom and independence. This colonial plot can be defeated only if decisive solutions are reached. Otherwise, the ruling minority in South West Africa will persist in its colonial policy based on exploitation and apartheid. This problem has had a long life at the United Nations. Seventy-three resolutions have so far been adopted by the General Assembly dealing with various aspects of this problem. Some of these confirmed the rights of the human person and his inalienable right to freedom while others called for boycotting the authorities that maintained the status quo there. The long awaited Judgment of the International Court of Justice was disappointing to all justice and freedom-loving nations. Kuwait would like to associate itself with all the other Governments which deplored the decision of the Court, and takes this opportunity to proclaim its support for the people of South West Africa in their struggle for freedom.

104. Kuwait would like to reaffirm on this occasion that implementation of the General Assembly resolutions pertaining to territories under Portuguese administration is the obvious way, and a constructive step for liberating those afflicted territories from foreign rule.

105. We consider the questions of Aden, South Arabia, Oman and the Arabian Gulf as our own because we are part of this region. Restoring normal conditions is a prerequisite to economic, social and political development in this region. Consideration of the question of Aden and South Arabia as a colonial issue has already taken place in the Fourth Committee, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and in the General Assembly.

106. The prevailing situation in this region portends a violent explosion if the present state of affairs continues. The right of self-determination freely expressed, and ensuring that all political groups take part in choosing the form of Government is the only means for solving this problem. This region suffered for long under oppressive foreign rule and its people are entitled to a form of Government of their own choice.

107. General Assembly resolution 2023 (XX) on the question of Aden, adopted during its last session, truly reflects the present state of affairs in this region and implementation of its operative paragraphs will fulfil the basic dictates of justice. During a meeting of the Special Committee on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, held in Cairo last June [see A/6300/Rev.1, chap. VI, para. 382], a realistic resolution was adopted which defined the best means for solving this problem. Kuwait would like to associate itself with the other Arab countries and the peace- and justice-loving countries

in upholding these resolutions; the more so, as it is constantly striving to realize the aspirations of our brethren in Aden and South Arabia.

108. The question of Oman is another cause for anxiety in the region. The Fourth Committee and the Special Political Committee of the General Assembly have examined this question. Implementation of resolution 2070 (XX), adopted by the General Assembly during its last session, would serve as the basis for solving the existing problem which hinders the progress and development of the region. The people of Oman have an inalienable right to self-determination in accordance with their freely expressed wishes.

109. The world is watching the grave events in South-East Asia with anxiety and fear. The situation in Viet-Nam reminds us of the scourge of war which twice during half a century brought untold sorrow to mankind. Kuwait is profoundly aware of the tragedy which the people of Viet-Nam are living through in their struggle for freedom, independence and self-determination. It believes that the trend of events in Viet-Nam may drag the whole world into a major catastrophe, as explained by our Secretary-General in his recent statements. Our policy regarding this problem is clear as it stems from our adherence to the United Nations Charter, our participation in a non-aligned group, and our love for peace based on right and justice in accordance with the provisions of our Constitution.

110. Kuwait condemns all forms of foreign intervention in any part of the world, and particularly in Viet-Nam. The destruction inflicted on the people of Viet-Nam as a result of this intervention cannot be disregarded by peace-loving countries. We believe that Viet-Nam has become a battlefield for the political struggle between the great Powers, and that the ideological conflict is being pursued at the sacrifice of the brave Viet-Nameese people.

111. It is our firm conviction that peace and stability cannot be imposed by force. The question of Viet-Nam is primarily a political one which requires a political solution in which the rights of the people of Viet-Nam must prevail over any other consideration. Kuwait considers the proposals of U Thant for peace in Viet-Nam as a good framework in our quest for positive solutions to this problem which is a threat to world peace.

112. Kuwait believes that the United Nations cannot achieve universality, nor can it fulfil its great universal task which embraces the whole human race, nor live in the political realities that prevail in the world today, until it admits to its membership a representative of the great people of China with its teeming millions. One must therefore inevitably come to the conclusion that the exclusion of this great international Power from membership of the United Nations does not promote the cause of world peace.

