

United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

TWENTY-FIRST SESSION

Official Records



1428th
PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, 4 October 1966,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

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President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHwak
(Afghanistan).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Patrick Solomon
(Trinidad and Tobago), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)*

1. Mr. BAGARAGAZA (Rwanda) (translated from French): Mr. President, it is a pleasant duty for my delegation to add its warmest congratulations to those already extended to you, since the opening of the general debate, on your unanimous election to the Presidency of the Assembly. I am sure that your diplomatic skills and your talent for negotiation and dialogue will enable us to bring to a successful conclusion the work of this twenty-first session, which opens in an atmosphere of crisis and anxiety.

2. We also wish to congratulate Mr. Fanfani, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy, who presided over the twentieth session of the General Assembly with matchless competence.

3. Lastly, we would offer our best wishes to the delegation of Guyana upon its admission to the United Nations.

4. My delegation would also like most enthusiastically to welcome Indonesia's return to the United Nations. Our organization looks forward once again to the contribution which that great country will be able to make.

5. It has now become the custom for the Government of each State Member of the United Nations to make known each year, particularly in the General Assembly, its views on the major problems of the day. These views reflect the international policies of each country, which are based on constant guiding principles. I should therefore like to begin by outlining the fundamental principles of our foreign policy.

6. This policy is founded upon solidarity among men and nations, which means that the goal of our interna-

tional co-operation must be above all to contribute to world peace, the primary purpose of the United Nations. Peaceful coexistence and the settlement of disputes through negotiation are also leit-motifs of our policy. The Government and people of Rwanda firmly believe in friendly relations among nations based, as the United Nations Charter states, "on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples". We believe that the sovereignty and self-determination of States are sacred principles which should govern all international relations. Our foreign policy also seeks to encourage and facilitate the harmonious development of all countries of the world by helping, among other things, to promote and improve the system of foreign aid, thus participating in effective co-operation among nations.

7. Those, in brief, are the foundations and objectives of the Rwandese Republic's foreign policy. Guided by these objectives, what do we find one year after the twentieth session of the General Assembly? International tensions have only increased. Effective general disarmament has not been carried out. On the contrary, both nuclear and conventional weapons have grown considerably in number. As the Secretary-General stressed in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization, a document which deserves serious study and deep thought:

"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." [See A/6301/Add.1, p. 1.]

8. The war in Viet-Nam is acquiring ever more disturbing proportions, and one wonders whether the world is not running the risk of a third world war. The Chinese people, the German people, the Korean people remain artificially divided.

9. With regard to decolonization, the hopes of African countries, and those of the Third World in general, have been dashed by the indifference with which the United Kingdom has treated the unilateral declaration of Rhodesian independence by Ian Smith's rebellious régime, and also by the decision of the International Court of Justice concerning South West Africa.

10. Two years after the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, no tangible progress has been made in trade between the wealthy nations and

*Resumed from the 1426th meeting.

the developing countries. On the contrary, the gap between the developed and the less developed countries has grown increasingly wider.

11. The financial and institutional crisis of the United Nations has not been settled, and there is every reason to wonder whether the Organization will be able to continue its noble task of maintaining peace, international security and the well-being of mankind. Now, in addition to all this, comes the most regrettable decision of our Secretary-General not to seek another term of office.

12. Turning to the problem of general disarmament, my delegation wishes to reiterate its Government's position. The Rwandese Republic finds it intolerable that certain Powers should continue to manufacture weapons that can wipe out entire countries and peoples, and even continents. It hopes to make its modest contribution to ensuring that such a catastrophe never happens. My delegation would like to join all those who have expressed grave concern over the problem of disarmament. All reasonable men, all nations, must strive to reach our principal goal as soon as possible, that is, universal, general and controlled disarmament. Last year we supported the idea of a world conference in which all Powers, and particularly the atomic Powers, would participate. Such a conference should make concrete, realistic proposals for averting the dangers stemming from the arms race, particularly with regard to weapons of mass destruction, and for allocating the funds involved to better purposes. The results, unfortunately, are disappointing; for the will to examine these issues seriously is not equally strong and sincere on the part of all the atomic Powers.

13. The delegation of the Rwandese Republic, sickened at the dangers to which the proliferation of atomic weapons exposes mankind, would like to renew its appeal to the great atomic Powers to stop producing these weapons, to decrease their stockpiles progressively, and to refrain from transferring them to other Powers; to ensure the effectiveness of this decision, these Powers should accept international control. In addition, in order to achieve general and complete disarmament, an agreement banning underground nuclear tests must be signed as a follow-up to the Moscow Treaty.

14. The Rwandese Government believes, however, that no efforts to promote security, disarmament and effective weapons control will have any decisive and lasting success unless the causes of other world tensions are also eliminated. We feel that there can be no better token of a policy of peace than aid to the developing countries. That is why my delegation condemns the most absurd and distressing fact of our time, namely, the ridiculous amounts of money spent on armaments. It is regrettable that the political and military aspect of international relations is more and more taking precedence over their economic and commercial aspect.

15. With world opinion now convinced that arms budgets could be cut considerably; when, even at their armies' present level of power and efficiency, most of the nations in this Assembly could substantially reduce expenditures and at the same time make them more useful from the economic standpoint through a deli-

berate rationalization effort; and when the existence of nuclear deterrent forces makes the destructive effects of any war on a world-wide scale total and irreparable, is it not tragic that nations should continue to amass ever more costly weapons, despite facts of which all mankind is aware?

16. Is it logical to recognize that the economic and social development of nations requires enormous human and financial resources and at the same time to go on expending those that are available on the manufacture of instruments of death? Is it not absurd that many of the world's engineers and technicians are employed in preparations for war, when their knowledge and experience could be used in the development of the less developed nations and thus in preparations for peace?

17. My Government has always believed that the conversion of war industries into peaceful industries and the use of the latter to help the less developed countries would give us new and more effective weapons against poverty, ignorance and hunger, which threaten two thirds of mankind.

18. With regard to the problem of Viet-Nam, the Rwandese Government would like first to express its keenest sympathy with the Viet-Name people, who have been fighting bravely for over twenty years to defend their independence and freedom. We are deeply saddened by the fact that this courageous people is being used by the great Powers as a pawn and as the stage on which their antagonisms and their ignoble interests are enacted. The position of the Rwandese Government on this distressing problem is well known to all. We are firmly convinced that the issue will be resolved, not by force of arms, but by the appropriate political means. We agree with those who believe that all the parties involved should meet at the negotiating table and return to the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962. In this connexion, my delegation is most grateful to our revered Secretary-General, U Thant—to whom my Government pays a resounding tribute—for his commendable efforts in the search for a negotiated solution. We should like to take this occasion to endorse the three points he has proposed: the cessation of the bombings in North Viet-Nam; the progressive reduction of military operations in South Viet-Nam, which alone can lead to a cease-fire; and the participation of the National Liberation Front in any peaceful settlement.

19. The Rwandese Republic also believes that the cessation of the bombings in the North, followed by a cease-fire throughout Viet-Nam, are prerequisites to any settlement. All the Powers involved should lay down their arms and thus create a propitious atmosphere for negotiations. In our opinion, the framework of the Geneva Conference is still best suited to bring an end to this murderous war which, as I stressed earlier, threatens to plunge us into a nuclear holocaust. We share the concern which the Secretary-General expressed in his statement of 1 September 1966:

"The cruelty of this war, and the suffering it has caused the people of Viet-Nam are a constant reproach to the conscience of humanity. Today it seems to me, as it has seemed for many months, that the pressure of events is remorselessly leading toward a

major war, while efforts to reverse that trend are lagging disastrously behind. In my view the tragic error is being repeated of relying on force and military means in a deceptive pursuit of peace." [See A/6400.]

20. My delegation would like, in particular, solemnly to appeal to the United States and the People's Republic of China to make special efforts to facilitate a peaceful settlement of the dispute between them. We beg both sides to show good will and to abandon rigid positions which can only jeopardize hopes for negotiation. We hope that this Assembly will clearly and vigorously express the conviction of the international community that the war in Viet-Nam must end in a negotiated settlement.

21. Our permanent representative stressed at the twentieth session that "any solution to this problem presupposes the dual principle of self-determination and non-interference by other countries in the internal affairs of Viet-Nam" [1360th meeting, para. 29]. We maintain this position and remain fully convinced that the Viet-Nameese people must be given the opportunity to express their wishes as to their future, through free and democratic elections, and should not have ready-made solutions imposed on them from outside.

22. In addition to the distressing problems of Viet-Nam, of disarmament and of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, there are other problems which threaten world peace and security and give rise to serious tensions that may explode at any moment. The Rwandese Government has always most categorically denounced subversive activities promoted, encouraged and fomented from outside national territory for the purpose of overthrowing, by sudden and violent change, the national institutions freely and lawfully chosen by peoples. We, the small countries which have other, more urgent problems to solve, desire above all that every nation should be free to determine what form of government is best suited to it in the light of the aspirations of its people. My Government continues to hope that the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty, which was adopted almost unanimously at the twentieth session [resolution 2131 (XX)], will be applied by all countries.

23. I should like to remind you of my delegation's statement in the First Committee last year condemning the acts of certain Governments which presume to train or to tolerate within their territories armed bands or refugee groups plotting to overthrow the Governments of their countries of origin.^{1/} The resources and energies wasted in encouraging such activities should be devoted to the national development of our new countries.

24. At this point, I should like to refer to the Conference of eleven Heads of State and Government held at Nairobi from 31 March to 2 April 1966. You will recall that the Nairobi Conference was gravely concerned at the problems created by refugees. It was noted that relations between neighbouring countries

were often very seriously strained because of the activities of some refugees who used the host countries as a base for subversion and political agitation against their countries of origin or used the host countries for the purpose of obtaining financial and material aid from outside sources to support subversion.

25. We recognize the humanitarian reasons for which refugees are accepted in various countries, but we insist that these countries should make the refugees comply, inside their territories, with the obligations imposed on them by their refugee status. The authorities of the host country should, in particular, seek out and confiscate any arms in the possession of these refugees; they should prevent the granting to them of any material or moral assistance designed to enable them—or which would in fact enable them—to violate their obligations as refugees, including the obligation to refrain from any political activity, let alone subversive activities. The authorities should, in particular, make it impossible for these refugees to obtain military equipment or training in subversive activities from any source; they should in general prevent the refugees from exercising any political activity and from forming political associations or groups; they should bar the refugees from using the Press or radio of the country of refuge for purposes which are directly or indirectly political. The authorities should prohibit these political refugees or other foreign nationals declared persona non grata in their own country from holding any political posts in the Government or any administrative posts from which they could adversely affect not only the political, but also the economic relations between the two countries. They should prevent the settlement of any refugees near the frontier of their country of origin. In general, every country having refugees in its territory should take the strictest action against any who fail to comply with the obligations imposed on them by their refugee status and should even, if necessary, expel them.

