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

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (continued)

1. Mr. CHERKAOUI (Morocco) (translated from French):<sup>1/</sup> It is a great honour and at the same time a formidable duty for me to state the views of the Royal Government of Morocco at this highly important session, in the debate which my predecessors at this rostrum have begun and in which they have particularly and rightly expressed their concern for the destiny of mankind. The problems of peace, prosperity, the equitable distribution of wealth and the fight against poverty, disease and ignorance have been mentioned by a succession of distinguished speakers at this rostrum. Some of us, perhaps even many, have been overcome by feelings of helplessness before the dangers of war and poverty. They think that our common action, whatever echo it may find in the spirits and hearts of men of goodwill and however great a number of nations may join in support of it, has had but little effect on the course of events, which are decided at a level that is becoming increasingly inaccessible to us.

2. Should we then rebel? Should we then be discouraged? Should we give up the struggle? Let it be remembered that barely ten years ago many of us were not yet independent and that the struggle for decolonization begun at the end of the Second World War could not assume its full scope and bear fruit until only a few years ago.

3. Let us remember also that about ten years ago the conception of under-development was being analysed and studied by only a few experts. A long

period of study, observation and reflection was necessary before the under-development of the third world began to be defined in its tragic meaning and hideous form and finally to impose itself on the world's conscience as a stain which it is incumbent upon all of us to try to erase.

4. Certainly, we are only at the formulation stage; the real struggle against under-development has not yet started, but the problem has nevertheless been raised: it has been pointed out to mankind and to the conscience of the great nations. We think that we have come some way towards preparing the phase of the conception and formulation of programmes capable of helping us to reach the goal of wealth and well-being. That is a positive step, which enables us to take up an active role, to fight consciously and effectively against the material and moral inadequacies that weigh heavily on nations.

5. There is accordingly a considerable process of reflection and action to go through. One might say that this process makes for the rapid accumulation of a certain number of moral principles, progressively improving both in quality and in quantity, in the consciences of nations and peoples. By believing in these principles and practising them, individually or nationally, we are making progress towards the light, towards tranquillity, towards a greater awareness of our responsibilities. It is thanks to this great House, the United Nations, that these principles have in large measure been affirmed. We have no other alternative but to continue the struggle in this direction; we have no other alternative but to arm ourselves with patience, determination and fervour in order to impose rules of conduct which have as their paramount object the preservation of the human race and its protection from any catastrophe lurking behind the accumulation of those formidable means of destruction, whether conventional or thermonuclear.

6. The cohesion, solidarity and determination of the overwhelming majority of nations not possessing those means of destruction, if better organized, could to some extent help to assuage our fears.

7. Far be it from me to consider those nations which possess unlimited means of destruction as being inspired by bellicose and aggressive intent; but it is worth remembering that inherent in the possession of unlimited power are reflexes which can, in certain cases, lead the possessor away from reality. Those infinitely powerful nations need, more than any other nations, great self-control in order to bridle their passions and avoid endangering the fate of the human race by their conduct.

8. It is urgent, concomitantly with raising the level of mankind's conscience and affirming the great

<sup>1/</sup> Mr. Cherkaoui spoke in Arabic. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

principles of peaceful coexistence, that the United Nations should possess, besides this moral arsenal, practical means for making the application of these moral principles effective. We can hardly make progress unless these means are put at the disposal of the United Nations. The choice between the management of international affairs by the great Powers and the universality of the authority of the United Nations is daily becoming more imperative. We, for our part, are for strengthening the authority of the United Nations. We want to see the United Nations able to play its part as arbiter in the great international conflicts, but as an arbiter possessing the necessary ways and means of carrying out its verdicts.

9. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, to whom I should like to express the high esteem and regard of my Government, has expressed better than anyone mankind's imperative need to see the United Nations take a leading role in safeguarding world peace. We understand the soul-searching that has faced U Thant. We have also made our appreciation of the great difficulties that would certainly arise if our distinguished Secretary-General were indeed to leave us. We venture to hope that new developments will allow the Secretary-General to have at his disposal the necessary means to influence the course of events and direct them towards peace and also to find a justification for a new decision on his part, one which would put him in a position to remain, with his same high authority, his great integrity and sharp sense of fairness and justice, at the head of our Organization's Secretariat.

10. At present the drama which is arousing the gravest concern to mankind is that of the military operations taking place at this time in South-East Asia. We should not like to believe that the fighting there, in itself a veritable tragedy, contains the seeds of a general conflagration. More than ever we feel that the destiny of the world is one and the international tension, in whichever geographical area it occurs, concerns the entire planet.

11. My Government, anxious to see the Organization represent all nations, has for several years consistently voted in favour of admitting the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. If this position is based on a concern for equity, it is intended also to be realistic. For if the representatives of the People's Republic of China were seated among us, they would be better able to hear our concerted voices calling for peace and a solution of the war in Viet-Nam.

12. Peace in Viet-Nam, although it depends to a certain extent on the will of Hanoi, of the National Liberation Front and of Saigon, depends also on that of the People's Republic of China, the greatest nation in Asia, which has a special interest in everything that happens in that part of the world. We have noted with some relief that the great majority of speakers, particularly those who have much influence on events in Indochina, remain faithful to the 1954 Geneva Agreements. Those agreements, because of the principles laid down in them, remain a valuable framework for assuring the foundations of peace in Viet-Nam. But first, in order that the Geneva Agreements can be of positive value, the fighting must stop. We ardently hope that the parties involved will as quickly as

possible find the hoped-for compromise, so that the bombing, the foreign intervention and the infiltration of troops may come to an end.

13. We believe that a meeting-ground does exist and that the time is already ripe for the desired compromise, particularly as all parties to the conflict admit that a solution by force of arms is neither possible nor desirable. Peace will be greatly facilitated if, on the one hand, the fundamental principles contained in the Geneva Agreements—self-determination and non-interference in the internal affairs of States—and, on the other hand, the maintenance of the provisions concerning the fixing of the demarcation line on the 17th Parallel, are scrupulously observed by all the parties concerned.

14. During this session several peace plans have been put forward. They all have much in common. Their motives are noble, for their object is a return to peace. We should like to believe that all the voices which have been heard in this Hall will at last find a favourable response from those directly or indirectly involved in this conflict.

15. The problem of under-development, which has for many years rightly held the attention both of experts and of Governments, has been authoritatively considered here by the representatives at this Assembly. It is indeed comforting to note that, if the international community wants to set in motion the economic development of the third world, the problems involved are better than they were in the past. The industrialized countries, like the developing countries, are in agreement on the causes and extent of the economic lag and on the disastrous political and social consequences of prolonged under-development. They are agreed also on the means and procedure for the first phase—stopping this economic decline—and for the second phase—concrete action to start the difficult climb towards development. But what is the present situation?

16. The vast majority of the world's people continues to enjoy only a meagre annual income, in the region of \$100 per head.

17. The developing countries produce only a limited number of primary commodities; the world market prices of those commodities are undergoing a steady decline.

18. A third fact, as little encouraging as the first two, is that the rate of population growth in the third world remains tragically high.

19. Similarly, the debt of the developing countries to the developed countries is constantly growing, entailing increasingly heavy obligations which dangerously jeopardize our countries' balance of payments.

20. Lastly, the food balance in the developing countries, particularly in the case of cereals, is increasingly precarious. In certain geographical regions the spectre of famine already threatens, nullifying all the efforts and energy expended in establishing a coherent development programme.

21. It is because the human conscience is now largely informed and seriously alerted to these structural

inadequacies that it was decided to launch a United Nations Development Decade, starting in 1961.

22. With a view to undertaking very large-scale action, the United Nations decided to mobilize all its machinery and institutions. It asked the specialized agencies to make an intensive effort in support of the Development Decade. It decided also, in order to meet its continually increasing responsibilities in the field of development, to create the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [resolution 1995 (XIX)].

23. Five years have passed since the hopeful beginning of the United Nations Development Decade. At the end of those five years the results recorded in the admirable report of the Secretary-General<sup>2/</sup> cannot inspire optimism. The targets set for this Decade included the following two. First, a minimum annual growth rate of 5 per cent was to be imposed on the economies of the developing countries. Unfortunately, it has been found that the growth rate, which reached a maximum of about 4 per cent, has for a year been declining. Secondly, in order to sustain that growth rate of 5 per cent, it was considered necessary that, in addition to the efforts of the developing countries themselves, the economies of the developing countries have to receive a sizable support in the form of credits from the developed countries. This aid was to run at the rate of 1 per cent of the national income of the industrialized countries. We note that in 1964 the rate was hardly more than 0.66 per cent, although there was admittedly a slight improvement in 1965, when a rate of 0.69 per cent was reached. As can be seen, the target is still a long way off.

24. Such are the disappointing results which, translated into facts, mean that a large and daily increasing part of mankind continues to suffer the terrible anxiety born of the precariousness of its material and moral lot. Yet this great part of mankind has made a considerable effort for itself, to understand its situation better, to appreciate its potentialities better and to determine its shortcomings and weaknesses in order to make better use of its resources and remedy its imperfections.

25. It has prepared better structures for the reception and utilization of the aid necessary to its development. In Africa and elsewhere regional economic organizations have taken shape. Many countries, by dint of great efforts, have put their financial situation on a healthy basis and devised new approaches to development, adapted to their material and technical capacities. Such is the case of my country.

26. But the hope for appropriate external aid, both in capital and in technical assistance, has been only partially satisfied. It is depressing for us to recall that many rich nations have been won over by the selfish ideology known as Cartierism.

27. What remedy should we advocate to correct this grave shortcoming on the part of the rich countries? What moral or material pressure should we exert in order to secure a better distribution of the world's wealth?

28. My Government sees no way out except in a still stronger affirmation of the authority and power of the United Nations. We shall never tire of repeating that a real budgetary contribution, related to the capabilities and means of the rich countries, must be made to the United Nations, which will manage these funds with a view to bringing more active, decisive and substantial aid to the poorer countries.

29. It is Utopian or unrealistic to think that one day reason, solidarity and fraternity among men will take some of the barrenness and selfishness out of international relations and impart to them a sincere enthusiasm for better co-operation in the service of mankind?

30. Within the framework of the work of decolonization in Africa I should like to mention some problems of close concern to my country, which, ten years after its accession to independence, still has a vast amount of territory in contention with Spain. Part of that contested territory is under consideration by this Organization. The question of Ifni, of Segua El Hamra and of Río de Oro has in fact been examined by the Fourth Committee and by the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Various resolutions, particularly that of 16 October 1964 adopted by the Special Committee<sup>3/</sup> and the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 16 December 1965 [resolution 2072 (XX)] called upon the administering Power to free those Territories from colonial domination and to enter into negotiations on the problems of sovereignty they presented. We should like to take this opportunity of paying a tribute to the action taken by the various United Nations organs that have been dealing with the painful tragedy of these Territories still under colonial domination.

31. While affirming the common destiny of those regions and my own country, a destiny forged during long centuries of common national life interrupted by the Spanish occupation, while recalling also that those Territories have race, language and religion in common with Morocco, not to speak of geographical unity, the Moroccan Government has constantly acted in co-operation with the United Nations in respecting the principles of the Charter in order to ensure, above all, the decolonization of those Territories and their restoration to their inhabitants. If the Spanish Government has just agreed to act within the framework of the United Nations in promising to prepare those Territories for the exercise of free self-determination, it is our duty to inform the Assembly of the action taken by the Madrid Government, both in regard to the policy of settlement and installation of military bases and in regard to the constitutional and administrative integration of those Territories with Spain, an action which in practice is aimed at maintaining those African Territories under the de facto domination of Spain—and for traditional colonialist reasons, namely, the maintenance of military bases and the exploitation of the mineral wealth recently discovered in those areas.

<sup>2/</sup> The United Nations Development Decade at Mid-Point: An Appraisal by the Secretary-General (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 65.I.26).

<sup>3/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 8 (Part I), document A/5800/Rev.1, chap. IX, para. 112.

32. Vitally interested as we are in the status of these Territories, for the reasons already explained, we are warning the Assembly, in order that the policy of deliberately organized mass settlement of a Spanish population in these areas may be rapidly brought to an end. Similarly, it is urgent that Spain should cease developing its military installations there.

33. If Spain really wishes to implement the policy set forth in its letter of 8 September 1966<sup>4/</sup> addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee on Decolonization, it should act in such a way that the apprehension felt by Africa at the implementation of Spanish people and sizable military forces—rendering illusory the application of the principle of self-determination—may be dispelled.

34. My Government, which advocates immediate independence, does not reject the application of this principle; but it is anxious that all the necessary guarantees be provided in order to ensure the sincere expression of the principle, in conformity with the real aspirations of the peoples in these Territories.

35. It is therefore time to prepare for the operation of self-determination, if the Assembly so decides, with the necessary care, precautions, prudence and vigilance to ensure authenticity and sincerity. My Government proposes that, before there is any consultation with a view to the application of self-determination, the following measures be taken: first, the withdrawal of all Spanish military forces from these Territories; secondly, the maintenance on these Territories of such police forces as the United Nations deems necessary to ensure public order; thirdly, the withdrawal of the Spanish administration from these Territories; fourthly, the free repatriation of refugees from these Territories.

36. Once these preliminary conditions have been fulfilled, the referendum can be organized either directly under the authority of the United Nations, or under the joint supervision of the Moroccan and Spanish authorities acting in collaboration. Spain and Morocco would be able to co-operate in a work of peace and friendship. As our Ambassador, the Permanent Representative to the United Nations, stated at Addis Ababa on 7 June 1966 before the Special Committee on Decolonization, my Government would have preferred, instead of this procedure of self-determination, that the independence of these Territories be proclaimed directly. Accession to independence, the final result expected from self-determination, would have spared the Organization a number of operations, complicated in themselves, which will delay achievement of the objective assigned to decolonization by the Charter of the United Nations.

37. We should make it clear that, in our view, it should be a question of genuine independence, which will put the future of these Territories into the hands of their own nationals who, in their wisdom and restored to full freedom, will be able to decide their destiny.

38. My country, which during the closing years of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth, was the object of imperialist covetousness and finally

succumbed in 1912 to French and Spanish domination, waged a fierce struggle to recover its liberty. Although it acceded to independence in 1956, many portions of its territory remained, unhappily, outside the exercise of its national sovereignty.

39. We firmly believe that, within the framework of the principles underlying the Charter of the United Nations and by employing peaceful methods of negotiation and persuasion, with the help of the international conscience and strong in our inalienable rights, we shall recover our territorial integrity and so wipe out the injustice of which we are at present the victims.

40. It has become customary to come here every year and repeat the litany of Palestine before you. Through the concerted action of colonialism and Zionism, an entire people has at a stroke been deprived of its fatherland, its possessions and its dignity. This is an injustice unparalleled in the recent history of mankind. We shall not cease to support and uphold the just cause of the Arab people of Palestine. This support is not only the expression of Arab solidarity and brotherhood; it draws its true and deep justification equally from the refusal to submit to injustice or to accept aggression and spoliation. More than a million Palestinian Arabs are today deprived of their homes and of territorial support. Their lot is tragic; their moral and material sufferings are infinite. While we should, all of us, be relieving that suffering, while we should be assuaging the pain of that exile, which we hope will be very short, we see a trend towards reducing the assistance given by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees. What are we to think of this trend?

