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*President: Mr. Adam MALIK (Indonesia).*

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. SAKKAF (Saudi Arabia):<sup>1</sup> In the name of God, the merciful and compassionate.
2. Sir, the delegation of Saudi Arabia would like to take this opportunity to express its gratification at your election to the presidency of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. We have always looked upon the Indonesian people as our own brothers. It is no wonder, therefore, that my Government takes pride in your having been elected to preside over the deliberations of the international community. You had been a leader in your country even before Indonesia became independent, about two decades ago. Thereafter, you have indeed been identified with wise policies in your country. Furthermore, it was my personal privilege not only to have known you personally but to have been associated with you in policies of great import to the world Muslim community. It was not surprising that you have been so admired and respected as to win the unanimous support of the Members of this Organization.
3. This session of the General Assembly augurs especially well for Saudi Arabia. Several sister Arab States have been admitted to membership in the United Nations, and while Bhutan is not an immediate neighbour of my country, we were equally happy to see that State, situated in the heart

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

of Asia, the mother of continents, take its rightful seat as a Member of this Organization.

4. My delegation would like to express its appreciation for the efficient manner with which your predecessor, Edvard Hambro, presided over the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, which was a milestone in the history of the United Nations.

5. No statement of ours from this rostrum should fail to refer to the exemplary role which our illustrious Secretary-General, U Thant, has played for a decade during which he fully dedicated himself in his endeavour to safeguard the high principles and lofty ideals of our Organization. We can never forget how vigilant we found him to be when, on several occasions, political crisis threatened world peace, and we still remember how diligently he used his good offices to avert many an international conflict.

6. In discharging his duties, his health was bound to suffer once in a while, and inasmuch as we are solicitous about his personal welfare, we do hope that he may still be able to continue in his office until the international community could unanimously agree on a successor.

7. Year in year out, as time marches on, we have found ourselves still seized of the same major problems to which we have not been able to find satisfactory solutions, notwithstanding the unflagging efforts exerted towards that end. Why is it that we have not made significant progress on many issues that have engrossed the United Nations since its early years? Is it due to the lack of goodwill amongst men who shape the policies of their respective States? There is no dearth of good intentions amongst many leaders in the world.

8. What, then, is at the root of the failure which is apt to dampen the ardent spirit of the people at large who expect our Organization to be the guarantor of world peace? The answer is not very difficult to find. The lack of progress in paving the way to peace whenever there is war and conflict or strife and turmoil might be attributed to the fact that, unfortunately, many politicians wielding power pay lip-service to the United Nations Charter whilst they doggedly pursue their narrow national interests.

9. It is such self-seeking policies that caused the League of Nations to founder. Is it not high time that we should learn by avoiding the mistakes of the not-too-distant past? The Covenant of the League of Nations spoke of liberty and freedom. The United Nations Charter enshrined the principle of self-determination. What actually happened was that the Treaty of Versailles of 1919 had granted Mandates over many peoples to erstwhile colonial Powers, aside from gerrymandering the map of Europe with new boundaries

regardless of the consent and aspirations of various ethnic groups. It was these arbitrary arrangements, concocted by the victors of the First World War, that largely contributed to the factors that undermined the Versailles Peace Treaty and led to the Second World War.

10. Did the victors of the Second World War profit by the lessons of history? Not at all. For we find them committing more serious blunders before and after the Charter was proclaimed at San Francisco. To illustrate concretely what has happened, we have only to cite the partition of Korea, the partition of Germany, the partition and zoning of Berlin—all this on ideological grounds without due regard to the ethnological homogeneity of these peoples and countries.

11. But the blunders committed after the Charter had been proclaimed were even worse. Palestine was partitioned in 1947 as if the right of peoples to self-determination was merely ink on paper. Viet-Nam was partitioned in 1954 to suit the strategic interests of great Powers in the region, with the result that a people with the same language and culture became divided, and brothers were incited to slit one another's throat.

12. No one should be astonished why such major problems as I have mentioned are still besetting us in this Organization without our having made headway towards their solution. At the root of our difficulties lies the fact that the States which wield world power, unfortunately, still predicate their respective national policies on the balance of power and on incessant endeavours on their part to maintain supremacy in what they consider their spheres of influence.

13. The pursuit of such policies that have caused many wars since the dawn of civilization compels contesting Powers to emulate one another in armaments and thereby resort to devising new lethal weapons, hoping thus to maintain an advantage over their adversaries. Hence, the interminable race in escalating armaments at the expense of the masses who are compelled to contribute hard-earned funds for what may end up in the profession of killing or getting killed in the name of liberty, justice and self-defence.

14. My delegation is far from so presumptuous as to address itself to the nearly 100 items inscribed on the agenda of the current session, inasmuch as, no doubt, each item is of special importance to a group of Member States, if not to the whole United Nations. It therefore becomes understandable that I may be permitted to dwell in this statement on those items of the agenda that deeply concern the Government and people of Saudi Arabia.

15. The situation in the Middle East is still paramount so far as we are concerned. We can never keep silent about the injustice that has been perpetrated on the indigenous people of Palestine since 1947 and thereafter till the present day.

16. The usurpation of the Palestinian homeland by European Jews on the grounds that God Almighty had given them the land is untenable as long as, by the grace of God, the deep feeling that this injustice should be undone still

surges in the breasts of 110 million Arabs and 600 million Moslems, who feel that it is their sacred duty to save the Palestinians as a people from national annihilation.

17. The arrogance of the Zionist usurpers knows no bounds. It is an insult to human intelligence for them to act as if they were the chosen people of God to the exclusion of everybody else. While the United Nations incessantly decries racial discrimination or the superiority of one religion or sect over the other, these Zionists unabashedly endeavour to seek privileges on religious grounds.

18. But this is not all. These European Zionists have even placed themselves above the Sephardic Jews, who, unfortunately, have become victims of zionism by being looked upon as second-class citizens in usurped Palestine. Truly, such flagrant racial discrimination stops at no limits. It is not strange, therefore, that Zionists consider that the Arabs, together with all the gentiles in the world, should belong to a lower stratum of the human creation. It is the most despicable effrontery for the Zionists to engage in such sordid racial discrimination.