26. The Rwandese Government, for its part, is pleased at the good neighbourly relations it already maintains with many adjacent countries. It has just signed a tripartite agreement with the Congo and Burundi and sincerely hopes that better co-operation will be established with the latter, in view of the fact that its new leaders stated clearly, as soon as they took office, that they wanted to improve and strengthen their relations with neighbouring countries. The Rwandese Republic will make every effort to bring about better collaboration and co-operation with its immediate neighbours.

27. On the question of artificially divided peoples, such as the two Chinas, the two Germanys and the two Koreas, the position of the Rwandese Republic is unequivocal; we believe that any people which throughout history has formed one nation and has shared in creating one culture should be allowed to remain one nation indivisible, and that any arbitrary division of its unity is an unpardonable crime. The Government of the Rwandese Republic believes that a genuine détente and genuine peace can be achieved and endure only if the unity of these nations is restored by peaceful means.

28. As to the problem of China, the Rwandese Government endorses the principle of one nation, one people, one China. There are some who wonder which Govern-

^{1/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, First Committee, 1399th meeting, para. 41.

ment is competent to represent the great Chinese people. I shall recall, first of all, that in recent years the General Assembly has considered the question of the representation of China in the United Nations in all its aspects and has always held this to be a most important question, stating that if it is to be considered we must adhere to the principle of a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting, in accordance with Article 18 of the Charter. The Rwandese Government will support this position, and my delegation will categorically oppose any attempt to change it.

29. I would add that my Government maintains friendly relations with the Government of the Republic of China, which has for long been providing its population with stability and harmonious development. Despite all kinds of difficulties, that country still manages to take part in the development programmes of a number of developing countries. Nevertheless, the Rwandese Government shares the regret that a part of the great Chinese people cannot contribute to international peace and security, the principle objective of the United Nations.

30. We have many times stressed from this rostrum that international peace and co-operation are the leit-motiv of our foreign policy. Since we became independent, our Government and people have chosen a policy of peaceful coexistence with all countries, even if they do not share our political views. Consequently, we should wish it to be noted that the fact that the People's Republic of China represents one fourth of the earth's population does not entitle it to preach what it calls revolution in the developing countries or to foster subversion in our countries through the military training and arming of rebels. My delegation would hope that this Assembly might call on those who have made themselves the leaders of this part of the Chinese people to respect the fundamental principles of the United Nations.

31. With regard to the problem of the two Germanys, the Government of the Rwandese Republic fervently appeals to the nations represented here, and particularly to the Powers responsible for the division of this very brave and energetic people, to put an end to the tragic situation created by this arbitrary partition. The Rwandese Government firmly believes that the peace and stability of Europe, and consequently of the world, are entirely bound up with the peaceful settlement of this thorny problem. The great German people must be allowed to play its proper part in the maintenance of peace, security and international development. My Government is gratified that it already maintains friendly relations with the western part of Germany—the Federal Republic of Germany—and is pleased to note the German Government's firm desire to see its people reunited as soon as possible by peaceful means. We pledge to it our modest contribution and our full support.

32. The same considerations of unity must be taken into account with regard to the Korean people, who for long have legitimately aspired to reunification.

33. Turning to the question of decolonization, we note that the Judgment rendered by the International Court of Justice in July 1966 on the question of South

West Africa^{2/} was a challenge to the moral conscience of mankind and an unpardonable injustice to all Africa. This Judgment has revealed to us who our true friends are, and we express our profound gratitude to those who supported us. As for those who rejected the case of the African countries and preferred to align themselves with the cynical policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, their crime will never be erased from history.

34. The Government of the Rwandese Republic did not hesitate to join the Afro-Asian countries and other friendly countries in categorically condemning the Judgment rendered by the International Court of Justice. We welcome the decision taken by the African States in requesting that the General Assembly should consider the question of South West Africa as a matter of priority. Indeed, my delegation eagerly sponsored this proposal [A/6386].

35. We continue to believe that the preliminary ruling of the International Court of Justice in December 1962,^{3/} when the Court decided that it was competent to pass on the substance of the dispute, has not changed and is still completely valid as concerns the status of South West Africa. The decision of last July was, in our eyes, a surprising and disappointing contradiction, and we wonder whether one can place any further trust in the Court.

36. What the African countries expect of the Assembly is clearly stated in the memorandum from the African delegations to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. We request, in particular, that at this session the General Assembly should revoke South Africa's Mandate over South West Africa, that United Nations machinery should be set up to administer the country, and that free elections should be organized with a view to self-determination and independence for this African territory. We are counting on the support of friendly countries and firmly hope that our wishes will be granted and our call heeded.

37. With reference to the Rhodesian problem, we say again that the United Kingdom bears the grave responsibility for it. It is primarily for the United Kingdom to settle this crisis, in which we feel that it has been an accomplice. I would not dwell on this point, since we have had the opportunity to express our position and our indignation before various international bodies. We would simply make one final appeal to the United Kingdom to fulfil its responsibilities by immediately putting an end to Ian Smith's rebel government. The African majority absolutely must be allowed to manage its own affairs if we are to avoid an explosive situation in the southern part of Africa.

38. The latent tension in the south of our continent threatens to endanger international peace and security. Africans will not accept for much longer that their brethren in Angola, Mozambique and "Portuguese" Guinea should be subjected indefinitely to Portuguese exploitation and imperialism. In this connexion, we are particularly anxious to express our sympathy and

^{2/} South West Africa, second phase. Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 1966, p. 6.

^{3/} South West Africa Cases (Ethiopia v. South Africa; Liberia v. South Africa) Preliminary Objections, Judgment of 21 December 1962: I.C.J. Reports 1962, p. 319.

solidarity with the Congolese Government and people. We fully support the case which that fellow Government has just brought before the Security Council.^{4/} We hope that the Council, which has the task of maintaining international peace and security, will strongly denounce and condemn the presence and intervention of mercenaries in Africa.

39. Furthermore, the threats, acts of violence, arbitrary imprisonments, massacres and acts of brutality of all kinds to which the racist Government of South Africa subjects the black population must be unreservedly condemned. Through its inhuman policies of apartheid, the Republic of South Africa, despite the repeated appeals of the General Assembly and the Security Council, has challenged the conscience and opinion of the world. We recommend this Assembly to adopt the necessary effective measures to ensure that justice is done to the African majority, for so long a victim of the barbarous policies of the white racists of South Africa.

40. I have surveyed the several current political problems which must first be solved if we are to ensure peace and security on our planet; however, we believe that, in order to establish the necessary balance among nations, an adequate solution must also be found to the difficulties involved in the economic and social development of the developing countries. The development of fair and mutually profitable trade among all nations directly promotes their economic progress by raising the people's level of living and creating more employment in all sectors of production. Furthermore, we are convinced that, if all the countries of the world would lay greater emphasis on their trade relations than on their political and military relations, many of the problems that now arise in both economic and political relations between developed countries and what has come to be known as the Third World, and also among the developed countries themselves and among the developing countries, would be more easily solved.

41. However, while we must stress the special role which trade plays in development, we should not become obsessed with trade problems, especially where the developing countries are concerned. We believe that the difficulties involved in the development of the Third World are primarily problems of production, and of the rationalization of production, rather than trade problems. The main characteristic of the economies of most developing countries is the large share of the domestic product accounted for by agriculture. More than 60 per cent of the income of most developing countries comes from agriculture, but by and large, more than 80 per cent of this agriculture is of the subsistence type; the amount of agricultural production reaching the market is a very small proportion of total production. Thus, it is obvious that, in order to improve trade, we must first seek appropriate means of increasing the production of trade commodities. The appropriate means are those whereby agriculture may be taken off a subsistence basis and modernized.

42. This task, which requires much capital and many technicians, will never be successfully carried out by

the developing countries alone. The developed countries have an essential part to play, for only they have enough capital and enough technicians. This being so, my delegation feels that the principle that trade should replace aid in relations between developed and developing countries ignores the real situation of the developing countries. The fact is that international trade itself can never develop without the generous aid of the well-to-do nations to those less fortunate. This is one of those rare cases in which generosity pays; for the developed countries have much to gain from doing all they can to promote the industrialization of the Third World.

43. In order to promote industrialization and thereby ensure a better distribution of production tasks, each developing country must be helped to organize the infrastructure of its economy. That is at present the best way to attract foreign capital. To accomplish this task, the developed countries should provide the developing countries, on the best terms possible, with equipment for constructing and maintaining their communication systems, drilling for water and installing water supply systems, with telecommunication equipment, with equipment for producing and distributing energy, with school supplies and with much other equipment which poorer countries cannot acquire without the help of the wealthier countries.

44. In connexion with the question of the industrialization of the developing countries, my delegation wishes to state its views before this Assembly, two years after the 1964 United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at Geneva, on the problem of investment. My delegation would like first to express its satisfaction that the Economic and Social Council has designated 1967 as International Tourist Year [Economic and Social Council resolution 1108 (XL)]. My country, whose touristic possibilities need no further proof, attaches very great importance to this point.

45. When one considers the pace at which the industrialization of the developing countries is proceeding, we cannot but doubt that these countries will ever be able to redress their balance of trade, unless strong measures are taken on a world-wide scale. These countries, the main producers of raw materials, which make up the major part of their export resources still hope that appropriate measures will be adopted to assure them of price stabilization at a suitable level and free them from the hazards of the frenzied competition which affects the present world market and too often places even developed countries in a dilemma. Consider, for example, the crisis which now threatens the textile industry, the coal industry, the steel industry in some of the developed countries.

46. My delegation wishes once again to state Rwanda's position regarding aid for the industrialization of developing countries. At the second session of the Governing Council of the United Nations Development Programme, held at Milan last June, the Rwandese delegation stressed the necessity of passing from the pre-investment stage to the direct investment stage. Among other things, we asked the administration of the United Nations Development Programme to increase the number and the financing of demonstration projects, or in other words pilot plants, in order to ensure the effective transition from pre-investment to

^{4/} See Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-first year, Supplement for July, August and September 1966, document S/7503.

investment proper. I would reiterate that wish from this rostrum.

47. In the same connexion, the Rwandese delegation mentioned the lack of an infrastructure in the developing countries, which prevents investors from investing their capital in those countries. We stressed then that the establishment of pilot plants could stimulate investments and enable the recipient countries to embark on a process of industrialization by setting up a working capital fund to ensure the operation and, as far as possible, the expansion of those plants.

48. I cannot conclude my statement without speaking briefly of a new factor, dear to the hearts of the developing countries, namely, foreign aid. Our desires in this area are on two rather different, but often complimentary, planes. I am referring to technical assistance and financial assistance respectively.