41. Think of it what we may, this trend is unacceptable; it seems to express the will of certain countries to bury the problem of Palestine and the claims of the Palestinian Arabs, as well as those of the Arab nations. Moreover, such an attitude is likely further to accentuate tension in the Middle East and to increase—as if that were needed!—the disturbing factors threatening peace in that sensitive area of the world.

42. Certain parts of the African continent, particularly Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, Rhodesia and South West Africa are still under colonial domination, still subject to racial discrimination in its most hideous form—apartheid. The maintenance of this expression of a certain form, which we had thought outmoded, of relations among nations—that of domination, the rule of force and violence—still persists as a challenge to our conscience and our reason. The last verdict of the International Court of Justice on South West Africa<sup>5/</sup> filled us with bitterness. Our disappointment is equalled only by our refusal to admit the justification of that verdict.

43. We are certain that the Assembly, conscious of its responsibilities towards the peoples under foreign domination, will undertake the process of decolonization for South West Africa by solemnly reaffirming the international status of South West Africa and by working to take away from South Africa a mission

<sup>4/</sup> Document A/AC.109/202.

<sup>5/</sup> South West Africa, Second Phase, Judgement, I.C.J. Reports 1966, p. 6.



of which it has proved itself altogether unworthy. That would be the starting point for a process which would prepare this Territory for national sovereignty under the direction and responsibility of the United Nations.

44. In another part of our continent, Rhodesia, Ian Smith continues in outlawry, imposing his dictatorship, outside all legality, on 4 million Africans. The United Kingdom, having assumed the administration of that Territory before the international community, should not permit a minority of Whites, drunk with racism and hate, to turn authority and the direction of affairs to its own profit. There has been talk of economic sanctions in Rhodesia; there is still such talk. It is mere justification to salve the conscience and the Assembly cannot accept it. We are waiting for the United Kingdom to assume all its responsibilities before the international community. Whatever happens, Africa will not tolerate all these humiliations. It will find within itself the necessary energy to root out the last vestiges of colonialism from its soil.

45. In conclusion, Mr. President, I should like to convey to you the very sincere congratulations of my Government on the high distinction conferred upon you. This high distinction is a fitting crown for your great humanitarian and patriotic qualities. For many years you have put those qualities at the service of the United Nations. We know that you will continue, in your present high post, to serve the international community with courage and success.

46. Permit me also to pay a tribute to the great qualities of your predecessor, Mr. Amintore Fanfani, who acquitted himself of his task with nobility and intelligence. We take this opportunity of repeating to him the expression of our esteem and high consideration.

47. This year our Organization is the richer by the admission of a new Member, Guyana. On behalf of my Government I welcome Guyana and I am sure that it will make its full contribution to the common task.

48. We rejoice also at the accession of Botswana and Lesotho to independence and we wish them good luck now that they are recovering freedom and independence, particularly as they have very dangerous neighbours. We hope that the United Nations, because of those neighbours, will, if the need arise, give these young nations assistance and protection.

49. Mr. PICCIONI (Italy) (translated from French):<sup>6/</sup> In the final phase of this debate, in which some sixty-six speakers have preceded me, it is now possible to make a preliminary appraisal of what has been said so far. In substance, we have heard two opposing points of view: that of the pessimists and that of the optimists. The former put the emphasis on a long list of undeniably negative facts, such as the dangerous intensification of the conflict in Viet-Nam, the failure of efforts to give the United Nations a completely universal character, the absence of new agreements on disarmament and the lack of agreement on certain fundamental problems facing the Organization, such as the functioning of peace-keeping operations and

the elimination of the final deficit. These facts lead the pessimists to gloomy forecasts of future developments, both in regard to the possibilities of preserving peace and, in particular, in regard to the future of the United Nations. The optimists, on the other hand, are inclined to think that settlement of the differences I have mentioned is not far off; they believe that, despite the absence of formal agreement, the Geneva negotiations on disarmament have narrowed the gap between certain points of view, thus making possible the conclusion of an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in the near future; they also see prospects for the conclusion of a treaty on the peaceful uses of outer space; they place great hopes in the declarations of goodwill uttered by the parties concerned and count on the ultimate victory of common sense.

50. Before these two diametrically opposed points of view, experience and prudence counsel that we choose a middle course. Admittedly, it is true that the international situation as a whole is overcast; but some broad rays of light shine through. In recent months, for example, the sanguinary conflict between Indonesia and Malaysia has been brought to an end.

51. At the same time, Europe has seen a remarkable intensification of contacts between the Western and Eastern European Powers. These contacts, as witnessed, among other things, by President Johnson's most recent statements, have led to a certain rapprochement which gives promise of encouraging developments. How can one be entirely pessimistic in the light of these events?

52. In order that I also may contribute to the speedy conclusion of the general debate, I do not intend to speak at length on all the questions on our agenda and I propose to confine myself to some comments on a small number of particularly important matters, reserving my remarks on other items for the Committees. I shall start with the Viet-Nam conflict, which is not in fact on the Assembly's agenda, but which has been rightly mentioned by all those who have preceded me.

53. I should like to emphasize that all Italy fervently wants the Viet-Nam conflict to end and that the Government of my country, within the limits of its possibilities, intends to continue doing its best to help bring that about. On this point the views of all sectors of public opinion in Italy coincide. This state of mind is shown by the fact that the Rome Parliament has debated the problem of Viet-Nam perhaps more often than any other parliament in the world. Moreover, I cannot but note that all the speakers who have preceded me at this rostrum have, without exception, also spoken in favour of the cessation of the war in Viet-Nam. This encouraging unanimity could, at first sight, suggest that it will not be difficult to restore peace. On reflection, unfortunately, things look different.

54. In the first place, many of those who want an end to the conflict explicitly or tacitly add a condition: the victory of one side over the other. The restoration of peace must be sought for its own sake, in the general interest of all and in the particular interest of the peoples concerned. In this connexion the most in-

<sup>6/</sup> Mr. Piccioni spoke in Italian. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

interesting point in Mr. Goldberg's statements on Vietnam [1412th meeting] seems to me to be his assurance that the United States is not seeking a military solution to the conflict, but a political solution. Moreover, he has set out the position of the United States on the three essential questions—the bombings, the withdrawal of foreign troops from the country and the participation in peace negotiations—in terms which are not essentially very different from the proposals or ideas advanced by world figures whose impartiality and objectivity in this matter cannot be doubted. No careful observer could therefore deny that the necessary basis for starting negotiations already exists. It is no longer a question of prerequisites for negotiations; the problem is to find a common political will to negotiate. Here we enter into the complicated field of psychological reactions and counter-reactions.

55. I should like, however, to say a few words on a key factor under which the whole situation may be subsumed: I mean mistrust. For there is dreadful and widespread mistrust. This, I repeat, is not surprising, if we remember that we are up against a bloody conflict, accompanied by the mourning, the misery and the havoc that we all deplore. How can this distrust be overcome? Everything shows that it can be overcome only by putting to the test the sincerity of publicly adopted attitudes which are considered by the other party as mere tricks of propaganda. Experience, however, shows that, if people are to know what to believe, suitable exchanges of view are necessary. Only after such exchange can the first step towards agreement be taken and perhaps be made public immediately afterwards. As things stand at present, however, at least so far as the United Nations is concerned, we are still at the stage of public declarations which, more than anything else, nourish sterile polemics. If we really want to advance in the right direction, we shall have to think of something new in order to destroy the barrier of mistrust.

56. Lastly, there is a marked uncertainty about the objectives pursued by the parties, even in regard to the future, after the present conflict has been settled. Here again a positive result can be achieved only through new and appropriate procedures.

57. Another question which has given rise to a vicious circle, from which we have not yet managed to break out, is that of the universality of the United Nations. In this matter the Italian delegation still believes that certain considerations it put forward last year remain valid.

58. If the requirement of the Organization's universality is to be met, with full respect by States for the principles of the Charter, the United Nations must be coextensive with the entire international community and every Member must fulfil the obligations laid down in the Charter. In this connexion the Italian delegation warmly welcomes the return of Indonesia to the Organization; not only has the United Nations thus been able to welcome back a State of more than 100 million inhabitants, but it has also seen the end of a secession movement which could have caused grave concern about the Organization's future.

59. At this moment, however, universality would mean the admission of States which are still absent.

We are not unaware that this question teems with practical difficulties.

60. In the first place, we are all well aware of the extreme divergences of attitude in regard to the representation of China in the United Nations. So long as this conflict of views persists and so long as the methods hitherto adopted are continued, not only will it be difficult to find a solution, but there will also be a danger of prolonging sterile polemics. Peking's attitude to the great problems of disarmament and the peaceful solution of the grave present conflicts is unquestionably not helping to overcome the serious objections of those who dispute the existence of favourable conditions for an immediate solution of the problem.

61. In view of the considerations I have mentioned, one may ask certain constructive questions.

62. I would first ask those who, seeing only one side of the question, underestimate its gravity. I would ask them whether they have yet done anything, and whether they could not do more, to induce Peking to take an attitude which would cease to arouse the present mistrust.

63. A second question could be addressed to everyone in general and especially to those who, faced with the grave difficulties engendered by this problem, believe that today no solution is really feasible. We might ask ourselves whether it would not be worthwhile, using appropriate procedures and instruments, if necessary new ones, to make an objective study, within the United Nations and with the greatest discretion, of all elements of the problem, including its difficulties, and of the conditions, means and stages by which it could be resolved, while fully respecting the principles of the United Nations.

64. Reflection on these two questions might help towards a movement from different points of view, which would bring us all closer to a rational solution without creating new problems.

65. Turning now to the problems of disarmament, I want first of all to confirm once again the Italian Government's firm intention of actively encouraging any honest and fair agreement in this field, for we consider an agreement essential for the preservation and strengthening of peace. The long-term objective is still the one set by the United Nations: namely, general and complete disarmament. Nevertheless, as the recommendations of the General Assembly show, the conclusion of partial agreements on disarmament, which would reduce the most immediate dangers and rapidly improve mutual trust, is becoming an ever more urgent necessity and the most practical way of advancing step by step towards general disarmament and promoting the economic and social progress of all peoples.

66. The Eighteen-Nation Committee in Geneva, of which Italy is a member, has followed these guide lines by studying two problems particularly thoroughly this year—the ban on underground testing and the question of non-proliferation—the solution of which is a prerequisite for any progress towards disarmament.

67. Unfortunately, the Eighteen-Nation Committee has not yet succeeded in working out draft treaties on these matters for submission to the Assembly. The Italian delegation, which has made every possible effort in Geneva, cannot but express its heartfelt regret at the continuing difficulties, but considers that the efforts should be maintained and intensified and that advantage should be taken of the limited but not insignificant results already achieved.

68. We have, in fact, the impression that, at least as far as non-proliferation is concerned, the Geneva proceedings have revealed the existence of certain not unimportant spheres of agreement; for this reason Italy thought it opportune to submit a memorandum<sup>7/</sup> annexed to the report of the Eighteen-Nation Committee, with a view to clarifying the features common to the two draft treaties on non-proliferation. We think it would be useful to consolidate these bases of agreement by drawing up some articles of the treaty forthwith, so as to define the remaining obstacles and make it easier to remove them. The Italian delegation hopes that the Assembly will regard this approach, which is not only valuable from a procedural point of view but also has a definite political significance, as constructive and worth recommending to the negotiators in Geneva.

69. We are, of course, aware that a divergence of opinion still exists in regard to the conception of "nuclear weapons control". The Western view on this matter is that if the decision to use nuclear weapons remains in the hands of the present nuclear countries, there can be no proliferation, in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the General Assembly's recommendations themselves.

70. The Italian delegation hopes that a final and complete solution to the problem of non-proliferation can be found in the near future and that was why it immediately and gladly endorsed the Soviet draft resolution [A/C.1/L.368/Rev.1 and Add.1-6] on banning any measure which might put further obstacles in the way of agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. If however, the conclusion of a formal treaty on this subject is to be further delayed, we think it advisable to remind the Assembly of the possible interim solution which we envisaged last year. As you know, this was contained in the Italian proposal<sup>8/</sup> for a temporary and supervised nuclear moratorium to be achieved by means of unilateral declarations renouncing the acquisition of nuclear weapons. Our idea, which was favourably and appreciatively received by the Assembly at its last session, could, if necessary, be redrafted and brought up to date so as to take into account the comments made on it by all delegations.

71. In our opinion special attention must be given to the requirements expressed by the non-aligned countries in the course of the debate, within the framework of a renunciation of nuclear weapons on their part, and set out in the Memorandum submitted by those countries in Geneva.<sup>9/</sup> In particular, we fully

understand their desire for security guarantees and we share their view on this matter.

72. I am sure that the Assembly will likewise try to give the closest attention to all the other problems discussed in Geneva, above all to that of the banning of underground tests and the United States' proposals for freezing stocks of nuclear weapons. In regard to the first point, a great many new ideas and interesting proposals which could facilitate agreement on the invariably controversial question of international inspection were put forward at the Geneva negotiations. In regard to the United States proposals for a freezing of stocks, the Italian delegation is convinced that to stop production of fissile material for military purposes and of offensive and defensive nuclear strategic devices would open up wide possibilities for an effective halt to the arms race in the most important and dangerous sectors. In our opinion the Assembly cannot escape the duty of devoting particular attention to this question.

73. In regard to collateral measures, moreover, the offer made by President Johnson on 8 October for a balanced reduction of the forces in Germany could open the way to agreements of some kind, which would unquestionably contribute towards further reducing international tension.

74. The Eighteen-Nation Committee, even if it has not managed to conclude any agreement, has nevertheless achieved a solid result in providing us with the elements of further progress; and that is one of the reasons why, at the beginning of my statement today, I did not feel that I ought to side with the extreme pessimists. The Geneva Conference, if it has not yet succeeded in overcoming the negative factors outside its control, has nevertheless served to keep actively in being a dialogue which is essential for peace. The fact that the Western representatives and those of the Eastern bloc have continued to work in an atmosphere of cordiality and co-operation and the very fact that the common will for disarmament and a relaxation of tension has been reaffirmed in Geneva—these facts are of appreciable and concrete political significance. It therefore seems obvious to us that these Geneva contacts must be actively pursued and developed.

75. One of the problems most closely bound up with that of disarmament is without doubt the problem of European security. During the last twelve months, while there has admittedly been no appreciable progress towards European political unification, the European Economic Community has entered upon a phase of consolidation, in which the chief obstacles in its path could be overcome. At the same time, as I said earlier, there have been many exchanges of political, economic and cultural views among representatives of the Western European Governments and those of the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, and Italy has taken a very active part in them.