113. The developing countries are striving to find solutions to economic problems, which represent their main concern at this time. During the third decade of its life the United Nations should be eager to achieve more in this economic field. The first session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), held in Geneva in 1965,

was a constructive step in launching the developing countries on the path of progress and prosperity. The attainment of all or some of these objectives, however, depends upon the important role which the developed countries must play. It depends also upon the measure of financial, economic and technical aid that they extend to developing countries by means of bilateral agreements or through the United Nations. By taking part in this programme, the highly developed countries also serve their own best interests because the benefits achieved in any part of the world accrue to the advantage of neighbouring regions.

114. The process of development, increasing production and raising the standard of living in developing countries is a long and arduous task which requires planning, research, economic solvency, manpower on the largest possible scale, and human skill of the highest calibre. Hence the goals set by UNCTAD and the useful work which it has done are merely part of the general development programme. The efforts of UNCTAD must be reinforced by industrial development to enable developing countries to exploit their natural resources and increase their industrial production in order to satisfy their domestic consumption needs and to export the surplus to foreign markets. This will provide them with the foreign exchange so badly needed by them.

115. The decision of the United Nations to hold the International Symposium on Industrial Development and to establish the Organization for Industrial Development has given proof of its understanding of these basic needs and reaffirmed its determination to seek positive and constructive solutions to these problems, based on the sharing of responsibility between the developed and developing countries alike.

116. Kuwait is keenly aware of its responsibilities and duties in this field of international co-operation aimed at helping developing countries to improve their economic systems. As a further proof of its eagerness to shoulder these responsibilities, it proclaims its intention to continue in the future the work which it has been doing in the past, both in the Arab world in particular and in the international field in general. Kuwait's sincere and earnest desire became manifest during the Conference on Industrial Development in the Arab countries which was held in Kuwait last spring at the invitation of my Government and with the technical co-operation of the competent authorities in the United Nations. I should like to take this opportunity to express the gratitude and appreciation of the Government of Kuwait for the collaboration of the United Nations in the preparations for the Conference and for making it possible to implement its recommendations.

117. Actuated by its belief in the importance of economic development, Kuwait has done its share, to the extent that its means allow, in implementing economic development programmes in the Arab world on the basis of mutual benefit, with a sincere and realistic approach and an understanding of the facts of regional and international co-operation. The good results produced by this co-operation between Kuwait and its Arab neighbours have served as an incentive to enlarge its scope. The Kuwaiti National Assembly consequently decided to double the capital of the

Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development to face the increasing demand for development projects in the region. The Fund's capital resources have thus increased to \$560 million.

118. Let me affirm once more the faith of Kuwait in the United Nations and its adherence to the ideals of the Organization, which are right, justice and co-operation among countries, on the basis of equality in a world enjoying the blessings of security and peace, and imbued with a spirit of selfless and sincere understanding.

119. In conclusion, I should like to voice the hope that States Members of this international Organization will give it the confidence and support which will enable it to pursue its noble mission in serving mankind and defending the dignity and worth of the human person. ✓

120. Mr. ODAKA (Uganda): Mr. President, I should like also on behalf of the Uganda delegation to express to you our congratulations on your election to the high office of President of this twenty-first General Assembly. I am confident that your well-known capabilities and profound wisdom will prove helpful and useful in our deliberation on the grave issues which are on the agenda.

121. I should also like to welcome to the membership of this Organization the sister State of Guyana, a State with which we have strong and happy links. Before the end of this session, Lesotho, Botswana and Barbados will be independent and I should like in anticipation to welcome them to full membership of this Organization.