49. As every one knows, many countries, including my own, do not yet have enough technicians; yet the development of these countries in all fields cannot wait until their national universities, or foreign universities, have provided the desired number of trained nationals. One country may need experts to conduct studies of projects which are clearly essential to the orderly development of its territory; another may need technicians to supervise and guide personnel in a certain sector. One country may need an expert for a given administrative or technical post until a national has completed his studies and can take over his responsibilities, while another may require a specialist to advise the competent authorities on how to organize and guide a certain sector of national life. In short, all these countries must turn to bilateral or multilateral foreign aid in the form of technicians, to meet all these needs.

50. The Rwandese Government believes, however, that certain basic requirements must be met in this sphere:

(a) Regarding the number of the technicians and their qualifications, the recipient Government must be guided not by considerations which are foreign to its country, but by the country's development, and its requests for technical assistance must reflect the real needs.

(b) In providing technical assistance, the donor Government or agency must not be motivated by the desire to reduce unemployment in its own country or to set up observation posts in other countries for its own benefit.

(c) Technical assistance personnel must have the necessary competence for the proposed task, a sincere desire to work for the development of the requesting country, and respect for the aspirations of the people they are called upon to serve. They must agree not to serve policies that do not conform to those of the country for which they are working and must act in a manner consistent with the ideas of the Government of that country. They must be able to co-operate not only with their fellow citizens on the technical assistance staff, but also with technical assistance personnel from other countries and with the competent national officials with whom they must come into contact.

51. My delegation considers this area so obviously important that it ventures to suggest that the countries of the Third World should join forces to decide upon their common requirements and take adequate steps to remove from their technical assistance programmes any technicians who do not meet those requirements.

52. The other aspect of our wishes regarding foreign aid concerns financial assistance. This may come from politically divergent sources. I am referring to private investments in which owners of capital first consider their investment's profit potential. These private sources may enter into an agreement directly with the Governments concerned for the execution of a project in a certain sector of the economy, or they may act as intermediaries in co-operation between our Governments and the Governments of their own countries, but they may also set up operations as they would in their own country and work in complete freedom. Our countries want this capital and, as far as the Rwandese Republic is concerned, we guarantee its safety and have made suitable provisions for investors to co-operate as a matter of course in our development process, which we wish to be democratic.

53. In addition, however, there is governmental financial assistance or financial assistance from international agencies. This takes a number of forms, ranging from payment of the salaries of technical assistance personnel and various specific types of aid to support of the currency with foreign exchange and the financing of large-scale economic, educational or capital development projects.

54. The Rwandese Government hopes that the Governments of the richer countries will not place the emphasis on the lucrative aspect of assistance when making their decisions; nor should they base their decisions on the percentage of profit they expect to derive from their assistance. We believe that international co-operation should be established within the more realistic and humanitarian perspective of brotherhood between men and nations, world balance, peace and human freedom. We feel that such benefits are much more lofty and valuable than any uncertain monetary profit. We believe that the wealth accumulated in the richer countries belongs also, in a sense, to all their brethren in the poorer countries and that, at this point in history, it should be distributed within the context of international co-operation and mutual assistance. That is why the Rwandese Government believes that the present criteria for distribution should be reviewed; evaluation standards, particularly for resources channelled through the United Nations and its related agencies, should be flexible, so that they can be adapted to the situation and the real needs of each country.

55. It is necessary, for example, to make it possible to carry out a vast construction programme in a country such as ours, where the building shortage in general, and the housing shortage in particular, now constitutes a real "bottle-neck" which is hampering our development. Assistance agencies criticize us for not submitting economically feasible projects to be financed, but to draw up such projects we need foreign experts. We can obtain these experts only if we can house them and provide them with offices, and we cannot do this on our own.

56. The same is true of the contributions which our Governments are required to make towards project implementation. This sharing of the cost is at present an obstacle for some countries that would like to take advantage of certain sources of available aid. My delegation hopes that the General Assembly may adopt a resolution requesting the Secretary-General to review the allocation standards as they relate to the United Nations.

57. I should not like to conclude my statement on a pessimistic note; I wish merely to express our most fervent wishes to the Organization at a time when it is going through one of the most difficult crises in its history. At a time when the cruel war in Viet-Nam is at its height, this noble institution, which was created to maintain international peace and security by encouraging and developing friendly relations among nations, will have to deal in a few months with the problem of electing a new Secretary-General.

58. My delegation is pleased to express here the great esteem in which our President and our Government hold U Thant, an admirable man who is totally dedicated to peace and to the cause of the United Nations. We in Rwanda respect his decision, which we are sure was made with great wisdom and after much thought. The responsibility for this decision lies with the Members of the United Nations, and particularly with the great Powers which have not eased his task with respect to the solution of the major world problems of the day. We should take this opportunity to meditate seriously upon this decision, upon its meaning and upon its possible consequences.

59. In conclusion, on behalf of the Government and people of Rwanda, my delegation would like to express its sincere and profound understanding, and also its full support in the event that U Thant should reconsider his decision. Otherwise, my delegation will be guided, in the election of a new Secretary-General, by the overriding interests of the United Nations. We shall support any candidate whose goal will be to serve the United Nations independently of partisan interests and who will be able to remain aloof from the political or ideological blocs into which the world is today divided.

60. Mr. BAROUM (Chad) (translated from French): On behalf of the delegation of Chad, I should like to express to Mr. Abdul Rahman Pazhwak, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Afghanistan, my warmest congratulations on his election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its twenty-first session.

61. In addition to his recognized ability and his long experience in the United Nations, Mr. Pazhwak is the representative of a country which, like Chad, has no outlet to the sea and whose problems, in more than one respect, are doubtless much the same as those facing the Republic of Chad. He may therefore count on our understanding throughout his term of office.

62. Before I proceed, I should also like to state that my country regrets the status accorded to the French language, which is accepted as a working language of the United Nations on the same footing as English. My delegation hopes that steps will be taken without delay to remedy this injustice.

63. At a time when all the nations of the world, at this twenty-first session of the General Assembly, sense that the shadow of death lies over mankind, at a time when we are relying entirely on the good will of the great Powers, my delegation believes that it is the absolute duty of the newer States like mine to raise their voices in this Assembly, in order to shatter this resignation which is creeping insidiously into all our minds: the acceptance of war as an inevitable evil against which men are powerless to act.

64. While it is true that only the great Powers can launch armed conflict on a world scale, history has shown it to be no less true that a return to peace is the fruit of long efforts by all countries, great and small, not to mention the daily work of the common man.

Mr. Pazhwak (Afghanistan) took the Chair.

65. The Republic of Chad firmly believes in the United Nations, which today is carrying out the only undertakings of man truly indicative of his intelligence and his superiority over the other creatures of the earth.

66. The Republic of Chad is entering the seventh year of its existence. It is not, therefore, one of the veterans on the international scene, but its people's will to preserve and strengthen their independence in order to ensure a future of freedom and dignity for all men is reflected in its unshakable faith in the United Nations. Otherwise, we should have to acknowledge that, despite all its striking and awesome technological achievements, our world is but a jungle where the stronger nations will destroy those that are less well equipped.

67. In these last few months of 1966, the prospects for peace seem dangerously uncertain; and yet, last year in this same hall, eminent speakers raised their voices to denounce situations in the world that might lead to war or might turn a local conflict into a general conflagration. Exactly one year ago today, on 4 October 1965, His Holiness Pope Paul VI addressed the Members of this great Assembly; from this rostrum he appealed to the great Powers to safeguard peace on earth [1347th meeting]. This voice of truth and sincerity resounded with emotion in this hall. Was it, then, a vain entreaty?

68. Viet-Nam, or more precisely, what is happening in Viet-Nam, is a haunting knell in all our hearts. The concern of my delegation is all the more profound because the issue involves a people which until recently was colonized and which today is still far from having decided its future. After long years of bitter struggle, it is again plunged into the horrors of war, and the United Nations, witnessing this descent into hell, is impotent. The fate of mankind may once again be decided independently and unbeknown to most of the peoples of the world.

69. Men who have refused to stifle their consciences have expressed their alarm. For instance, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, who is very highly regarded by the people of Chad and is known among us as the guardian of world peace, wrote in his letter of 1 September 1966 to the members of the Security Council and to the Permanent Representatives to the United Nations:

"The state of affairs in South-East Asia is already a source of grave concern and is bound to be a source of even greater anxiety, not only to the parties directly involved and to the major Powers but also to other Members of the Organization. It is of the deepest concern to me personally." [See A/6400.]

70. My delegation sincerely hopes that U Thant will agree to serve another term as Secretary-General; for a situation as complex as this requires the presence of a man of faith, justice and courage.

71. There is reason to think that everything possible has not been done to seek peace in South-East Asia. Every Member of this Assembly would therefore like negotiations to be initiated, on a just basis; for they are now more necessary than ever. Objectively speaking, it is deplorable that the United Nations should be reduced to impotence in the Viet-Nam crisis, but this situation is due also to the fact that some of the parties to the conflict are not members of the Organization. Although my country is aware that the lack of United Nations representation for great communities, such as Peking China, is a serious obstacle for the Organization in its search for peace, it believes that it would be dangerous and irregular to make special provisions for the admission of any State wishing to become a Member. Needless to say, this statement in no way affects our prior commitments, particularly those which link the Republic of Chad with the republic of China.

72. In addition to Viet-Nam, there are many other problems and situations which could lead to war. One of these is colonialism, which is still rampant in part of the African continent and which has taken on forms of genocide that defy description, because the imagination boggles at them. The United Nations has often helped in the struggle against this situation, but it is for the Africans themselves, and for all truly peace-loving nations, to make the decisive efforts.

73. Portugal and its ally, South Africa—both supported by some great Powers—continue to make a mockery of world opinion, and have even boldly set themselves up as the champions of recolonization. South Africa, with its policies of apartheid, is the symbol of a return of man, with all his animal instincts reawakened, to the dark ages of history. It is a great challenge to mankind as it is today, and a constant challenge to all Africa. Narrowly selfish interests have always engendered such situations, but very often they are but a last refuge, and these interests are therefore mistaken interests.

74. It was this feeling which led the International Court of Justice to render a disgraceful Judgment on the South West African situation. We are witnessing a gradual disengagement by the very ones who fought fascism twenty-five years ago with the support of all the peoples of the earth. Amnesia seems suddenly to have stricken some of the technically advanced nations; for there can be no other explanation of the situation which has arisen in Southern Rhodesia. The United Kingdom, which is always conscious of its own best interests, this time has played the wrong card with Ian Smith. My delegation hopes it will take back that card before irreparable harm has been done.

75. With reference to the question of the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States, despite the Charters of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, despite the Declaration on this subject which the General Assembly adopted in its resolution 2131 (XX), acts of subversion of every kind continue to rock the newer States of the world. To the Governments of these countries, however, the essential thing is to know the origins and purposes of these subversive activities. As with all epidemic diseases of childhood, all that is needed is to build up an adequate defensive reaction within the affected organism. My delegation wishes to reaffirm its adherence to the principles set forth in the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty, adopted by the General Assembly at its twentieth session.

