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

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (continued)**

1. Mr. ENGONE (Gabon) (translated from French): Mr. President, I should like, first of all, on behalf of the delegation of Gabon, to express our warmest congratulations to you upon your election to the Presidency of this Assembly. The unanimity with which you were elected to this high office is striking testimony to the esteem and confidence which your eminent personality aspires in all members of this lofty forum. Your qualities as a statesman, one who has been called upon in his own country to assume responsibilities of the highest order, together with the ability you have shown for many years in the debates in this hall, are the sure guarantee that the work of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly will proceed under the joint sign of firmness of character and generosity of heart—for I think that is, if not the best, at least the most concise way of defining your personality.

2. May I be permitted also to express our warm gratitude to Mr. Amintore Fanfani, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy, who guided the work of the twentieth session of the General Assembly with faultless authority and vigilant objectivity.

3. At the same time, the Government of the Republic of Gabon and the delegation which I have the honour to lead would like to pay a special tribute to U Thant for his high-mindedness, his competence and his tireless activities in the cause of peace. Our dearest wish is that the United Nations will be able to benefit during a new term of office from the presence of this distinguished person at the head of the Secretariat—one who has come to symbolize in himself the ideal of peace, which is the aim of his life.

4. We welcome in friendship Guyana, the one hundred and eighteenth Member of our Organization; we are certain that it will be able to take its share of the responsibilities devolving upon it in the comity of nations seeking universal concord and human brotherhood.

5. Further, we are glad to see Indonesia resuming its place among us. The agreement it has reached with Malaysia in

order to settle the differences between the two countries provides a lesson on which it would be well to reflect. It teaches us, if that is still necessary, that there is no dispute which nations of goodwill cannot settle by negotiation in a spirit of respect for their mutual interests.

6. We are likewise relieved and most happy to welcome the recently attained independence of Botswana and the Kingdom of Lesotho, two fraternal countries which will certainly soon be here to enlarge and strengthen our Organization.

7. This time last year [1355th meeting], speaking from this rostrum, I assured the General Assembly of Gabon's attachment to the spirit and fundamental principles of the Charter of our Organization.

8. In a statement made on the anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, one whose voice carries more authority than mine, Mr. Leon Mba, President of the Republic of Gabon, said:

"In the Charter signed on 26 June 1945 at San Francisco the founders of the Organization made a point of proclaiming their faith in the dignity of the human person, in equality of peoples of different races and religions and among nations, large and small, in freedom in all its essential forms—freedom of thought, of expression and of association . . . . And all the signatories of the Charter, all the Members of the United Nations, undertook to respect these fundamental rights, thereby solemnly condemning slavery and discrimination of any kind.

"The chief objective of the United Nations is the maintenance of peace in the world. In order to attain that objective the Organization first adopts the principle that all differences must be settled by peaceful means—negotiation, arbitration and the exercise of good offices.

"But the Organization has set itself also the aim of combating poverty, ignorance and disease, which it denounces as the principal causes of social unrest, economic rivalry and antagonism and, ultimately, war.

"We see the United Nations as a human institution and therefore as one which is both imperfect and capable of improvement. Therefore, in good times and bad, it pursues its goals and gives men greater confidence for the future."

We still have full confidence in the final result of the undertakings which, step by step, we are pursuing together, despite the opposition and reserves of some, the inertia of others and the obstacles in our path, which cannot be readily overcome, nor easily by-passed.

9. Nevertheless, if certain setbacks can, in the final analysis, be described without hypocrisy as half-successes, if certain solutions that have been worked out, although only partial, are none the less praiseworthy, it is important not to delude ourselves about the magnitude of the task still to be accomplished, the gravity and complexity of the problems which the United Nations must tackle in order to keep the promises it has made to mankind and in order not to disappoint the hopes it arouses in human communities all over the world. There is the problem, for example, of the working languages in our Organization. There should be an end to making the use of French the subject of special, sometimes irritating bargaining. In the course of the present session my delegation intends to take the necessary steps for normalizing the situation.

10. Furthermore, it will be my purpose to specify before this Assembly the concerns of my country, which, like all those that have in recent years achieved national sovereignty, is feverishly concentrating on its own national construction, its improvement and progress, but which realizes that it cannot do all this by itself, that relations of interdependence and mutual involvement must inevitably come into play, because of the necessary community of sympathies and the common responsibilities that must be assumed within the great human family.

11. These concerns, to which we wish forcefully to draw your attention, fall under three heads: first, the inalienable right of all men to dignity and equality, together with the right of peoples freely to decide their own destiny; secondly, the necessity of understanding among the nations of the world—in other words, peaceful coexistence and the maintenance of peace; thirdly, the balance that must be created in regard to the distribution of the fruits of labour and the wealth of the various peoples, so that the gap at present separating the developing nations, the producers of primary commodities, from the highly industrialized nations, will be progressively removed.

12. On the first point, we are obliged to note that the last forces of colonialism are striving to maintain foreign domination in Africa. Portugal, lost in its dream, imprisoned in its past, is striving to keep a colonial empire in Africa; against the will of the indigenous population, it is seeking to impose its will by force and terror.

13. I shall not tire of repeating that the Republic of Gabon remains firmly wedded to the principle of self-determination and therefore does not understand Portugal's attitude in obstinately denying to millions of individuals their right to freedom and independence. The theory that Portugal's overseas possessions are Portuguese provinces can deceive no one; it is an aberration and in any case is unacceptable to us Africans who witness with horror and revulsion the unleashing of violence in Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe. In those countries Portugal goes on perpetrating genocide with cold determination, methodically and ruthlessly. Cruel, blind repression falls indiscriminately on men, women and children. Terror reigns and the unfortunate peoples on which Portugal persists in imposing a political order which they do not want have no alternative but to answer violence with violence. Thousands of men have thus been constrained to take up arms to defend their rights, their dignity and their very lives.

14. Time and again the African Heads of State have formally condemned the aggression Portugal is committing on African soil. In complete unanimity they have decided to co-ordinate and intensify their efforts with a view to hastening the unconditional accession to national independence of all the African Territories still under foreign domination and have affirmed that all the independent States of Africa are in duty bound to support the African peoples which have not yet attained national sovereignty in their fight for freedom and independence. This determination clearly shows how firmly the African States are resolved to thwart Portuguese imperialism. But Portugal, as though it were marked out for the downfall of nations that live with their eyes turned towards the past, is showing itself incapable of adapting to the realities of our time.