122. All newly independent States are faced with the problem of consolidating their independence but in the case of Lesotho and Botswana, because of their geographical position, vis-à-vis the Republic of South Africa, the independence and sovereignty of those States will face the danger of political and economic domination by their powerful and hostile neighbour. It is the earnest hope of my delegation that this Organization will take appropriate steps to safeguard and guarantee the sovereignty and territorial integrity of those two countries and to ensure that South Africa does not annex those States after their independence.

123. We have said and we still repeat that Africa must be free and all non-independent States must be liberated. My statement this evening will dwell mainly on the problems that face the African continent. That is not to suggest that we are unmindful of other problems around the globe. We in Africa want peace and want to see in the world conditions where all human beings live in peace, in freedom and independence.

124. In my statement last year, I drew the attention of this Assembly to the problems that face Africa and the threat to freedom and peace in that continent. We appealed to everybody, including those in Rhodesia, not to take steps that were contrary to the cherished ideals of human rights. The situation over the last year has not been encouraging. The matter has gone from bad to worse in Rhodesia. In Southern Rhodesia a white racialist minority,

in an attempt to entrench itself in power over the majority of that country, seized independence illegally last November. In spite of the opposition of, and sanctions which have been imposed by, most countries, the illegal régime is still in control.

125. The objective in Rhodesia is clear. The experience of the Commonwealth meeting in London early this month calls for a clear redefining of this objective. This objective is to enable all people in Rhodesia to achieve independence and to play an effective role in the affairs of that country. We have stated that this can be achieved only on the basis of majority rule. Because of the illegal declaration of independence, to achieve the objective calls for the concerted effort of all nations to help bring down the illegal régime in the shortest possible time so that the people of Rhodesia are enabled to achieve independence on the accepted principle of majority rule.

126. The Uganda delegation welcomed the stand taken by the General Assembly not to recognize that régime. We have maintained that the most effective and the least expensive method to quell the rebellion is and must be the use of force. Uganda maintains that if Britain had promptly used force at the time of the rebellion, Smith and his supporters would have been toppled without too much loss of life or damage to the Rhodesian economy, and also in the shortest time possible. Instead, Britain hoped that voluntary economic sanctions would bring down the régime in a matter of weeks. That optimism was misplaced. Voluntary economic sanctions have failed to crush the régime. The countries most notorious in their non-observance of the resolutions of this Assembly have again ignored the unanimous call to stop trading with Rhodesia. South Africa, Portugal and, regrettably, even other States, have ignored the call for voluntary sanctions and have continued trading with Rhodesia.

127. Although we in Uganda and indeed in most of the nations that attended the Commonwealth Conference are still of the opinion that force is the surest method of ending the rebellion, we are prepared to support the method of economic sanctions. If that method is to have any effect and any chance of succeeding, we still believe that it must be by this Assembly agreeing to impose economic sanctions. Those sanctions, to have effect, must be not only mandatory but comprehensive. They should be imposed not only on exports, but also on all imports, including oil. In our recent meeting in London, Britain would not agree to the only possible way we consider could bring down the Smith régime. Britain does not support the idea of comprehensive mandatory sanctions. Because of its economic interest in South Africa, it is not willing to support the only possible effective solution. We consider that unfortunate.

128. Despite our conviction that the use of force, or, alternatively, comprehensive mandatory sanctions, is the best possible method of toppling that régime, Uganda is prepared to consider any realistic proposals put forward by Britain or any other State as items to be included on the list for mandatory sanctions. We should, however, like to emphasize

the need for sacrifice on the part of all nations if we are to bring down the minority régime in Rhodesia. If sanctions were to exclude trade between South Africa and Rhodesia, especially as regards oil, then the whole exercise would be fruitless and futile since it would fail to close the biggest loophole.

129. Time is against us, and time is Smith's best friend. It is therefore important that the period within which sanctions will be effective should be specified. Otherwise some States may yield to the temptation of resuming trade with that illegal régime. The toppling of the régime would be meaningless if it did not result in the independence of Southern Rhodesia on the basis of the majority.