19. If the Zionists persist in claiming that the question of Jerusalem is non-negotiable, let me make it unmistakably clear that we, Arabs and Moslems, will in time, with God's help, sacrifice ourselves to redeem Jerusalem and all the Palestinian homeland from colonial invaders who have constituted a foreign element in our midst. This fact explains the state of perpetual war, the high tensions and anarchic upheavals in the whole region of the Middle East. That is why the clash of interests between Powers, big and small, will definitely lead to a global holocaust, if injustice is allowed to prevail while the United Nations merely stands by as a helpless witness to this unprecedented tragedy.

20. What authorities other than the usurping Zionists would dare consistently to defy the decisions of the United Nations and ignore the innumerable condemnatory resolutions adopted against them since the United Nations unjustly admitted them to its membership?

21. If the major Powers that in 1947 were responsible for the creation of this artificial Zionist State refuse to act in the face of these defiant usurpers, I am afraid we may all end up by losing faith in the effectiveness of this Organization.

22. We are not boasting of what the Arabs and Moslems may one day be able to do, nor is it our intention to arouse the fears of the world community by what we say on this question from the rostrum of the United Nations.

23. Palestine lies astride the routes of three continents and, as such, was and still is being coveted by foreign invaders who throughout history had thought they could keep it permanently as the prize of conquest. Where are those invaders now? With the exception of the present non-Semitic usurpers, the Khazars, who were converted to Judaism, they are no more.

24. We would like to ask, will the General Assembly and in particular the Security Council remain helpless in the face of Zionist aggression? Will the United Nations act or allow the situation in the Middle East to deteriorate to such

an extent that no remedy may be found except in eventual armed conflicts until the aggressor is curbed and ultimately expelled? We can hardly add more to this grave warning, which we hope will be heeded before it becomes too late.

25. Our stand on the remnants of colonial rule and on questions of racial discrimination will again be made clear in the appropriate Committees of the General Assembly, where these items will be fully debated. We may venture to make certain suggestions and recommendations that we hope will contribute constructively towards finding some satisfactory solutions.

26. My having dwelt on the situation in the Middle East, as I have done, should not at all be construed to mean that the Government of Saudi Arabia is not concerned with other momentous questions that will be dealt with during the present session.

27. As we said we would do in regard to colonial and racial problems, my delegation will define its position on the multifarious items that have been allocated to the agendas of the various Committees of the General Assembly.

28. The Government of Saudi Arabia strongly deplores any interference in the domestic affairs of Pakistan. We believe what is happening in Pakistan is strictly and without any doubt the affair of the Pakistanis themselves, and therefore any outside interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan will surely constitute a violation of our Charter. We may be allowed to remind all the indigenous peoples of the Indian subcontinent that they are brothers regardless of the diversity of cultures, languages and religions in that region. We particularly appeal to them to respect each other's political integrity and to exert all efforts to avoid what may cause a rift in their political structures. We have been assured by Pakistan that it would welcome the repatriation of refugees that are now on Indian soil; and from the various declarations that have been made we have no doubt that Pakistan is eager to see the refugees return home to live with their brothers under the same flag. The Pakistani Government has repeatedly assured us that it will spare no effort to ensure their progress and security.

29. Before bringing these words to a close, and without having to reiterate in detail what I mentioned at past sessions, I feel that it would be appropriate to refer to the continued progress achieved in Saudi Arabia under the leadership of His Majesty King Faisal ibn Abdul Aziz in the economic, social and cultural spheres. In this respect, I can do no better than to repeat a quotation from a speech made by His Majesty in clarifying our policy. Addressing the Saudi people, His Majesty said:

"Brothers, this State was built on strong foundations. Firstly, it was built on the foundation of Islam; secondly, on the foundation of administering and spreading justice among citizens whereby King and citizens stand equal before the law; thirdly, on the foundation of making education available to all and raising the country to a proper standard of living."

30. Finally, I pray God Almighty to guide us along the right path so that we may succeed in our efforts during this

session to reach those goals which may lead the world to greater prosperity, lasting peace and security.

31. Mr. AULAQI (People's Democratic Republic of Yemen):<sup>2</sup> Mr. President, may I congratulate you on your election as President of the General Assembly of the United Nations for this session and express my Government's pleasure in the confidence entrusted to you. I wish also to refer with pleasure to the historical and friendly relations that bind the peoples of Indonesia and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. We are quite confident in your ability to guide and conduct the work of the General Assembly because of the experience and wisdom which you are known to possess.

32. We should like also to thank your predecessor, Mr. Edvard Hambro, who skilfully directed the affairs of the General Assembly during its twenty-fifth session.

33. The heavy burdens assumed by Secretary-General U Thant and his efforts to preserve world peace and to strengthen the principles of co-operation among the peoples of the world deserve the gratitude of all of us. Today, after his service of 10 years in that position, we present him with our thanks, in the hope that he will continue to pursue this task which enjoys the support of our country and that of all peace-loving nations.

34. The needs which made essential the creation of this Organization 26 years ago have increased, the more so since the United Nations must justify the need for its existence through the role which it must play in order to preserve world peace, to assist all nations in their struggle for freedom and their right to live in peace and security, and to eliminate the dangers of war caused by imperialist policies aiming at the domination of other nations and the control of their destinies.

35. The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen won its independence by making sacrifices over many decades. This resulted in victory for the armed revolution against British imperialism under the leadership of the National Liberation Front with the participation of all our people. The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen could never have become independent and free from any imperialist interest had the people not resorted to arms, had they not made sacrifices, and had they not strengthened their will in spite of British plots and endless conspiracies to smother the revolution and to isolate it from the rest of the world.