15. In vain have we appealed, one after another, to the conscience of Portugal, as it faces the will of all peoples to achieve a life worthy of them. That is why the delegation of Gabon addresses an appeal from this rostrum to the conscience of the West, for the conscience of Portugal is deaf. We ask the Western nations if they do not consider Portugal's obstinacy a constant threat to peace and a manifestation of total contempt for the wind of liberalism which has been blowing over Africa since the end of the last World War. For Portugal seems to regard as criminals those who, departing from Africa with their heads held high, now offer their co-operation and friendship to the peoples formerly dependent upon them. Would not the attitude of Portugal, a country which is itself, after all, underdeveloped, be quite different if it did not feel itself supported by a certain number of other, important countries? We in Gabon believe that if such support were withdrawn, Portugal would not dare to persist in its insensate behaviour. That is why the delegation of Gabon solemnly invites Portugal to adopt the policy of its neighbours, France and Spain, and enter upon a dialogue with the populations of its African colonies.

16. In this connexion I should like to mention the happy evolution towards independence of a neighbouring brother-State of Gabon, Equatorial Guinea. This evolution has been greatly accelerated of late and the proclamation of Equatorial Guinea's independence in the near future is foreseeable.

17. This result, which gives Gabon particular satisfaction, is due to the realistic policy of Spain, to the wisdom and clarity of thought shown both by the autonomous Government and by the leaders of the country's political parties, and lastly, to the decisive action of conciliation carried out by the decolonization mission sent to the territory by our Organization.

18. But the indispensable work of liberating Africa will not be completed, colonialism will not be eradicated, so long as there remains any form of oppression of the African in any part of our continent. The Pretoria Government, in contempt of fundamental human rights, keeps in slavery millions of human beings to whom it denies the very quality of men. The abnormal policy of apartheid is aimed at eliminating the indigenous population from national life.

19. In South Africa, racialism has been promoted to the status of political doctrine, to the status of dogma. The indigenous South Africans, because they are black, have no

right to participate in their country's life and a handful of immigrants holds them in bondage. Deaf to warnings, to the appeals addressed to it from all sides, the Government of South Africa continues to defy world opinion, encouraged in this policy, admittedly, by certain Powers which lend it discreet, but none the less effective support. The United Nations must redouble its efforts and call upon those of its Members which are aiding South Africa to stop doing so and to comply with the resolution which the General Assembly has adopted in order to abolish the apartheid policy. Those who do not yet understand must come to realize that this policy of the Government of South Africa is an extremely dangerous cause of tension.

20. In this connexion my Government cannot but add its voice to those raised in all parts of the world in denunciation of the recent Judgement of the International Court of Justice at The Hague<sup>1</sup> which maintains and consolidates South Africa's domination over South West Africa. Based on legal artifice, without regard to the substance of the matter, that purely formal Judgement, which could not have been handed down but for the casting vote of the President of the Court, is a veritable scandal in the eyes of all the States of the "third world".

21. Gabon, therefore, disquieted by the situation in that Mandated Territory, especially after the Judgement of the International Court of Justice of 18 July 1966, has sponsored, along with other members of the Afro-Asian group, a draft resolution to be placed before the General Assembly [A/L.483 and Add.1-3], whereby the Mandate over the former German territory of South West Africa entrusted by the League of Nations to South Africa would be withdrawn and an authority set up, composed of States Members of the United Nations, to assume the administration of the country and to propose, before the next session of the General Assembly, a date for its independence. In any event, Gabon would gladly welcome any suggestion making the accession of South West Africa to national sovereignty a more practical possibility.

22. As far as Rhodesia is concerned, my Government last year denounced the manoeuvres of the white majority and warned the United Kingdom, the administering Power, against the action of the settlers leading to their proclaiming independence for their benefit alone. We are forced to admit, first, that the minority in question has achieved its end, thus depriving the indigenous majority of its legitimate right to govern itself, and second, that the system of economic sanctions, which we were assured would rapidly bring the Smith Government to its knees, has failed.

23. It is now a proven fact that the United Kingdom, whatever its goodwill, will not succeed in making its rebellious colonists listen to reason, if it persists in regarding itself as the only party concerned with this rebellion and, consequently, in not resorting to the United Nations. The recent failure of the Anglo-Rhodesian pre-negotiations and the uneasiness that it provoked in the Commonwealth, can only strengthen us in our conviction. Only resort to the United Nations and concerted action by all the Powers, within the framework of our Organization, can bring down the Salisbury régime, through the strength-

ening and broadening of sanctions. That is what my Government wishes, along with an increase in aid to Zambia, whose economy would be likely to be as hard hit as that of Rhodesia if it were finally decided to take really effective measures.

24. While some countries are determined to go against the current of history, the rights of man to liberty and equality will be flouted, the fundamental principles of the Charter that we have granted ourselves will remain, for part of humanity, pious hopes. Reasons for confrontation and violence will persist and peace will be threatened. For it is not only in black Africa that peace is in jeopardy; other causes of tension exist elsewhere and I should like to bring out, in this second point, the case of those countries that are suffering the consequences either of a past war or of a present conflict.

25. I am thinking particularly of Berlin, where an entire people is divided and families are separated. Today, as in the past, I must reaffirm that my country remains wedded to the right of people to self-determination. The Berlin problem and the problem of Germany in general cannot be settled by means of an imposed solution. Only a free consultation of the entire German people will make it possible to find the basis for an agreement that can put an end to the division, reunify the country and reconcile the two sections of the population. We are convinced that negotiation is the only valid means of settling conflicts. Here, too, as in the Israeli-Arab conflict, the problem of the Palestine refugees, the United Nations must put forth all its efforts in order to start among the parties concerned the dialogue from which general pacification and reconciliation will emerge.

26. If the United Nations, in which we place all our hopes, must do its utmost to abolish the consequences of past wars, it must surely all the more—and this is the purpose of our Organization—do everything in its power to bring the current conflicts to an end and make future wars impossible. I have in mind the distressing conflict that continues to rend Viet-Nam, a brother nation, which in reality has been in a state of war for a whole generation.

27. The Republic of Gabon, a member of the great family of nations, has chosen dialogue, arbitration and conciliation as the ways and means of settling disputes and conflicts. Deeply attached to those principles of international morality, Gabon cannot understand how countries, whether or not they have subscribed to the same commitments, can display intolerance, refuse peaceful coexistence and choose force to impose their will. We reject and emphatically condemn violence. We do not believe in the ineluctability of wars, nor in their inevitability and we solemnly adjure the Powers concerned to have recourse, again and always, unremittingly, to negotiation, which alone can put a final stop, without humiliation for one side or the other, to that interminable conflict, the extension of which is endangering world peace. It is high time that negotiations were undertaken on the basis of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements, which the parties concerned accepted at the time.

28. Several countries, arguing particularly from the necessity of ending the conflict in Viet-Nam, have this time again raised the problem of the admission of Peking China to the

<sup>1</sup>South West Africa, Second Phase, Judgement, I.C.J. Report 1966, p. 6.