76. Another source of world concern is the problem of the divided nations, because it may lead to armed conflict. Although the final answer rests with the great Powers involved, my delegation believes that commitments made in the past can be honoured. The ultimate solution is a matter for the peoples themselves. Settlement of the German and Korean questions is therefore possible.

77. Another long-term world crisis is the problem of the inequitable distribution of the total income from men's labours. There is a very great disparity between the industrialized nations and the newer States. Objective economists throughout the world have warned us that the gap will continue to widen to the detriment of the developing countries unless the relations governing the economies of the two groups of countries are corrected.

78. The newer nations are forced to sell their raw materials at lower and lower prices, while the prices of the manufactured goods which they consume but do not produce are constantly rising. This situation has unfavourable repercussions on all the national economies and, by causing a decline in the level of living, on social conditions. Most of the so-called poor countries are reduced to serving as markets for the major industries, and their development is halted, or even regulated.

79. Despite the praiseworthy efforts of the United Nations in this area, my delegation is convinced that, in order to break the vicious circle of poverty, the developing nations must join together to study as soon as possible practical measures to halt this drain; for, in most cases, manufactured goods are produced with the raw materials purchased at very low prices in the so-called poor countries.

80. While the world's economic, and therefore political, difficulties are clearly long-range matters, the problem of universal disarmament, and particularly the problem of the destruction of nuclear, thermonuclear, chemical, bacteriological and other weapons, is of the utmost urgency. It is a matter of life and death for mankind; yet it would seem that no one believes in disarmament any longer, and the failure of attempts to engage in a dialogue suggest that the proliferation of these terrifying weapons will continue and

increase. This is no longer a "balance of terror", but a race towards world imbalance through terror.

81. In conclusion, the delegation of the Republic of Chad would like to depart from this anguished mood to welcome the independence of two former United Kingdom colonies, Bechuanaland and Basutoland. We offer them our best wishes for health and prosperity, although there again the immediate threats presented by South Africa have not been removed.

82. Last year, in this Assembly, my delegation expressed its regrets at Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations. Our hopes for its return have now been fulfilled, and we wish to welcome this great country back in our midst.

83. Lastly, the United Nations has this year gained another new Member, Guyana. We welcome it to the international family. This birth of a new nation proves that life goes on and will triumph, despite the muffled rumblings of war.

84. Long live the United Nations. Long live peace.

85. Mr. EBAN (Israel): During 1966, two explosive tensions in Asia have been resolved or, at least, diminished. The fighting between India and Pakistan has come to an end through direct negotiations, with the good offices of a third party, and the confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia has now ceased. The Foreign Minister of Malaysia has correctly ascribed this latter result to "direct contacts between the two countries in a sincere endeavour to bring about a peaceful settlement" [1416th meeting, para. 124]. He added: "We hope that this will set a pattern for the settlement of disputes between nations" (*ibid.*).

86. Two clear lessons can be drawn from this and from previous experience. First, there are no military solutions between States. The international order is defective; but it is not anarchic. It contains many obstacles to settlement by force. Second, there is a direct relationship, a relationship of cause and effect, between the decision to negotiate a conflict and the tangible prospect of its settlement.

87. Now these considerations are sharply relevant to the cruel war in Viet-Nam. What are the alternatives here? The choice lies between a negotiated solution now, and negotiated solutions at a later date. In the latter case, the price of postponement will be exacted in heavy loss of life; in expanding destruction and havoc; in the prolonged agony of the Viet-Nameese people, which has had no consecutive peace for a quarter of a century; in the constant growth of international tension; and in the frustration of what would otherwise be an authentic prospect for the improvement of international relations. Indeed, the penalty of delay may be even heavier than this. It is true that there are many inhibitions against the escalation of local conflicts into general war. But who can be certain that these would hold firm against expanding hostilities in a region where the policies and interests of great Powers are intimately involved?

88. In these circumstances, the United Nations, as the central embodiment of man's quest for peace, cannot evade its moral responsibility. An international organization which had nothing to say about the world's

most perilous conflict would neither obtain nor deserve the respect of mankind. We are summoned to do all that lies in our influence to transfer the Viet-Nameese tragedy from the battlefield to the negotiating table.

89. Can it be said that conditions are ripe for negotiation? To answer this question we must clearly define what the international community is trying to do. Our aim should be to bring about the end of hostilities and to rebuild the structure envisaged in the Geneva Agreements of 1954. The effect of those Agreements, as the Foreign Minister of France has pointed out, was to provide for the existence in the former Indo-China of four States: independent, sovereign, safe from external interference, and able to fashion their government and society according to their own will and choice. These four States have a right to be free from domination, whether by outside Powers or by each other. According to the Geneva Agreements, the two parts of divided Viet-Nam may be united only by voluntary choice, not by force.

90. Proposals have been put forward in this debate from many directions in an effort to bring these objectives within view. The central ideas that have been outlined here in the past two weeks include the cessation of air bombardments of North Viet-Nameese territory; accompanying assurances, public or private, of readiness to de-escalate the war; the over-all cessation of hostilities; negotiations in any acceptable forum with the participation of all the parties involved; arrangements for the withdrawal of all outside forces and the prohibition of their return; and the fulfilment of the Geneva Agreements under international guarantee.

91. It is true that these ideas have been presented here in different combinations and sequences. They emerge from the proposals of the Secretary-General in his annual report on the work of the Organization and they are present or implicit in the suggestions put forward by Mr. Goldberg on behalf of the United States of America in 21 September 1966 [1412th meeting].

92. The General Assembly is not called upon to endorse any of the specific suggestions that have been made. But surely their merits or inadequacies as a formula for settlement can only be revealed if they are submitted to a searching process of negotiation. What we need now is not the public discussion of general principles, but the private exploration of concrete steps. In particular, the full import and consequence of the United States proposals can only be tested if they are probed, explored and clarified in the most careful and detailed manner.

93. I speak for a small State which is not involved in the power struggle in South-East Asia. There are many other such States in the world community. It is surely their wish to see the parties directly concerned embark on unconditional negotiation on the terms for a peaceful settlement. The Government of North Viet-Nam, without necessarily accepting the proposals which have been made to it, would earn respect by submitting them to the challenge of negotiation. Nobody concerned by the fearful loss of life should be slow in examining any opening for the cessation of the war.

94. The United Nations should not confine its efforts to the public forum. The Secretary-General's predecessor once made a plea that greater emphasis be given to the United Nations as an instrument for negotiation of settlements as distinct from the mere debate of issues. The plea has so far been in vain. Debate, not negotiation, has all but monopolized United Nations practice. The Viet-Nam conflict is approaching the stage at which all that can be publicly said will have been uttered. The time has come to seek concrete solutions in private negotiation.

95. The Secretary-General, by virtue of his unique office and the confidence which he universally inspires, might be of assistance in bringing the parties involved into contact in order to submit existing and future proposals to detailed discussion.

96. The United Nations might have been able to play a more assertive role in this case if its own structure had been complete. This Organization represents a wide diversity of sovereignties, traditions and cultures. For this very reason, the deadlock on Chinese representation stands out as a sharp anomaly. It may well be as the Foreign Minister of France has said: "It is neither today nor tomorrow that the United Nations is going to be in a position to settle the problem of China" [1420th meeting, para. 85]. Some Asian delegations have pointed out that the policies of Peking are partly responsible for the lack of progress in solving the problem of Chinese representation. After all, Member States are required by the Charter to be peace-loving and willing to carry out the obligations of the Charter.

97. My Government's approach to this issue is governed not so much by doctrine about China as by doctrine concerning the United Nations. This Organization should strive to present a vision of mankind in its organic unity. Its aim should be to reflect the realities of the world as it is. One of the central realities about the Far East is the existence of the People's Republic of China on the mainland; another reality is the existence in Taiwan of an independent political unit effectively organizing the life and destiny of 12 million people. Indeed, Taiwan has a greater population than many of our Member States. Now, since this situation could only be changed by war, which our Charter forbids, it is surely our duty to recognize it as an existing reality on the international scene. It is surprising that the United Nations has not been offered the opportunity of considering a formula which would acknowledge both the reality on the Chinese mainland and the reality in Taiwan.

98. The tension arising from the Viet-Nam problem communicates itself across the whole range of international relations. It is not difficult to make a catalogue of conflicts unsolved, of tensions unabated, of agreements blocked by suspicion, and to reach the conclusion that the international situation is graver than at any time in the post-war era. I think that there is room, however, for a less sombre evaluation. The continent of Europe, from which sprang the two wars which have afflicted our generation, is moving towards greater harmony. Western Europe has shown resilience in its recovery from the havoc of occupation and war. Between Eastern and Western Europe there is now a broader flow of people, commerce and ideas

than would have seemed conceivable in the 1950s. The unhappy metaphor of the "Iron Curtain" is losing its force. In Africa, Asia and the Caribbean area, national freedom has accelerated great triumphs, most of them without the violence that traditionally accompanied the emancipation of subject peoples. For the first time in history, 98 per cent of the human race live in conditions of national sovereignty. The medium and small nations are carrying out their international tasks with responsibility and restraint. In the Middle East, slogans implying the elimination of a sovereign State are becoming increasingly discredited as obsolete, irresponsible and, above all, totally unrealistic.

99. In many areas, even where problems still defy solution, the world is growing accustomed to living with them unsolved. This itself is no small achievement. There are many agreements and demarcations which were once considered to be unstable and provisional, but whose maintenance is surely preferable to their violent alteration. A salutary caution inspires the attitudes of most Governments towards the use of force for the alteration of independent political and territorial structures. The ideological conflict too has lost something of its acuteness. Nations no longer believe that their own social systems must either conquer the world or perish. Men are united in tribute to the healing powers of science. There are new opportunities to fertilize soil, to harness water, to desalt the sea and irrigate the deserts, to diffuse the fruits of knowledge, and to draw all men together in growing accessibility. Governments and peoples come increasingly into contact with each other in laying the foundations of an international order. There is a tendency, to which the United Nations has greatly contributed, for nations to rise above self-preoccupation in order to recognize the needs and aspirations of others and thus to enlarge their own understanding and deepen their own compassion.

100. It is, therefore, much too early to pass a negative judgement on the international life of our times. It might be more accurate to regard the Viet-Nam conflict as an exception to the rule rather than as the rule itself. It is not a symptom of the general human condition, but a sharp, and, I hope, temporary disturbance of deeper and more hopeful international trends.

101. In Africa, too, there is a general rule of progress marred by some dangerous exceptions. The United Nations can take pride in its contribution to the liberation of African peoples. However strongly the colonial Powers chafed at the persistence of the United Nations, they have never been immune from its strong bias for national independence. And when the new State, often small and meagre in resources, comes into the light of freedom, it is its flag in the United Nations, above everything else, which symbolizes and excites its sense of identity and equality. The admission of Botswana and Lesotho will take Africa further along the road to complete continental liberation.