76. These meetings and exchanges of views have given both sides an opportunity of getting to know each other's positions better and even, in certain cases, reducing the distance between these positions. There is certainly still a long way to go, but we have the encouraging feeling that we are now on the right road

<sup>7/</sup> Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1966, DC/228, annex 1, section Q.

<sup>8/</sup> Ibid., Supplement for January-December 1965, DC/227, annex 1, section D.

<sup>9/</sup> Ibid., Supplement for 1966, DC/228, annex 1, section P.

and this is what matters most. President Johnson's statements of 7 October 1966 appear as a first confirmation of that feeling.

77. Against this new background, the question of European security appears in a more hopeful light and that obliges us to redouble our efforts to find, all of us together, a meeting ground. I would add that this understanding should obviously make it possible also satisfactorily to solve the problem of German reunification, without which it will be impossible to regard the situation in Europe as finally stabilized.

78. In thinking about intercontinental relations, I am led to the problems of Latin America, in which Italy's interest is not dictated by political calculation, but derives from our common human, cultural and religious origins with the people of that region. Moreover, political contacts between members of the Italian Government and those of the Latin American Governments have been particularly frequent in 1966 and this alone shows both our interest in Latin America and our sincere and fraternal friendship for that region. During the last twelve months Italy and all the Latin American Governments have succeeded in bringing to fruition the plan of establishing an Institute for Latin America in Rome. The Institute will not only help to strengthen the ties between Europe and Latin America, but will also facilitate the study and solution of important regional problems which are already under consideration and which can be solved only by concerted effort.

79. Before concluding this part of my statement, which concerns the various continents, I should like to say a word about Africa. The position of the Italian delegation on the problem of South West Africa is already known from the statement made by Mr. Vinci in the debate on that question [1431st meeting]. I hope the Assembly will give thought to the considerations we have already put forward. I should like, however, to reaffirm at this juncture that our attitude on decolonization is one of complete co-operation. The African countries know this from experience and it is our firm intention to continue on the same course until the final goal is attained. In regard to Rhodesia we hope that the rebellion will quickly end and give way to an appropriate constitutional evolution—based, that is to say, on a formula recognizing the legitimate rights of the majority of the population—and that in consequence the Security Council will not find itself obliged to adopt the drastic measures which the situation would otherwise unavoidably demand. The situation in Rhodesia is particularly disturbing to us, in that it is at root accompanied by an extension of racial discrimination, of that apartheid which we must most vigorously combat until it is totally eradicated.

80. I should like now briefly to set out the Italian delegation's opinion on certain problems concerning the future of the United Nations. I shall start with the financial problem.

81. During the last session our attention was repeatedly drawn to the state of our finances. After twenty years of existence and after a controversy which had been stifled rather than settled, it was inevitable that the United Nations should take stock of its financial position and see if it was not time to

make certain changes in its own administrative and budgetary procedures and those of the specialized agencies, in order to make those procedures more consonant with reality.

82. In that spirit Italy welcomed the decision, adopted at the last session,<sup>10/</sup> to set up a Committee of Experts on this subject. No organization can function effectively if its finances are not in order and if it does not make proper use of the resources put at its disposal. That this was the general opinion of Member States was shown by the unanimous approval given to the proposal to set up the Committee of Experts.

83. The principles I have just mentioned dictated our approach in participating in the work of the Committee of Fourteen.<sup>11/</sup> We were glad to find that the representative of Italy, whose election to the Chair showed the confidence placed in him by his colleagues, was assisted in his task by their solid support and co-operation, the results of which are reflected in the final report. The Committee did excellent work and its conclusions offer us a firm basis on which to rest our hopes for the future.

84. In its first report [A/6289 and Add.1 and 2] the Committee of Fourteen furnished us with detailed information on the financial situation of the United Nations. In its report of 19 July [A/6343] it made recommendations for the best possible use of the available resources.

85. In discharging the double task laid upon us, Italy has tried, first, to find meeting points for differing points of view and, secondly, to seek, not so much economies as the most economical ways of using the means available.

86. The human, financial and material resources at the disposal of the United Nations and its family of organizations are indeed slender in relation to the needs of the international community and only by strictly adhering to rules, simplifying procedures and practising economy shall we be able to make these resources most effective in relation to the needs.

87. This threefold slogan—"strictness, simplification, economy"—will therefore guide the Italian delegation at this session and we are confident that the Assembly itself will endorse this by adopting the conclusions of the Committee of Fourteen.

88. Above all, however, we hope that, in the light of the facts that emerge from the Committee's first report, Member States which have not yet paid the voluntary contributions necessary to put the Organization's finances on a sound basis will delay no longer in responding to the appeal addressed to them from all sides.

89. In expressing this hope my delegation unreservedly associates itself with the renewed appeal of the Secretary-General who, in his statement of 1 September and in the Introduction to this Annual Report [A/6301/Add.1], both of which show a justified concern for restoring the Organization's solvency

<sup>10/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes, agenda item 7b, document A/6152, para. 1.

<sup>11/</sup> Ad Hoc Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies.



and enabling it to cope with its important present and future tasks, was led to take a pessimistic view. We earnestly hope that the reasons for his pessimism will disappear.

90. Even though there may be only a partial link between the financial problem and peace-keeping, it would be illusory to imagine that one can be solved independently of the other. We are, therefore, not surprised to find that the financial deadlock is accompanied by a standstill in regard to defining the principles of peace-keeping.

91. There had indeed been a hope that the Committee of Thirty-Three<sup>12/</sup> would be able to submit concrete proposals to the Assembly—as was requested in resolution 2053 (XX)—and that the guidelines for United Nations action in this field, which is the most important, indeed vital for the Organization, could thus be laid down.

92. We have to note with regret that, despite the patient and constructive efforts of the Chairman of the Committee and his immediate assistants, this has not been possible. Consequently, the Committee's task now devolves upon the Assembly, which must therefore be ready to tackle it directly and in its substance, without allowing itself to be disheartened by the difficulties and complications which prevented the Committee of Thirty-Three from making rapid progress and achieving a more positive result.

93. At this point the Assembly must show both imagination and a most acute sense of reality, for we have to explore every possibility of urgently providing the Organization with the machinery which will enable it, both institutionally and financially, to carry out its statutory functions in the matter of peace and security. Italy, for its part, undertakes, as in the past, to contribute constructively towards this end.

94. My country is proceeding on the assumption that in providing the Organization with the possibility and means of intervention we shall be guaranteeing not only the security of Member States which lack the material means of guaranteeing their own security—and these are the majority—but also their real independence and freedom. We therefore hope that certain States will be willing to make their positions of principle less rigid and to put aside considerations of doctrine or prestige, thus facilitating the realization of the ideals of peace and international co-operation; for if these ideals are to transcend nationalism and ideology, they must be common to all members of the international community. If we follow the path pointed out to us in an unforgettable message delivered to us in this very Hall on 4 October 1965 [1347th meeting] we may be sure of moving towards a period of peace and world progress.

95. It is the duty of the United Nations not only to defend peace, but also to build it. But there can be no solid foundation on which to build until the international community has first wiped out the scourges of poverty, disease and ignorance. The United Nations is putting 85 per cent of its human and material resources to building an enlightened and well-balanced international community. All through the year the

halls of the United Nations and its specialized agencies resound with debates on economic and social questions. Yet, if we were to take stock of all these efforts and initiatives, we should not yet find cause for rejoicing.

96. The flow of capital to developing countries, their terms of trade and their economic growth rate have not yet reached the target level. If forecasts were to be based solely on extrapolation of present data, they would give a similar picture.

97. In regard to the problems of economic development, however, it must be said that the international community has achieved progress in the realm of ideas and theory. We no longer regard these problems as the responsibility of some countries alone, but of the international community as a whole. For moral, as well as social and economic reasons, both the industrialized and the developing countries have a direct interest in their solution.

98. The transition from theory to practice is admittedly difficult and laborious; but it is none the less true that a decisive stage has been reached. It is now the job of the international organizations to transform ideas into action. We are therefore confident that all the United Nations agencies, particularly those which have been recently established, such as the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), those which are the result of reorganization, like the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), or those which are still in process of formation, like the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), will make a decisive contribution to this task.

99. Mr. Tončić-Sorinj, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Austria, speaking in the general debate [1430th meeting], reported to the Assembly on the exploratory talks which took place between Italy and Austria, in pursuance of resolutions 1497 (XV) of 31 October 1960 and 1661 (XVI) of 28 November 1961, concerning the status of the German-speaking inhabitants of the Province of Bolzano and the application and interpretation of the Paris Agreement of 5 September 1946.

100. I should like now, for my part, to confirm that the outcome of these talks was promising. When the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the two countries met in Paris in December 1964, it seemed that we were near to finding a way of settling this international dispute; but the Vienna Government, in its communication of 30 March 1965, did not appear to appreciate that possibility.

101. Italy agreed to the subsequent meetings in order to open the way to new possibilities. Unfortunately, we have recently witnessed a violent recrudescence of terrorist activity which has aroused strong and justifiable indignation in my country, obviously with unfavourable repercussions.

102. The Austrian Government has formally condemned these acts of terrorism and I take note of the recent statements on this subject made by Mr. Tončić in this Assembly. As we notified Vienna on 6 October 1966, we expect these statements to be accompanied by appropriate steps to prevent acts which could damage our mutual relations, the satisfactory mainte-

<sup>12/</sup> Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

nance of which is the essential purpose of paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 1497 (XV) of 31 October 1960.

103. After hearing the statements made by Mr. Tončić I am, of course, confident that the Austrian Government will respond to this appeal by agreeing to assist in removing the serious obstacle which terrorism places in the path of friendly relations between Italy and Austria and to conform to the United Nations resolutions to which attention has repeatedly been drawn.

*Mr. Owanga (Gabon), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

104. Before concluding I should like to record my satisfaction at the decision of the Secretary-General to remain in office until the end of the present session and also at the assurance he has given us that he will take into consideration the Security Council's appeal to him. In that appeal, with which all of us here in this Assembly certainly associate ourselves, the Security Council has not only recognized the great qualities which the Secretary-General has shown during his term of office, not least on the occasion of his visit to the Council of Europe and in the memorable address which he delivered there on 2 May 1966, but has also expressed its fears concerning the effect that a change of Secretary-General at the present juncture might have on the future of the United Nations. It is just because we sympathize with many of the reasons given by U Thant in his statements and in his reports [A/2400] that we believe the present crisis can be overcome only through a common effort, in which it would be extremely desirable that we should have the assistance of a man like the Secretary-General, who is thoroughly acquainted with the causes of the crisis from which we are trying to extricate ourselves.

105. In concluding my statement I should like to give one last assurance: namely, that in the action undertaken to strengthen peace and achieve the purposes of the United Nations Charter the Italian delegation will exert itself to the utmost and intends to be second to none.

106. Mr. Patrick SOLOMON (Trinidad and Tobago): It is clear to my delegation, as it must be to all other delegations, that relationships among nations are becoming more, and not less, complex. If there ever was a time when simple answers could be given to international questions, that time is certainly not now. I am not thinking only of the rapid development in technology and science, of the fact that men are planning to land on the moon, that ballistic missiles can traverse the earth in the space of minutes and that instantaneous communication is possible between all points on the globe. I am thinking also of the fact that, in the last decade, a large number of new States have come upon the world scene, and that they often have ideas and purposes which are fundamentally different from those of older, established countries. They have traditions and backgrounds vastly different from those of Western civilization and they have a cultural heritage which, though often suppressed in the past, has nevertheless defied destruction and today plays an important part in their approach to world problems no less than to domestic issues.

107. In my delegation's opinion, the conflict between East and West ideologically is not now as profound as the clash of ideas and intentions which has been developing over the past ten years between the newly liberated countries and the older States. Moreover, the inevitable difficulties created by this clash are increased because of a tendency on the part of the older States, particularly those which have exerted alien rule over overseas Territories, to believe that by and large the new countries should follow in their footsteps, and should adopt their traditional ideas and patterns of behaviour, forgetting—or at least ignoring—the fact that their footsteps have not always led in the direction of peace and goodwill and that their traditional patterns of behaviour have not always enhanced the dignity of the human person.

108. It is important, therefore, that in this United Nations which is the common meeting ground of cultures ancient and modern, of countries new and old, this meeting ground of peoples of all ethnic origins, we must begin not only to recognize, but to accept, that the United Nations is no longer what it was twenty years ago, and that if it is to survive it must change to meet the changing times. Failure to do this would mean to abandon all hope of ever solving many of the more difficult problems that trouble the world today.

109. Let us consider some of the more important of these problems, most of which have already been adequately dealt with by other speakers but which none the less can bear repetition. For the sake of emphasis may I group these problems under two headings: economic and political.

110. The economic problems are the result of the imbalance between the rich and poor countries, the developed and developing countries, the highly industrialized countries and the countries which are mainly primary producers.

111. It is well known that this is one of the greatest sources of discontent in the world today. This is what makes of developing countries fertile ground for the growth of unrest and revolution, for destructive violence rather than constructive planning and development. And unless we want to perpetuate conditions where the rich get richer, while the poor get poorer, then the United Nations must both stimulate and encourage bilateral and multilateral agreements which could provide an equitable system of world trade between those who give and those who receive; those who buy and those who sell; those who manufacture industrial goods and those who are primary producers.

112. If I may be permitted to draw attention to the situation which exists in my own country of Trinidad and Tobago and indeed in the whole Caribbean area, I would point out that our history has forced us into a sugar economy against our will, that our local agricultural and socio-economic conditions makes us high cost producers; that consequently we cannot compete in the open market with countries like Cuba; that any attempt at full scale mechanization will reduce but slightly the cost of production while increasing tremendously unemployment in the sugar industry. Already our unemployment figures, despite our efforts at industrialization, amount to 14 per cent of our

labour force. Any significant increase in this figure is bound to create additional problems greater than the benefits of reduced production costs.

113. And that is why we in Trinidad and Tobago, and the whole former British Caribbean, welcomed the opportunity afforded us by the Government of Canada to revise the Canada-West Indies Agreement and why we hailed with satisfaction the offer to provide us with a quota in the Canadian market for our West Indian sugar at an economic price. In this, Canada has merely lived up to her reputation as the best and most disinterested friend we have ever had, over a long period of years.

114. The United Nations has recognized that a sound social and economic basis is a necessary concomitant, if not in fact an essential prerequisite, of the exercise of meaningful political independence. Countries in the process of strengthening their political independence therefore attach paramount importance to the work of the United Nations in the social and economic fields. The designation of the 1960s as the Development Decade was therefore, for developing countries, a significant recognition by the international community of the priority to be accorded to the achievement by all peoples of the basic conditions which promise them lives of useful employment and widening horizons.

