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President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of Jordan on a point of order.

Statement by the representative of Jordan

2. Mr. EL-'AAMIRY (Jordan): I asked for the floor on a point of order to bring to the attention of the Members of this General Assembly the following urgent and serious matter.

3. The Israeli occupying forces, pursuant to the policy of persecution and terrorism against peaceful Jordanian civilians in the occupied area of my country, have just deported the President of the Islamic Supreme Court in Jerusalem, Sheikh Abdul-Hamid Al-Sayeh, the leading Muslim personality.

4. The deportation of Sheikh Al-Sayeh—contrary to the principles of international law and in violation of United Nations resolutions regarding Jerusalem and the safety and welfare of the inhabitants—has aroused the indignation of the Arab population and brought an immediate protest by the leaders of the Christian and Muslim communities. This act of utter disregard for the elementary principles of law and order manifests the real aims of the aggressive intentions of Israel and forms part of a chain of direct challenge to the decisions and feeling of the General Assembly. The Israeli occupying forces are also embarking on the policy of reaping the fruits of their aggressive action by creating new Israeli settlements in Arab lands and changing the status quo in the area.

5. My Government, while bringing these urgent and serious matters to the attention of the Members of the Assembly, reserves its right to pursue the question of these outrageous violations.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

6. Mr. ARENALES CATALAN (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): On taking the rostrum for the

first time during the twenty-second session of the General Assembly, I take special pleasure to congratulate you most sincerely, Mr. President, on your election to the highest post in the United Nations. The fair and skilful conduct of our work is guaranteed, first, by your experience and talent and, secondly, by the spirit of international understanding reflected in your inaugural statement. My delegation is doubly gratified, because your election constitutes the first implementation of the principle of equity which inspired General Assembly resolution 1990 (XVIII). It inaugurates the optional rotation of the Presidency of this Assembly and gives effect not only to a precept of justice but also to a principle of international philosophy which the United Nations has wisely adopted, thus permitting the various geographical and political groups to contribute their spirit and culture to the function of guiding the work of the United Nations. We agree with the view expressed in the President's inaugural statement that world problems cannot be tackled unless the countries of Eastern Europe participate fully in the world-wide mission of the United Nations.

7. These remarks, which have given us an opportunity to stress our satisfaction at your election as President of the newly begun twenty-second session of the General Assembly, remind us that a year ago, when defining for the first time the new Guatemalan Government's position regarding its participation in the work of the United Nations, we based our policy essentially on the principles of universality and legality that we are reaffirming today. Similarly, I cannot begin my statement without restating our position regarding the problem of the admission of new Members; we should seek to ensure that all the peoples of the world are represented here on the basis of the recognition and acceptance of the principles of international coexistence embodied in the United Nations Charter.

8. However, Guatemala's statement in the general debate will not consist of a repetition of thoughts and reflections expressed during the previous Assembly, nor would my delegation achieve its objective by referring exhaustively or in detail, or even briefly, to the ninety-five items on our agenda which make up the heavy workload facing the twenty-second session of the Assembly. We shall leave it to our representatives in the various committees to state Guatemala's position on these items. On this occasion we merely wish to refer in very general terms to certain questions of particular importance which are before the present session of the General Assembly.

9. In the political sphere, with regard to the questions of Viet-Nam and the Middle East, we do not feel it would be opportune for the Guatemalan delegation, in contributing to the work of the present Assembly,

to deal during the general debate with the highly controversial aspects which might point the way towards short-term or long-term solutions to these very serious problems. The First Committee will consider these matters more fully in the light of present political realities, future prospects and the political will manifested by the opposing sides. It is, however, opportune to defend the United Nations against an easy and widespread misconception which, although not new, has been repeated recently, when world opinion saw that the existence and activities of the United Nations had not produced immediate and effective solutions to the two gravest international conflicts, with which we have been concerned in the past and continue to be most actively concerned today.

10. Last year, on this rostrum [1413th meeting] we strongly urged the United Nations to take more action regarding the Viet-Nam problem and appealed to Member States to permit and facilitate the diplomatic activities of the Secretary-General, which, then as now, we regarded as one of the weapons which the political circumstances of the conflict permitted the United Nations to use with a view to bringing the war to the conference table within the framework of the Geneva Agreements. The peoples of the world continue to be moved by the tragedy of Viet-Nam, which has plunged so many families into mourning, but we must congratulate the Secretary-General for the self-sacrificing persistence with which he has pursued his diplomatic activities; we ask him to continue his efforts and reaffirm the confidence which the people and Government of Guatemala place in him.