102. It is true that not all African States have found social systems and political institutions which fully express their traditions and aspirations. Voices are sometimes heard outside Africa expressing surprise at what is called the "instability" of some new States.

But history does not tell us that the States of Europe, Asia or the Americans passed in a single decade from national independence to peace and stability. It would be extraordinary if all Africa were to achieve this transition overnight. If there is travail in parts of Africa, it is not because independence was granted too soon, but because it was accorded too late and after long periods of colonial neglect. The tensions of African life are not the fruit of independence; they are the heritage of colonialism.

103. If Africa is now to pursue its destiny in peace, it must be released from the torment created by the remaining expressions of colonialism. These have now become grossly anachronistic. They offend the mood of Africa and the spirit of the age. The United Nations should persist in the attitude that it has pursued for more than a decade in favour of national liberation. It should intensify its pressure upon the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia in order to bring about a constitutional situation in accordance with democratic principles. In the case of South West Africa, the General Assembly should insist that a mandatory Power forfeit its mandate when it flagrantly and constantly violates the central aims for which the trust was conferred. The General Assembly must press for the independence of Angola and Mozambique; and its condemnation of apartheid must be governed by a stern consciousness of what ensues whenever men are classified in different levels of privilege, rights and disabilities. Israel's solidarity with Africa on this question is determined by the memories that our people carry with them across generations of martyrdom and discrimination.

104. When the United Nations launched its Development Decade five years ago, it had a true understanding of the relationship between world peace and accelerated development. The nations which compose the International community are equal only in the juridical and institutional sense. But in social opportunity, in educational and technical achievement, in the prospect of a healthy and creative life, they are separated by a wide and expanding gap. Nobody believed that a single decade could correct imbalances and disparities that had developed over centuries. But there was reason to expect that there would be, in this decade, a strong impetus of development and that this would sustain the patience of developing nations even if the goal remained far ahead.

105. These expectations have been frustrated. The goals of the United Nations Development Decade have not been attained or even approached. There has not been an annual growth rate of five per cent in the national income of developing countries. Nor have the developed countries shown a willingness to transfer one per cent of their gross national product to the developing countries. Indeed, the growth rate in developing areas has actually slowed down, and the developed countries have increased their own wealth while generally reducing the proportions of their aid to developing lands.

106. It is not difficult to illustrate the results of this failure in concrete terms. Sixty-six per cent of the world's population share 16 per cent of the world's income. The death of small children in developing countries takes place at a rate ten times higher than

in the West. At least 1,000 million people in the developing countries live below any acceptable standard of nutrition and housing. Life expectancy is not rising. The rate of illiteracy is not falling. The growth of the world's population goes forward without a corresponding increase of resources. The pressure of population upon resources is greatest in the undeveloped areas. And in those regions a massive flight of populations is taking place from the countryside to urban areas amidst social anarchy and economic distress.

107. Let us imagine a city in which a few wealthy suburbs flourish while the mass of the population languishes in squalor and disease; in which disparities of income are enormous and continue to grow; in which the most boroughs and regions are plunged in illiteracy and technical backwardness; and in which there are no effective organs of security for keeping the peace. Would such a city have any chance of peace and stability? But this is a true picture of the City of Man. If there were a genuine municipal consciousness amongst the nations of this shrinking world, idealism and self-interest would come together to infuse the Development Decade with new life.

108. The issue is not one of techniques but of policy. Those of us who have taken part in the work of the Advisory Committee on the application of Science and Technology to Development know that a break-through is objectively possible.

109. In the appropriate committee, the Israel delegation will propose that the comparative failure so far of the United Nations Development Decade be frankly acknowledged and analysed; that the work of the Advisory Committee on the application of Science and Technology to Development be strengthened; and that development problems be given a far higher priority in the work and preoccupation of the United Nations. We may suggest consideration of some concrete measure, such as the eventual formation of a United Nations "peace corps" of technicians and experts for service in developing countries. Many people exaggerate what the United Nations can do to solve intractable security and political problems—and underestimate its capacity to contribute to accelerated social and economic development. This subject does not receive its due share of attention by Governments or by public opinion. Conflict and tension are more exciting than the measures needed to prevent them.

110. It is true that the United Nations specialized agencies bring a universal vision to bear on the problem of social and economic development, but they have never yet discussed them at a level of authority capable of launching co-operative and decisive action. Summit meetings take place all over the world which take a microscopic view of a few problems, instead of a panoramic view of the total human scene. Yet it is precisely in the concern for supra-national interests that Governments have a chance of transcending their rivalries and developing trustful attitudes which could, in time, transform their approach to the provincial squabbles of this troubled world. It might perhaps be salutary if the Heads of Governments came together for a week in a summit conference to contemplate not the affairs of any one nation, but the interests of the whole human nation; to contemplate those issues

which affect the universal destiny, the population explosion, the significance of nuclear power, the desalination of sea water, the development of resources, the spread of knowledge, and the structure of the evolving world community. These are issues that can only be solved in a mood of responsibility for the total human condition.

111. Great responsibility falls on the developed countries. The specialized agencies could also play an enhanced role if their resources were increased. But developing countries and small States should not underestimate their own capacity. Nor should they rely exclusively on the Great Powers or international agencies. The world is not divided neatly between developed and developing States. Nor should the problem of development be regarded as a polarized confrontation between the clearly defined groups. Many small States have developed skills and experiences which they can already share and exchange with others. Our own national experience in the past eight years illustrates this fact. Since 1958, 1,755 Israeli experts have placed themselves at the service of development projects in developing countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and some Mediterranean and Middle Eastern States. Simultaneously, 9,186 trainees from States in four continents have studied development processes in Israeli courses and institutions, mainly in agriculture, irrigation, rural planning, youth training, health, teaching, administration, engineering and higher education. International conferences have met on our soil to commit development problems to joint examination by leading experts and leaders of States. Now, all this is, of course, a modest contribution.

112. Unfortunately, many of our countries are called upon to face their international responsibilities in conditions of regional tension. The situation in the Middle East has not substantially changed this year. Behind the armistice frontiers established by agreement between Israel and its Arab neighbours in 1949, the national life of sovereign States has become crystallized in an increasingly stable mould. There is some evidence that thoughtful minds in the Middle East are becoming sceptical about threats to change the existing territorial and political structure by armed force. Such threats, and the policies concerted to support them, offend the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter. They violate bilateral agreements freely negotiated and solemnly signed. They undermine the central principles of international civility, and they have no chance of being carried into effect, for they encounter insuperable obstacles in our country's will and capacity to defend itself, as well as in the opposition of the world community to the alteration by aggressive force of legally established and internationally recognized situations.

113. It is not really necessary to formulate new or special principles for peace and security in the Middle East. Nothing is required beyond the precise application of the Charter principles which enjoin respect for the sovereignty of States and the abstention from the use or threat of force against their integrity and their independence. It is sometimes forgotten that Israel's neighbours have already committed themselves in bilateral undertakings to the

strict application of these principles. Seventeen years ago each one of its four neighbours agreed with Israel to move forward towards permanent peace; to regard the armed conflict between them and Israel as permanently liquidated; to abstain for all time from undertaking, planning or threatening any aggressive action by armed forces; to regard the present armistice lines as immune from any change without consent; actively to prevent any illegal crossing of those lines by armed forces or civilians; and to carry out all these engagements until a peaceful settlement between the parties was achieved. It is extraordinary that the official rhetoric and policy of some neighbouring States are so little influenced by Charter principles or by agreements which they signed and sealed seventeen years ago.

114. In these circumstances I deem it useful to summarize again my Government's policy for the advancement of peace and security in the Middle East, as well as our own vision of the region's future.

115. We hold that Israel and each Middle Eastern State have an absolute right to maintain their sovereignty and integrity immune from the threat or use of force. We stand for the precise and reciprocal application of Charter principles and of existing agreements. We make no claim against the integrity or the independence of other States. We have no concern with the nature of their régimes. We assume that different social and political systems, different attitudes to traditional culture, are destined to co-exist in the Middle East, as in other parts of the world. What is needed is the consolidation, not the destruction, of existing elements of stability in the Middle East. If our neighbours refuse us recognition and contact, we shall pursue our national development and international vocation as best we can, and with strong prospect of success. While peace is not an indispensable condition of Israel's existence, we hold it to be a high aim fraught with equal benefit to our neighbours and to us. A peace settlement, freely and directly negotiated, would inaugurate a new and glorious chapter in the history of the Middle East. It would open up communications across our region, expose it to the fruitful interchange of commerce and ideas, unite its sovereign States in great enterprises of development, liberate them all from sterile and bitter controversy and lift from their shoulders the crushing load of an armaments race. Indeed, the negotiation of an agreement on arms limitation might well be the first step leading to a more stable co-existence. Only by establishing peaceful and stable conditions amongst themselves can the States of the Middle East keep the area free from external intervention, such as invariably arises wherever tension grows. All the residual problems left behind by the war launched against Israel eighteen years ago, including those problems created by movements of population in both directions between the Arab States and Israel, could be solved in an atmosphere of bilateral, regional and international co-operation. Thus, in full respect of existing sovereignties, and of the region's creative diversity, an entirely new story never told before would unfold across the Eastern Mediterranean.

116. In our conception the aim of statesmanship in the Middle East is not to change the character or structure of existing States but to change the relations be-

tween them. What we seek for ourselves we respect for others. We respect the desire of all Middle Eastern States, Arab or non-Arab, to maintain their lawful sovereignty in peace, refusing all domination or hegemony, whether from outside the region or from within. The principles of separate nationhood, free from domination or hegemony, are enshrined in the United Nations Charter and in the armistice agreements. We are confident that the destiny of the Middle East lies in the pluralism and diversity of its sovereignties, its cultures and its social systems. In such conditions the East Mediterranean area, at which Europe, Asia and Africa converge, would be ripe for a new emergence of human vitality.

117. Whether this vision can be fulfilled in the present, or, at least, saved for the future, depends on how we interpret the principles of co-existence and peaceful settlement. The United Nations has repeatedly endorsed these principles. Two years ago they came before us in the form of a Soviet proposal—which we supported—for the prohibition of the use of force in territorial disputes between States. This year we have Soviet proposals on non-interventions [see A/6397]—in the spirit of resolution 2131 (XX) adopted by the Assembly last year—and Czechoslovak proposals [see A/6393], all demanding the support of peaceful coexistence among States, irrespective of any differences in social systems. But general principles of international conduct are useful only if they are generally applied. We have consistently supported resolutions on non-intervention and peaceful coexistence formulated in universal terms as binding on all sovereign States and in all situations, without loopholes or reservations.