United Nations. While considering this problem to be one of major importance, we are obliged to note that the party principally concerned does not seem to set great store by the efforts made on its behalf by either side, since it has never submitted its application for membership. Admittedly, the leaders of that country have not disowned the action taken in their favour; but the conditions demanded of the Organization are such that their warmest supporters have every reason for scepticism as to the sincere desire of that great nation to come into the United Nations. Moreover, certain recent experiences are scarcely encouraging for Africans who might, for various reasons, want the People's Republic of China to be admitted to the Organization. In the circumstances, the Government of Gabon will continue to give its support to the Republic of China, a founding Member of the Organization.

29. Further, it would not be sufficient merely to quell open conflicts, unless appropriate measures were taken to exorcize, once for all, the spectre of war threatening mankind. The Republic of Gabon, in signing the Moscow Treaty on the prohibition of nuclear weapons tests, wished to show that it unequivocally condemns the use and testing of those frightful weapons, which can lead only to the destruction of the human race. Our condemnation extends equally to the manufacture of all weapons of mass destruction, whether they are called "conventional" or not.

30. Gabon was one of the first countries to sign that agreement. In so doing and in being at the same time a co-sponsor of the resolution on the denuclearization of Africa [resolution 2033 (XX)], my country wished to show how devoted to peace are its peoples and how forcefully they are calling for and encouraging all initiatives likely to lead to peace. In a world in which two-thirds of humanity are suffering from hunger and from disease which the present resources of medicine could eliminate if material means to put those resources to use were available, it is sad and discouraging to see the prosperous nations devoting a large part of their power to the manufacture of armaments. Would not those resources, that labour, that intelligence, be put to better use in feeding the hungry, in caring for the suffering, in finding work for the unemployed and drifting young people of all countries?

31. Not only do we see that nothing of the kind is being done, but on the contrary, that the gulf separating the developed from the under-developed countries grows ever wider. That is a point which, in the present situation, is related to a crucial problem in countries like Gabon, which have secured their independence and legal sovereignty, but which see that independence and that sovereignty to be merely a derisory illusion unless accompanied, on the economic plane, by means enabling their peoples to have a better life and to live as well as others. The world food situation has never been so critical and the developing countries will, in the near future, not have enough to eat unless they import vast quantities from the developed countries; but the stocks of the developed countries are almost exhausted and even a draconian production plan could not resolve the crisis, for the developing countries do not have sufficient financial means to import vast quantities of food.

32. It is therefore imperative that the developing countries should be enabled to increase their production. The "third

world" as a whole is eagerly following the efforts made by the Food and Agriculture Organization to achieve the acceptance of a massive programme of agricultural development, the only practical method of solving the problem of hunger in the world.

33. In regard to the imbalance between the wealthy and the under-privileged countries, eloquent figures have already been cited from this rostrum by previous speakers and we cannot but support their indictment of the policy of the wealthy countries. Our Organization, which must be congratulated on having given these problems the importance they deserve by inaugurating, in 1961, the United Nations Development Decade, envisaged for the developing countries an average annual growth rate of 5 per cent; but the average growth rate of these countries has been 4 per cent.

34. The financial aid granted by the well-endowed to the poorly-endowed countries, often, alas, lacking the bare necessities, falls far short, except in the case of France, of the target regarded as ideal; namely 1 per cent of the gross national product of the rich countries. To cite, again, only a few simple figures, the financial aid granted in 1965 to the developing countries was only 0.69 per cent of the gross national product of the developed countries, compared with 0.83 per cent in 1961. That financial aid is therefore still insufficient and is not increasing proportionately with the income of the rich countries. Rather does it seem to be decreasing and the less favoured countries, like my own, cannot but note such defaulting with considerable bitterness and anxiety.

35. Nevertheless, it is not really a question of some soliciting aid while others provide it, whether on the international, the multilateral or the bilateral levels. My country, Gabon, putting into practice the old adage that "God helps those who help themselves", is seeking to equip and develop itself as far as possible through its own resources. The considerable efforts Gabon is making in this direction need to be supported and increased, financially and technically, particularly in regard to the establishment of the indispensable infrastructure—roads, railways, ports—by means of foreign capital, which is in practice associated with the exploitation of our natural resources, the chief of which are our forest and mineral reserves. This being so, Gabon finds itself in the unstable and perilous position of countries with primary economies obliged to negotiate the sale of their primary commodities and raw materials on the world market.

36. Our Organization rightly tackled this great problem by establishing the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. We earnestly hope that Conference will succeed in devising concrete solutions that can be quickly put into effect and can lead to an improvement in the world markets for our major export products, on the basis of the principle of equity and stability.

37. We shall not be able to get a fair return for the work of our peoples and the exploitation of our resources, we shall not reach a decent standard of living, if our primary commodities and raw materials are exported—when they can be exported—at invariably falling prices, while the manufactured products we are obliged to import are constantly increasing in price.



38. In this connexion we have noted with satisfaction the establishment of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization [resolution 2089 (XX)]. It is obvious that a nation like mine cannot break the heavy yoke of under-development unless it can obtain consumer goods and finished products on terms commensurate with the average per capita income and unless it can establish within its borders, or in a neighbouring area with which it has connexions, industrial plants capable of converting its raw materials into manufactured goods. We have taken a step forward in that direction through the establishment of regional co-operation with four neighbouring sister-countries which will henceforth make up, with Gabon, the Central African Customs and Economic Union.

39. Concrete achievements, both in bringing tariffs and investment laws into line, and in connexion with industries which have been made viable thanks to an enlarged market, are evidence of the initiative the young African nations are showing. But we are too dependent on the general economic policies and conditions imposed on us by the present structures of world trade for such an initiative to suffice.

40. So I shall conclude my statement with a renewed appeal, urging the world's leading economic countries, meeting here with us, to try to promote equality, justice and peace, in conformity with the Charter which is our governing instrument.

41. Men cannot be regarded as freely enjoying self-determination, or as having truly equal rights, or, finally, as enjoying that peace to which they ardently aspire, so long as some are subjected to poverty and what is now called under-development. Only a consistent effort of solidarity and fraternity on the part of those whom fate has endowed and some time overwhelmed with riches can diminish and, in the long run, put an end to this disparity in living conditions. Once again I proclaim my unshakable confidence in the United Nations as the standard-bearer in this crusade for freedom.

42. Mr. LIU Chieh (China):<sup>2</sup> Mr. President, I have already had occasion to extend to you the felicitations of my delegation on your election to the presidency. Allow me to add that the high personal qualities you have brought to bear on the deliberations of the General Assembly during the past weeks have justified the confidence that has been placed in you as President.

43. The General Assembly has once again been convened in an atmosphere of crisis and tension. Around the world there are areas where the scourge of war has brought untold sorrow to millions of people, areas where racist policies have engendered situations fraught with peril, and areas where national animosities could at any moment burst into open flames. Thus, all the world wants peace and yet there has been no peace in the hearts of men.

44. These grim facts are not, however, unrelieved by developments which should be greeted by the international community with hope and satisfaction.