36. The sacrifices made by our people constitute a reaffirmation of the esteem and reverence which we hold for our freedom and independence. The people are prepared to sacrifice their lives and property, still more to defend their revolution and independence against every conspiracy of the imperialists and their reactionary agents in the area.

37. When the cause of our freedom was being discussed in the United Nations, the United Kingdom resorted to a deliberate distortion of our people's will by bringing forth its puppet sultans to speak in this Organization about the fake freedom which they claimed our people enjoyed. We

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

recall these incidents in order to refresh everyone's memory of the way in which the United Kingdom lied to the United Nations and to the world. Its lies and plans, however, were exposed and our revolution triumphed, overthrowing its agents, who withered away with the end of colonial occupation.

38. These various imperialist schemes, with which our country is familiar and which were condemned by our people to failure, are now being reintroduced by Great Britain in the Arabian Gulf area with false announcements of independence which are no more than identical copies of what Britain failed to impose on the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

39. During the era of colonization Great Britain divided our country into 23 sultanates and sheikhdoms and established tariff and customs barriers to secure the division and isolation of the people and to prevent us from keeping in contact with one another. But the people refused to accept the division and fought for political unity, for their freedom, their union and their independence. Division was accepted only by the puppet lackeys.

40. Today, we witness colonialist Britain again playing the same game of "divide and rule" in the Arabian Gulf, which constitutes a single political unit. Britain is dividing it once more into a number of small States with shabby political structures and claims for these structures the status of independent nations. It is pushing these States now to gain membership in the United Nations.

41. It is notable, however, that these entities which Britain is presenting to this Organization, bearing documents of their so-called independence, are none other than the same type of agents that have been used by Britain to rule the Arabian Gulf area for more than 150 years. Britain persisted in announcing its intention to withdraw formally from the Arabian Gulf area when it clearly felt that the revolution which had been triggered by the people of the southern part of Oman was fast spreading into that area. So Britain speeded up the execution of its imperialist schemes in an attempt to pull the rug from under the revolutionaries and to convince Arab and world opinion that there are no further incentives for the revolution around which the people have rallied.

42. The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, in view of the ties of brotherhood, neighbourly closeness and historical background which link it to the people of the Arabian Gulf, feels it to be its duty to help and support their struggle for liberation from colonialist domination. This is but a reaffirmation of our belief in the right of all people to decide their own destinies and to achieve their independence and the unity of their territory according to the Charter of the United Nations and its resolutions.

43. My Government believes that the continued presence of colonialism, whether apparent or disguised, in the Arabian Gulf is not only a disparagement of and disregard for the rights of this nation, but also a real threat to our Republic and its people, who have suffered from the repeated aggressions of the British on our eastern borders, next to the Dhofar area, which has been liberated by the revolutionaries of the Popular Front for the Liberation of

the Occupied Arabian Gulf. Moreover, Britain has resorted to the use of its air and naval forces to threaten our borders in an attempt to crush the revolution, ignoring the fact that the revolution originates essentially from within the Gulf, not from the outside.

44. Our mention of the colonialist presence in the Arabian Gulf area is supported by the documents submitted to the United Nations by the revolutionaries themselves and confirmed by those observers who were able to visit the area. That presence is evident from the large military bases that are situated all over the Arabian Gulf, in particular in the vicinity of Oman and its surrounding sea area. That presence is also certified by the secret and public agreements that leave no doubt whatsoever that the whole area still remains under the control and the protection of the British Mandate.

45. The peoples of the Arabian Gulf, like all other struggling peoples, are determined not to put down the arms they carried on the morning of 9 June 1965 under the leadership of the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arabian Gulf, until they rid their country of the colonialist presence. They have proved during their seven-year revolution that they are capable of resisting the most savage, repressive measures of the British forces and their puppets. Neither their determination to carry on the struggle nor their belief in their final victory will be swayed by British tricks; indeed, they will be only strengthened. And if Britain has succeeded so far in fooling anyone, it has not fooled, and will not fool, the peoples of that area and their heroic fighters, who will decide the destiny of their own countries as they see fit. The revolution of Dhofar is only a beginning, and Dhofar is only a part of the Arabian Gulf area.

46. In spite of the United Nations resolutions admitting both Bahrain and Qatar as States Members of the Organization, the peoples of the Arabian Gulf are still looking for the support of the United Nations and those of its Members that stand for peace and freedom.

47. A delegation representing the revolution in the area was here to explain the crimes committed by British forces against thousands of civilians and to submit proof of the reality of the colonialist presence. That delegation called on the world's conscience not to allow Britain to carry on its imperialist schemes that contradict the aims of the Charter and the principles of the United Nations.

48. The United Kingdom, the United States of America and their reactionary puppet régimes in the area have exploited the circumstances of the set-back that struck the Arab liberation movement following the Zionist aggression in June 1967, backed by imperialism, against the Arab people and their progressive régimes. Among the primary objectives and most urgent aims of that act of aggression was the freezing of the Arab revolutionary liberation movement as a prelude to isolating it from its world allies and eliminating it altogether. The Arab nation, however, has shown its greatness by overcoming the set-back as the armed revolution intensified in one area and resulted in the independence of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen only six months after the set-back.



49. Other victories followed shortly, serving but to confirm the Arab nation's rejection of the consequences of the Zionist aggression backed by the United States. The Palestinian resistance came into being to give the Palestinian people a new confidence in themselves and in their ability to rid their nation of Zionist colonialism, in spite of the recent and past imperialist conspiracies to which it had been subjected.

50. My Government opposes and condemns any attempt to strike at the Palestinian resistance movement as a conspiracy against the Palestinian people and their legitimate rights.

51. More victories followed in succession in other parts of the Arab world, leading to the removal of British and American bases supporting Israel and its aggressive plans and representing a threat to peace in the area. Libya, for example, moved into a prominent position in the Arab struggle following the revolution of September 1969. More than four years have elapsed since the Israeli aggression against the Arab peoples, an aggression backed by the imperialist Powers headed by the United States, and resulting in the occupation of substantial portions of the territories of three Arab nations, all of them Members of the United Nations. There is no doubt that the perpetuation of that aggression is a violation of the territorial integrity of those nations; as such, it cannot be tolerated by either those nations or by the international community at large. Force, aggression and war were the means used for the occupation of those territories, and such methods have been rejected in substance and in form.