118. But coexistence means more than mere abstention from conflict. It has a positive content that can only be expressed by intensified co-operation involving peoples as well as Governments. Never in history have so many men come into direct contact with peoples and experiences beyond their own national environment. International solidarity is composed of countless links which transcend national frontiers. Frequent cultural exchanges, tourist movements on a wide scale, a great increase in the number of international conferences, all help to create conditions in which prejudice, discrimination and hostility are reduced. In addition to national loyalties, there are solidarities of sentiment and interest which have a world arena. There are, for example, the links which join labour movements together in common aspiration; there are world communities of scientists and scholars; there is a constant mingling together of competitors in cultural and sporting activities. Older, stronger and deeper than any of these are the links which unite religious, ethnic and cultural communities in their devotion to common memory or common faith.

119. There is not much meaning to the idea of co-existence unless the world is increasingly open to the constructive expression of these affinities. Of special significance to my people are the links which unite the Jewish communities of the world in common pride and devotion, and above all in tragic memory. This year I was able, on Polish soil, to visit the scene

of the extermination of 6 million of our people by the Nazis. I saw the mountains of women's hair shorn from the bodies of executed victims and the piles of children's shoes torn from their feet before they were committed to the furnace. The Governments and peoples of Europe, and especially of Eastern Europe, who witnessed and experienced the horrors inflicted by Nazism, are our partners in the memory of these fearful acts. We therefore understand their desire to strengthen the stability of that area and to see the region's existing frontiers universally and permanently recognized. We should not forget that the United Nations itself was originally an anti-Nazi coalition charged with the duty of preventing any recurrence of the most fearful anguish that had ever befallen any family of the human race.

120. It is inevitable that Jewish communities who witnessed and survived this assault feel a profound need to express their mutual solidarity. The wounds of war have not yet been healed. Countless families have been separated and dispersed across different countries and continents, and still cherish the hope of reunion. There is a natural longing of these communities to join together in the expression and further development of the heritage which lies at the root of their identity. These impulses have led to an international interest in the right of Jewish communities everywhere freely to develop their specific culture. Thus, men of good will and progressive outlook throughout the world who recognize the historic role of the USSR in crushing the Nazi perpetrators of the Jewish tragedy in Europe, have expressed a natural desire to see the largest Jewish community in Europe enabled to have access to its own particular heritage and to make contact with others who share it throughout the world. In a Europe increasingly open to movement between its Eastern and Western parts, in a world in which barriers are falling and international contacts are being multiplied, the renewal of contact between kindred communities will become a natural corollary of peaceful coexistence.

121. My delegation hopes that the General Assembly at this session will make further progress towards the formulation and proclamation of human rights and fundamental freedoms. We hope that Member States will do more to bring their legislation into conformity with the progress made by the United Nations in this field. We shall give favourable consideration to the appointment of a United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and to an appropriate celebration in 1968 of the International Year for Human Rights.

122. There are elements both of tension and of stability in the international climate. It will not be easy to make the stability prevail over the tension. The Geneva discussions on the limitation and control of the nuclear arms race and on complete and general disarmament have revealed both the complexities of the problem and the tangible prospect of its solution. There is reason for the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to persevere in its efforts. The eight non-aligned members have made valuable contributions in describing the conditions and consequences of a realistic international accord, involving an acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligations. Some of the basic considerations in this

problem were illuminated at the very opening of our general debate by the Foreign Minister of Brazil [1412th meeting].

123. The United Nations is going through difficult times, not only because of the conflicts through which it moves, but also because its task is inherently complex. Some philosophers and historians have stated that mankind must now choose between a world-state and annihilation, between political unification and mass suicide. I suggest that there is a third choice. History has more ingenuity than the historians. The world seeks to combine international security with the preservation of individual States. It would be tragic if the survival of mankind could only be assured at a price which men are clearly unwilling to pay—namely, the renunciation of national identity. The United Nations is committed to the proposition that peace is possible in a world of nation-States. Our Charter strikes a delicate balance between national sovereignty and international responsibility. There is, of course, a certain objective tension between these two concepts. To bring them into harmony is the central purpose of our age. We must find a way to live within this duality. Modern statesmen must now act in a double role: as spokesmen of their particular national interests and at the same time as representatives of the wider human cause. In so doing they will achieve a vital aim; they will create an international community which will be able to both to respect nationhood and to transcend it in a universal solidarity. Nothing in all human history has ever been more crucial or challenging.

124. The person and office of the Secretary-General of the United Nations is the chief embodiment of this quest for world community. I know that U Thant is aware of the esteem in which Israel holds him. As he considers the many sincere appeals made to him from this rostrum he will, I am sure, take two facts into serious account. First, the great Powers and our entire membership are unanimous in the confidence which they repose in him. Second, it is by no means certain that any such unanimity or harmony would emerge in the search for a successor in present international conditions. We can be sure that he will give due weight to these two facts in the spirit of international responsibility which has always inspired his actions and decisions. Let us express the ardent hope of world opinion that U Thant, having led us so far with grace and distinction, will agree to go with us further along the way.

125. Mr. KALLON (Sierra Leone): Mr. President, on behalf of Sierra Leone, I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate you once again on your election to the high office of the Presidency of the General Assembly and to restate the confidence of the Government and people of Sierra Leone that you will conduct the work of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly with the highest competence, so that this session will be remembered as one of the greatest in United Nations history.

Mr. Mudenge (Rwanda), Vice-President, took the Chair.

126. We meet, regrettably, in an atmosphere of world tension and continuing crises. In times like

these, the role of the United Nations assumes added importance as an indispensable instrument for world peace. For twenty years, this Organization has played a valuable role in keeping the peace. Yet, as the problems of our times become more aggravating, the need for strengthening this Organization as an instrument of peace becomes greater. In that context my delegation wishes to express our great concern that the distinguished Secretary-General, U Thant, has declared his intention not to make himself available for a further period of office after this session. We believe that our Organization, at this critical period of its existence, needs the incomparable services of U Thant. The Secretary-General has raised questions of great moment pertaining to the conditions under which any Secretary-General of this Organization will be obliged to function. It is important that the points he has raised be given serious consideration, particularly by those nations more directly concerned with the maintenance of world peace. It will not be enough to reaffirm a general anxiety to have U Thant continue in his post; it is also necessary, in the view of my delegation, that those problems which he has outlined be seriously considered with a view to eliminating them, so as to ensure that the role of the Secretary-General becomes more meaningful as a mediating influence in the preservation of peace.

127. The main objective of this Organization has always been the maintenance of world peace. To that end, this Organization has approved many objectives. One of these objectives has been the solution to the disarmament problem. Even though everyone is aware of the dangers attending the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the continuation of the arms race, yet, unfortunately, during the past year not much progress has been made in that field. My delegation hopes that everyone concerned will redouble his efforts to help find solutions to those grave problems and thereby lessen the risk of international conflict.

128. International peace can hardly be maintained in a world in which some men are free and others are under the yoke of colonialism. It is because of the full awareness of that problem and imbued by the idealism which brought this Organization into being—an idealism which connotes complete faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, and in the equal rights of men and women and of all nations, large and small—that this Organization has solemnly resolved to remove the last vestiges of colonialism from the world. This line of thinking at the United Nations achieved full stature in 1960, when the well-known resolution 1514 (XV) incorporating the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was adopted. Since then, the Special Committee of Twenty-four^{5/} has persevered with efforts to speed up the process of decolonization. My country has the honour of serving in that Committee and we are proud to have been able to make some contribution to its work. During the past year, led by our permanent representative, who is its Chairman, the Special

^{5/} Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Committee embarked for the second time on an extensive tour of the African capitals. Lamentably, it is in Africa that we still find the last bastions of defiant colonialism. This involvement of the United Nations with the problems of colonialism, with particular reference to Africa, has done much to dramatize the interest of the Organization in finding solutions of a practical nature to the international problems of our times.

129. Chief of those problems vexing the international community today is that of Southern Rhodesia. My Prime Minister, Sir Albert Margai, and the Government and people of Sierra Leone, have been greatly troubled by the continued existence of the illegal Smith régime in Rhodesia, in flagrant contempt of world opinion, and by the failure of the United Kingdom Government to honour its commitment to the 4 million Africans of Southern Rhodesia, whose liberty has been mortgaged to a racist minority. In the recent London Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference [ended on 14 September 1966], my Prime Minister had occasion to set out clearly the views of our Government on that question. We continue to hold the view that force should be used to remove Ian Smith's régime. In the long eventful history of British imperialism, many have been the occasions when the British have resorted to the use of force to achieve their objectives. It is unfortunate and rather strange but perhaps understandable in the case of Rhodesia, where the fate of 4 million indigenous Africans is at stake, that the British should now be so reluctant and indeed unwilling to resort to the use of force. We are further of the view that mandatory sanctions under Articles 41 and 42 of Chapter VII of the Charter should be used and we note with satisfaction that the United Kingdom is now committed to come to the United Nations and join in the request for the implementation of mandatory sanctions if Mr. Smith does not yield ground by the end of the year. On this question of Rhodesia, we firmly believe that the only principle applicable for the determination of the will of the people of that country is the principle of democracy conceived in terms of majority rule, that is, "one man, one vote". That is why my delegation is happy that the United Kingdom Government is now becoming fully aware of the importance of the implementation of that principle of majority rule before and not after independence is granted to Southern Rhodesia.

130. With the Smith régime in Rhodesia and the recalcitrant apartheid régime in South Africa, the Portuguese have formed an unholy alliance to hold back the course of history and to perpetuate the doctrine of race superiority in the southern part of Africa. In spite of many resolutions of the United Nations and the outrage of the international community, the Portuguese continue to wage a war of genocide and attrition on the helpless victims of their oppressive rule in Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. During the Special Committee's recent visit to Africa, many petitioners from those Territories gave evidence of the atrocities being perpetrated by the Portuguese in Africa. My Government, together with other Member States of the Organization of African Unity, is committed to give every assistance to the struggling fighters for freedom in

those Territories, so that real independence will speedily be achieved. To my Government, together with those of Liberia, Tunisia and Madagascar, has been assigned, by the Organization of African Unity, the special responsibility of pursuing this matter of the Portuguese Territories as well as that of the apartheid policy in South Africa, before the Security Council of the United Nations. We of Africa are still convinced that international problems can be solved by peaceful means and we still have great faith in the value of the United Nations as an instrument for the realization of peace. We hope that we shall receive the support of all the Members of this Organization, particularly the support of the permanent members of the Security Council, without whose help and active co-operation this Organization would not be able to fulfil its responsibility to remove this threat to international peace which the Portuguese are now presenting by their continued defiance of United Nations resolutions and their continued denial of the right of self-determination and independence.