130. Uganda would be prepared to support as an interim measure the setting up of a provisional Government in Rhodesia immediately the illegal régime is toppled. That provisional Government should be broadly based and representative of all sections of Rhodesians. We should like to see the release of all political leaders who are now being detained by the illegal régime to enable them to organize their people and to participate in the provisional Government. The provisional Government should also be charged and empowered by the Administering Authority to control all machinery of government including police and the armed forces. Immediately the provisional Government has assumed authority in Rhodesia, Uganda would be happy, as a member of the Commonwealth, to be associated in any consultations leading to a constitutional conference prior to the granting of independence on a basis acceptable to the people of Rhodesia.

131. This issue of Rhodesia calls for serious consideration. We consider that a failure to solve this problem would be unfortunate. This Organization is dedicated to upholding human rights and human dignity. The United Nations must agree to the upholding of those cherished ideals in Rhodesia and South Africa. As this Organization is based on a belief in the equality of man and on the right of all nations to self-determination, it has a duty to uphold those principles and to oppose régimes based on a belief in the superiority of race and on the perpetuation of the exploitation of groups of human beings by others. It is because of this that we appeal to the United Nations to realize that this problem is a moral challenge to the very existence of this Organization and to consider it as such.

132. Failure to solve the Rhodesian problem poses yet another danger. It poses the danger that the territories now controlled by Portugal may take the same line that Smith and his racialists have taken. It is conceivable that if there is no solution to the Rhodesian question both Mozambique and Angola could take similar steps and flout world opinion. That would make the whole problem of decolonization more complex. It would mean a prolongation of the endeavours of all peace-loving people to solve the question that is posed by the régimes in Southern Africa.

133. It is in the light of this that I now turn to the other problem, which is so closely related to the

one I have been discussing—the question of South West Africa. I should like to express thanks on behalf of my delegation to the Governments of Ethiopia and Liberia and other members of the Organization of African Unity which gave financial support to enable the case of South West Africa to be considered by the International Court of Justice.

134. The Uganda delegation will speak later on this question. At the moment I should like to place it on record that my Government would support the revocation of the Mandate and call for direct administration by the United Nations and measures designed to revive and reassert the authority of the United Nations over South West Africa until its inhabitants are led to self-government and independence.

135. After considering the colonial manoeuvres of South Africa in South West Africa, my delegation is further disappointed to see that Portugal continues to defy the world and maintains its position that its colonies are an integral part of Portugal. Uganda, in accordance with the resolutions of the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Organization of African Unity, has severed all trade links and diplomatic relations with Portugal because of its colonial policy, and will continue to oppose Portugal, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2107 (XX) of 21 December 1965, until it pays heed to the wind of change and grants independence to the oppressed people of the so-called Portuguese territories.

136. It is very disturbing that Portugal has been able to suppress the heroic struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea through the massive military support it has received from NATO. It has thus not only been able to kill and bomb defenceless people, including women and children, in its colonies, but also to launch attacks on peaceful neighbouring independent States. We shall not be satisfied with any palliative measures that fall short of ensuring that Portugal accepts its responsibility as an administering Power under Article 37 of the United Nations Charter and recognizes the inalienable right of the peoples in its colonies by granting self-determination and independence. We appeal to Portugal and its friends to review their stand and policies. We appeal to all peace-loving countries everywhere to bring pressure to bear on Portugal so that it agrees to guide these countries to self-government and independence, as has been the case with other administering Powers in other parts of the world.

137. Independent States in Africa have noted in recent months a definite pattern and development whereby outside Powers have sought to interfere in the internal affairs of States so as to control and influence their policies both in the political and in the economic fields. This interference is contrary to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of independent States and is a real threat to the continued existence and sovereignty of many countries in Africa. Many of our States have chosen the policy of non-alignment in an attempt to avoid getting involved in ideological struggles of the cold war. We should like to be left alone, free to determine

our own destiny in accordance with our best lights. We should like to be free to co-operate with all friendly countries, irrespective of political ideologies.