52. The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, which is a part of the Arab nation and a State Member of the United Nations, believes that the position of the United Nations and the world community as mere onlookers as that aggression continues in defiance of United Nations resolutions can only encourage the aggressor, and it considers this a disappointment to the hopes of peace-loving nations and their regard for the United Nations, its seriousness and its great principles as laid down in the Charter.

53. It is no longer a secret to the whole world that it is, the United States which encourages Israel to ridicule and ignore the United Nations and world opinion, by providing that State with financial and military support and protection. Were it not for the backing of the United States, it would not be possible for Israel, by itself alone, to defy the whole world. The question confronting this Assembly is whether the United Nations can agree to set its resolutions on one side of the scale and the United States on the other. Is there any justice in this situation? We also direct the question to the great people of the United States, who will, we believe, reject this equation in our present age.

54. The problem that we refer to as the Middle East crisis is in essence the problem of the Palestinian people. The aggression of June 1967, in the view of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and the Arab people, is a continuation of the crime that was committed in 1948, a year to which the Arabs refer as truly "the year of tragedy." In that year world history witnessed the most cruel crime it has ever known; for never before in the world's history could we read of a whole people forced out

of their land, to be replaced by others who came from different nations, united by hatred and racism, forcibly removing the people of Palestine from their country and seizing their houses, their lands and their properties by force. Had this happened to another people in Africa or Asia, would it have been accepted? Yet, it has happened, and it happened after the establishment of the United Nations, with the assistance of the imperialist Powers, headed by the United States and the United Kingdom Governments, the latter having a Mandate over Palestine.

55. So here we are today, with the Arab nations paying the price of that first crime, which has also had new consequences as evidenced by the forcible occupation of Arab territories by Israel. The occupied Arab nations have made every peaceful effort and obtained from the United Nations several resolutions, among them Security Council resolution 242 (1967); and although four years have passed, Israel continues to defy the United Nations and its resolutions.

56. What is left for the United Nations and the Security Council to do regarding a party that rejects their resolutions and refuses to carry them out?

57. This resolution, which we have not accepted, was, however, accepted by some of the Arab nations, whose territories have been occupied, to show their goodwill. Nevertheless, that resolution could not be enforced by the United Nations because the United States refuses to impose its implementation and to request Israel to carry it out. In fact, the United States is encouraging Israel's intransigence by supplying it with financial and military support.

58. The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen sees no possibility of a solution unless such a solution is based on the right of the Palestinian people to recover their lands and their right to self-determination. It is in this belief that the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen supports the rightful struggle of the Palestinian people to liberate its homeland and the proclaimed aims of the Palestinian revolution in creating a democratic system in Palestine, by which all citizens, be they Moslem, Christian or Jewish, can coexist.

59. I wanted to see the only legitimate and real representative of the great people of China to welcome him in my address and I hope that this wish will come true in the near future.

60. That the People's Republic of China should obtain its seat in the United Nations as the sole representative of the great Chinese people is only natural. To have kept a large nation such as China and a great people like the Chinese, who number more than 700 million, outside the United Nations was a strange phenomenon.

61. My Government is confident that the United Nations will make a rapid decision to seat China during this session, that it will welcome the representative of the People's Republic of China to his natural role among us and that it will at the same time expel the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek of Taiwan.

62. Such a historic decision will be a landmark in the history of this international Organization and will create

new and better circumstances in international relations, thus increasing the effectiveness of the Organization in maintaining world peace and supporting the struggle of nations to secure their rights in freedom, progress and welfare. Such a resolution implies great purposes, the most important of which will be the defeat of the imperialist and colonialist policies of the United States. The insistence of the United States in continuing such policies, which are in contradiction of the interests of humanity in progress and co-operation, will lead that country once again into isolation and eclipse, against its own will.

63. The imperialist policies of the United States are responsible for the creation and the explosion of world crises and threats to international peace and security. And there that country is now, waging an aggressive criminal war against the heroic Viet-Nameese people to prevent them from attaining self-determination and unifying their territory. Not only has the United States armed and strengthened its dummy Government in Saigon, but it has also sent land, naval and air forces to wage a genocidal war against the Viet-Nameese, dragging its allies into an unjust war.

64. The resistance of the heroic Viet-Nameese people and their valiant struggle is winning the support of all the peoples of the world, among them the people of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. The victories of the Viet-Nameese are also victories for the aims and principles in which our people believe.

65. The victory of the Viet-Nameese people is now certain. Equally clear is the defeat that awaits world imperialism headed by the United States, in spite of all the American tools of destruction, the calculations of electronic data-processing machines, the technological progress of America, and the millions of tons of bombs that have been dropped by United States bombers on the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam in that dirty war waged by the United States against the heroic people of Viet-Nam.

66. The United States, instead of stopping its dirty war against the Viet-Nameese people and withdrawing its forces, has resorted to expanding its range to include other nations in Indo-China, believing that such an action will suppress the fighting spirit of the peoples of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia. But it was mistaken, as it has always been, and it has found itself facing the united strength of the resistance of all Indo-Chinese people and thus it has been dealt one defeat after another.

67. This succession of events, the publication of the Pentagon papers and the atrocities that were revealed in military trials, which described the mass murders of innocent Viet-Nameese women and children by the United States army, turned American public opinion against its own Government.

68. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam has submitted a seven-point programme to solve the Viet-Nameese question and to restore peace to that part of the world, which has been deprived of it for so long because of the aggressive policy of the United States and its interference in the affairs of other nations.

69. My Government supports these realistic proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-

Nam and demands the total and rapid withdrawal of all United States forces and their allies and a halt to air raids over the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

70. The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen notes with pleasure the peaceful and firm policies of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries with a view to bringing about a *détente* in Europe and eliminating the spectre of war which has always haunted Europe.