131. Mr. President, closely allied with the Portuguese policy in Africa is that of the notorious apartheid policy of South Africa. For years the racists of South Africa have ignored resolutions of the United Nations and defied world opinion. We note with dismay that, in spite of the many resolutions of this Organization and the earnest and loud condemnations of Member States, apartheid in South Africa continues to thrive. Thanks to the reluctance of some nations, particularly those which are in a position to adopt policies that would affect the economic situation in South Africa, the racists have consolidated their position and extended their tentacles to engulf the hapless people of South West Africa. In its resolution 2054 A (XX) the General Assembly last year reiterated its request for an arms embargo and appealed as a matter of urgency for the cessation of economic collaboration with South Africa. Unfortunately, support for the arms embargo is still not unanimous and the economic boycott is far from effective because the major trading partners of South Africa continue to trade with it, thus supporting its racist régime. It is not enough for Member States to pay lip service to fundamental principles and for them to assume moralistic postures while indulging in evasive manoeuvres. It is important that actions on this question should be in keeping with words.

132. We have stated on many occasions, not only in this Assembly but also in the Security Council, that the situation in South Africa created by the policy of apartheid constitutes a serious threat to the peace and security not only of Africa, but of the world, and that a peaceful solution can be brought about only by the implementation of economic sanctions as envisaged under Chapter VII of the Charter. The alternative is dark and foreboding and grows more dangerous as we temporize.

133. The problem of colonialism is unfortunately not confined to the African continent. Six years after this Assembly adopted resolution 1514 (XV), calling for a speedy end to colonialism, we find colonialism still existing in many parts of the world.

134. In spite of United Nations resolutions, the problem of Aden is still with us. We believe that the Ad-

ministering Authority should implement without further delay the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, and particularly those of the Special Committee of Twenty-four. In that regard, we fully endorse the recent resolution of that Committee [A/6300/Rev.1, chap. VI, para. 382], which called for a United Nations presence in Aden to assist in bringing into effect real independence. We note with satisfaction the somewhat qualified acceptance by the United Kingdom Government of the terms of that resolution. We therefore hope that the Secretary-General will not be impeded in his efforts to appoint a mission to Aden, in keeping with the terms of this resolution, in consultation with the Special Committee and the Administering Authority.

135. There are many small Territories still under the colonial yoke which ought to be granted independence. It is a matter for regret that progress in those Territories towards independence continues to be slow. We hope every Member of this Assembly will give the necessary co-operation and help towards the creation of a suitable atmosphere of world opinion which will compel the colonial Powers to realize that the days of colonialism are over and that in the middle of the twentieth century colonialism is a policy which is inimical to the interests of world peace and good international relations.

136. The question of peace-keeping has for some time now been one of the unfinished items on our agenda. We recall the difficulties involving Article 19 of the United Nations Charter, which nearly paralysed the working of this Organization two years ago. The need for the existence of peace-keeping machinery cannot be overstated. It is important, in the view of my delegation, that all countries concerned should seriously consider the question of voluntary contributions to defray the outstanding deficit in the finances of the United Nations. In that connexion, I should like to refer to the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, in which my country is represented. We have already stated our views on this matter in that Committee. Unfortunately, however, it appears that comparatively little progress has been achieved in the work of the Committee. We are, however, hopeful that when this question comes before the Assembly this year a more genuine effort will be made to arrive at a universally acceptable solution. We also hope that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations will continue its good work and that its efforts will not be hampered by political or partisan considerations.

137. My country has noted with great admiration the efforts of the space powers to land a man on the moon and the remarkable scientific achievements so far made in this field. We are hopeful that the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space will continue its efforts to have these scientific achievements used for peaceful purposes, for the universal benefit of mankind. My delegation whole-heartedly welcomes the international conference on the exploration and peaceful uses of outer space, proposed for 1967 [see resolution 2130 (XX)]. We believe that conferences like these can go a long way towards making relevant to the whole world the achievements of the great Powers in outer space.

138. Beclouding our deliberations at this session is the existence of armed conflict in South-East Asia, with all its threat of escalation into a major war. Let us remember that by subscribing to the Charter of this great Organization all Member States, great and small, have pledged themselves to settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that peace and security and justice are not endangered. We urge that due attention be paid to this principle in the settlement of the existing conflict in South-East Asia. The death and devastation in Viet-Nam and the indescribable suffering imposed on helpless women and children must come to an end or the conflagration will spread, with frightening consequences for all. We therefore urge all those involved in that conflict to exert themselves to the utmost to seek an early and peaceful solution.

139. In the view of my delegation, there should be increasing communication between all nations, large and small. For the stabilization of world peace we believe it to be of the utmost importance that communication at all levels should increase amongst the great Powers—that is to say, the space Powers and the nuclear Powers. The need for peace has never been greater than it is today, because our capacity for self-destruction has never been greater. However, it is meaningless to talk of peace unless efforts are made to limit the spread of nuclear weapons and to arrive at general and complete disarmament. The presence of nuclear weapons should impress on us all the inescapable truth that there is no alternative to peace. While believing that the United Nations is the best instrument available to man for realizing and preserving the peace, we also believe that in order to be able to discharge this sacred duty effectively the Organization should assume a more universal character. We believe that this Organization will not be fully representative of the aspirations of mankind, nor will it achieve full effectiveness as an instrument of peace, unless and until the most populous country on earth takes its rightful place amongst us and joins us in the compelling task of seeking and preserving peace. We wish to emphasize the inequity and lack of realism which keeps almost one quarter of the earth's population from being represented in the greatest international Organization of our time. With this conviction, my delegation will therefore again support the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations and all its organs.

140. It is a sad commentary on our times that the gap between the rich and the poor nations, instead of narrowing, continues to grow wider. There can be no lasting peace so long as such a situation is allowed to continue. The United Nations showed a full awareness of these economic and development problems when, two years ago, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was set up as an organ of the General Assembly, following the 1964 Geneva Conference. That was obviously a step in the right direction. Subsequently, General Assembly resolution 2029 (XX) established the United Nations Development Programme, which combined the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance with the Special Fund. In that connexion, it is useful to note that the Governing

Council of the United Nations Development Programme has emphasized that additional economic assistance is necessary and that its own financial resources for 1967 should be substantially increased to meet its commitments in developing countries.^{6/} Greater assistance is needed to cope with the ever-increasing problems of the developing countries. Without question, the developing countries have been exerting themselves to the utmost to increase their productivity and diversify their economies, and have been displaying a growing determination to accelerate their economic growth through a more comprehensive harnessing of their internal resources. The economic interdependence of States, however, requires the full co-operation and assistance of the developed nations if our goals are to be realized. The internal resources of the developing countries cannot be sufficiently productive unless there is a complementary flow of external resources.

141. The minimum target set for the United Nations Development Decade is for a flow of capital of 1 per cent of the net individual national incomes of developed countries into developing countries. Even this target has not been reached and, indeed, the rate of flow is declining. This is particularly evident in the increasing burden of debt-servicing commitments which developing countries have to bear. By tying aid to specific projects which are not always of a high priority in the development plans of the recipient nation; by tying loans and aid to the purchase of capital goods at sometimes uncompetitive prices from donor countries, without a corresponding undertaking to purchase goods in repayment from the receiving country; and by sometimes imposing high interest rates, the net value of external aid is reduced to the point where the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has assessed that the inflow will be completely offset in a little more than fifteen years.

142. It is in an effort to stem this ebbing tide that the Economic and Social Council at its forty-first session urged the developed countries to make external resources available to developing countries on easier terms and conditions [see resolution 1183 (XLI)]. The following ways were suggested: (a) by increasing aid on a long term and continuing basis and by making easier the methods of obtaining and utilizing such aid; (b) by providing, not later than 1968, at least 80 per cent of their aid as grants and loans at 3 per cent interest or less to be repaid in twenty-five years or more; (c) by paying greater attention to the development plans and programmes of developing countries and noting the need to maintain and expand existing facilities instead of introducing new and unrelated projects; (d) by untying loans as regards sources of supply and, where loans are tied to the supply of goods and services, to supply them at competitive prices; (e) by reinvesting loan repayments in the debtor countries in addition to the inflow of external aid; (f) by accepting repayments in the form of manufactured and agricultural goods and by providing additional foreign exchange resources to developing countries in order to ease their debt-servicing burden.

^{6/} See Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Forty-first Session, Supplement No. 11A.

143. We are confident that if these measures were adopted and scrupulously applied, they would make a remarkable contribution to the economic development of the world as a whole. We fully endorse these recommendations. At the same time, we realize that, in order to ensure their effective implementation and to co-ordinate fully the international effort to promote economic development, suitable machinery will be needed.

144. We therefore warmly welcome the forthcoming establishment of a United Nations Organization for Industrial Development as an organ of the General Assembly and we hope that when the organization is established all Members of this Assembly will give it unqualified support.

145. The United Nations Development Decade is fast approaching its end. Whether it will achieve its goals will depend on the dedication and endeavour of all nations great and small. In the world of today, all nations—benefactors and beneficiaries alike—have a vested interest in accelerated world development and in the creation of a world system free from want and misery of every kind, the kind of world envisaged in the noble aims of our Charter. ✕

146. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of Cambodia, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

147. Mr. HUOT SAMBATH (Cambodia) (translated from French): Since this is the first time I have spoken from this rostrum, I should like to take the opportunity to extend to you, Mr. President, my warmest and most friendly congratulations on your unanimous election to the Presidency of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly. The congratulations of the Cambodian delegation will also be conveyed to you by the Head of our delegation when he speaks in the general debate.

148. I have asked to speak today solely in order to rectify the statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand at the 1418th meeting regarding relations between his country and my own. In his statement, the Thai Minister asserted that Thailand has refrained from retaliating, in spite of grave difficulties, and, at times, abuses and provocations from Cambodia. Everyone who has closely followed the situation in this part of Asia knows that Cambodia is in no way responsible for the grave difficulties Thailand is now experiencing. The United States Press—in particular, The New York Times—has recently published maps of Thailand showing vast insecure areas which are growing larger and larger. I should like to point out to the General Assembly that these insecure areas are definitely not on the Cambodian border. Indeed, they are very far from Cambodia.

149. The Thai Minister also mentioned "abuses and provocations" from Cambodia. It is a disgrace to Thailand that it should make such charges, but it is an honour to us Cambodians that we should be charged with provocation, because Cambodia has only a small army of 33,500 very poorly armed men, who are engaged most of the time in national reconstruction projects, and virtually no air force or navy, whereas

Thailand, with its approximately 300,000 well-armed men, has very modern weapons and a very modern air force and navy, and is studded with United States military bases. Moreover, Thailand is linked to the United States by an "operational" assistance agreement. This means that, if Thailand is attacked, these United States military bases will go into action to counter-attack the enemy. In fact, even though no one is attacking Thailand, the United States is already using the bases to carry out aggression against neighbouring countries.

150. "Abuse" Thailand? The Thai Minister invites ridicule with such a statement; for all the press agency dispatches from Bangkok have taught us that the Thai leaders, particularly the Minister for Foreign Affairs himself, love this game of making slanderous and abusive statements against Cambodia, and especially against the Cambodian people's esteemed leader, the Head of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

151. Listening to the Thai Minister's statement, one gathered that all the statements of the Thai leaders at Bangkok, and all their hostile actions towards Cambodia, were merely bad dreams. The reality is unfortunately quite different; for all the Thai Minister's sweet and innocent remarks are constantly belied by real and hostile acts against Cambodia.