138. I have spoken more on colonial issues, not because I do not regard other world problems as important, but because the decolonization of our continent is a primary duty for us in the Organization of African Unity and also because quite often it does not receive the same attention in the statements of other States. We also believe that the question posed in Southern Rhodesia, in South West Africa and in South Africa, apart from being a direct challenge to the principle on which the United Nations is based, is also a direct challenge to the very existence of independent States in that continent. These problems pose threats of perpetuating fascist régimes.

139. We have said that we shall be happy to see multiracial societies develop in Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola and in South Africa. In Uganda and in our neighbouring States of Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia the experiment of multiracial societies has succeeded. We believe that if the people in Rhodesia, South Africa, Mozambique and Angola could forget about the arrogance of racial superiority and attempt the experiment of living together on an equal footing, these experiments would succeed. We consider that our continent can do a lot to prove not only that there is room for peaceful coexistence, but that, in Africa, people of different races, colours and creeds can play their part in developing the resources with which nature has endowed the African continent. Furthermore, we consider that if these problems are not given the attention they deserve they will pose a real danger to peace, not only on the continent of Africa, but also in the world.

140. Viet-Nam presents us with an example of a country that has not known peace for a long time. It presents us with the problem of cold-war and ideological conflicts. These conflicts have led to misery and loss of human lives. Statements have been made a number of times about the desirability of transferring the conflict from the battlefield to the negotiating table, but, because of the conditions demanded before a cease-fire could be effected, the war in Viet-Nam has not only continued but has also been intensified. Last year, my delegation appealed to all those in the conflict to cease hostilities and to come to the negotiating table. We appeal to them once again to stop fighting and to seek a peaceful conclusion of the conflict in accordance with the Geneva Agreements of 1954. We consider that this is a political question and that the best answer is to try to find a political solution rather than a military one. My delegation will be happy to support any genuine attempt from either side which will help to end the Viet-Nam war and which will give the people of Viet-Nam an opportunity to decide on the future of its country in accordance with its right to freedom, self-determination, independence and sovereignty.

141. The solution of the complex Viet-Nam problem is made even more difficult by the absence from this Assembly of some of the parties involved, especially the People's Republic of China. My country's stand has been stated before and remains unchanged. The

lawful rights and membership of the People's Republic of China should be restored if the United Nations is to realize its objective of universality. It is my delegation's hope that no more obstacles will be put in the way of the admission of the People's Republic of China, and that the Government of Peking will similarly not impose conditions which would make its admission difficult.

142. I should like to discuss briefly the problem of refugees. Uganda is faced with the problem of refugees from its neighbouring States of Rwanda, Sudan and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In spite of our slender resources, we have offered asylum to them on humanitarian grounds. We have tried to provide them with the bare necessities of life. The presence of large numbers of refugees on the borders of our country has been a source of friction with our neighbours. Quite often, in spite of our clear Government policy that no refugees will be allowed to use Uganda territory as a base for launching attacks on their country of origin, there have been instances where refugees' activities have resulted in misunderstandings with our neighbours. Our objective has been to give the refugees a choice of either settling permanently in Uganda or being repatriated to their country of origin when conditions are propitious for their return. In order to minimize friction, we have had to remove refugees from the borders and build camps for them further inland. While appreciating the help that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has given, we feel that more could be done to help Uganda in tackling this world problem which has baffled countries with greater financial and human resources. We shall be discussing this matter in greater detail at other conferences dealing specifically with the problem.

143. My delegation would like to appeal to developed countries to honour their pledges made several times in the past at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) to remove tariff barriers on trade in the interest of developing countries. If and when those pledges are translated into action the present widening gap between the economies of developed and developing countries will stand a chance of being narrowed. In this respect we are appreciative of the role played by the United Nations through its Trade and Development Board to increase trade between developing and developed countries, particularly by its effort in export promotion.