45. It is gratifying, for example, to note that the relations between Indonesia and the Federation of Malaysia have at

last taken a turn for the better. The campaign to "crush" Malaysia, inspired and abetted by the Communists, has now been called off. With the suppression of the Indonesian Communist Party, the present leadership of Indonesia has successfully resolved its differences with its neighbours. This will bring benefit not only to Indonesia and her close neighbours but also to the entire South-East Asian region.

46. The cease-fire between India and Pakistan has been maintained. The general situation in Cyprus remains relatively quiet. It is our fervent hope that the parties concerned will soon find it possible to resolve the basic issues which have so long beclouded their relations.

47. In the Western Hemisphere, peace has happily come to the Dominican Republic. The Dominican people now seem assured of a period of peaceful development.

48. In spite of these welcome developments, however, the over-all world situation does not encourage optimism. The war in Viet-Nam has shown no signs of abating. It is all too clear that the Communist authorities in North Viet-Nam are determined to subjugate the Republic of Viet-Nam at all costs.

49. What is happening in Viet-Nam is not a local rebellion caused by internal discontent. It is a war of aggression conducted from across the northern border of the Republic of Viet-Nam. The Viet-Cong guerrillas are the creatures of Hanoi. They are trained, armed, supplied and directed by the Communist North with the support of Peiping. Their mission is to destroy the Republic of Viet-Nam's will to resist, to erode its faith in the future, to paralyse its social, economic and political progress. Their favourite targets for murder and destruction include teachers, medical officers, village officials and local community leaders. In the countryside and in small provincial towns the number of innocent people murdered now runs into tens of thousands --and this is called a "war of national liberation"!

50. Yet the people of the Republic of Viet-Nam have not been intimidated into submission. Even in the midst of war, they have never ceased to make progress in the social, economic and political realms. In September this year elections were held for a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution. It is a representative assembly elected on the basis of universal suffrage. Its members have come from all walks of life and every geographical area. This is no small achievement in a war-torn country and should give food for thought to those who are ready to believe the worst of the Republic of Viet-Nam.

51. The Republic of Viet-Nam is a small and militarily weak country. Faced with a situation with which it could not adequately cope, its Government was forced to call upon the United States of America to come to its assistance. The United States answered that call, recognizing and accepting the great responsibilities devolving upon it as the leader of the free world. We believe the purpose of the United States and its allies in Viet-Nam is to halt Communist aggression and to enable the people of South Viet-Nam to choose their own path into the future in peace and without outside interference. Communist subversion and aggression must be halted in Viet-Nam, just as it was halted in Greece and Turkey, Korea and the Caribbean.

<sup>2</sup>Mr. Liu spoke in Chinese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

52. My delegation sincerely hopes that the day will soon come when the brave people of the Republic of Viet-Nam, who have suffered so much and so long from external aggression, will once again be able to live in peace among themselves as well as with their neighbours. We are appreciative of the initiatives taken by various Governments and individual statesmen in an effort to bring the Viet-Nam issue from the battlefield to the conference table. But it seems to us that before any meaningful negotiations can be undertaken there must be a clear understanding of the ends to be achieved. Certainly the freedom and independence of the Republic of Viet-Nam cannot be bargained away in the name of peace. Certainly negotiation cannot mean any abandonment of resistance to communist aggression, thus leaving the Republic of Viet-Nam to the tender mercies of Ho Chi Minh. Certainly negotiation cannot be just another name for defeat for all the peoples of South-East Asia who refuse to submit to an unwanted fate.

53. Unfortunately, that is precisely what some influential people have been advocating. These people seem to believe that the conflict in Viet-Nam is just a United States war. They seem to think that peace will come to Viet-Nam once United States forces are withdrawn. That, if I may say so, is unadulterated appeasement. If the history of the Second World War teaches any lesson, it is that appeasement does not advance the cause of peace; it will only whet the appetite of the aggressor and encourage him to commit more and more aggressions until a time when there is no tolerable alternative to war.

54. The whole of South-East Asia needs peace. But it must be a genuine peace, a peace based on law and justice and not one that will deliver millions of free men to communist enslavement.

55. But Hanoi and Peiping want no lasting peace. Conflict to the bitter end is the stuff from which they draw their very sustenance. They are out, in the Republic of Viet-Nam, to win victory for communism. To achieve that victory they will stop at nothing. They do not believe that the United States, for all its military might, has the patience and perseverance to fight a protracted war. They are convinced that sooner or later the United States will be forced by pressures at home and abroad to withdraw. It is for that reason that they have rejected all proposals for a peaceful settlement of the Viet-Nam war.

56. It is for this reason that they have spurned the offers of peace articulated by the representative of the United States in his speech before this Assembly [1412th meeting]. They have nothing but contempt for the suggestion that both sides take steps to de-escalate the war. The People's Daily of Peiping, in an editorial dated 24 September 1966, declared:

“... The core of the present Viet-Nam question is by no means a question of ‘de-escalating’ the war, but a question for the United States aggressors to pack themselves off immediately from Viet-Nam, lock, stock and barrel.”

57. It is thus crystal clear that Peiping and Hanoi want no political solution of the Viet-Nam question and that the only language they understand is the language of force and violence. Peace, therefore, will not come to Viet-Nam until the communist aggressors are convinced that they cannot

win by force and violence and that aggression does not pay. At present, they are not so convinced. On the contrary, they believe that they are already halfway to victory. All proposals for peace are in their view a “hoax” and a “bait” designed to induce the Viet-Nameese to lay down their arms and abandon their struggle for “national liberation”.

58. So much for Viet-Nam. Let me now turn to the general problem of building peace.

59. The agenda of peace covers a multitude of items. It is not enough to prohibit the threat or use of force. It is not enough merely to resist aggression. As long as the conditions unfavourable for the building of peace exist, peace will remain precarious. Questions such as disarmament, colonialism, economic development and the protection of human rights are all intimately connected with the problem of peace. The views of the Chinese delegation on these subjects will be expressed when the appropriate items are reached. I content myself here with a cursory review of the broad principles which have guided my delegation in regard to them.

60. My Government is conscious of the dangers inherent in the arms race. We are particularly concerned about the danger of the proliferation of nuclear weapons. We regret that the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament has not been able to come to any agreement on this vital question. The Geneva discussions seem to have achieved some progress in this field, but the conditions for a speedy agreement are still lacking.

61. In this connexion, my Government strongly condemns the utter irresponsibility of the communist régime in Peiping which, in defiance of world opinion and contrary to the true interests of the Chinese people, has ventured into the nuclear field. We have more than once warned that, in the hands of such an aggressive régime, nuclear weapons become an instrument of political and psychological blackmail.