71. The solution of the Berlin question constitutes a beginning of the solution to the whole German question. It is essential to recognize the existence of two German States; the Federal Republic of Germany must retract its shameful claim to being the sole representative of all Germany, a claim that is supported by all the imperialist nations, headed by the United States.

72. It is also imperative that the world community accept the membership of the German Democratic Republic in all the specialized agencies of the United Nations, in the same manner that it has accepted the membership of the Federal Republic of Germany in these agencies.

73. European security, and consequently international security, can never be achieved as long as military alliances last. It is therefore necessary to dissolve military pacts and to reduce the military forces and strategic armaments of both the countries members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the countries signatories of the Warsaw Treaty.

74. Korea remains divided by imperialist forces headed by the United States, and its occupation continues under the United Nations flag. The United States continues to violate the will of the Korean people and its desire for independence and sovereignty. This odd situation must be brought to an end. It is necessary to evacuate all foreign military forces from South Korea and to liquidate foreign military bases there. The Korean people must have the freedom to decide, in a free plebiscite without outside interference, the question of uniting the two parts of their country.

75. The passion of our people for the cause of freedom, a passion for which many of our sons have paid with their lives, has no limits. It is because our people believe in every nation's right to freedom that we condemn the abrogation of the freedoms of the Arab people of Palestine, and the African peoples of Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, who are the owners of their lands. We demand that the United Nations take immediate action to end all acts of racial discrimination in these countries and to force the racist régimes to acknowledge the equal rights of the majority, who are the original inhabitants of these lands.

76. The inability of the United Nations to take a firmer stand towards Israel's crimes in the occupied territories of Palestine and the crimes of the racist régimes in Africa constitutes an encouragement to these régimes to continue their criminal policies, defying all principles of human co-operation and world opinion.

77. We are sorry to see the United Nations, after 26 years of existence, still unable to take any firm and decisive action to bring a halt to the practices of racist régimes which have defied it and rejected its resolutions.

78. The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen lends all its support to the struggle of the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) against Portuguese colonialism. We are confident that Portuguese imperialism will be defeated despite all the support it is receiving from its imperialist allies, and victory will come to the peoples of these countries in the not-too-distant future.

79. The people of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, who maintain good relations with both the Indian and Pakistani peoples, hopes that these two great countries of Asia will be able to solve the problem of the Pakistani refugees who are now the guests of India, a country which is carrying this burden. We hope these refugees will return to their homes, and we are confident that such a solution will be in the best interests of both peoples.

80. Our Government supported the inclusion of an item entitled "The colonial case of Puerto Rico" in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly and urged a debate on this question, the vital importance of which, in our opinion, makes it a primary responsibility of the United Nations. We will request the inclusion of this issue in the agenda of the next session.

81. In conclusion, we wish all success to the United Nations and its agencies in their work to implement fully the objectives and ideals for which they were created.

82. Mr. SHAFIQ (Afghanistan): Mr. President, at the outset, I wish to congratulate you whole-heartedly, on your election as President of the General Assembly, the most esteemed and highest international post. Our congratulations do not stem from the usual courtesy extended on such occasions; they emanate from the cordial and friendly relations that have existed and do exist between the people of Afghanistan and the people of Indonesia. But it is not only that. We are convinced that your ability and personal experience in international affairs give us solid ground to hope that this session of the General Assembly, under your guidance, will lead us to the achievement of the great task we have set before us.

83. I should like to extend my delegation's sincere appreciation to Ambassador Edvard Hambro for the excellent manner in which he guided the affairs of the Assembly during his tenure as President.

84. Mr. President, with your permission, I should like to join the voices of those who have expressed their appreciation of the services of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, who has undertaken and carried out the tremendous responsibilities of his high office with patience, wisdom and consideration, and above all, with a great sense of impartiality and objectivity.

85. The Government I represent has recently assumed office. It is therefore necessary for me to state our profound desire and determination to continue, as in the past, to uphold our firm belief in the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

86. Afghanistan is the oldest non-aligned Member of the United Nations. I should like to state that we shall continue our positive and active policy of non-alignment within and

outside the United Nations, based on our free judgement of all international situations on the basis of their merits. This has been one of the prime reasons for our fundamental interest and participation in all gatherings of the non-aligned countries. We believe that the policy of non-alignment and the principles adopted by the different Conferences of the non-aligned nations of the world, particularly those principles embodied in the Declaration on Peace, Independence, Development, Co-operation and Democratization of Internal Relations adopted by the last Conference of the non-aligned nations in Lusaka,<sup>3</sup> have made a significant contribution to the noble cause of world peace and international security.

87. In the world of today all people are neighbours. Therefore, the greatest need for us all is to adhere to the spirit of neighbourliness, goodwill, peaceful coexistence and mutual respect, regardless of differences in ideologies and social, political and economic systems, chosen freely by each one of us.

88. In the world of today it is no longer thinkable that one system could eliminate another system without the total annihilation of all. To believe that it is possible not to coexist with each other peacefully is an illusion close to madness. We can have only one common goal: the achievement of peace and progress. This one common goal is necessary not only for achieving peace but also for preventing a disturbance of the balances, which can destroy peace.

89. Europe seems to be directing itself towards some kind of understanding. We welcome this trend, if it will open the horizon of peace for all mankind, because it is the interest of mankind in general, rather than the interest of the West or the East, to which all of us attach crucial importance.

90. The continent of Africa, whose people have always proved to be peaceful inhabitants of the world, and the Latin American continent, whose people, except in defence of their independence, have never waged wars, are faced with diverse problems. It is essential that the United Nations should, to the extent it can, take measures to save those continents from the calamities from which other continents—Asia and Europe—have suffered. This calls for only positive steps. Of course, the people of those continents are better aware of their problems and of how to deal with them, and their representatives will speak on the subject during the general debate. I myself coming from the Asian continent, would ask you, Mr. President, to allow me to speak of the situations prevailing in the continent of Asia, situations which are, in fact, world problems.