115. I do not propose to repeat the doleful statistics from which many speakers before me have drawn the inescapable conclusion that it is only the developed countries themselves that show significant signs of growth; the gap between developing countries and developed countries has widened alarmingly; no single country, hovering on the brink, has been enabled to take the great leap forward to the proud status of a developed country; the flow of resources from the developed to the developing countries has diminished while the rapid flow between the rich countries themselves has frozen them into the posture of spectators at a tennis match, fascinated by this interplay and unwilling to divert their attention to the field of international assistance.

116. I think it would be more constructive for me to concentrate on the reasons for this depressing lack of progress towards the universally endorsed development goals. The central problem, as we see it, is the high cost of financing assistance. The cumulative effect of stringent conditions and high interest rates is such that many countries today find themselves in the unhappy situation where the burden of debt prohibits them from seeking the further capital essential to the achievement of their rational development. The highest priority must therefore be accorded as follows: firstly, finding means to ease the crippling burden of debt which countries have been forced to accumulate in their search for essential capital; secondly, the development of international sources of financial assistance which can be granted on terms realistically related to the special conditions existing in developing countries—this assistance should include the extension of the activities of international bodies into the field of supplementary financing and direct investment—and, thirdly, the recognition and acceptance of the principle that the normal commercial rates of interest prevailing in the countries which are the main sources of development capital are inapplicable, and in fact, self-

defeating, in the very different context of granting assistance to developing countries.

117. While considering new initiatives in the field of financial assistance, we think it imperative that we should increase our efforts to secure the maximum benefit at reasonable cost from the existing programmes and activities of all the branches of the United Nations family operating in the fields of economic and social development.

118. Despite the very welcome improvements recently brought about or envisaged as a result of the work of the Economic and Social Council and the Committee of Fourteen, it is still not yet possible for Governments to obtain a clear and comprehensive picture of the assistance at present available to them together with the procedures, criteria and actual costs involved in receiving such assistance. This essential information is obscured by the ramifications and complex interrelationships of the numerous United Nations bodies operating in the social and economic fields. It has proved impossible for Governments consistently to co-ordinate their representations between the various international forums and it has too often been the case that duplicating or even conflicting programmes have been authorized. The loss of effectiveness as a result of such dispersal of effort and the burden which structural complexity has placed on the administration and resources of developing countries has yet to be accurately measured.

119. It is because of our concern with improving the effectiveness of the activities of the United Nations family in the vital area of economic and social development that last year in association with the Government of Malta, Trinidad and Tobago took the initiative of placing on the agenda of the General Assembly the item entitled:

"General review of the programmes and activities in the economic, social, technical co-operation and related fields of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, the International Atomic Energy Agency, the United Nations Children's Fund and all other institutions and agencies related to the United Nations system."<sup>13/</sup>

120. But it is trade which, in the long run, is the only acceptable source of development capital. Additional trade earnings can come from only two sources: intensification of agriculture and existing industries, or diversification of the economy through a programme of industrial development. Before any programme can be undertaken that is not doomed to failure from the outset, the very pertinent question of the availability of outlets for this increased production must be answered.

121. Trinidad and Tobago considers that the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD] has been invaluable in isolating and identifying the problems in world trade and in suggesting and formulating the minimum measures that will enable developing countries to share equitably in the growing prosperity of the world.

<sup>13/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes, agenda item 100, document A/5965.

122. The interval between the first and second meetings of UNCTAD has afforded sufficient time for the adjustment in national policies to accommodate the implementation of those minimum measures. We have noted with interest signs that at least some countries are beginning to realize the urgency of the problems. We urge that the time remaining be fully utilized for the finalization of the concrete and meaningful measures that will meet the legitimate aspirations of the majority of the world's population.

123. Specifically in the field of industrial development, the need for consolidated and comprehensive assistance to developing countries has become increasingly apparent, and this is why the Government of Trinidad and Tobago welcomes the establishment of the United Nations Organization for Industrial Development [UNOID]. We attach particular importance to the work of UNOID and would wish to see the organization fully operative at the earliest possible time. In Trinidad and Tobago 14 per cent of the labour force is unemployed, fully literate, urban-oriented and adaptable to industrial activity. The necessary infra-structure for industrial development is already in existence, and a beginning has been made on the establishment of light and medium industries. The country is accessible, and has well-developed means of communication with all parts of the world; its small size introduces at an early stage the questions of export-orientation and external markets.

124. These factors make Trinidad and Tobago the almost classic case of a country which is forced to undertake rapid and diversified industrial development in order to survive, and where a well-directed programme of industrialization would have a good chance of success. In Trinidad and Tobago, therefore, UNOID would be confronted in a concentrated form with both the problems and the possibilities which it must constantly consider if it is to find effective solutions to the problems of industrializing the under-developed world.

125. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago would welcome the establishment of the permanent headquarters of UNOID in Trinidad and Tobago, if it would be of benefit to that organization to be in close proximity to the problems of industrialization and the efforts to solve them, while remaining within easy access of industrialized centres and most of the developing world.

126. In the political sphere several issues have been engaging the attention of the United Nations over a number of years, and in many of them we seem no nearer solution than when they first arose. The problem of the People's Republic of China, for example, remains a cause of perennial argument with no satisfactory conclusion, largely because no Member State here present can be satisfied to have one quarter of the human race outside the United Nations family—700 million people—treated like pariahs and outcasts, developing hostilities and animosities which do no good to the cause of peace, and actively preparing to gain possession of those terrible instruments of destruction which could finally eliminate the human race entirely. Whatever the political creed to which they subscribe, whatever may be the state of their internal domestic affairs, the revolution

in mainland China is a fait accompli, and the Peking Government is in effective control of a vast area of land with a population of 700 million. If the principle of universality of the United Nations is accepted, then no barrier should be placed by the present membership to the admission of the People's Republic of China.

127. But universality cannot overrule self-determination. If Peking is in effective control of mainland China, the Chiang Kai-shek Government is in equally effective control of the island of Taiwan, with a population of some 12 million people. Those 12 million have as much right as the people of mainland China to determine their own future, and no accommodation of Peking in the United Nations can be at the expense of the rights of Taiwan.

128. As regards the argument that the Peking Government's behaviour in its international relations has often been in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, we do indeed regret this and regret as well the hostile posture which the Peking Government has adopted towards this Organization itself. Nevertheless, these considerations do not, in our opinion, constitute a sufficiently sound reason for by-passing the objective of universality. After all, an Assembly which has not sought to expel South Africa can hardly use the provisions of the Charter to exclude any other country.

129. Most of the aspects of the political situation have been comprehensively and adequately dealt with by representatives who have spoken before me. Few, however, have considered the question of the Caribbean, and in particular, the eastern Caribbean, which is of immediate concern to us as near neighbours and, we hope, political allies.

130. The new constitutional arrangements entered into between the United Kingdom and the Leeward and Windward Islands are a novel experiment in association. Since we believe in the principle of self-determination, I shall be content at this stage to say no more than that, if these several constitutions have been freely accepted by the peoples of the territories concerned, then they also must be acceptable to us. But if there should be any evidence that the population has been forced against its will to accept constitutional provisions repugnant to its nature and inimical to its interests, then we shall have no hesitation in joining with it in registering as effectively as possible our protests. The other point I desire to make in this connexion is that these new constitutional arrangements must in no way preclude the possibility of closer co-operation between the various units of the Caribbean—between those which are independent and those which have still to gain independence. According to these new constitutional arrangements, Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom reserves to itself responsibility for the external affairs of those territories; and this includes trade agreements and political associations.

131. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago has always been strongly in favour of Caribbean regional economic co-operation, and we would hope that Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom would allow to the Governments of the Leeward and Wind-



ward Islands the maximum freedom of negotiation for the purpose of achieving Caribbean economic co-operation as and when they desire it.

132. We have not lost our interest in Latin America, the Organization of American States, in the Central American Common Market, or in the Latin American Free Trade Area. Caribbean regional economic co-operation, we believe, does not preclude the possibility of a wider and more beneficial trade association with the countries of Latin America, and we would welcome the progress made to date by the countries of the Latin American free trade area will be achieved. That where, like the Central American market, a complete liberalization of trade in the free-trade area and a common external tariff will soon become operative. Trinidad and Tobago are keenly interested in such an arrangement and to that end, my Government is earnestly proceeding with its study of the problem involved in entering the Organization of American States.

133. We note with considerable satisfaction the ending of the conflict between Malaysia and Indonesia and we are happy to welcome Indonesia once more into the family of nations.

134. The United States excursion into the Dominican Republic which was the subject of considerable controversy has happily ended, and we look forward to a period of peaceful progress under democratic rule in that formerly troubled country.

135. Like all other delegations, the delegation of Trinidad and Tobago learned with great regret of the decision of the Secretary-General, U Thant, to relinquish his office at the end of the current term. We are deeply grateful that he has agreed to stay on at least until the end of the present session and we still hope that he can be persuaded to continue for an even longer period the invaluable work which he has been performing in the cause of world peace and in which he has received so little help from those who are best able to provide it.

136. The problems involved in Viet-Nam are varied and deep-seated. Nevertheless, it would be a poor way of demonstrating our appreciation of the high qualities of our Secretary-General, and in particular of his integrity and single-minded devotion to duty, if we believed that we could persuade him to change his mind without ourselves showing any evidence of a change of heart or without making any concrete new moves in the direction of securing peace. Several suggestions have been offered from this rostrum, calculated to encourage the combatants to settle their differences around the conference table. As yet there is no clear indication that any of the proposals offered so far will receive a positive response from Hanoi. It may be that the final gesture is needed to tip the scales. Here I ask the question: would it in any way damage the Americans' cause if they undertook to have an unconditional pause in the bombing of North Viet-Nam in the hope that this further evidence of good will would convince Hanoi of their firm desire for an honourable peace? It may be much to ask, but I am consoled by the thought of the ancient proverb which says: "The tree that is laden with fruit always bends".

137. The Secretary-General has told us that certain major dangers threaten the United Nations and the world itself. With a humility which must elicit the admiration of all of us, he has confessed that, having done all that he can, he has none the less failed and he now prefers to step aside and allow someone else to try. My delegation hopes that this Assembly, in its turn, will rise to the level of conduct represented by such simple but very impressive dignity.

138. My delegation has yet to make its contribution to the debate on South West Africa, and on that occasion I shall deal more comprehensively both with South Africa and with South West Africa. Suffice it to say at this stage that the situation in South Africa continues to provide a crude illustration of the gulf that so often separates protestations of good faith and the action necessary to implement them. Indeed South Africa is a constant reminder of the central weakness of the United Nations, of its inability to enforce its collective will, when the national interests of a few powerful States may seem, in consequence, to be adversely affected, even though the adverse effect might well be short-lived and the long-term benefits incalculably great. Further, does anyone in this Assembly really believe that a substantial African majority in South Africa will for ever submit to the ruthless oppression which is now its lot? Is it possible for common sense to cling to the hope that the southern part of the African continent will for ever escape the wave of violence which is even now threatening to erupt?

139. In that connexion, it appears to us reckless to the point of blind abandon that there should be a readiness even now to stand aside and allow the Smith rebellion in Southern Rhodesia to run a successful course. The British Government has maintained all along that Southern Rhodesia is its own particular domestic problem. Under pressure from other Commonwealth countries, tentative efforts have been made to impose voluntary sanctions and other ineffective measures against the rebel régime. The result to date has been a ghastly failure. It has now been proposed that a final chance should be given to Ian Smith, failing acceptance of which the Security Council will be approached for the imposition of limited selective mandatory sanctions against that country. Let me emphasize that that decision does not represent the collective will of the Commonwealth but merely the best that could be extracted from Her Majesty's Government, despite the fact that the majority of Commonwealth members are pressing for sterner action, even to the use of force. We sympathize with the position of Prime Minister Wilson and his Government but, in the same way as he maintains that Southern Rhodesia is his responsibility, so too do we disclaim any responsibility for the dilemma in which he finds himself. The careless neglect of Southern Rhodesia over the past forty years under the guise of internal self-government has resulted in ruthless exploitation of the black Africans and the denial of their human rights to a degree second only to that which obtains in South Africa. At the present moment Southern Rhodesia is run like a police State, and black African prisoners incarcerated without trial have been literally tortured to death. I wonder how long the world's conscience will tolerate this

continued inhumanity by one section of the human race against another. Those who talk hopefully of the effect of limited mandatory sanctions know in their hearts that the chances of success are only slightly better than in the case of voluntary sanctions. Yet, because the United Kingdom claims that it is its responsibility and that it cannot be forced, in the words of Mr. George Brown, "into hasty and partisan solutions", those of us who are outraged by these gross injustices, being unable ourselves to take the necessary military action to bring the rebels to their knees, must of necessity support whatever action, however limited, Her Majesty's Government can be persuaded to take, knowing quite well that even if this Assembly advocated stronger action we face the inevitable British veto in the Security Council. We are not happy; we await the outcome with acute anxiety and with such patience as we can muster in a situation which grows more intolerable every day.

140. Our interest in the peace-keeping capability of the United Nations subordinates all other considerations. Few countries today possess the means of defending themselves against all comers, and, even more to the point, each outbreak of violence between nations contains the potential of ultimate nuclear conflagration. We have followed with close attention the attempt of the Special Committee of Thirty-three to resolve differences of opinion as to how the Organization can best pursue its peace-keeping operations. It is a matter of considerable regret to my delegation that no consensus has been reached and no specific proposals agreed to for strengthening this central United Nations function.

141. Perhaps the wise course for the moment would be to accept a pause in the attempt to resolve these differences of opinion. The Committee of Thirty-three was born of a crisis that threatened the existence of our Organization, a crisis in which tempers were greatly strained and in which the arguments on all sides were largely based on interpretations of the meanings of certain clauses in the Charter. Echoes of the crisis no doubt have haunted meetings of the Committee of Thirty-three. Thus, it may well be that a fresh start, after a pause and from a different point of departure, will be more likely to yield the fruitful results which we all seek.

142. My delegation for its part would make one general observation only at this stage. We fully understand the reasons why those who drew up the Charter wrote into it the special duties of the Security Council for peace-keeping and we appreciate the realism with which, within the Security Council, the five permanent members were given their central responsibility. On the other hand, as I have already stated, the world around us is changing daily and this Organization must reflect the changes for its own salvation. We therefore wonder whether interpretations of the Charter in respect of the vital function of peace-keeping can with safety always be restricted to an exercise in semantics.

143. We must be honest with ourselves. The Security Council was perhaps the most practical instrument that could have been devised twenty years ago for keeping the peace of the world, but it was not then a democratic instrument and even its recent enlarge-

ment still leaves it far short of full democracy. There is today, however, more democracy around the world than there was twenty years ago. Should not this welcome development be taken into consideration as we think about the future of the United Nations, which is our future and which depends so much on the effective use of its central functions?

144. I make these remarks tentatively, even hesitantly. As representative of a small country my delegation has an abiding interest in the maintenance of peace and we feel that every chance should be taken, however slim, to achieve that most desirable of all objectives, "Peace on Earth, goodwill to all men".