62. At the twentieth session of the General Assembly I had the occasion to state the following:

“Whether the Chinese Communist régime can succeed in its... blackmail against the small and weak nations depends to a large extent on the effectiveness of the United States nuclear umbrella over them. Indeed, the future security of the non-communist countries of Asia will test not only the courage and fortitude of their peoples to defend their... independence and freedom, but also the will and resolution of the United States, as the leading nation of the free world, to carry out its defence commitments... Were the United States to withdraw from Asia, all the non-communist countries on that vast continent would feel the impact. The non-aligned or non-committed countries are no exception. For, after all, Asian neutralism is possible only as long as the United States and its allies are committed to Asia's defence.” [1354th meeting, para. 112.]

63. I believe that this is even more true today than ever before. The Chinese Communist régime is opposed to any plan designed to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. It has attacked the “revisionist leading group of the Soviet Union” which,

“... in collusion with United States imperialism, is actively engineering a treaty on the prevention of nuclear

proliferation so as to maintain their nuclear monopoly, intimidate the oppressed nations and peoples and realize its dream of world domination through Soviet-United States collaboration”.

This quotation is from Chou En-lai's statement on Peiping's third nuclear test, 10 May 1966. It is thus sheer fantasy to expect this régime to contribute constructively to the problem of disarmament.

64. It is not a safe world when two-thirds of its inhabitants are destitute, undernourished, sickly and ignorant. Men now know that suffering and privation need not be their fate, and they can no longer be expected to endure them with resignation.

65. It is universally recognized that the principal responsibility for promoting the economic development of a country lies with the country itself. International aid and co-operation are no substitutes for national action. Nevertheless, the developing countries cannot be expected to achieve rapid economic growth without outside assistance. Nor can the developed countries ignore the needs of two-thirds of the world's population. Economic development is thus a joint enterprise, an enterprise in which every nation, regardless of the stage of its development, is a partner.

66. The record of the United Nations in the economic field has been quite impressive. The specific measures taken by the United Nations are in the field of technical co-operation, financial aid, trade policies and a host of other activities. But the magnitude of the task calls for more resources than the United Nations can supply. In the course of 1966, however, as the Secretary-General has pointed out in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization,

“... international aid is stagnating while the capacity of developed countries to provide such aid, measured in terms of an increase in their per capita incomes, has become greater.” [A/6301/Add.1, p. 6.]

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that in order to enable the developing countries to accelerate their rate of economic growth, the volume of external resources must be expanded and made available to them. Failure to ensure this may spell an actual decline in the standards of living of the bulk of humanity, with all the political consequences that decline may imply.

67. The Republic of China is a developing country, with a notably high rate of economic growth. In the province of Taiwan, agricultural as well as industrial production has increased many-fold in the past fifteen years.

68. We have, of course, still a long way to go. Like all developing countries, the Republic of China welcomes capital and technology from the industrially advanced countries. We seek private investment rather than external aid, not merely for the inflow of capital but also for the technology and technical skills which such investment inevitably brings.

69. We of the Republic of China have, in a modest way, been sharing our developing experiences, particularly in the agricultural field, with other developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Our participation in the recently

established Asian Development Bank bespeaks our interest in and devotion to the cause of international co-operation.

70. In the same spirit, the Republic of China has joined with nine other Asian and Pacific countries in the formation of the Asian and Pacific Council (ASPAC) at the historic meeting [14-16 June 1966] in the capital of the Republic of Korea for the purpose of promoting greater co-operation and solidarity among the free nations of the region and to safeguard their national independence and integrity against external aggression, as well as to develop their national economies. In the relatively short time since its establishment, ASPAC, as the Foreign Minister of Thailand has pointed out [1418th meeting], has already shown much promise.

71. The economic progress achieved in the province of Taiwan offers a glaring contrast to the deterioration of economic conditions in the mainland provinces now under communist occupation. The critical dislocation brought about by the disastrous “Big Leap Forward” launched in 1958 is still very much in evidence. The subsequent shift of emphasis from industry to agriculture has not helped to increase grain production. Competent students of Chinese communist affairs are agreed that grain production in 1965 was not substantially different from that of 1957. Meanwhile, there has been an estimated 15 per cent increase in population. Even with the vast quantities of wheat purchased from abroad, the Chinese masses on the mainland continue to suffer hunger and malnutrition, notwithstanding propagandist reports to the contrary.

72. No, communism is no short cut to economic development; it is a drag on it. As for Chinese communism, it is synonymous with stagnation and want.

73. But Mao Tse-tung and his gang are not in the habit of admitting defeat. They continue to brag about their victories on the economic front. Already there is talk about launching another “Big Leap Forward”. If so, they are in fact hastening their own downfall. Let no one presume too far on the patience of the Chinese people. The day may not be too distant when a convulsive burst of mass fury will sweep the communist tyrants out of existence.

74. Máo Tse-tung knows that his régime is hated by the people. Guilt-ridden by awareness of his crimes, he labours under special fears. He trusts no man except a few of his closest associates. Himself a master of intrigue and duplicity, he cannot for a moment escape the dread that there are always people who are plotting against him. Better than anyone else, he knows that even a relatively small body of “internal enemies”, given propitious conditions, can overturn a seemingly impregnable system. It is in this light that the so-called “Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution”, which has created such an upheaval on the mainland of China in recent months, must be viewed.

75. This so-called “revolution” has been described by the official Communist Press as an “unprecedented life-and-death struggle” against the “anti-Party” and “anti-Socialist” elements within the Communist Party itself. The very fact that he cannot even trust members of his own party shows that he is haunted by an acute sense of insecurity.

76. Fancying himself an intellectual of sorts, Mao Tse-tung is conscious of the influence wielded by the intellectuals in

Chinese society. "Without the participation of the intellectuals", he wrote in 1939, "victory in the revolution is impossible". It is thus not without reason that in the current purges the axe fell first of all on scholars, writers, cultural workers and Party propagandists, many of whom have served with him ever since the beginning of the communist movement. They are now hunted down as "monsters" and "demons" who are plotting "for the restoration of capitalism" and poisoning the minds of the masses.

77. The official Communist Press refers to the "anti-Party" and "anti-Socialist" elements as a "handful of individuals". Yet the purge has been going on since April and the end is nowhere in sight. Even some of the most highly placed men in the régime—members of the Central Committee of the Party, ministers and generals—have come under suspicion. Without any formal announcement, many of them have mysteriously disappeared from the scene. The Party's ideological journal, the Red Flag, asserted only a few days ago, on 3 October 1966, that there are still people within the Party who are conspiring to "usurp the leadership of the Party, the army and the Government". There must be something basically wrong with a régime which is loaded with such a sense of doom.

78. Nothing is more revealing than Mao's use of innocent young people as the main force of his campaign against the unreliable elements both inside and outside the Party. These so-called "Red Guards" have been rampaging through city streets and the countryside to create a reign of terror. Under the direction of Mao's most trusted lieutenants, they are out to snuff out sedition, plots and treasonable activities to eradicate vestiges of "old culture, old thinking, old customs and old habits". They ransack homes and interfere with the daily life of the people. They desecrate places of religious worship and subject the populace to extreme humiliation and often physical ill-treatment. They are against everything that smacks of the "feudal past" or bourgeois and foreign influence.