91. The question of the Middle East is not a local problem. It is an international problem and, therefore, one of international concern. It is very unfortunate that, despite their full awareness of the gravity of the problem, some nations have paid scant attention not only to the situation in the Middle East itself, but also, although Members of the United Nations, to United Nations resolutions and have exerted little effort to implement their own decisions.

<sup>3</sup> Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka, Zambia from 8 to 10 September 1970.

Despite the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, little effort has been made to make the usurper realize that, in our time, territories cannot remain occupied by right of conquest. We see with great distress that portions of the lands of three Member States of the United Nations—Egypt, Syria and Jordan—are still kept under occupation, and more than that, that this situation has been tolerated. While we deplore the refusal of Israel to comply with the simplest dictates of international law and justice, I think the deep appreciation of the world Organization is due to the political patience of the Arab States, particularly of the Government of Egypt, which has almost exhausted all possibilities of co-operation for the implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations and for the success of the efforts made on its behalf to bring durable peace to the Middle East.

92. Afghanistan's concern is not limited only to the consequences of aggression against the Arabs and the continuation of injustices on the part of the Israelis towards certain Arab States. We are basically concerned with the consequences of aggression itself, by any nation against any other nation in the world.

93. Afghanistan, in the course of its own history, has experienced the oppression of aggressors and has suffered the injury of occupation of its territory by force; it is well aware of what it means to have parts of its land annexed. I think I am not the only representative who can recall such experiences related to his own country.

94. We call upon all Member States, therefore, to consider the question of aggression and the "right" of any country to occupy another country's territory by conquest. We are not thinking only about the Arabs when we ask the question: how can any country occupied by military force be expected not to resort to war to liberate its people and its territory? I should like to ask this august Assembly whether there is any large or small country among us that would not defend its homeland against occupation?

95. Therefore, any nation that might be unwilling to understand and defend the established rights of the Arabs against the aggressive policy of occupation and annexation is forfeiting its own right of defence against such policies and actions.

96. On the other hand, however, there is the attitude of certain big Powers that have not succeeded in implementing the measures they have approved. We can, therefore, demand from this august Assembly not only the implementation of what the Security Council has approved in the case of the Middle East, but what is more, the reaffirmation of the principles of international law in accordance with which acquisition by force is inadmissible.

97. My Government asks the world Organization, and expects from it, urgent and effective measures to find a solution based on justice and the full restoration of the rights of the Arab people.

98. It is indeed fitting to pause here for a moment to remind ourselves of a nation whose fate and territory were, in the present century, subjected in a most overt manner to ruthless aggression. The peaceful people of Palestine were

driven from their homes and land while the world helplessly watched this injustice being done. Until now, all efforts to restore their rights have failed. Even those minimum rights which were recognized by the United Nations resolutions were not restored to them. We ask this great Assembly, which not only represents the peoples of the world but which should also reflect the international conscience, to exercise all the power at its command so that the rights of the people of Palestine will be fully restored and recovered from those who usurped them against the principles of law, justice and humanity.

99. The problem of Jerusalem is of great concern not only to the Moslems, Christians and Jews of the world, but to all those who genuinely believe in the preservation of the cultures of mankind and the assurance of respect for all holy shrines and historical monuments. We condemn all measures which, in total disregard of international rules of morality and law and United Nations resolutions, are taken with a view to distorting the Arab, Moslem and Christian character of the Holy City. We cannot allow any change in the character of the city of Jerusalem. The city should be kept intact until control of it is restored to its lawful inhabitants.

100. Allow me to turn to another Asian question: the question of Viet-Nam. Though not formally on the agenda of the United Nations, this question is nevertheless on the conscience of all mankind. A hot war has been in progress and the United Nations as an Organization of peace has been given no role but that of a helpless spectator. We are aware of the fact that the consequences of such developments are part of the primary responsibilities of big Powers. Meanwhile, for many different reasons it is not possible for small countries to remain unconcerned. Afghanistan, as an Asian country and a member of the international community, wishes to draw the attention of the world to the urgent need for the cessation of hostilities in Viet-Nam.

101. The miseries of Asia do not end here. There are certain recent developments which are of concern not only to the Asians, but also to the rest of the world. There has been a civil war in Pakistan. Civil war for any country is painfully destructive. Afghanistan is particularly distressed when it sees that this civil war is happening to a nation with which we have brotherly relations and for which we have deep sympathy, a sympathy we retain despite the political differences we have with the Government of Pakistan over the question of Pakhtunistan. If the tense situation between Pakistan and India is not returned to normal, the whole continent of Asia will suffer as a result of existing circumstances.

102. For averting the dangers of the present situation we have to place our hopes in the wisdom of Pakistan and India, which wisdom should make it possible to resolve the plight of the refugees in a spirit of co-operation between the two countries and with international co-operation based on humanitarian principles. It is our ardent wish that conditions will soon be created to enable the Pakistani refugees to return to their country in full confidence of their safety.

103. At this session we expect the United Nations to terminate a long-standing and well-known injustice done



with respect to the legitimate right of the People's Republic of China to representation in the United Nations and all its organs. The fallacy of that injustice has been proved by the fact that all sectors of world public opinion now appreciate the realities.

104. Afghanistan, as a neighbour of China, was one of the first countries to recognize the patent reality of the representation of the whole China by the Government of the People's Republic of China; it has supported and will always support the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China as the only legitimate Government of all China in all international organizations.

105. Afghanistan, in the continent of Asia, was the first country to stand up against colonialism, defending and safeguarding its own independence. It is quite natural, therefore, that our congratulations to the new Members of the United Nations should be most sincere and heartfelt. We are confident that the representatives of Bhutan, Bahrain, Qatar and Oman will convey the sincere sentiments of the people and Government of Afghanistan to their peoples and Governments.