11. This is the most that the United Nations has been able to do during the past year, but it shields one of its principal organs, the Secretariat, from moral condemnation. That condemnation is born of the frustration and bitterness felt by the peoples of the world when they see that the United Nations is powerless to end the war in Viet-Nam. They accuse the Organization of being impotent and of being effective only when the two biggest world Powers are in agreement. That condemnation is perhaps well founded, but it is wrongly directed. It is not the United Nations which is guilty.

12. When the peoples of the world sought to organize themselves after the Second World War, they chose to set up an international parliamentary system rather than a super-State. That parliament reflects not only the thinking and conscience of mankind but also its will to act. Consequently, the powers of the United Nations and the scope of its activities are governed by the wishes of its Member States. However, certain realities made it necessary to devise a unique parliamentary system, with a Security Council having special functions and a veto system; those same realities have prevented any reform movement or any political will to act from gaining enough momentum to bring about a change in the rules of coexistence which govern the activities of the international community; an increase in the real power of the United Nations has been neither desired nor permitted. In these circumstances, the accusation is timely but should be levelled at us, for we have not been determined or clever enough to find an immediate and effective solution to a conflict which is the most tragic example of the main problem of our time. It

is to be hoped that in future aggression will cease and that those who profess a philosophy of violence will realize that their position is ethically invalid and runs counter to the course of history.

13. Turning to the Middle East, it will perhaps cause some astonishment if I suggest that the United Nations may perhaps bear less responsibility than would seem to be the case: We are responsible because we did not realize that the temporary resolution of a crisis created an appearance of calm whereas in fact there had been no fundamental solution. We are responsible because we did not try to face the difficulties involved in seeking a solution to the various elements of the problem. However, we are not responsible when efforts based on thought and persuasion are wrecked by the inflexible political positions taken by the parties most directly concerned. Above all, at this time and at this stage of the problem, it should be stressed that it is difficult for efforts based on reflection and persuasion to succeed when the warlike passions of the peoples concerned have been fanned, not checked.

14. History, and the experience of the United Nations itself, show that even when there is a theoretical solution and even when such a solution is supported, as it sometimes is, by the political will of the leaders concerned, that solution is not feasible so long as unbridled passions tie the hands of statesmen who have a constructive vision of history and are willing to negotiate. We therefore feel that this Assembly will find it difficult to surpass the arduous and unrelenting efforts of the fifth emergency special session, which recently completed its meetings and transmitted to us the results of its work and its deliberations. Without being pessimistic, however, we believe that neither the fifth emergency special session nor the present session of the Assembly can find an effective and permanent solution to the problems of the Middle East until, with the help of a measure of restraint and clear-sighted judgement on the part of the leaders concerned, the passions of the peoples involved in the conflict have been calmed to a degree that will enable those peoples and their Governments to take a clearer view of their historical destiny within the framework of peaceful and constructive coexistence.

15. While other regions of the world are setting aside their political differences and seeking ways to achieve economic and social co-operation that will give them a greater degree of regional independence and offer their peoples more opportunities for development, other peoples which share a common ancestry are furiously fighting each other, thus risking their lives, their very existence and their regional independence. The least that this Assembly can do—and this should perhaps be its first step—is to set aside its arguments over the political realities of the region and its future prospects and appeal to the leaders of the Governments and peoples concerned to calm their unbridled and warlike emotions and seek pragmatic formulas that will enable them to shape their destiny for the benefit of present and future generations.