79. It is significant that the Red Guards are not part of the Youth Corps, the official Communist youth organization. That Mao has to rely on youths outside the ranks of the regular Youth Corps to do the dirty work for him is in itself symptomatic of a deeply-seated disease which has afflicted his régime. The violence of the Red Guards has aroused widespread opposition. Clashes between the Red Guards and the people have erupted in at least thirteen provinces, as well as in such major cities as Canton, Shanghai and Peiping.

80. Out of the turmoil and lawlessness has emerged the power of Lin Piao, whose pronouncements on the "people's war" have already shocked the world. This, as the London Economist has rightly observed, is "bad news" for the rest of the globe. This heir apparent of Mao Tse-tung, this apostle of violence, this high priest of guerrilla warfare, can be depended upon, to use his own expression, to "push history forward" by force.

81. There are those who are inclined to discount the danger posed by the "people's war". The very stress on guerrilla warfare, they contend, means that the Chinese Communists do not intend to conquer the world through direct military action; on the contrary, they rely on the

indigenous Communists and their allies to do the job for them. But the encouragement, training, financing and equipping of guerrillas can be more of a menace to the independence and freedom of the small and weak nations than even open and undisguised aggression. The fact that Peiping has failed more often than it has succeeded is no cause for complacency. The war in Viet-Nam, to which I have already referred, is a case in point. In the eyes of the Chinese Communists, the war in Viet-Nam is a test case for the "people's war". If it can succeed in Viet-Nam, it can also succeed in other countries. Indeed, this is what the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party had in mind when it said in a recent communiqué that "the people of other parts of the world will see that what the Viet-Nameese people can do they can do, too".

82. This is no empty rhetoric. To quote the Economist again: "Until and unless there is solid evidence" to the contrary, "the only safe assumption . . . to make is that the Chinese Communists mean every word they say".

83. Now, the United Nations was created to maintain international peace and security in conformity with law and justice, as well as to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom. The Communists of my country represent a negation of all the principles and purposes of the United Nations. Yet there are delegations in the Assembly who are bent on bringing them into the organization. If they are allowed to have their way, the future of the United Nations will be placed in jeopardy. Unless the majority of the Assembly recognize and accept the reality of the danger, the United Nations as we know it today cannot long endure.

84. Mr. Mahmoud RIAD (United Arab Republic):<sup>3</sup> Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure, at the outset of my statement, to extend to you the congratulations of the United Arab Republic and its delegation, as well as my personal congratulations, on your election to the Presidency of this twenty-first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

85. Mr. President, your great country of Afghanistan maintains with my country, the United Arab Republic, the strongest and closest bonds of friendship. Needless to say, our two nations share binding ties of spiritual and moral values solidly enshrined through the epochs of the struggle of our part of the world. With such brief reference, Mr. President, I deem it the right and privilege of the United Arab Republic to share with the other African and Asian countries in expressing pride in your election to this high office.

86. On the other hand, Mr. President, the delegation of the United Arab Republic subscribes without reservation to the general belief expressed by our fellow representatives who preceded me to this rostrum that the conduct of the affairs of the current session will be attended with great success. Surely this is a certainty, for you have gained for yourself a reputation as an excellent diplomat in handling the tedious work and complex problems of the United Nations, inside as well as outside its arena. Such confident handling attests to your great belief in this Organization and its high objectives.

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



87. It is also fitting at this juncture to pay a tribute to Mr. Amintore Fanfani, President of the twentieth session. Mr. Fanfani capably and wisely directed the activities of the last session of the General Assembly with a great dedication that brought about a suitable atmosphere for directing the course of its work into the proper channels.

88. The United Arab Republic feels exceedingly happy and satisfied in witnessing the new growth in the membership of this Organization. Such growth no doubt represents a landmark on the road to achieving the cardinal concept of the Organization's universality. We feel an added measure of happiness when the newly presented countries have rid themselves of the yoke of colonialist rule. The United Arab Republic therefore welcomes the admission of Guyana to the United Nations. My Government, at the same time, wishes to extend its congratulations to Botswana, Lesotho, and Barbados on attaining their independence, and we look forward to seeing each and all of them play a significant role in this Organization.

89. My participation today in the general debate, coming relatively late, has afforded me the opportunity of studying the valuable remarks made by my colleagues who preceded me to this rostrum. It is no secret that a general feeling of pessimism overshadows the general debate, and that feeling reflects the present international situation. That being the case, it becomes more imperative to view problems factually and to pursue a realistic course of action. Furthermore, the need arises more imperatively for this Organization to define its position vis-à-vis all factors and forces that influence the present international situation. The more severe the conditions that surround us become, the more reason there is for us to tackle them. We must face up to these conditions without hesitation or wavering, without pessimism that would only breed despair, or over-optimism that could prove ill-founded.

90. Most of the problems that face the world today symbolize a desire by some Powers to spread and impose their influence over others solely for their own benefit and without regard to the interests of other countries. We can recall that with the advent of this Organization its membership did not exceed fifty countries. Today its membership has risen to 119, after so many countries have successfully rid themselves of the yoke of colonialism. Yet the paradox is that today we still find many countries engaged in a fierce struggle to secure their freedom from colonial domination.

91. It was the cherished hope that with the elimination of the traditional type of colonial rule from many parts of the world, an end would come to the policy of domination and suppression. Nevertheless, that policy has remained unchanged in its confrontation with the sweeping tides set in motion by those groping for the attainment of their aspirations and freedom. Colonial domination has assumed a variety of shapes and guises, seeking the same objectives and designs it pursued from its earliest beginnings. The objective remains political and military domination, and hence the continued usurpation of the freedom and wealth of the dominated nations. Some countries have gained their political independence, while, at the same time, their economic resources continue to be exploited by foreign Powers. Consequently, while these foreign Powers add to their own riches, the politically independent owners of such

wealth remain backward and poverty-stricken. Another aspect of domination can be seen in the fact that while some countries have gained their independence, foreign bases nevertheless have been imposed upon them. This fact proves that a hegemony remains imposed over them, while, at the same time, the bases pose a threat to neighbouring countries. Moreover, we still witness the continuing application of other such practices, and incessant interference on a large scale in the internal affairs of already independent countries through the exercise of political and economic pressures, through intimidation, threats, and the incitement of fear or the use of force. Recourse to such practices reaches an exceedingly alarming dimension when use is made of the deployment of force to obtain certain objectives.