152. The States Members of the United Nations and world opinion are already aware of the criminal acts which Thailand has committed and is committing against Cambodia day after day. The situation is extremely serious in our western frontier regions because of Thailand's systematic mining of vast areas. The Thais have placed thousands of American-made mines, which are very sophisticated and difficult to detect, in the frontier areas of all our provinces bordering on Thailand.

153. A journalist, Bernard Couret, and a clergyman, Jacques Baumont, who recently made several visits to our western provinces, have described at length the disastrous effects of this systematic mining of a sizable part of our territory. Some military bases are completely cut off and have to be supplied by aircraft or helicopter, often under difficult circumstances; farm-work is seriously disrupted, or even halted; peasants flock to the interior, and the list of civilian and military casualties from continually exploding mines grows longer and longer.

154. Consequently, a very serious situation has developed in these areas; a situation deliberately provoked by the Thais, whose purpose—unchanged for centuries and pursued today with the means that modern technology provides—is to drive our frontier population southwards so that they can occupy the territory thus evacuated. Thailand's criminal venture in systematically mining our frontier zones, with all its tragic consequences for our people, is doing tremendous harm to Cambodia.

155. The Thai Minister also stated that his country had "appealed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations to send a special representative to explore ways and means of easing tension between the two countries" [1418th meeting, para. 53]. In the face of this really gross misrepresentation, I feel obliged

most categorically to deny this false charge made by the Thai Minister. Member States and public opinion still remember the abusive communiqué issued by the Thai Mission on 9 June 1966, disclosing the message which the Thai Government had addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on 3 June 1966. It is quite possible that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand was not aware of the wording of this message, since he was abroad at the time. According to the communiqué, the Government of Thailand, on 3 June, had invited the Secretary-General of the United Nations to send his personal representative, assisted by a civilian staff capable of carrying out the observation mission, which would be stationed in Thailand. Thus, contrary to the Thai Minister's statement, his Government's purpose in requesting the dispatch of a special representative of the Secretary-General assisted by a civilian staff stationed in Thailand was certainly not to enable this high-level representative "to explore ways and means of easing tension between the two countries". Rather, his Government's true purpose was to obtain the sanction of the Secretary-General of the United Nations for Thailand's aggressive policy against Cambodia.

156. This dishonest manoeuvre by Thailand was foiled through Cambodia's vigilance before it was too late. As a result, U Thant's special representative is to go not only to Thailand, but also to Cambodia; for how could this eminent individual "explore ways and means of easing tension between the two countries" if he remained only in Thailand, as the Thai Government wanted him to do?

157. Even before the Secretary-General's special representative had been appointed, the Cambodian Head of State declared, on 18 June 1966, before the entire diplomatic corps, that Cambodia was ready to extend the hand of friendship to Thailand, despite the Thai Government's aggressive policy. To restore diplomatic relations between the two countries, Cambodia asks only one thing: the signature of a joint declaration, which might read as follows:

"Cambodia and Thailand decide, by common agreement, to renew their traditional friendship, to restore diplomatic relations between them, and proclaim their mutual respect for the territorial integrity of each other within the present common frontiers."

That is all.

158. Prince Norodom Sihanouk asked: "Can one do more? Can one show greater goodwill or a greater desire for peace?" He added:

"We do not want to waste our time, our money and our troops in futile combat. We want to build our country, strengthen our economy, make a better life for our people, raise their level of living. That is what we want. That is why I am today proposing to Thailand this alone, and nothing but this. Since the commitment would have to be reciprocal, with Cambodia undertaking to honour it in the same way as Thailand, the dispute between Cambodia and Thailand would no longer exist."

159. Instead of being favourably received in Thailand, this sincere Cambodian proposal for peace met with abuse from the Thai leaders—particularly the Minister

for Foreign Affairs of Thailand, Mr. Thanat Khoman—who sought to link any settlement of the Khmer-Thai dispute to a change in Cambodia's foreign policy. The Minister of the Interior, Mr. Praphas Charusathien, even threatened to resign—according to a press agency dispatch from Bangkok—if Bangkok re-established relations with Phnom-Penh.

160. A few days ago we learnt that this same Minister of the Interior had allegedly stated that he no longer had any objection to the re-establishment of relations between the two countries. This statement, and the final part of the Thai Minister's statement, are fairly encouraging and show us that Thailand has finally realized that it must return to a wise and realistic policy if peace is to be restored in that part of the world. We hope that these reasonable words of the Thai Minister's will soon be translated into acts of wisdom, good will and peace. We hope that the Thai Minister will consider that the time is ripe for the normalization of relations between the two countries, and that he will whole-heartedly agree to sign with us a joint declaration that the two countries undertake mutually to respect their territorial integrity within the present common frontiers.

161. For the information of the General Assembly, I venture to point out that the present common frontiers between Thailand and Cambodia were established and clearly defined by international treaties and were confirmed by the Agreement between France and Siam regulating their relations of 17 November 1946, then by the report of the Conciliation Commission on the Siamese-Indochinese frontier dispute of 27 June 1947, and finally by the Judgment of the International Court of Justice of 15 June 1962.^{2/}

162. If the Thai Government refuses to sign this joint declaration, then there is nothing more to be done; Cambodia, for its part, will have made the maximum concessions.

163. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of Iraq, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

164. Mr. KHALAF (Iraq): Every year at this time the representative of Israel comes to this rostrum with a long statement for the purpose of distorting facts about Palestine, and even tries to change history.

165. Having listened to the statement made by the representative of Israel, my delegation thinks that it is its duty to make some observations at this stage, reserving to itself the right to answer in detail the points made by the representative of Israel concerning the question of Palestine.

166. In attempting to appear as the representative of a State which seeks accord and peace, he referred first to the opposition to the alteration by force of "legally established and internationally recognized situations" [para. 112, above]. Indeed, when he referred to "situations", he meant the establishment of the so-called State of Israel. All the members of the United Nations know how this so-called State of Israel was formed

and how force was used to invade a land which belonged to the Arabs of the region.

167. Then the representative of Israel referred to the Charter, which he said enjoins "respect for the sovereignty of States". The Charter has been used more than once here—indeed very often—by colonialist Powers, by practitioners of the apartheid policy and by usurpers, to have people believe that what they have been doing, what they are doing and what they will continue to do is in accordance with the Charter. In our part of the world, we, the Arabs, believe that the injustice that was done to the Arabs of Palestine was against the very spirit and letter of the Charter. We wonder whether the Charter permitted the dislocation and exploitation of a people, and the chasing of more than one million people of Palestine from their country, their homeland, and making them live, as they are now living, as refugees, with barely the possibility of subsistence.

168. The representative of Israel referred to abstaining from the use of force or the threat of the use of force. The memory of what happened only a few weeks ago in Syria is still fresh in our minds. The Israeli air force went into action, as admitted by the representative of Israel in the Security Council [1288th meeting], to bomb civilians who were working on the utilization of the natural resources of the territory. Here again the representative of Israel referred to harnessing nature for the benefit of the people, when the Israelis themselves used force in order to stand in the way of harnessing nature and the natural resources for the benefit of the people of Syria.

169. In the Security Council my delegation had the honour of representing my country, and we quoted some of the Israeli statements concerning this question of aggression by the Israelis against Arab territories. In that respect, the Chief of Staff of the Israeli armed forces called the action against Syria a game, and said that the Israelis were going to use the rules that suited them best in playing that game. Therefore, the representative of Israel has no right whatsoever to come here and to pretend before the General Assembly that what he really wants is peace and what he abhors is the use of force, when that is what the Israelis have always used. The Zionists used force when they invaded our land in Palestine.

170. The representative of Israel then referred to non-intervention in other people's affairs. Of course, since this is now the cry of all the peoples of the world, he might as well also use it for his own purposes. But does this agree with the statement made by the same Chief of Staff, General Rabin, a few days ago, when he said, in commenting on the aggressive actions of Israel against Syria, that "we aim at the régime in Syria". We have knowledge of this statement from very many newspapers, including *Le Monde*.

171. Then, as usual, the representative of Israel called for stability in the Middle East. Everyone knows that the Middle East had been very stable until these invaders from all corners of the world came to our land. Everyone knows that the Middle East had been stable until these invaders expelled more than 1 million refugees from their homes and lands, and made

^{2/} Case concerning the Temple of Preah Vihear (Cambodia v. Thailand), Merits, Judgment of 15 June 1962; I.C.J. Reports 1962, p. 6.

them live their present miserable existence, in which they live on six cents a day per person.

172. The representative of Israel referred to his Government's concern for an interest in human rights. We know what is happening to the Arabs who are still living in Israel, the way they are treated as second-class citizens, how they are restricted and deprived of their liberties and how they cannot even move from one place to another.

173. The representative of Israel in his statement referred to the Charter—and I have already explained why he has done so—and to the Armistice Agreements between Israel and some Arab countries. Those who examine the records of the Security Council and the General Assembly, as well as those of other bodies, will find glaring evidence of hundreds and hundreds of violations by Israel of the provisions of the Armistice Agreements. This was referred to at the last meeting of the Security Council and in meetings of other United Nations bodies. But the representative of Israel referred only to the Charter and the Armistice Agreements. He did not refer to paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194 (III), which was adopted in 1948 and has been affirmed and confirmed every year since then. This relates to the right of the refugees of Palestine to their homes and property, to repatriation and compensation. This same paragraph was again confirmed last year, and the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine was asked to see what it could do to have it implemented [see General Assembly resolution 2052 (XX)]. The report of the Conciliation Commission, which has just been distributed, again tells us of the reaction of the Government of Israel.

Thus, the representative of Israel uses the Charter and the Armistice Agreements, together with distortions of fact, but he never refers to the rights of the people of Palestine.

174. Then there is the usual call for peace and negotiations. And we are very sorry to say here that we have found some people believing the Israelis when they speak about negotiations. Negotiations on what? And by whom? And for the benefit of whom? With whom will the negotiations take place? With an aggressor? With an invader? With a usurper? And who is going to do the negotiating when the Arabs of Palestine are living as refugees deprived of their rights and liberties in their homeland?

175. We are really surprised to hear that some people—and I say this again—believe in this Israeli assertion. As a matter of fact, we still have some people speaking about negotiations and stability when we come to discuss some colonial problems: the problems of Southern Rhodesia, the problems of South West Africa, the problem of apartheid in South Africa. Of course, we always find people who speak to us about negotiations and the stability of the region. But they are negotiations at the expense of right; stability at the expense of the principles of the Charter and human rights.

176. These are the points that my delegation wanted to raise at this stage, reserving for itself the right to offer fuller comment on the statement of the representative of Israel at a later stage.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.