16. I cannot complete any comments on the political items without referring briefly to aggression and in-

tervention as phenomena which are troubling these and other regions of the world. Seventeen years ago, the United Nations expressed the view that aggression could be defined, and one year later the view that it should be defined. In May 1967 the latest committee established to study the problem became embroiled in a procedural dispute. Guatemala does not discount the possibility that a definition of aggression would further United Nations efforts to avoid, check or prevent aggression, and we are prepared to continue lending our active support to the attainment of that goal. Despite the fact that the specialists in legal and political philosophy have gone deeply into conceptual elements that might become a source of concern if brought face to face with political realities or prospects, Guatemala feels that a limited definition is feasible, provided that it is supplemented by the principle of non-intervention, which is the keystone of our foreign policy and of the concept of coexistence embodied in the United Nations Charter. Even so, we cannot but feel some misgivings when we reflect on the fact that we do not need a definition of aggression in order to identify the most serious problems that affect or may affect international peace as violations of the Charter. It would be regrettable if an intellectual and philosophical effort to define a principle of international law were used as a pretext for demagogic verbal exchanges and by accusations and counter-accusations in a renewed outbreak of the political war of words. We shall have an opportunity for such verbal exchanges in connexion with other items, in accordance with the rules of this international forum.

17. To conclude our consideration of the political items, Guatemala would sin by omission if it did not express its continuing concern regarding the problems of world-wide disarmament and denuclearization; it intends to make its modest intellectual and political contribution when these problems are discussed in the First Committee. We pay a heartfelt tribute of admiration to Mexico and Latin America for the Treaty of Tlatelolco, signed at Mexico City on 14 February 1967, which prohibits nuclear weapons in our region. We hope that the nuclear Powers will soon be able to sign the second protocol of the Treaty of Tlatelolco, committing themselves to respect Latin America as a denuclearized zone. May this Treaty serve as an example and stimulate the efforts of certain great Powers, which we view with increasing optimism.

18. I would recall here what the Secretary-General has said on this subject in the introduction to his Annual Report [A/6701/Add.1]; we support his views and hope that the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, on which the United States and the Soviet Union have already reached a large measure of agreement, will become a reality with the attainment of agreement on the problem of guarantees.

19. We remain concerned about the continuance of atomic explosions and are ready to support the cause of any country that justifiably considers itself threatened by them, but we also believe that the prohibition of nuclear weapons is not necessarily incompatible with the technical development of atomic power for peaceful purposes, the opportunity for which should be open to all peoples.

20. I come now to the second section of my statement, in which I shall comment on three basic aspects of the economic and social work of the United Nations. Before doing so, however, it would perhaps be appropriate to recall the concern and the sense of urgency which our peoples expect of us when we deal with this important sector of our work. There is always a tendency to think of the United Nations as a peace-keeping organization. World opinion and Governments easily forget that the Preamble to the Charter refers to social progress and better standards of life for our peoples.

21. I shall not recall the words of that distinguished servant of mankind, Mr. Paul G. Hoffman, who said that the United Nations was concerned not only with peace-keeping but also with peace-building, for that might seem to subordinate economic and social activities to peace-keeping activities. Guatemala, like its sister nations on this continent and the other relatively under-developed countries, is keenly aware that the needs of our most underprivileged classes force us to recognize a principle embodied in the United Nations Charter, namely, that economic and social progress is a goal in itself, completely justified by a precept of justice. We do not deny that the cause of peaceful coexistence will be furthered by improving the lot of this growing proletariat of nations, but we believe—indeed, we are convinced—that, as far as the great majority of the world's population is concerned, it is sometimes more urgently important to solve their overwhelming problems relating to health, food and education than to maintain a political equilibrium in some remote corner of the world. This does not mean that we should falter in our determined search for peace or slacken our drive to establish a form of coexistence which will make constructive international life possible, but our Governments and international organizations should make an equal effort to solve the problems relating to the economic and social development of the underprivileged.

22. Guatemala is pleased to note that 85 per cent of the United Nations budget is allocated to economic and social activities, but we are still deeply concerned about the dispersion and duplication of effort, particularly within the United Nations family itself. I shall revert to this matter and to the proliferation of international bodies later in this statement, but at this point I should like to note with satisfaction that the new United Nations Development Programme already represents a step along the road to synthesis and co-ordination which reverses the regrettable trend towards the dispersion of effort. The goals of this Programme, to which Guatemala owes an eternal debt of gratitude, are quite clear. Fortunately, its effectiveness depends primarily on an efficient administration which can carry out its programme of practical achievements. We believe that the first steps towards the goal of efficiency have been taken in the right direction.

23. The other two major economic and social subjects to which I wish to refer are those having to do with movements towards economic integration and with the problems of world trade.