92. It is fitting in this respect to refer to the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade in September 1961, and the Second Conference held at Cairo in October 1964, with a multitude of participants comprising not only those who had attended the first one, but also all the countries of Africa, most of the Asian countries and some Latin American countries that participated as observers. The express emphasis proclaimed in the resolutions taken at these conferences left no doubt that the maintenance of peace and the attainment of international co-operation necessitated the upholding of and respect for the principle of peaceful coexistence; non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries; adherence to and application of the principle of self-determination; abstention from the use of force; the abandonment of policies of pressure in all its forms; and the elimination of foreign military bases, which threaten the peace and security of other countries. If we take a quick glance at the problems that surround us today, we cannot fail to agree that respect for and application of the above-mentioned principles—with honesty and good faith—is the only way that will lead to restoration of peace and the accomplishment of genuine and constructive international co-operation.

93. If we keep repeating such doctrines and ideas, together with the representatives of many other countries who believe in our views and seek their accomplishment, year after year, right from this rostrum, our only hope is that our representations may finally find an attentive ear. We also hope that wisdom, logic and constructive effort for the sake of the well-being of humanity at large, will in the end triumph and prevail.

94. It should be made clear that countries that have suffered for so long from colonization, despotism, persecution and exploitation, are fully aware that the reiteration of such principles and doctrines, and the incessant appeal for their adoption, requires at the same time a solemn resolve by these same nations to face up to and overcome the forces of evil and despotism. Such countries also realize that colonial Powers, exploiting Powers and racially discriminating Powers stand solidly together in full co-operation to assure their continued domination and their practices of exploitation. This being the case, there exists no doubt in the minds of the oppressed peoples that a long road of relentless struggle and strife lies ahead. They also feel the necessity of solidarity in their struggle against domination and exploitation—evils that to this day it has

not been possible to eliminate— confidently hoping to attain peace based on justice.

95. The word "peace" has a close affinity to every human soul. It is no wonder therefore that this sound echoes in this hall every single day, and from the lips of everyone. True as that may be, we are none the less faced with a grave threat to world peace, as a result of the war raging in Viet-Nam. There is no doubt that the alarming extent to which the Viet-Nameese war has spread is a natural result of the escalation of military operations, the incessant attacks and ever-greater air raids over North Viet-Nam. The victims of such aggression are none other than the Viet-Nameese people themselves. They have courageously and heroically fought since the Second World War for their liberation and independence. Today the same people are the victims of untold miseries and heavy loss of life among all the inhabitants. The irreparable destruction proceeds, sparing no installations, and even arable lands are not immune. Such a situation should not be passed over in silence by this world community, or be condoned by it.

96. The continuation of the military operation, and the escalation of its extent, constitute an alarming threat, offering the highest probability of its becoming more widespread. The dark shadows it has already cast envelop the international community, and have indeed added new complications which could jeopardize efforts being made to achieve world peace.

97. While we therefore call for the cessation of air raids over North Viet-Nam, without conditions or reservations, our motive derives from our belief that this is an essential step conducive to any progress towards the restoration of peace in Viet-Nam. We also believe that the right of self-determination lies with the people of Viet-Nam themselves, free from coercion or foreign interference. In order to accomplish such an objective, it becomes necessary to withdraw all foreign troops from Viet-Nam. Such views are consonant with the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962. The road to peace in Viet-Nam, therefore, requires the execution and honouring of those Agreements, whose terms will also assure for the Viet-Nameese people the attainment of their national aspirations: the building of their homeland in freedom, without foreign intervention.

98. We further believe that the securing of peace in Viet-Nam cannot be conclusive if full acknowledgement is not accorded to the existing reality of the National Front for the Liberation of South Viet-Nam as a liberation movement. This liberation organization is the main party to the existing conflict.

99. In this context, I wish to beg leave to express to the Secretary-General a deserved tribute for the numerous efforts and endeavours sincerely undertaken by him in the search for a solution to the Viet-Nameese problem.

100. The United Arab Republic has examined with keen interest the Secretary-General's statement issued on 1 September 1966 [A/6400]. We certainly believe that this statement expressed his honest and sincere opinion. We also, on the other hand, appreciate in the fullest sense his appraisal of the present international crisis, but nevertheless continue to cherish the hope that there may arise the circumstances that would enable him to continue his invaluable services to this international Organization.

101. Colonialism in the world today still constitutes a real threat to peace and security. It is indeed a flagrant challenge to the sublime values of human struggle for freedom and independence. It is also alarming to see such a consortium among the forces of colonialism, racism, and reaction—centred in various parts of Africa and the Middle East—aiming at imposing and maintaining their illegal presence, and seeking with the threat of military force to suppress legitimate national movements. These forces have made it clear that they will not obey, or abide by, or willingly agree to accept existing realities. As we are, unfortunately, compelled to face up to that connivance, the only course left open to us is that of open confrontation, sustained by our unwavering determination and augmented efforts to deter that international colonial consortium.

102. The illegal Governments in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia form a united front in support of Portuguese colonialism. Their basic objective is the extension of colonization and apartheid. They all concur in the practice of oppression and exploitation. Such a situation must, therefore, have our careful consideration, in view of the obvious facts. Our approach with regard to this evil alliance should be guided by the awareness of our collective international duties, obligations and responsibilities.

103. It is indeed regrettable to see that since the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia declared its unilateral independence, the British Government has seen fit to follow a policy of procrastination aiming at gaining time, with the main objective of foiling the honourable struggle of the Southern Rhodesians against that régime.

104. Faced with this situation, we at this session of the General Assembly have the grave responsibility of ensuring respect for and implementation of our resolutions on Rhodesia. We owe the fulfilment of this duty to the great, struggling people of Zimbabwe, to the principles of freedom and self-determination, and indeed to the very values inherent in the United Nations.

105. The colonial regime in Rhodesia is but one expression of the colonialism widespread throughout Africa. The overt defiance of the colonialists, and of the apartheid régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, as well as of the Portuguese colonies, renders meaningless the guiding axioms of our morality and, no less, of our civilization. This deplorable situation, clear to all of us, gathers dangerous momentum as the result of the pursuit of the policy of conciliation followed by some great Powers in their dealings with the illegal and unrepresentative authorities in such territories. We realize, with full clarity and absolute frankness, that the refusal of some great Powers to participate in collective international efforts to unseat the illegal Governments in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, is tantamount to lending support to the forces of racial discrimination and colonialism in Africa.

106. I should like, at this juncture, to refer to the present episode of struggle by the people of South West Africa against colonialism and the illegal rule imposed upon them by the apartheid-ridden policies of the Government of South Africa. We feel more than certain that the negative position recently adopted by the International Court of Justice will not in the slightest sense affect the struggle of

the African people of South West Africa in their relentless effort to regain the sovereignty and independence of their country. The General Assembly, until it discharges it effectively and positively, will continue to bear the responsibility of enabling the people of South West Africa to secure their freedom and independence.