145. Mr. GUIMALI (Central African Republic) (translated from French): On behalf of my Government, headed by His Excellency Colonel Jean Bedel Bokassa, I have the honour of discharging a twofold mission from this rostrum: to bring to the valiant peoples of the Member States and friends, on the one hand, a message of brotherly greeting from the people of the Central African Republic and, on the other hand, my country's sincere wishes for the full well-being and prosperity of all mankind at a time when sombre clouds are darkening the international horizon.

146. Also on behalf of my Government and my delegation, I take particular pleasure in again conveying to you, Mr. President, our great satisfaction at your unanimous election to the Presidency of this session and in once again conveying to you our warmest congratulations. In electing you to the high post of President of the General Assembly the Members of our Organization have not only recognized your incontestable qualities as a diplomat devoted to the cause of the United Nations, but have also paid a well-deserved tribute to your beautiful country of Afghanistan, with its age-old mythology and living poetry.

147. The delegation of the Central African Republic is firmly convinced that your rich experience in the problems of the hour and the proverbial wisdom with which you habitually approach these problems will bring our work to a happy conclusion.

148. Lastly, it is with genuine pleasure that my delegation wishes to associate itself with the heartfelt tribute which marked the departure of your predecessor, Mr. Fanfani, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy. It was thanks to his statesmanlike qualities that we were able without difficulty to get over circumstances which we were justified in regarding as the sequelae of the historic nineteenth session of the General Assembly.

149. During his triumphant foreign tour last July Colonel Bokassa, President of the Central African Republic, addressing the Press, said the following:

"On 1 January 1966 we had at the head of the country a corrupt and dispirited administration and a régime which was no longer more than a caricature of democracy. The State was represented only by a disillusioned President. Moreover, the establishment of an embassy of the People's Republic of China was a factor of subversion which had made it possible for certain leaders to form cells and for a people's army to be created. It was in those circumstances that the army took power.

"What was its aim? To restore order through justice; to restore the people's faith in a better future through work and discipline; and to set an example of a whole people mobilized for the struggle against poverty, on the model of an army fighting to defend the fatherland."

150. The revolution in the Central African Republic, as you know, was born of a crisis of régime; therefore our programme, instead of confining itself to governmental and administrative action, has the primary purpose of establishing a sound régime. For, since we are entrusted with a mandate which will be fulfilled only when we have reconstructed a new republic in our country, we shall do everything possible to promote, when the time comes, a genuinely democratic régime in the Central African Republic. That is why, for the time being, we consider that the Government, the army and the people must be closely united and, free from all political passion, must devote themselves primarily to the urgent task of economic and social recovery.

151. We in the Central African Republic are just as well aware of the importance and complexity as of the usefulness of the work to be done. We know that poverty has always engendered acts of violence and exploitation, whereas the quest for well-being, even relative well-being, on the contrary, is eminently favourable to the emergence of true democracy and a constantly improving way of life.

152. To us, therefore, year 1 of the Central African revolution appears as a year of work, work which elevates him who does it and ennobles the country for which it is done; above all, work in the fields, however hard and unrewarding, especially in our tropical regions. My Government attaches particular importance to this because we are among the most unfortunate countries on account of our distance from the coast. Our products are subject to fluctuating prices, while imported goods and equipment are becoming increasingly dear.

153. The joy of living and working without fear of official exactions—that is what the revolution in the Central African Republic has brought to each of our peasants. My Government indeed desired that the whole people of the Republic should be mobilized as any army fighting for the country's prosperity. For it is a real fight, and the example has been set by Bokassa and his ministers, who go out dressed as for battle to the fields, choosing virgin land and there putting to work all the mechanical facilities at the disposal of the Central African Republic to clear hundreds and hundreds of hectares which are then handed over to the Central African peasants. In addition, by means of radio and the Press, the Government, in the person of Colonel Bokassa, explains the crop time-table, showing the promising prospects for the harvest. It is not presumptuous to contemplate the future with a good deal of optimism with regard to cotton, our country's main crop.

154. I would add that my Government is concerned also with assuring well-being to the people of the forest belt and is doing everything to see that the plantations established there—of coffee for example—are expanded.

155. As a signatory of the International Coffee Agreement concluded in 1964 in order to avoid a collapse of prices, my country has not shirked its obligation of solidarity, so necessary in the market. We have had imposed on us an annual quota of 9,000 tons; this year the quota will be far exceeded, because we are expecting a harvest of 12,000 to 15,000 tons, and in the years to come we hope to reach our production target of 25,000 tons. We hope that in the debates which will take place on the revision and renewal of the International Coffee Agreement, our partners will be keenly aware of the sacrifices which have been and are being made by the Central African Republic in the interests of all coffee producers.

156. My country envisages, in the years to come, a further extension of the numerous and rich resources of our subsoil. The Central African Republic is in fact a producer of diamonds; but our subsoil contains also uranium deposits of international standard, a deposit of 69 per cent iron ore and deposits of copper, tin, gold and rock salt.

157. The first results of studies undertaken in this field are encouraging. After the searches for uranium ore are completed we shall consider the possibility of setting up a processing plant requiring considerable investment.

158. Further, the Central African Republic is engaged particularly in operations for developments in two fields.

159. I refer, first, to the Central African forest belt, which, according to recent calculations of the Tropical Forest Technical Centre, has just been revealed as one of the richest in the world. Great development possibilities due to the nature of the terrain and the high concentration of rare species, are under study.

160. Secondly, in the field of tourism, two large areas have been set aside in the north-east of the country and rented to European companies. From December onwards we shall be able to welcome tourists at reasonable prices. I am convinced that these visits to a country hitherto unknown to world tourism will strengthen the friendship existing between the Central African people and its friends.

161. In May 1967, Bangui, the capital of the Republic, will have an international airport which will place it, for example, within six hours flying time from Paris. The United Nations Development Programme is studying plans for a railway to run across the equatorial forest, linking the banks of the Ubangi to the port of Douala on the Atlantic.

162. We have also formed a mixed-economy company for the operation of our internal airline, which has so far played no part in the development of the country, although in the equatorial regions aviation is the surest and most rapid means of communication and can be used to transport expensive or perishable products.

163. We hope to accomplish this economic work in its entirety and in all its aspects, with the help of all our friends.

164. These are certain aspects of my country's economic situation which are worthy of mention here.

165. I would add that our market is wide open to goods and equipment, but we want it to be understood that our country is not simply a profitable outlet: it is a vast production area, in which fruitful co-operation and a friendly atmosphere must be established.

166. We intend, among other things, completely to restore our entire road and external transport system, on which the success of the economic operations now in progress largely depends.

167. My Government is also pleased with the efforts that have been made in the field of education in all its forms. The fight against ignorance is one of our principal concerns, for ignorance means mistakes, lack of comprehension, prejudice, obsessions—in a word, everything that is detrimental to enlightened and effective co-operation.

168. Not the least of my Government's efforts are directed towards improving existing conditions in the field of health.

169. In short, the domestic policy of the Central African Republic aims at order, which is the surety for peace and security, in work, through which man is ennobled and, above all, in dignity, without which man's life loses its point.

170. Our major and constant concern within the framework of this great domestic undertaking, which—why should we not say it?—has not failed to impress our foreign visitors, finds expression above all in the unshakable will of our Head of State to ensure peace and security for the Central African people, which, to some small extent, is contributing to the stability of international peace and security.

171. Colonel Jean Bedel Bokassa, who is a former French officer, convinced that "force without justice is tyrannical and justice without force is powerless", has, from the very first hour of taking power, built his profession of faith on the exercise of justice enlightened by truth.

172. Our foreign policy, of principal concern to my Government, is that every day we should resolutely expand our horizons beyond our frontiers, consolidate former friendships and create new ones in which our national sovereignty will be respected. Our foreign policy, in a word, is based on objective candour, constructive moderation and dignity.

173. On the specifically African level, both regional and inter-African, we have proclaimed our sincere will to be guided by a constant concern for good neighbourliness, shunning all temptation to intervene in the affairs of our partners, whether they belong to the Central African Economic and Customs Union (UDEAC) and the Common Afro-Malagasy Organization (OCAM), or to the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

174. My Government is a firm supporter of African unity, has proclaimed its will to work actively in that cause and wishes to do all in its power to make a positive contribution thereto.

175. First, at the level of Equatorial Africa as a whole, my country is an active supporter of the Central African Economic and Customs Union, which we see as a progressive and realistic starting point for

African economic unity in the long term, even though it is the only genuine economic union in Africa for the time being.

176. Next, at the inter-African level, at a time when the African continent is trying to find its way, the Common Afro-Malagasy Organization represents, in our view, a signpost, in that linguistic and cultural affinities bind all its member States and can, to some extent, help to overcome and control certain ideological passions, or even, through the genuine cohesion of its member States, protect them from all foreign subversive influences.

177. Lastly, the Organization of African Unity, which in reality constitutes the final stage of the ideal which is dear to us, remains for us the paramount aim and we shall not cease to encourage its progress.

178. On the world scale, the Central African Republic reaffirms its will to choose its friends freely, with scrupulous respect for the principle of non-intervention, and it is anxious to maintain friendly relations with all peace-loving and justice-loving States. In this connexion, we need to co-operate with States which help the third world. One of these, clearly, is France, which, for readily intelligible reasons, has a special place with us. For we believe that a common outlook implies common work and a pooling of the fruits of this work. It is with this particular thought in mind that we are proud of our fraternal relations with France. There is no question here of a relationship between colonizers and the colonized.

179. The Central African Republic, under the wise leadership of the new governmental team presided over by Colonel Jean Bedel Bokassa, has reaffirmed its attachment to the principles contained in the United Nations Charter, which it intends to respect in the spirit and letter, as a full Member. We in the Central African Republic believe that the Organization must surpass itself in its efforts to attain the fundamental objectives which its founders laid down. I mean, first, peace among nations and the peoples composing them; secondly, equality among men, whoever they are, among peoples and, hence, among their respective nations; thirdly, Christian brotherhood, becoming more developed and warmer each day and based upon truth, which, according to a philosopher, means sharing the sufferings of others, bearing another's cross for a moment upon our own shoulders, wiping away a tear, bringing a smile to another's face; fourthly, greater and more positive world solidarity in all fields, in order that humanity may gradually cease to consist of rich and poor countries.

180. In the daily life of mankind nothing, or practically nothing, leads us to think that peace among nations, equality among men, Christian brotherhood and world solidarity are living realities. Man not only continues to exploit his fellow man, but to enslave him as well; worse still—and this is the tragedy—man stubbornly continues, without scruple, to arm himself against his fellow man. It is no secret to anyone that the twenty-first session of the General Assembly is taking place in an international climate which is hardly reassuring.

181. We cannot hide the spectre of perpetual insecurity that haunts all mankind; the end of the world



seems to be at hand. Peace, so very dear to all peoples and all men, seems unstable. Man refuses to disarm; and this leads me to the vital problem of general and complete disarmament.

182. Not satisfied with the disastrous effects of conventional weapons, another weapon has been put into man's hands, under the pretext of developing science and technology: I refer to the atomic weapon, the surest way of destroying the world. The headlong nuclear arms race, the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the pollution of the atmosphere are far from being ended. The Moscow Treaty has not been followed by a further treaty finally putting an end to all nuclear and thermonuclear tests. Behind the reasons of principle invoked to excuse such misdeeds we see mutual distrust, selfishness aggravated because certain advances have been made and, finally, the inexplicable fear of losing prestige in this field. In the opinion of my delegation, it is urgently necessary to stop the dissemination of atomic weapons, to stop nuclear and thermonuclear tests. Moreover, my delegation considers it necessary to denuclearize Africa and proceed without hesitation to general and complete disarmament, with all the control guarantees that such an operation requires. We believe that it is imperative to hold a world conference for this purpose, attended by all the nuclear Powers without exception.

183. The role of the United Nations in this matter must be seen as particularly important. All means must be used to see that the Powers concerned realize the heavy responsibility they are incurring before humanity which, moreover, they are deliberately condemning to famine and poverty. Unimaginable sums are being squandered on a headlong arms race, on pleasure trips to the Moon, when they should be used here on our planet to ensure the well-being of two thirds of the world's population. In this connexion Colonel Jean Bedel Bokassa has said:

"We do not ask for trips to the Moon; we only want our rightful place here on Earth. The great Powers must turn their attention to the problem of Africa's under-development, for it was God's will that all men should be equal and should benefit equally from the good things of the Earth. The great Powers are spending a great deal of money on war, when Africa, a land of peace, needs it so much."

184. It seems to me that we are living in a strange world. Every year the third world gets a little poorer in comparison with the industrialized northern hemisphere and every year, in compensation, the group of industrial Powers attempts to increase the amounts which the various aid mechanisms make available to the under-privileged countries.

185. We cannot refrain from saying that each year we witness scandalous manifestations of the exploitation of man by man. In this respect we have never ceased to denounce the scandal of the widening gap between the prices of primary commodities and those of manufactured goods and we consider that this is one of the essential causes of the persistence of under-development.

186. I should not like what I have just said to give the impression that my country lacks interest in the assistance it receives, or gratitude to those who

give that aid, whether it be bilateral or multilateral. Far from it. This assistance is indispensable while we are awaiting the far-reaching reforms in the trading system for which we are asking.

187. In any case, we firmly hope that in the world as a whole a just solution will bring relief. That is why the Central African Republic, in this connexion, supports and will continue to support, at all meetings at which it may be present, the generous plan proposed to the world by France in 1964<sup>14/</sup> at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

188. Like all new countries with an agricultural economy, like Central African Republic is attempting, as I said a few minutes ago, to industrialize, in order to increase the income of its nationals by providing them with remunerative employment and in order to achieve a stable balance of trade. My country asks only to be helped in this effort and to this end we in the Central African Republic shall welcome all gestures of goodwill.

189. This year, by keeping on its agenda the question of the future of colonial peoples, the United Nations is showing its unshakable will to denounce and destroy the political system of oppression and enslavement of man by man.

190. It is obvious that so long as the evil consequences of colonialism remain, so long as dark spots persist in any part of the African continent, we cannot consider the United Nations to have fully discharged its noble task. That is why we continue to deplore the provocative arrogance of Portugal and the challenge flung at the world conscience by South Africa. We shall not cease to proclaim that so-called Portuguese Africa wants to recover, in fraternal friendship, its full dignity; it wants to be free, independent and sovereign in order to work out its own destiny.

191. It is time to root out the system of apartheid which is gnawing at the southern part of Africa. The Central African Republic makes a solemn appeal to the goodwill of all nations which love peace and justice to bring to a successful conclusion the noble task incumbent upon all of us, great or small: to put an end to all these contradictions. The United Nations needs the full and unconditional support of all its Members.