106. The experience of Afghanistan in bloody conflicts with colonialists has been extremely bitter. The fact that some countries have achieved their independence without bloodshed is a source of pleasure for us, knowing that all this has taken place through the efforts of the United Nations and realizing that, without the existence of the United Nations, this would not have been possible. We owe our gratitude to the United Nations. But still there remains one painful fact that we cannot ignore: that is that all peoples and nations struggling for independence have not yet achieved their goal. Afghanistan, therefore, would demand more effective efforts by the United Nations in this field.

107. Afghanistan has been a member of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and both there and in the General Assembly has always defended the rights of the dependent peoples to self-determination and independence. We have always supported the struggle of the majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia, and the peoples of Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and other territories still under Portuguese domination. In the same manner, we have and will support the cause of independence in all other Non-Self-Governing Territories.

108. Because of our staunch and continuous support for the right of peoples to self-determination, it is quite natural that we should be concerned about the political aspirations of the people of Pakhtunistan, whether Pakhtunistanis or Baluchis, who, from the historical and ethnical viewpoint were not and can never be a part of the Indian subcontinent and whose territory was severed from their fatherland, Afghanistan, by the naked and brutal military force of a colonial Power. The land now referred to as Pakhtunistan was annexed to the new State of Pakistan in the subcontinent of India without recognition of the right of its people to self-determination, and in spite of the fact that no legal basis existed or exists for such a transfer.

109. The question of Pakhtunistan is one of special importance to us. The pursuance of this historic cause, the securing of the exercise of the right of those people to self-determination, is a right and an historical obligation of Afghanistan. Since Afghanistan has always hoped that this problem would be peacefully resolved, we have not brought it officially before the United Nations. At this stage I shall therefore go no further into the details of the matter, but I should like to be allowed to emphasize the seriousness of this problem, which is one of the remnants of colonialism.

110. Undoubtedly, the greatest and most important aim of mankind is international peace and security. But real peace and security cannot be attained without securing a relative balance in the field of development. The inequality between the rich and the poor nations, commonly referred to as the "gap", should be filled, as there is no distance between development and peace, which are synonymous in our times.

111. Among the developing countries there are more unfortunate countries. I therefore deem it necessary to draw the attention of the Assembly to the special case of the land-locked, developing and least developed countries.

112. The problems of the land-locked and the least developed countries have been the subject of different studies by various organs of the United Nations. The International Development Strategy [resolution 2626 (XXV)] has recognized the necessity of adopting special measures in their favour. We believe that the time has come to pass from generalities to specifics and to evolve comprehensive and concrete, but separate, action-programmes in favour of each of the two above-mentioned groups of countries. These action-programmes should be accompanied by a clear expression of the political will necessary for their implementation.

113. As discussions and deliberations in the recent session of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor Beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction revealed, land-locked developing countries have the right of free access to the sea-bed area, as well as the right of participation in its exploration and exploitation. Their geographical position and degree of economic development entitle them to special treatment. We expect the rights of these countries and their special needs to be taken into full consideration by the Sea-Bed Committee and the future conference on the law of the sea.

114. While appreciating the assistance rendered by the developed countries to the developing world, we see that there are bitter facts prevailing in this respect which hamper the pace of progress of those striving for the betterment of their living conditions. This is not the time or place for going into the details of this matter, but it can be predicted, from past economic trends and the implications of the present inflation in Western developed countries, that during the Second United Nations Development Decade the developing countries will be paying out even more than what they may expect to receive. It is obviously too late to seek any remedy for the past, but it is imperative to keep the past in mind in planning for the future. If this gap is not bridged, the developing countries will be confronted with staggering difficulties.

115. In the course of history, economic and social inequalities within different societies have led to the disruption of peace within the societies. The present inequalities among nations, if not remedied, will inevitably jeopardize world peace and security. With the development of modern technology and destructive armaments, only one conclusion can be anticipated: namely, that the majority of the people of the world will first become poorer, and then be destroyed. For this reason, a serious consideration of the question of disarmament and of the allocation of the resources so released to the development of the developing countries must be no longer regarded as a dream but recognized as a fundamental purpose of the United Nations.

116. What is important to a country like Afghanistan is the fact that a major part of the resources of the developing countries is also spent on armaments. Such expenses are imposed by world circumstances even on non-aligned countries, which do not belong to any military bloc and which have declared their non-alignment solely for the purpose of promoting world peace, international security, and their own development and progress.

117. However, it is clear and also understandable that we cannot expect that disarmament will be achieved outright or that the resources will be released for economic development when most needed. But realism and reason lead us to expect that the developed countries will join in positive and effective efforts in the direction of general and complete disarmament by agreeing not to make more arms. The total expenditure on armaments during one year amounts to \$215,000 million. Even the allocation of a portion of that sum to economic development would be a positive and effective contribution to international development.

118. In speaking of disarmament, may I take this opportunity to welcome the idea of convening a world disarmament conference? We believe that the time is ripe for such an approach to the question of disarmament and security, which undeniably requires a global action. Needless to say, the participation of the People's Republic of China and other countries whose representatives are not present at the disarmament talks would be extremely important in such a conference.

119. Although the pace of progress in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks is very slow, the impression of mutual confidence given by the super-Powers is heartening. It is our hope that that confidence will spread to all countries of the world and give the world a genuine sense of assurance.

120. It must be known that no understanding or agreement which does not reflect the interests of all nations, even if it is an understanding and agreement between all major Powers, can contribute to the promotion and protection of world peace and international security. It is for this reason that Afghanistan, as a non-aligned and developing country convinced that it can meet the needs of its people only under conditions of peace and security, demands that the rights of the developing countries in the political and economic world of the future be respected and recognized.

121. The protection and promotion of human rights is a special responsibility of the United Nations. The past years

have witnessed serious and more extensive violations of human rights in different parts of the world, as a result of the reluctance on the part of Member States to implement internationally recognized principles, declarations, conventions and covenants. We hope that this session of the Assembly will consider and recommend effective measures in this field.