107. The alliance that exists today between the forces of colonialism and racism and which operates openly in broad daylight, is no different from the alliance that afflicts the people of Palestine in our part of the world. The methods and practices employed by the colonizers in both South Africa and Rhodesia—the infiltration and smuggling in of foreigners and the assuring of their safety and well-being—are at the expense of the indigenous population. It is these methods that have been applied also, to the minutest detail, against the Arab people of Palestine. In both instances the colonial Powers and racists undertook the training and arming, with every device of aggression, of the alien infiltrators. This was intended for no other purpose than to deny the original inhabitants and rightful owners of the country their sovereign rights in their own homeland and to keep them from access to its sources of wealth. As a parallel to the United Kingdom's act of treachery in abandoning its responsibility as the mandatory Power in South West Africa, the same treachery was committed against the people of Palestine. They, too, were subjected to the aggression of colonial and racist warmongers. In both cases the United Kingdom played the main role in the drama. The struggle and strife that the people of the world are witnessing today is but a repetition of what happened, and of what continues to happen, to the people of Palestine. The struggle of the people of Palestine, under the leadership and direction of the Palestine Liberation Organization, is a noble effort worthy of the full support and endorsement of all peace-loving nations desirous of seeing peace established with justice. With this in mind, we call on all peace-loving nations to give their support to the Palestine Liberation Organization so that it may continue its struggle against colonialism.

108. British imperialism sees fit to refuse to use force against the illegal Government of Ian Smith in Southern Rhodesia, in glaring contrast to its constant exercise of intimidation and repression against the national leaders in Oman and other colonies in Southern Arabia, who are fighting heroically for independence and the right to self-determination. The United Kingdom Government is under a well-defined responsibility to the United Nations to carry out all United Nations resolutions pertaining to Aden in their entirety, with no conditions or reservations. The resolutions I refer to are no subject for compromise or negotiation. It is our conviction that a willing disposition on the part of the United Kingdom, in co-operation with the United Nations, to grant Aden and South Arabian Protectorates their right to self-determination, sincerely and in straightforward manner, will save this region from further turmoil and disturbance.

109. In this context, I should like to refer to the ceaseless acts of armed aggression committed by the United Kingdom against Oman. We may have reason to believe, now that the Oman problem has been referred to the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to

Colonial Countries and Peoples, that that Committee will assume its full authority and responsibility in dealing with that situation. The rule by a fabricated constitution and the legally vulnerable treaties and agreements are mere pretexts for the undesired presence of the United Kingdom in the Arabian Gulf. Such a situation can, to say the least, hardly be accepted by the United Nations.

110. The armament race, now exceeding all limits, poses a grave threat to international peace and security. It is therefore a matter of urgent necessity to seek an agreement for general and complete disarmament under effective international control. This is indeed a pressing problem which faces the international community today. The United Arab Republic, for its part, cannot but express the hope that all countries will spare no effort toward accomplishing this desired objective. The United Arab Republic feels that the partial test-ban treaty should go beyond its present limitations and include a ban on underground atomic tests. The United Arab Republic fully realizes the inescapable dangers that may accrue from the spread of nuclear armaments. We deem it necessary, therefore, to call for an agreement, within the shortest possible time, prohibiting the spread of nuclear weapons and using as guidelines the principles adopted by the United Nations General Assembly during its last session [see resolution 2028 (XX)]. These principles were based on the consideration of precluding even a remote possibility of the spread of nuclear weapons, whether transmitted by a nuclear Power to a non-nuclear Power, or through military alliances or any other means, and of maintaining an effective balance between the nuclear and non-nuclear Powers, defining the obligations and responsibilities of each.

111. The United Arab Republic views with high regard the ceaseless efforts undertaken by the United Nations towards co-ordinating international efforts for the use of outer space solely for peaceful purposes. Our appreciation derives from the sincere efforts already under way for framing an international treaty that would govern the exploration and use of outer space and its planets, such as the moon or other celestial bodies.

112. The universality of the United Nations has become an imperative fact nowadays. To accomplish such an objective, it is undoubtedly necessary therefore that the People's Republic of China should regain its legitimate rights without further procrastination or debate. All Member nations of the United Nations present here during this session bear the responsibility to redress the present position, which contradicts all legalities as well as realities.

113. Raising the standard of living of the people of the developing countries continues to pose a problem and a challenge to the present generation. All the efforts geared for development and investment are the yardstick by which we can measure the extent of success or failure of individual or international collective efforts aimed at achieving human progress. The United Arab Republic has learned from its contemporary history and the trials and experiments it is going through that to achieve development and industrialization is the prime responsibility of the Government. We therefore realize with profound conviction that unless national efforts are harnessed for the exploita-

tion of our national resources, foreign help cannot bring about the desired results.

114. With full awareness of such realities, and from realistic and fair observance of the facts, we have discovered that developing countries, generally speaking, have emerged from devastating and wearying circumstances with exhausted and undermined resources; yet they are faced with economic and administrative structures which must be adjusted in order to exploit their national resources. On the other hand, the developing countries, although they have attained political freedom, still find themselves today in the shadow of economic and financial difficulties, with little power at their command to effect any adjustment or change, as for example where the raw materials they produce—in many instances the main support of their national economy—are still under the control of an international monopoly. The high interest rates imposed on loans and facilities extended by the highly developed countries to the developing countries weigh heavily on the latter's economy at a critical stage in their development. Many loud and resounding voices have been raised lately, pointing out the dangers of such burdensome and unfair practices. Since the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development has already produced recommendations for overcoming such difficulties, we greatly hope that the second one will bring about the implementation of those recommendations.

115. There can be no doubt that the promotion of increased trade between the developing and the developed countries benefits both. The appeals by the developing countries to the developed ones to double their financial assistance indicate changes in their international trade policies and express a desire for a fair deal. It is certainly all the more welcome that such assistance should be free of conditions or political obligations.

116. I have tried to convey in my statement before this body a picture of the international situation as viewed by the United Arab Republic. There is indeed no doubt that the holding of such an open general discussion every year in this General Assembly affords a unique opportunity for the crystallization of the world situation and the intractable problems facing us. From these informative discussions we should, in an analytical and factual spirit, be able to formulate appraisals and define the courses of action open to us, so that we may be better endowed to face the problems confronting the world today.

117. We sincerely believe that the attainment of world peace requires that all nations and their leaders work with resolution and honesty to emancipate humanity from the shackles of colonialism and misery, to eliminate racial discrimination and its bigotry, to prevent the usurpation of others' homelands and the uprooting of the indigenous owners; we must all work for the cessation of interference, coercion and suppression, and, last but not least, for the abolition of the use of force. We must strive for strengthened solidarity between the advanced and the developing countries for the sake of yet another great freedom—economic freedom—in order to elevate the standard of living of every human being.

118. International relations at their present stage impose obligations and responsibilities on great and small Powers alike. They are tied together by the intrinsic desire to safeguard their human heritage and to advance human progress. In this age of the conquest of the atom and outer space in which we now live, the principle of working in co-operation with one another represents a method without which we cannot solve human problems. Such a method, by its very nature, demands the goodwill and effective contributions of all Members of our international community.

*The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.*