192. For twenty years a country of about 20 million inhabitants has been throwing down an arrogant and humiliating challenge to an Organization representing 2,000 million people. For years a colony of foreigners installed on part of the African continent has refused to recognize the indigenous inhabitants' right to exist. It has condemned them to isolation and slow but sure death. By a Judgement<sup>15/</sup> unfortunately devoid of any foundation, either juridical or moral, the International Court of Justice, as we have had occasion to state, has just committed one of the most flagrant denials of justice in its history by refusing to hand down a judgement on the substance of the case. That is why

<sup>14/</sup> Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, vol. I, Final Act and Report, p. 177.

<sup>15/</sup> South West Africa, Second Phase, Judgement, I.C.J. Reports 1966, p. 6.

my Government was among the first to proclaim its disappointment and indignation in the face of such a judgement, which, as many delegations have stressed, has disturbed countries which, like mine, of course, believe in the rule of law.

193. Consequently, the delegation of the Central African Republic considers that the present twenty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly ought to put an end to the problem of South West Africa. To this end there is one imperative solution: the simple revocation of the Mandate under which the administration of the Territory of South West Africa was vested in the Republic of South Africa.

194. A solution must also be found for the problem of Southern Rhodesia. The whole world must keep its eyes on the United Kingdom. That country possesses all the means necessary to break the resistance of the minority Government and to prevent the emergence of a new South Africa.

195. The work done by the United Kingdom in the matter of decolonization has been considerable. We have just applauded the accession to national sovereignty of Guyana and Basutoland, following that of many other African States. We believe that the time has come for the United Kingdom to satisfy the legitimate claims of the majority in Southern Rhodesia.

196. We in the Central African Republic think that unless the arms race is promptly ended once and for all it will remain the decisive cause of the outbreak of armed conflicts through which men will believe they can settle various inevitable disputes. We, for our part, think that other, peaceful means must be used to avert disputes of any importance or to stop them in good time. The Central African Republic believes in the virtue of negotiation devoid of all passion and of all verbal or armed violence.

197. It is from this peaceful point of view that my country hopes to see an end to a certain number of conflicts which are disturbing certain parts of the world and seriously threatening international peace and security.

198. There comes to mind first the distressing problem of Viet-Nam. The people of the Central African Republic, moved by the tragedy which is taking place in that part of Asia, appeals to the reason of the belligerents of all sides and solemnly adjures them to do everything in their power to find a negotiated solution to the plight of the Viet-Nameese, who, we ardently hope, will in the final reckoning decide their own destiny. We are in favour of self-determination. The United Nations, in our humble opinion, is empowered to organize negotiations to this end under its own aegis. In this way hostilities would be rapidly ended, for it is highly desirable that peace should reign both in North and in South Viet-Nam. It is hardly conceivable that two brother peoples should live continually in a state of war to the benefit of foreign Powers, because of a question of prestige for one side or the other.

199. If the kind of negotiation we hope for, under United Nations auspices, were to meet with the refusal of one of the parties concerned, the Central African Republic would draw the necessary conclusions. But,

for pity's sake, let thought be given to this before it is too late.

200. Next, in the Middle East, the distressing problem of the Arab refugees remains untouched, despite the determination of the United Nations to settle the matter by peaceful means. We once again insist, with all the vigour at our command, on the virtue of direct dialogue, of negotiation devoid of all political passion between the parties concerned. We do not intend to approve of anything that might directly or indirectly lead to war, cold or hot, localized or generalized. History has eloquently shown how painful the consequences of this can be. We cannot remain insensitive to the legitimate distress of separated families desperately awaiting the reconstruction of their destroyed homes.

201. Such a situation calls for a humane solution. But this cannot really be found without the application of the principle of self-determination. There lies the possible path to reunification, the prelude to a desired political stability.

202. Following the same line of thought, we say that everything must be done to bring about the peaceful reunification both of Germany and of Korea. The United Nations must study all this with goodwill. Its competence and authority in these grave problems must be recognized by all the parties concerned.

203. We in the Central African Republic agree that the United Nations should retain its universal character. But, in our humble opinion, a country must not enter the Organization until it has furnished proof of its will to respect the sacred principle of peaceful coexistence and, above all, the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States. The People's Republic of China does not seem to fulfil these fundamental conditions. The Central African Republic consequently opposes its admission to the United Nations. My country bases its opposition on its own experience and on facts which serve only to discredit this giant, China, which is greedy for hegemony and world subversion.

204. I should now like to address myself to the Secretary-General. I have to convey to him, from the Government of the Central African Republic, a well-deserved message of tribute for his qualities as a courageous, honest and devoted servant. My people and Government in the Central African Republic have always followed with close interest all the efforts made by U Thant. That is why my Government, through our Permanent Representative to the United Nations, strongly urged him, last June, to accept a new term of office in the post he has so admirably filled.

205. He knows that the Central African Republic has always shared his joys. He must therefore know that the Central African Republic cannot remain indifferent to his disappointments. But we beg U Thant nevertheless to understand that any human enterprise entails disappointments. His services are all the more useful to our Organization because a threat of permanent insecurity seems to hover over mankind. That is why the Government of the Central African Republic and its people associate themselves with friendly countries in asking our devoted Secretary-General to make himself once again available in order to watch

at the bedside of the great world family, which has recently been laid low by a temporary, but non the less, serious, illness.

206. I should not like to leave this rostrum without saying a few words on the conditions of work and, in particular, the present structure of the United Nations. To our great satisfaction we have already achieved the enlargement of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. For this reason, in view of the flagrant denial of justice of which the International Court of Justice was guilty last July, my Government considers that the composition of that important body must be enlarged, and without delay.

207. My Government also considers it essential for the pursuit of our work that the use of the French language in the Organization be maintained and developed. In our view this question is closely bound up with the question of increasing the proportion of French-speaking staff in the Secretariat. Any move in favour of the French language must, to be effective, be accompanied by steps towards the linguistic diversification of the Secretariat at all levels, but particularly, we would hope, at the middle or upper levels. It is precisely in this field that the present situation obliges us to note that at the level I have just mentioned the proportion of French-speaking staff is far from commensurate with the number of French-speaking countries at present represented in the United Nations. On this subject the report of the Secretary-General<sup>16/</sup> is particularly illuminating. We certainly appreciate at its true worth the considerable effort already made by the Secretary-General, but we think that this effort can and should be pursued.

208. The Central African Republic is part of the great family of French-speaking countries. But it is not out of sentiment that our delegation associates itself with all the speakers who have raised the problem of developing the use of French in the United Nations. It is rather a question of justice, for it cannot be just that one of the principal working languages should be relegated to second place by comparison with the other.

209. The rapid survey I have just made is not exhaustive. Many other problems at present call for the attention of the United Nations. I would mention among others the questions of Cyprus, of peace-keeping operations and of human rights. The United Nations is once again confronted with an agenda containing numerous items of vital importance for the future of mankind.

210. My delegation is convinced that the General Assembly, at its twenty-first session, as at previous sessions, will discuss these questions with complete objectivity and a proper concern to find acceptable solutions. The Central African Republic expresses its ardent hope that all Member countries, great and small, will school themselves to make it possible for the United Nations effectively to fulfil the difficult mission entrusted to it in the interest of the whole world.

211. Mr. SOLANO LOPEZ (Paraguay) (translated from Spanish): My delegation is very glad that Mr.

Pazhwak of Afghanistan is now occupying the highest office in the General Assembly, and it regards his election as a tribute to his great personal qualities. Furthermore, knowing him as we do after years of friendly relations, we are sure he is the right man to bring our deliberations to a successful conclusion. We also know that, when we come to the end of this session, his name will be added to the list of those who, like his predecessor, Mr. Fanfani, and other illustrious men, have earned our gratitude for the valuable services they have rendered to the cause of international peace and security. With these words, and with a solemn promise of our unconditional co-operation, we welcome his election.

212. Once again, the General Assembly is resuming its work in international circumstances which are overcast with ominous clouds. However regrettable it may be, we are obliged to note that potentially explosive situations remain unresolved in various parts of the world. In the southern part of Africa, the most negative forms of racial discrimination still persist, and the repeated appeals by the United Nations for the abolition of this discrimination are being blatantly ignored. In South-East Asia, the war which is tearing Viet-Nam asunder and reducing it to ashes is increasing in intensity. In various continents there are peoples who, in spite of their own unremitting struggle and our collective efforts, are still waiting for the day when they become masters of their own sovereign destinies.

213. And the developing countries like yours, Mr. President, and like mine, and like the vast majority of countries which belong to this Organization, are still struggling day after day, with stubborn perseverance, to bring nearer the day when our peoples will be able to make a substantial improvement in their standard of living, and to secure justice in the distribution of wealth, which even today a few peoples possess to excess while many peoples have too little. As we survey this discouraging scene, we should at the same time like to try to extract from the repeated postponements of our most cherished aspirations, and from our manifold frustrations, some tonic which will nourish our hopes and give us grounds for optimism.

214. The agenda for this session contains about a hundred items of a diversity and complexity which reflect the urgency of the problems that our countries are facing, both individually and in their collective efforts. I have briefly mentioned only a few of these problems, and merely by way of illustration. When in this General Assembly, or in the various Committees, we come to consider each of these items in detail, our views will differ and will frequently conflict. But that should not discourage us—and of course it does not discourage us. On the contrary, the success of this or of any other session, and also the very fate of our Organization and of its efforts to create the better world which we all desire will depend, in the last analysis, on the confrontation of our ideas and viewpoints, on the presentation in constructive dialogue of the different historical, political and philosophical interests we represent, and on our ability to strike a proper balance between our differing views.

<sup>16/</sup> Document A/C.5/L.842.

215. A task of this magnitude is not easy, nor can we necessarily expect positive results. We are fighting against tremendous difficulties which are due, it seems, to what a famous author has described as the serious imbalance that exists in our era and in our time between the remarkable progress of science and technology—the benefits of which, I might add, are enjoyed only by a few peoples—and the slow legal, political and moral development of mankind, the slow rate of development in this case operating particularly to the disadvantage of the peoples of the developing countries.

216. For these reasons, and in these circumstances, we have an unquestionable right and an inescapable duty to combine our efforts to establish the universal rule of justice without restrictions, to safeguard and defend the dignity of every human being, to apply without restriction the principle of the sovereign equality of States, and to ensure the full enforcement and respect of international law which is continually being developed and brought into line with the realities of the present-day world.

217. I know that I am talking for a small country, and I realize that, because of this, my voice on its own is weak, as are other voices like mine in this hall. But, when weak voices join together, they become an outcry, and an outcry can be heard.

218. In the few States which possess nuclear weapons there is a concentration of terrifying potential destructive power. If one bears in mind that, ever since the day when the flames of the Second World War were extinguished, we have been living under the threat of a third conflagration which would be the final holocaust for the human race, it is easy to see why the problems relating to the proliferation of nuclear weapons must be given undisputed priority. We know, of course, that several other States have the potential resources for manufacturing these weapons, provided that they are ready to make the huge financial and other sacrifices involved and provided, of course, that they are prepared to defer other more urgent aspirations of their peoples. I must say that in this respect I was impressed by the remarks made in this hall a few days ago by Mr. Aiken, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ireland, when he was referring to the possibilities to which I have mentioned, and I quote:

"For their own safety and prosperity and for the peace and prosperity of the world, it would be better if the potential nuclear States firmly made up their minds to seek their security and prestige in improving the lives of their own peoples and those of their poorer neighbours throughout the world and in helping to build up reliable and effective United Nations conciliation and peace-keeping procedures." [1434th meeting, para. 5.]

219. As time is already running out, the voices of reason must speak out more forcefully to safeguard what is the common heritage of the human race. Scarcely a year ago, here before this Assembly [1347th meeting], the purest voice of all rose above our own weak voices and brought us a message of love and peace in the words of the supreme Pontiff, Pope Paul VI—words which shook the conscience of

the world. For our own good, let us bear his message in mind, and above all, let us practise his teachings.

220. With regard to efforts to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the Latin American States, including of course my own country, are at present endeavouring to bring about the denuclearization of the region by means of a treaty. Once this treaty has become a reality, as we expect it will, Latin America will have given an encouraging example of what can be achieved if the collective will is placed in the service of a cause which transcends merely regional frontiers and takes on universal meaning.

221. I said earlier that the war in Viet-Nam is having an effect on this Assembly, which itself reflects the anguish of the world. There are few events which would be welcomed as much as a cessation of this bloody struggle; and the search for formulas to restore peace in the region must be continued unremittingly, even though all previous efforts have been frustrated. In this connexion, scarcely two weeks ago in this very hall [1412th meeting] the United States representative made some proposals which are designed to remove the conflict from the bloody field of battle to the bloodless level of peace negotiations. Since those proposals were put forward, we have heard several comments, many in favour, some against. Of the latter, some were designed to cast doubt on the sincerity of the proposals. We are not satisfied with judgements of this kind, because we believe that the only positive way to discover the true nature of the proposals, which we ourselves regard as sincere, is to put them to the test. Until this happens, and until those who can and should assess the proposals have done so, there is no good reason for describing them in advance as disingenuous.

222. In the slow legal, political and moral development which I mentioned earlier, and in the efforts to accelerate it, the United Nations is playing a constant and major role in establishing legal principles governing international co-existence. Some of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly have already become historic documents. I am thinking, to mention only two examples, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

223. More recently, during the twentieth session of the General Assembly, those important declarations were followed by another. I am referring to General Assembly resolution 2131 (XX)—that is, the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty. My delegation, which is proud to have co-sponsored the draft that the Assembly adopted as a resolution, is happy to note that our agenda includes an item dealing with the status of the implementation of this Declaration. Violations of the principles and norms contained in the Declaration should be the subject of constant consideration by the Assembly; and in this connexion the events of January 1966, which were the subject of a joint submission to the Security Council by the representatives of Latin American States, will certainly be mentioned by us during the debate on this item in the First Committee.



224. I also referred, in my brief review of problems at the beginning of my statement, to the struggles and appeals of the developing peoples for true justice in the distribution of wealth. In the interest of all, our world cannot go on presenting the sorry spectacle of a few peoples enjoying all its wealth while many others—the vast majority—are struggling against poverty and often even against complete destitution. The peoples who are dependent on agricultural economies, the producers of primary commodities and raw materials—those are the ones who are suffering all the adverse effects of the imbalance inherent in an unfair system of trade which must not be allowed to continue. From this very rostrum, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country said two years ago that the result of this system of trade:

"... has been and will continue to be a widening of the gap between the developed and the under-developed countries; and although political colonialism may be on its last legs, the economic colonialism applied to countries with an agricultural economy will remain unless the present conditions for the production and export of agricultural commodities are radically changed" [1297th meeting, para. 122].

The same is true of countries which export other raw materials.

225. I have quoted these comments, which are still relevant to-day, in connexion with the efforts made by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to correct this situation. The results of its efforts have so far been modest, just like the results achieved at the mid-point of the United Nations Development Decade. There will soon be a further opportunity at the Second Conference on Trade and Development, to be held in 1967—a further opportunity for the industrialized countries as a group to pay due regard to our legitimate demands.