144. We welcome a suggestion put forward by GATT that developing countries should negotiate tariff concessions among themselves with a view to increasing their trade. It is the belief of my Government that tariff concessions, particularly on manufactured and semi-manufactured goods, would help tremendously in developing the trade of our countries and in increasing our chances of competing with the more developed countries.

145. In conclusion, I should like to express, on behalf of my delegation, our appreciation for the work that has been and is being done by the Secretary-General, U Thant. It is my sincere belief

that the United Nations has an invaluable role to play in the present age and that the continued presence of U Thant as Secretary-General would be a blessing to the Organization. I should therefore like to repeat the appeal made by my President, together with other Heads of Government of the Commonwealth, to U Thant to reconsider his decision, so as to enable the Organization to retain his services.

146. Mr. ILBOUDO (Upper Volta) (translated from French): My country wishes to associate its voice with those of the eminent speakers who have preceded me at this rostrum in offering to you, Mr. President, its warmest congratulations on your unanimous election to the office of President of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly. There can be no doubt that under your judicious guidance our work will be fruitful and full of promise. Your vigorous exertions, both in the Afro-Asian group and in the Group of Seventy-seven, combined with the prestige you enjoy there, are an assurance to us that the outcome of our session will, despite the few dark clouds visible on the horizon, be a happy one.

147. The principles governing Upper Volta's foreign policy and my country's general views on the world at large are extremely simple. They derive from the very condition in which my country finds itself. Upper Volta, as a young State emerging from a hard colonial past, still shares with many others the sad fate of being under-developed. Knowing this to be so, my country, which wishes to be realistic in keeping with its age-old tradition of wisdom, has deliberately abandoned the delusion of pursuing a policy of prestige since the political events which marked its history at the beginning of this year. Since then, it has defined its foreign policy and established it on the basis of three fundamental principles closely attuned to its national requirements.

148. The first of these principles is the national interest, which to us means giving priority to the pursuit of the maximum well-being of the greatest possible number of our people.

149. The second principle is independence and its two corollaries: mutual respect for the absolute equality of States and non-interference in their internal affairs.

150. The third is neutrality, a policy which makes manifest our firm determination to reject foreign influences and avoid giving our allegiance to any existing political bloc or to any major Power of the day.

151. Since the foreign policy of Upper Volta scrupulously adheres to these principles, both in its relations with other States and within international organizations, it expects other States to do likewise where Upper Volta is concerned.

152. Upper Volta, a country which opens widely on to the interior; it is a busy cross-roads and naturally has an international outlook. Where international co-operation is concerned it is therefore ready to extend its hand to all nations wishing to co-operate with it under conditions of respect for

equality and for its fundamental principles. In this connexion I should like to recall the statement of general policy made by our President, Lieutenant-Colonel Sangoulé Lamizana, on the occasion of the celebration of the sixth anniversary of the independence of the Republic:

"In the certainty of reflecting the deep-seated aspirations of our people, I wish, on this anniversary, to recall the main lines of our foreign policy. In our relations with the outside world, our main concern is to live in peace and harmony, first with our neighbours and then with all other peoples in the world who cherish justice and peace."

153. Because we are anxious to be realistic and practical, we have always taken the view that progress in international relations should be by successive stages if institutions are to be at all viable. That is why we regard regional and sub-regional organizations as the best means of achieving African unity and of ensuring our integration with the rest of the world. It was for this reason that, on the morrow of the revolutionary events of January 1966, we confirmed our membership of the various sub-regional and regional organizations. Through these institutions we shall work our way gradually up to the African and then to the world level with the help of the world-wide Organization which has now called us to these noble surroundings.

154. My delegation would like to glance at some of the problems which confront the Organization today and to define its attitude towards them. It has become a truism to say that the fundamental problem of our time is the problem of peace and of the preservation of peace. One of the principal duties of our Organization under the Charter is to maintain international peace and security.

155. Like all countries in the Third World, Upper Volta has resolutely embarked on a determined search for peace, which is a prerequisite to solving the problem of economic development of those countries and of their survival.