122. My delegation, from the very inception of the idea, has supported the creation of the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights as a first step towards the future development of an international enforcement structure. We believe that the High Commissioner, in carrying out his functions, should give special attention to violations of human rights arising from racial discrimination and from colonial and alien domination.

123. Afghanistan was one of the first two authors of the very first proposal to recognize self-determination as an inalienable right of peoples and nations.<sup>4</sup> This right, and its implementation in the interest of all people under alien domination, remain the corner-stone of all fundamental rights and freedoms as enshrined in article 1 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [*resolution 2200 (XXI), annex*].

124. Being quite aware of the achievement of independence by a great number of countries and the ever-increasing membership of the United Nations, we must not forget that millions of people still live under alien domination. This is a great threat to peace and stability in many areas of the world.

125. Now that the classic form of colonialism is gradually vanishing, it is more important to pay special attention to other, and perhaps more dangerous, forms of domination, including the domination of many Territories and peoples in many parts of the world by alien Powers—especially by those which themselves, not very long ago, were colonies.

126. Both before and since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], Afghanistan strongly supported United Nations efforts to put an end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations—an undertaking which we entered into in your own great country, Mr. President.

127. Next comes the intolerable and inhuman question of racial discrimination. Our stand on this is more than well known. We have never failed to condemn *apartheid* and all forms of racial discrimination as flagrant violations of the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Therefore, we once more proclaim our support for the struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

128. Afghanistan welcomes the observance of the year 1971 as the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The Government of Afghanistan sincerely hopes that this International Year will prove to be an important step in the realization of its

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 63, document A/C.3/L.88.

purpose to achieve substantial progress in the elimination of all forms of racism and racial discrimination, including policies of *apartheid*.

129. Mr. President, Afghanistan wishes to see this session go down in history, as you have suggested, as the "Assembly of universality" [1934th meeting]. We further hope that this session will contribute to the suppression of the spirit of divisionism which has so much damaged the United Nations and the world. It is our hope that a united and universal attack will be launched against divisionism inside and outside the United Nations. Only then will mankind be confident enough to look forward hopefully to seeing a world united in order to achieve its common goals of peace and prosperity.

#### AGENDA ITEM 79

Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly:

- (a) Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions;
- (f) United Nations Staff Pension Committee

#### REPORTS OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/8461, A/8466)

130. Mr. RAMBISOON (Trinidad and Tobago), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: On behalf of the Fifth Committee, I have the honour to present its report to the Assembly on agenda item 79 (a) [A/8461]. The Fifth Committee has submitted a draft resolution, contained in paragraph 5 of the report, which it hopes will be adopted unanimously.

131. I also have the honour to present, on behalf of the Fifth Committee, the report on agenda item 79 (f) [A/8466]. The recommendation of the Committee is contained in paragraph 5 of the report, and it is hoped that this, too, will meet with the unanimous approval of the General Assembly.

*Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Fifth Committee.*

132. The PRESIDENT: The first report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 79 relates to a vacancy in the membership of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions. The recommendation of the Fifth Committee appears in paragraph 5 of its report [A/8461]. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly approves the draft resolution recommended by the Committee.

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 2755 (XXVI)).*

133. The PRESIDENT: The next recommendation of the Fifth Committee relates to a vacancy in the membership of the United Nations Staff Pension Committee. The draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee appears in paragraph 5 of its report [A/8466]. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly approves the draft resolution recommended by the Committee.

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 2756 (XXVI)).*

#### AGENDA ITEM 59

Assistance in cases of natural disaster:  
report of the Secretary-General

#### REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/8430)

134. Mr. MOUSSA (Egypt), Rapporteur of the Third Committee: I have the honour to introduce the first part of the report of the Third Committee on item 59 [A/8430]. The Third Committee decided, on 29 September, urgently to consider the grave situation existing in Afghanistan as a result of two successive years of drought, which resulted in shortage of food-stuffs and serious damage to the country's livestock industry, in connexion with item 59 of the agenda.

135. The Third Committee had before it a draft resolution submitted by a great number of countries and unanimously adopted on 5 October. Here, I should like to add Costa Rica to the names of the sponsors of the draft resolution given in paragraph 3 of document A/8430. Before the adoption of the draft resolution before the Assembly, may I state that the Committee had been made aware, by the representative of Afghanistan, of the situation existing in his country as a result of the two successive years of drought. The Committee also heard a statement by the Assistant Secretary-General for Inter-Agency Affairs in which he outlined the action already taken or envisaged by the United Nations system.

136. The draft resolution assures the people and the Government of Afghanistan of our deep sympathy in the face of this catastrophe and ensures assistance to it from and through available United Nations sources and channels. On behalf of the Third Committee, I recommend the draft resolution contained in paragraph 5 of document A/8430 to the unanimous approval of the General Assembly.

*Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Third Committee.*

137. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Jordan for an explanation of vote.

138. Mr. TOUKAN (Jordan): I was willing, on behalf of my delegation, to be among the co-sponsors of the draft resolution concerning the provision of assistance to Afghanistan. As a matter of fact, I must place on record that in my official capacity I expressed verbally and in writing to the representative of Afghanistan the support of my Government for this draft resolution and the readiness of my delegation to be one of its co-sponsors. Unfortunately, there was no opportunity to place those facts on record in the Third Committee. Hence the draft resolution came before this Assembly without having the name of my country among the large number of sponsors. Nevertheless, my delegation whole-heartedly supports the draft resolution and will willingly vote for it, and we express the hope that through this document the United Nations will be able to render every assistance to Afghanistan to overcome all the difficulties brought about by this natural disaster.

139. In conclusion, on behalf of my delegation, I assure the delegation of Afghanistan of my deep sympathy in

regard to this catastrophe and wish the noble Afghan people all happiness and prosperity.

140. The PRESIDENT: We shall now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 5 of document A/8430. The Third Committee adopted the draft resolution unanimously. If I hear no

objection I shall take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to do likewise.

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously (resolution 2757 (XXVI)).*

*The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.*