226. These States have an inescapable duty to help in securing justice in the distribution of wealth, not merely because right is on our side, but in order to safeguard their own interests in a world which is becoming increasingly interdependent, both economically and socially.

227. Here I should like to thank the representatives of the so-called Group of Seventy-Seven in the Trade and Development Board for their intense and constant efforts on behalf of all members of the Group.

228. With the same sense of appreciation, I should like to say that my country attaches great value to the manifold efforts being made by the United Nations to bring progressive industrialization to our developing countries, and I want to express our gratitude for the positive effects at the national level of UNDP projects and assistance, and for the co-operation displayed by the specialized agencies.

229. My delegation has said more than once, without boasting but also without false modesty, that we consider it an honour—and indeed a credit to our tradition in the United Nations—that in all the years of our Organization's existence, the General Assembly has never had to deal with specific items relating to problems peculiar to my country. The doors are

always open—we know—but so far we have never crossed the threshold. This does not mean that we do not have problems but rather that, in accordance with our own convictions, we first try to find appropriate solutions by direct negotiation. On the other hand, in cases where questions of principle or questions of general interest, are at stake, or where our particular rights and interests coincide with the rights and interests of other Member States, we have never been, and shall never be, found wanting. We have also taken it upon ourselves to keep the General Assembly informed, year after year, about my country's constant progress and advancement.

230. We are participating with sincerity and conviction in the work leading up to the regional integration of the economies of a sizable group of countries which are united in a free trade zone, and in this we are following the line of action that leads from the national to the regional and thence to the universal. Furthermore, inside our own frontiers, we are now working on an additional task with an eye to the future.

231. Realizing that the scarcity, if not the total lack, of communication would impose restrictions on this integration effort, Paraguay, under a dynamic and enterprising Government and despite its limited financial means, has used and is using a considerable proportion of its resources for constructing and extending its roads, which already run from the western frontier with Bolivia to the eastern frontier with Brazil and the southern frontier with Argentina. In a country which until recently did not have any paved highways, this national effort is of considerable magnitude. As well as bringing new areas effectively into the national economy, these roads—many of which are all-weather highways—link up with the roads of our friends and neighbours. Our plan is that these roads will in the near future be like proverbial arms linking our brothers of the Pacific Coast to our brothers of the Atlantic Coast across the territory of Paraguay.

232. My country is one of the only two countries in America which have to deal not only with the problems peculiar to developing States, or countries which are in a state of relative economic development, but also with the problems arising from their position as land-locked countries. As such it has fought and is still fighting with unshakable determination to establish definitive principles of international law which will in justice and equity give all countries like mine—and like the countries of the President of the General Assembly—the right of free and unrestricted transit across the territories of coastal States. A famous Afghan has said that the international trade problems of land-locked countries are enormous and that the fact of being land-locked never changes although the problems may differ from time to time and from region to region.

233. Furthermore, in relations between a land-locked State and a maritime neighbour, the general rule is that the former is the weaker partner, not only because of its disadvantageous geographical position—the fact that it is far from the sea, from the resources of the sea and from the major international markets—but also in terms of the respective population figures for each country, the areas they cover and their economic and political power.

234. True to our own national destiny and to the solidarity we owe to those who are in a similar situation, we insist that these rights of transit—and particularly and especially the freedom of navigation on international rivers flowing to the sea—shall be granted without unfair restrictions.

235. In a speech delivered on 30 September 1965 to this Assembly during the twentieth regular session [1344th meeting] the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country, Professor Raúl Sapena Pastor, mentioned the obstacles to freedom of navigation on the international rivers which are Paraguay's only water link with the sea. These difficulties are the result of the fact that ships flying the Paraguayan flag are subject to discriminatory treatment which is much more onerous than the more favourable treatment accorded to powerful nations which have extensive seaboard.

236. On that occasion, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country recalled that on the river Paraná, an international river flowing through Paraguay and constituting its only water link with the sea, ships flying the Paraguayan flag have to comply with certain requirements—through the exercise of sovereign jurisdictional power—which infringe upon the principle of freedom of navigation. Since then, bilateral and multilateral efforts have been made to regularize the commercial exploitation of international rivers.

237. The Second Special Inter-American Conference, held at Rio de Janeiro from 17 to 30 November 1965, unanimously adopted resolution 10 by which it decided to convene an inter-American conference of specialists to examine matters relating to the commercial use of international rivers and lakes, to make appropriate recommendations and possibly to sign one or several international instruments which would contain general principles on the matter. In addition, the conference was asked to examine matters relating to the use of international rivers and lakes for agricultural and industrial purposes.

238. Furthermore, in bilateral negotiations with the Argentine Republic progress has been made towards reaching an agreement which would solve the problem. We are confident that this matter will be solved very shortly in the spirit of brotherhood and co-operation which has always characterized our relations with Argentina.

*Mr. Pazhwak (Afghanistan) resumed the Chair.*

239. As another example, I should like to mention a very important event in the development of our relations with our neighbour, the United States of Brazil. This began with a border problem and the tempers of both our peoples were aroused; but the episode ended happily in the spirit of goodwill and harmony which is characteristic of the bonds between us. As a consequence, results were achieved which were compatible with the interests of both nations; and the traditional friendship both brother peoples—a friendship based on mutual respect which constitutes the indestructible foundation of relations between our two countries—was reaffirmed.

240. On 21 and 22 June 1966 the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Paraguay and Brazil met at the frontier town of Puerto Presidente Stroessner,

Paraguay, and Foz do Iguaçu, Brazil, to review various aspects of relations between our two countries and, in particular, those aspects on which differences of opinion had arisen.

241. As a result of these cordial talks, both Foreign Ministers declared that their respective Governments were ready to proceed, by common accord, to study and evaluate the economic potential, in particular the water resources potential, of the Salto del Guairá, or Salto Grande de las Siete Caídas, which belongs in condominium to both countries.

242. Furthermore, they agreed that henceforth any electric power produced from waterheads on the Paraná River from and including the Salto del Guairá, or Salto Grande de las Siete Caídas, to the mouth of the Iguaçu River, will be shared equally between the two countries, on the understanding that each country will have preferential rights to acquire any of the power not used to meet the consumer needs of the other country at a fair price, to be determined, as appropriate, by specialists from both countries.

243. With respect to the work of the Joint Commission on the limits and definition of the frontier between Paraguay and Brazil, both Foreign Ministers agreed that the work will be resumed on a date to be decided by the two Governments. This, together with the Brazilian Government's decision to withdraw a Brazilian military detachment—its decision was communicated in a memorandum to which my country will reply in a note expressing its satisfaction—may serve as an example to the whole world on ways of seeking solutions to problems which arise in relations between peoples, and as a pledge of the growing and fraternal union between Paraguay and Brazil.

244. I have only a few more points to mention. First, I should like to say how glad my country is that Guyana has joined the community of free, sovereign and independent nations, and we welcome its admission to the United Nations. To its representatives in the General Assembly we would offer our frank and friendly co-operation together with our most cordial greetings. At the same time, we should like to welcome the accession to independence of two new countries in Africa, and we are glad that Indonesia has resumed full participation in our common tasks in the General Assembly.

245. In conclusion, I should like to refer to a statement made by the Secretary-General on 1 September 1966,<sup>17/</sup> in which he informed an astonished audience throughout the world that he had decided not to offer his services for a second term. In the letter which I wrote to him on the same day, I told him that my country greatly appreciated his constant devotion to the ideals of the United Nations, his unremitting efforts in the cause of international peace and security and his concern for the promotion of higher standards of living for the great majority of the developing peoples, all of which—I added—had earned him admiration and respect because of his personal qualities as a world figure. Shortly afterwards, I had the privilege to be a member of the committee of representatives appointed by Latin America to request him to recon-

<sup>17/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-first Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1966, document S/7481.

sider his decision. Now, from this rostrum, and on behalf of my country, once again and with respect, I repeat that appeal.

246. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Mauritania to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

247. Mr. OULD DADDAH (Mauritania) (translated from French): Mr. President, if the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania has asked to speak in exercise of its right of reply to the statement just made by Mr. Cherkaoui concerning a region of my country known as Spanish Sahara, it is in the hope that the information we deem it necessary to give the Assembly will help to place the information we deem it necessary to give the Assembly will help to place the question of Spanish Sahara in its true context, straightforwardly and without demagoguery.

248. Our reply to what Mr. Cherkaoui has just said is made much easier by the continuity and clarity of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, a country deeply attached both to respect for the individual freedom of everyone and to the right of peoples to self-determination. All Members of this Assembly know that Mauritania was divided under French and Spanish colonization. It was the French colony that acceded to independence, the north-western part of my country remaining a Spanish colony under the name of Spanish Sahara.

249. This abnormal situation caused the President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania to say the following, in a speech he made at Atar on 1 July 1957, six weeks after the formation of the first Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania:

"We must stress the Saharan avocation of Mauritania ... I invite our brothers of Spanish Sahara to imagine the great economic and spiritual Mauritania which we cannot help thinking about from now on."

250. Our position in regard to Spanish Sahara was thus clearly expressed, well before the proclamation of our independence and it has remained unchanged ever since. It is therefore not the result of a volte-face, nor has it been engendered by an accumulation of bitter setbacks in the pursuit of an outmoded expansionist policy. Our position is just; we do not aim at damaging the interests or promoting interference in the domestic affairs of any country.

251. The people and Government of Mauritania cannot have the slightest doubt about the Mauritanian character of the north-west part of my country, known as Spanish Sahara. This has been and remains the position of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. For us it is a problem of extreme importance, about which our delegations have explained themselves at length in order to show that geographically, ethnically and economically the so-called Spanish Sahara is an integral part of Mauritania.

252. Our Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Sidi Mohammed Devine, stated on Thursday, 19 November 1963, at the 214th meeting of the Special Committee dealing with problems of decolonization:

"Without wishing now to go into the substance of this problem, I must make it clear that the so-called Spanish Sahara is populated solely by Moorish

tribes, mostly nomadic, in no way different from the other tribes in the north-west of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. Everything binds these people together: language—Hassannia, a dialect of Arabic spoken solely on the territory of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania—culture, race, religion and customs. Even in their daily activities and their nomadic wanderings these tribes prove the artificial character of the frontier which separates them. The example of the Oulad Dleim, the Regueibatt (Oulad Cheikh, Oulad Moiss and Ahel Brahim) is a permanent testimony to the intermingling of these tribes and the homogeneity of this region of Northwest Mauritania."

253. This, moreover, is one of the rare points on which, despite ourselves, we are in complete agreement with our Moroccan brothers. In an official document published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Sherifian Kingdom in 1966, we find the following:

"Mauritania is the vast territory which includes the southern provinces of Morocco between the regions of Tindouf and Sagua El Hamra in the north ... the Atlantic coast in the west and the Senegal River in the south."

In a foot-note on the same page we read:

"A short time ago Spain substituted the term 'Spanish Sahara' for 'Spanish Mauritania'."

Again in the same document, in connexion with facts concerning this problem, we read:

"On the eve of the proclamation of the independence of Morocco the country was politically divided as follows: Tangier, international zone; Ifni and the province of Tarfaya, Spanish protectorate; between the Rif and the south of the Anti-Atlas, including Tindouf and Algeria, French protectorate; Rio de Oro, Northwest Mauritania"—a definition, not a boundary; "to the south of Tindouf and Fort-Trinquet, up to the Senegal River, French colony."

254. These quotations from the Moroccan White Paper on Mauritania show the following facts: first, that the Moroccan Government claims that the Spanish Sahara is a Moroccan region solely on the grounds that the Rio de Oro is an integral part of Mauritania; secondly, that the so-called Spanish Sahara and Ifni are regarded by the Moroccan Government as two completely distinct regions. Here again we Mauritians agree with our Moroccan brothers solemnly and with conviction affirming that so-called Spanish Sahara is an integral part of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania.

255. For us, as for the Moroccan Government, Ifni and so-called Spanish Sahara are two quite distinct regions, which must be treated separately. Two official Moroccan texts can be adduced in support of our argument: I refer to the White Paper on Mauritania published in 1960 by the Moroccan Ministry of Foreign Affairs and to the Peace and Trade Treaty between the rulers of Spain and Morocco, signed in Marrakesh in 1767. In that treaty the Sultan of Morocco recognized that his sovereignty did not extend south of the River Noun. The Oued Noun, however, lies well to the north of the province of Tarfaya,

generously ceded to the Moroccans by Spain a few years ago. On the other hand, the Sultan of Morocco had no hesitation, in the same treaty of 1767, in according fishing rights from Santa Cruz (Ifni) to the Spanish.

256. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania, a land which is the meeting place of different peoples, wants to live on good terms and in friendship with all countries in the world, particularly in our geographical zone, Africa. We believe in the virtues of dialogue and in the necessity of a peaceful settlement of international disputes.

257. Our position is clear and sufficiently sound and just for us to maintain it. Such clarity and consistency do not, unfortunately, always characterize a fraternal country which we are obliged to consider as an adversary.

258. On 28 July 1963, the President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, speaking about the vacillations of Moroccan policy towards what Morocco calls the "Mauritanian problem", said the following:

"In regard to Mauritania, an integral part of Morocco, a ravaged province which must be restored to its motherland by all possible means, Morocco, realizing the absurdity of its pretensions, has adopted a flexible attitude."

259. Morocco has said that it would be content with a very loose formula on the federal or even confederal model; then, changing its position again, but still in the direction of flexibility, it said it would be satisfied with a union; lastly, its position has been that it would accept our independence in return for an exchange of special agreements. This development shows how shaky are the Moroccan arguments. It shows that Morocco recognizes the emptiness of its claims and, lacking courage to retract them publicly, is looking for an honourable way out.

260. At the same Press conference, the President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania went on to say:

"In regard to the well-staged campaign to represent us as adopting a rigid and intransigent attitude, I have already replied. I have said that, for my country, there are no problems. For us there are two alternatives: either Morocco recognizes our independence and on that basis we can discuss with Morocco as we do with all independent countries, or Morocco continues to feign ignorance of the facts and we shall continue to ignore Morocco."

261. As you see, our attitude is, I repeat, firm and clear. It is the attitude of a nation, of a people vigorously and in a spirit of hope defending its independence, its dignity and its territorial integrity. But we remain flexible; we want to find peaceful solutions to all difficulties that may arise in our relations with other States.

262. That being so, our knowledge of Moroccan manoeuvres, our knowledge of South Morocco, which the President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania summarized in the few lines I have just quoted, prevents us from being surprised that Morocco, after having muted its claims to the independent part of Mauritania, is now stressing its claims concerning

that part of Mauritania known as Spanish Sahara. Nor were we surprised to find Morocco demanding independence for that region of our country inhabited by some 30,000 people. While the Rabat authorities continue to claim an independent country, which has been a Member of the United Nations for more than five years, those same authorities are asking for the independence of a region which only yesterday they regarded as an integral part of that very country, as the Moroccan White Paper shows. I think that the clumsiness of this manoeuvre must be obvious to everyone.