156. The revolutionary progress achieved in recent years in connexion with armaments and the perfecting of weapons of mass destruction lend even greater urgency to this task of the Organization and heighten the anxiety of all countries in the world who cherish the noble ideals of peace and justice. Furthermore, the unhappy experience of the last two wars has shown that the day of small local wars is over. Given the present intricate pattern of international relations, any armed conflict, however minor, may at any moment burst forth into a general conflagration.

157. It is for this reason that my country is following with unremitting concern the war in Viet-Nam, which daily becomes more violent and more cruel. We think, and we shall continue to think that no solution can ever be found to the Viet-Nam problem by military means. In our humble opinion, the only way of finding a lasting settlement is for all the parties concerned in this greivous affair to meet around a conference table. We therefore address a solemn appeal to all those parties who directly or indirectly have some responsibility in relation to

this war to do their utmost to create a climate conducive to an equitable and negotiated settlement of the question that would reflect the wishes and legitimate aspirations of the Viet-Nameese people.

158. In other parts of the world there are explosive situations which could quickly degenerate into open and generalized conflict. This is particularly true of the acutely sensitive Middle East area, where compliance with the fundamental principles of the Charter—respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and renunciation of the use of force to settle border disputes—can alone ensure that States will live together in peace. It is this conviction which leads my delegation to recommend discussion as a means of reaching a compromise solution acceptable to both sides in this distressing and never-ending conflict between the State of Israel and the Arab States.

159. Much nearer to my country, an unprecedented tragedy is taking place in the African continent. Thousands of nationalists fighting for freedom are daily falling victim to the bullets of the Portuguese colonialists or of the racist settlers in Rhodesia and South Africa. Countless others languish in gaol because they had the courage to denounce the shameful and humiliating Portuguese colonial system or the intolerable racist policy of the white settlers in Rhodesia and South Africa.

160. Within the Organization of African Unity, my country is giving and always will give its moral and material support to the combatants in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), the Cape Verde Islands, Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa. It will continue to do so until the whole of Africa still under foreign domination recovers its independence. That is the price of the continent's stability. There can be no doubt in anyone's mind that Africa today lives under the permanent threat of an outburst of violence owing to the absolute necessity of removing for ever the last bastions of colonialism by wars of national liberation, and as a result of the revolt by the African peoples are humiliated and tormented by the inhuman practices of the policy of apartheid.

161. The picture is even darker when one realizes that the racist Government of Southern Rhodesia was only able to make its unilateral declaration of independence because it counted on an indulgent attitude on the part of the former colonial Power and the support of its ally and neighbour South Africa, which has just given itself a new head of government who has few scruples and who is capable of the most abominable excesses of violence, intolerance and cruelty.

162. As part of the general campaign for peace, our Organization must also seek a just settlement of all the problems of the divided countries—Germany, China, Korea and Viet-Nam. We must examine these problems calmly and without paying attention to ideological considerations. The peoples of these countries have been arbitrarily subjected to partition, and it would be dangerous to settle their ultimate fate in disregard of their legitimate aspirations.

163. The people of China and the German, Korean and Viet-Nameese peoples each wish to become once again a single and undivided nation. It is because of this fact and in order to meet the real, though long-term, wishes of the peoples concerned, that my country believes that the Chinese nation and the German, Korean and Viet-Nameese States should each have only one seat in our Organization.

164. In our view, an effort must be made to eliminate the sources of international tension which these divided countries represent in the world of today. All that is needed to achieve this is to do these peoples justice by enabling them to decide their future freely in accordance with the principles of self-determination and their human rights.

165. My delegation also considers that the maintenance of peace should include a serious effort to extend and multiply zones of peace. That is why my country resolutely supports the efforts being made by the African States to ensure that Africa remains a denuclearized and neutral area. The peoples of Asia and Africa have had the misfortune to endure two world wars. They were dragged unwillingly into a conflict which did not concern them; they fought in the service of others and for an alien cause. They are anxious to avoid a repetition of this painful experience, and they realize that another war would put an end to their prospects of development for ever. Accordingly, they steadfastly hope that their appeal will be heard.