24. Last year, I expressed our appreciation for the co-operation which the United Nations had given us, through the Economic Commission for Latin America,

in establishing the Central American Common Market. I am pleased to inform you now that in the course of this year, having discovered the pragmatic approach which will enable the continent to shape its common destiny, Latin America's regional consciousness has sown the first seeds of continental economic integration. We feel that these movements towards integration facilitate and accelerate the solution of problems of internal economic development; experience has also shown, however, that they serve to allay and place in proper perspective various political differences which in the past might have hampered coexistence between nations.

25. Europe's post-war statesmen had a political as well as an economic objective in mind when they launched the European Common Market, and the economic structure of the present-day world gives Latin America no alternative but to work for integration; the United Nations should promote this type of co-operation in other regions as well, for that would not only further economic and social goals but also yield a political dividend that would assist our Organization in its peace-keeping function. If only that thought could strike home with special force in some area which is today in the throes of a particularly grave international crisis.

26. The third and last economic subject to which I wish to refer is world trade. Although acceptance has been gained in recent decades for the principle that social justice is a basic right of our peoples and a primary obligation of their Governments, the new pragmatic approach which is taking hold throughout the world is reducing the ability of our peoples and countries to seek recognition for economic justice in our international relations.

27. We must acknowledge that there are times when political goodwill is not enough to bring about a quick solution to the conflicts and imbalances of the complex, interdependent structure of world trade, particularly since private enterprise also plays a decisive role in that interdependence and in that problem. However, we also believe that the problem will never be resolved if the political will to do so does not exist and that, given that will, the obstacles posed by complexity, interdependence and the status quo, gigantic though they may be, can be overcome. Convincing proof of the latter statement is provided by the success of the Kennedy Round negotiations, a success which affected mainly the industrialized countries, while clear evidence of what happens when the political will is lacking can be seen in the weakness of UNCTAD.

28. My delegation wishes to express its appreciation to Dr. Raúl Prebisch and the staff of UNCTAD for the patience and self-sacrifice they have shown in charting the course which we—and particularly the developed countries—must follow in our common effort. A note of pessimism must be sounded, however, with regard to the inability of the developed countries to accept the eight points for immediate action proposed by thirty-one countries at the session held in September 1966.^{1/} Of particular importance to Latin America are the international coffee, sugar and cocoa agreements, the elimination of non-universal preferences for all

^{1/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Supplement No. 15 (A/6315/Rev.1), para. 42.

the under-developed countries, the granting of universal non-discriminatory preferences and, certainly, the items relating to financial assistance, particularly non-tied loans. We hope that at the meeting of the seventy-seven in Algiers it will be possible to work out a joint presentation which can be accepted by the developed countries at the New Delhi conference in February 1968. If that does not happen, more effective approaches will have to be sought.

29. Since my Government is one which seeks to reflect the deep democratic concerns of its people, it would be inexcusable for me to go on to the next section of this statement without mentioning the International Year for Human Rights. While it is true that in some countries a sense of respect for human rights has yet to be instilled into certain social classes which have remained intractable in their prejudices, it is primarily certain Governments which the United Nations has in mind in making its general appeal. Unfortunately for mankind, human rights are constantly violated in many parts of the world; what cannot and must not be permitted, however, is complicity on the part of Governments, whether through acts of commission or of omission. I feel compelled once again to express my delegation's condemnation of the policy of apartheid, although, in so doing, I do not wish to narrow the application of my earlier remarks, which referred to matters of world-wide scope. Since the goal of translating democracy from theory to practice is one for which men must constantly struggle, it is our fervent hope that the patient work of the United Nations and the universal exhortations of our peoples will advance our fight for the observance of human rights.

30. In going on to the next section of this statement, I feel moved to note the manner in which peace, justice and development, the corner-stones on which our Organization rests, seem to converge as common objectives when we deal with the broad range of colonial problems. Guatemala now reaffirms, as it will again in the Fourth Committee, its unyielding anti-colonialist position. Let us point out once again, however, that the goal of freedom must be coupled with guarantees and arrangements that will ensure true political and economic independence in keeping with the enlightened present-day principle of dignified, voluntary interdependence.