263. I repeat, my country's position in regard to what is known as Spanish Sahara is clear and a matter of common knowledge. It has been explained for several years from the rostrum of the United Nations and elsewhere. More recently still, in a communiqué issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, we find the following:

"It is important to avoid any confusion between two clearly distinct questions: the question of Ifni, settlement of which depends on Spain and Morocco, and the question of Spanish Sahara, which must be the subject of negotiations not between Spain and Morocco, which has never held sovereignty over that region, but between Spain and Mauritania, of which Spanish Sahara is an integral part."

264. The Government and people of Mauritania have excellent relations with the Government and people of Spain, relations which we hope to maintain and develop. Our confidence in the value of frank and honest dialogue, our devotion to the solid bonds of friendship which unite us with Spain, are such that the problem of Spanish Sahara hold the attention of every Mauritanian man and woman, to such an extent that the President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania could say before the Mauritanian National Assembly:

"There is a matter about which we feel deeply and which I should like to mention now. The excellent relations we have with Spain, shown by, among other things, flourishing economic co-operation, and the progressive attitude of the Spanish Government in regard to the colonial problem give reason to hope that we shall arrive at a solution which will make it possible, when the time comes, to settle the problem of Spanish Sahara, an integral part of the national territory, in full agreement and friendship."

265. The talks which were held during the visit of the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Islamic Republic of Mauritania in March 1966 have not disappointed us. That is why we hoped and continue to hope that, through negotiation and in friendship with the Spanish Government, a solution may be found permitting the integration of this region with the national territory, an integration which will bring about the unity of our country. If, however, the administering Power, in this case Spain, decides to apply the principle of self-determination to the peoples of Spanish Sahara—and we have said this before—then my country, strong in the justice of its cause and profoundly attached to the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter, will not oppose such a decision. The problem then becomes even clearer. In regard to Ifni, Spain has already indicated that it is ready to



start discussions with Morocco. In regard to the ways of applying the right of self-determination to the peoples of Spanish Sahara, Spain and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania must, in our view, work this out by negotiation and in full realization of the interests of the peoples concerned.

266. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Spain in exercise of his right to reply.

267. Mr. AZNAR (Spain) (translated from Spanish): I am very sorry to impose on representatives who must be very tired already, because it is very late and it has been a hard day. But it is not my fault. I must ask you to excuse me.

268. In my view, the statement made here this afternoon by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Morocco calls for a reply and some clarifications, which I shall now give.

269. I am very sorry that I do not have time today to comment on the speech just made by the representative of Mauritania, in which there were whole paragraphs of very great interest which I should like to comment on. I hope that I shall have an opportunity to do so on another occasion and I would ask my friend, the representative of Mauritania, to forgive me if I do not refer to his speech today.

270. I do not believe that this is the appropriate moment for the Spanish delegation to enter into polemics with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Morocco on certain decolonization problems to which he referred in his statement, although I must say that I would have no objection to taking up each point in minute detail in any body at any time. But I do not think, as I said, that this is the right time, or even the right place, because the matters to which I refer are being discussed in the Special Committee—the Committee of Twenty-Four—and it would seem rather odd and pointless to carry on parallel discussions on the same subject.

271. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Morocco, for whom I have the greatest respect, both because of his official position and because of his great personal distinction, has today reiterated the Moroccan position with respect to two African territories in which Spain is present in accordance with principles and situations of the strictest legality.

272. As my delegation's reply at this particular moment, and without prejudice to the scope of the discussions in the Special Committee or the Fourth Committee, I shall now read out a letter.<sup>18/</sup> All representatives are familiar with the text, since the Secretariat has duly circulated it to them; but I should also like it to be included in the record of this meeting as a commentary on the statements made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Morocco. This is the letter which I sent to the Secretary-General's representative in the Special Committee after he had transmitted to me the consensus concerning Ifni and Spanish Sahara adopted by the Special Committee at its 436th meeting. The letter reads as follows:

"In the letter dated 28 June 1966 which I sent to the Secretary-General with the request that he

forward it to the Officer in Charge of the Department of Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories, I stated, in reply to the letter dated 9 June 1966 which Mr. M. E. Chacko sent me from Addis Ababa, that the Spanish Government would inform the Special Committee in due course of its attitude and intentions regarding the implementation of General Assembly resolution 2072 (XX) of 16 December 1965 concerning Ifni and Spanish Sahara. I now have the honour of submitting this information to you.

"Spanish Sahara

"As the Special Committee knows, the Spanish Government has shown itself to be in favour of applying the principle of self-determination in the territory of Spanish Sahara, as stated in the official letter sent by me on 30 April 1964 to the then Chairman of the Spanish Committee, Ambassador Sori Coulibaly, Permanent Representative of Mali. We have consequently noted with satisfaction that at the 436th meeting of the Special Committee, held on 7 June 1966 in the capital of Ethiopia, some other countries which had hitherto opposed the application of this principle in the territory of Spanish Sahara stated that they were now in favour of it. It will thus be possible to implement General Assembly resolution 2072 (XX) by means of the free self-determination of the saharauis, as the Spanish Government has proposed in the past.

"To this end, my Government is in contact with the population of the Sahara and is actively making the necessary preparations for them to express their will without any form of pressure. These preparations have taken some time because of the nomadic nature of the inhabitants of the desert and the special features of the territory.

"Ifni

"As regards Ifni, the Spanish Government, inspired as always by the spirit of international co-operation and true to the cause of decolonization, must needs draw the Special Committee's attention to the abnormal situation obtaining in this enclave, in some parts of which Spain is having difficulty in exercising its authority, despite the Treaties in which Spain's rights are clearly set out. The reasons for this are well known to all and the Spanish Government is not responsible for them. All the same, because of the special features of this problem it might be advisable to establish contact with Morocco with the primary objective of restoring a lawful state of affairs as a necessary preliminary to seeking an arrangement which would satisfy the interests involved and permit the inhabitants of Ifni to obtain firm and duly guaranteed assurances regarding both their future in general and their individual destiny.

"I believe, Mr. Chairman, that the above will show the Special Committee how clear and firm is Spain's determination to implement General Assembly resolution 2072 (XX)."<sup>19/</sup>

273. As representatives will see, the Spanish Government has already stated—and is stating again here and

<sup>18/</sup> Document A/AC.109/202.

<sup>19/</sup> Ibid.

will state as often as necessary—that it is fully ready to apply the principle of self-determination in Spanish Sahara in order to bring about the decolonization of this Territory.

274. With respect to Ifni, in view of its special features and the circumstances prevailing there—circumstances which the Foreign Minister of Morocco knows in every detail—we have always hoped that, through direct bilateral contacts with Morocco, it would be possible to work out an arrangement—as my letter states—which would satisfy the interests involved and—of course—permit the inhabitants of Ifni to obtain firm and duly guaranteed assurances regarding both their future in general and their individual destiny.

275. This is what we believe, and, as representatives will see, Spain is complying to the letter with the requests made in United Nations resolutions, particularly resolution 2072 (XX).

276. I cannot refrain from expressing my surprise at that part of the Moroccan Foreign Minister's statement in which he said that the exercise and implementation of the principle of self-determination should be subject to certain conditions. I did not expect from such an illustrious person as Mr. Cherkaoui an attitude so much at variance with the principles of the United Nations.

277. Morocco—he said—is prepared to agree to self-determination for Ifni and Spanish Sahara provided that Spain first withdraws from those Territories. This is really rather extraordinary. First, there is no precedent in this house to support such a position. The United Nations never requests exceptions or special situations of the kind that Morocco is to our surprise suggesting now. So we are faced with something new which I would describe as pure demagoguery, contrary to the tradition of the United Nations and contrary in particular to Article 73 of the Charter, which we must comply with and will comply with, though we shall not be able to do so under the incredible conditions envisaged by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Rabat.

278. Thus, in my view, it is entirely inappropriate to address a request of this kind to Spain; and if I were not sure of the absolute good faith of Mr. Cherkaoui, I might begin to suspect there was some intent to insult us because in fact the conditions he proposes in more or less direct terms are such that no country secure in its dignity could accept them.

279. Spain has taken a very clear position. The United Nations came to a decision last year with respect to the Territory of Ifni and the Territory of Spanish Sahara in General Assembly resolution 2072 (XX), and to this resolution my Government replies: "We are ready to comply with it".

280. In view of this reply, why is it necessary to bring up all these other matters? The procedures for decolonization have long since been clearly defined by the United Nations in General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV), and no one can just take it into his head to come here and change this code of rules to serve his individual interests.

281. In this Organization the customary procedure is to submit—and, if appropriate, adopt—draft reso-

lutions condemning a country if that country refuses to comply with the demands made in previous resolutions. In this case, conditions are imposed and supervision is called for. But if this does not happen, the mere fact of publicly questioning the future conduct of any country has all the implicit connotations of an insult. I say all this without the slightest heat because I do not for one moment think that that was what our friend, Minister Cherkaoui, intended.

282. I am not going to examine now the other conditions which he mentioned. I shall just say that all this talk of massive implantation of Spanish people, as he called it, and of repression, is merely a pathetic fabrication. Above all, when accusations of this kind are made, the least we can ask is that they should be accompanied by solid proof—I repeat, solid proof.

283. Furthermore, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Morocco, for whom I repeat I have great respect, will understand very well what grave risks a Territory might run, if it were left to its fate without any form of order or law, for however long or short a time. We know that the so-called uncontrolled bands would then appear—the kind of bands we find in many areas and which sometimes even adopt incredibly high-sounding names—and that these bands would create situations of lawlessness which would inevitably engender violence, confusion and suffering. In this respect we have had experience which leaves no doubts in our mind; and we should not like to risk a recurrence of that experience.

284. All Spaniards have a very high opinion of their friendship with Morocco. We have expected and we still expect much from our relations with that great country and I believe we must keep these relations free from any incident which might, in the last analysis, be absurd and dangerous.

285. Accordingly, and in conclusion, I must repeat that my Government adheres to the terms of the letter which I have read out and considers, with good reason, that in doing so it is not only taking the right road to comply with the decisions of the United Nations; it is also opening up definite possibilities for a peaceful dialogue, convinced that such a dialogue will lead to solutions satisfactory for all.

286. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Morocco has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

287. Mr. SIDI BABA (Morocco) (translated from French): I am truly sorry to have to speak at this very late state in the work of this long meeting. I should have preferred not to do so; but, on reflection, I felt that, if only out of courtesy, I would to reply to the representative of Spain. Before doing so I should like to say just a word or two on the text described by Mr. Aznar as very interesting, a text which was read yesterday to the Committee of Twenty-Four and re-read word for word by the representative of the Mauritanian authorities this afternoon in this Assembly. This text is, in my view, a veritable masterpiece designed to mislead international opinion and put in jeopardy a decolonization operation which Africa wishes to carry out under the terms of the United Nations Charter.

288. In regard to the statement just made by the representative of Spain—which, I must say, surprised me by its asperity and vehemence—I am sure its author had thought about it very seriously. But I must say that the points which our Minister for Foreign Affairs made concerning the colonial domination of Spain over our territory, points which he made coolly, calmly and in a spirit of understanding, have not been answered by the Spanish delegation, which nevertheless did exercise its right of reply.

289. Our Minister spoke of conditions which, in our view, must be fulfilled in order to permit proper application of self-determination in accordance with the spirit and letter of the Charter. What we said and asked for corresponds, to our minds, to the special conditions which have existed in this Saharan territory ever since Spain, apparently, decided to incorporate that territory in its political, constitutional and economic system. How can it be thought that self-determination can be applied in a region of 40 to 50 thousand inhabitants, when the number of troops stationed there is almost equal to that total? How can it be thought that self-determination can be sincerely and properly applied in that country, to the benefit of its own inhabitants, when we are witnessing the organized, systematic immigration of a foreign population, that is, Spaniards? I should have liked the representative of Spain to reply to these two points.

290. I must also stress the following. We have information, which has reached us in the last few weeks and which we are continuing to receive day by day, indicating that the intention of the administering Power, as shown in the Territory itself, does not seem very clearly to reflect the intentions we have heard described here. A highly placed Spanish military personality stated, only a few days ago, to the inhabitants of a part of this area: "Let those who want Morocco go there; let those who want Mauritania go to Mauritania; let those who want to remain Spanish remain here in this Territory." These are words which disturb Morocco, which rightly disturb all Africans anxious to see their continent freed from every form of colonial domination.

291. In regard to Ifni, the representative of Spain spoke of legality, of a return to legality. I wonder whether there is not a real misunderstanding here. Legality, in our understanding, is Moroccan legality. We are concerned with a Moroccan territory illegally occupied by a colonial Power which continues to occupy, quite illegally, a part of that territory. If this is the issue—and I venture to hope so, although with some pessimism—we are ready to discuss with the Spanish Government the restoration of Moroccan legality: in other words, the liberation of our territory and its decolonization.

292. The representative of Spain described the statement made by my Foreign Minister as "demagogic". This is the first time we have heard the Spanish delegation use such language about the Moroccan delegation. We think that everyone has the right to defend what he considers to be his rights with all the ardour necessary. But to say that the statement made by the

Minister for Foreign Affairs of Morocco is demagogic—I really wonder if this is not exaggerated language, and we very sincerely deplore it, for, apart from differences, apart from disputes, we have always thought that the world-renowned Spanish courtesy and Spanish good breeding would have caused the representative of Spain to refrain from using such language about our Minister for Foreign Affairs.

293. The representative of Spain also stated that, if he did not believe in the good faith of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Morocco, he would have considered the conditions mentioned by the latter insulting to Spain. I must say that it is not the intention of Morocco, or of its Government, or of its Minister for Foreign Affairs, to insult anyone, least of all Spain; but one might even ask who is insulting whom. On this point I should like to read the first paragraph of resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples:

"The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation."

294. This is the tragedy of Africa and of countries which are still under colonial domination. It is a denial of fundamental human rights that we are denouncing here and shall continue to denounce. Morocco considers these territories to be Moroccan territories, but, in the desire to co-operate sincerely and loyally with the United Nations, in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV), it has asked that these territories be independent or that they be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination.

295. We are doing this in our anxiety to accelerate decolonization. When these territories are independent, then they will be free to choose the path that suits them best and best answers to their aspirations and their interests. For the moment we confine ourselves to this demand, which is not a Moroccan demand, but a demand of the international community and one which, in the interest of international peace and co-operation, must be met.

296. We consider—and I am sorry for speaking at such length—that this is the only question arising. These territories must be independent or exercise their right to self-determination. But this right to self-determination must be applied in conditions which have existed in every similar case of a colony. We think the refugees should be allowed to return to this territory. We think that Spanish immigration must cease. We think that this massive implantation of the Spanish army is not justified either by the need to maintain order or by the danger presented to Spain by any situation in this part of Africa. We think that this should be carefully examined by the General Assembly and this is the point we want to stress: it is the demand of the international community, it is the demand for decolonization.

*The meeting rose at 7.20 p.m.*