166. My delegation appeals to the nuclear powers to devote serious attention to the problem of putting an end to all nuclear tests and urges them to introduce as soon as possible measures that would make it possible to bring about complete disarmament subject to control. The arms and weapons of annihilation which now exist would then have to be destroyed before they destroy their creators.

167. To enable the United Nations to carry out its task as an instrument for peace effectively, we consider that it should be given the physical means required for peace-keeping operations. The question is one of particular importance now that a financial crisis is sapping the Organization's strength and threatening its existence. This is a matter where hope is but slender and future prospects are bleak, since the efforts made by Member States under the system of voluntary contributions have not yet produced a sufficient sum to meet the deficit of previous years, which remains substantial.

168. I should now like to address myself briefly to certain economic problems confronting our Organization. The constant and alarming deterioration in the terms of trade to the disadvantage of the developing countries, which makes the continuing gap between the Third World and the industrialized countries still wider, leads us to think that the solution of fundamental economic and social problems will be the ultimate factor in maintaining world peace. United Nations official statistics furnish a striking illustration of this disparity. Nineteen of the richest countries, representing barely 16 per cent of the

world's population, hold over 70 per cent of the world's wealth, while vast numbers of people continue to live in poverty and almost total destitution. Furthermore, owing to the decline in the flow of international aid which we have witnessed with dismay in recent years as helpless onlookers, the situation will get worse if a remedy is not speedily found. That is why we share the concern of the United Nations to raise the over-all standard of living of the poorer peoples.

169. At this juncture we should like to pay a tribute to the efforts of the Secretary-General, U Thant, in connexion with United Nations action for development. The Committee for Development Planning instituted by the Economic and Social Council [see resolution 1079 (XXXIX)] and set up by the Secretary-General, has made it possible to survey effective ways and means of guiding and organizing development activities, whilst the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development has shown how mankind can devote the resources of its creative genius to the needs and demands of development.

170. Whatever disappointment or disillusion they may arouse in us today, the United Nations Development Decade and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development still provide a ray of hope for the future. Moreover, the recent creation of the United Nations Organization for Industrial Development [see resolution 2089 (XX)], which is responsible for studying the important problems of industrialization in developing countries, has given rise to great hopes, in the absence of miracles. We therefore make an urgent appeal to all the industrialized States to co-operate actively in UNOID in the search for practical and genuinely constructive ways of narrowing the gap which separates countries in different stages of development. By doing so they will also contribute to world peace and stability.

171. In conclusion, I should like to say how glad my delegation is to see Guyana finally take its place in the General Assembly. An independent Guyana conjures up the happy picture of a ripe fruit falling of its own accord from the old colonial tree. Let us hope that all such fruits will quickly ripen and fall as soon as possible, to the great joy of those peoples still under foreign domination.

172. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Iran in exercise of his right of reply.

173. Mr. VAKIL (Iran) (translated from French): With your permission, Mr. President, I should prefer to leave it to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iran, when he comes to the rostrum shortly in the course of the general debate, to express to you the deep satisfaction which the Government and people of Iran feel at your election to the high office of President of this Assembly. As for myself, I need not tell you of the place you hold in my admiration and affection. I should nevertheless like to address two lines from a Persian poet to a man who is known, loved and respected in my

own country as one of the greatest masters of contemporary Persian poetry:

"To my friend's door  
Devotion draws me  
There to rest my head  
In thought of only him."

174. My reason for speaking at this late hour is to reply very briefly to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of a country, Kuwait, with which my own enjoys the most friendly relations, and with which

we have close spiritual and cultural ties. However, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kuwait, in speaking of the gulf which lies to the south of Iran and takes its name from an adjacent province, described it as the "Arabian Gulf". I would respectfully remind him that all Arab geographers and historians have always called it the Persian Gulf; wishes cannot alter facts.

*The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.*