31. Even in this general debate, it would be inconceivable not to mention the cases of Rhodesia, South West Africa and the Portuguese Territories. Let me merely say that Guatemala will support any action taken by the United Nations, or on the latter's behalf and with its authorization, with a view to imposing the will of this Organization, which, within the framework of our institutions based on international law, reflects the thinking and the conscience of those Member States which signed the Charter and are still prepared to live in accordance with it.

32. There is another colonial question which we should mention: our traditional dispute with the Government of the United Kingdom concerning sovereignty over the territory of Belize is still in the process of being mediated by the United States. Some progress has been made in exploring the various positions of the parties, which remain mindful at all

times of their concern for the advancement and well-being of the inhabitants of Belize.

33. While it would be premature to forecast the results of the mediation, I can state that we are exhausting all means of seeking a solution. In the meantime, as it traditionally does, Guatemala reserves its rights concerning this question in so far as relates to its participation in the present General Assembly.

34. As I begin this last section of my statement, it is appropriate to recall that the supporting base of this entire edifice of objectives and programmes is our remarkable international civil service, which is without an equal in its spirit of self-sacrifice and disinterested devotion. My delegation considers it important, however, to indicate clearly its concern regarding our agenda and the work of the United Nations and its specialized agencies and subsidiary organs. Indeed, while the Guatemalan Government is concerned at the proliferation of international agencies and entities, with their respective budgetary burdens and the attendant risk of duplication of functions, we are also concerned at the exaggerated, ambitious tendency to enlarge not only the debating agenda but also the work agenda of existing bodies. There is no question that the range of international activities, whether carried out independently or in conjunction with national activities, is virtually unlimited. The Guatemalan Government would like to impress upon the delegates at all international meetings, and also upon our international secretariats, the imperative need to cut back projects and work agendas, having regard not only to the budgetary burdens involved but also the necessity of concentrating efforts on the highest-priority projects. This consideration, which should be kept in mind in all our international activities, must be coupled with another and equally essential one: the urgent need to co-ordinate the work of the United Nations with that of its specialized agencies and subsidiary organs as well as with that of regional and sub-regional organizations. It is essential for the United Nations family to embrace without delay the principle of the distribution and co-ordination of work and to avoid duplication and dispersion of functions and of material and human resources. The Fifth Committee should adopt very strict resolutions in that regard, but our Governments should also give equally strict instructions to all their delegations to international bodies.

35. I now come to my concluding remarks. Our main contribution will be made by our representatives in the various committees. However, we are equally sincere in these basic observations which we wished to make during the general debate in order to reaffirm our desire to live together peacefully and constructively with all Members of the United Nations. We continue to hope that this coexistence, which is the foundation and inspiration of the United Nations Charter, can become a reality for all nations and in relation to all of them.

36. We also reaffirm that it is our belief, our aim and our hope that situations of enmity and conflict should be overcome. It is regrettable that the lessons of history have not yet impressed themselves upon certain Governments, which do not recognize the

futility of violence as a means of conquering the destiny of mankind, which rests on the ethical consciousness of the individual. We, who are the first to proclaim and observe the principle of non-intervention and the right of peoples to decide their own destiny, wish also to be the first to recognize that the only form of international coexistence is that embodied in the United Nations Charter, which is based on mutual respect.

37. In expressing these thoughts, Guatemala reaffirms its faith in the United Nations and voices the hope that this twenty-second General Assembly will be crowned with pre-eminent success.

38. Mr. AMIAMA TIO (Dominican Republic) (translated from Spanish): My delegation wishes to offer the President the congratulations due to him on his election to preside over the work of this General Assembly, for we are encouraged by the hope that the work that awaits us on the proposed agenda will be carried out in the favourable atmosphere engendered by the goodwill of all of us who bear the grave responsibilities we assumed under the United Nations Charter. His election is a guarantee that this will be so, despite the magnitude of the task and the obstacles that will stand in the way of our efforts to find viable solutions to the problems on our agenda that will satisfy all the interests concerned and the aspirations that we all share.

39. Under your skilful direction we must hope that all the difficulties, disagreements and misunderstandings that may arise during this session that is just starting will be helped by the moderating spirit and the harmonious goodwill that prevailed at the birth of our Organization at San Francisco. The United Nations gained maturity after being subjected to the most cruel tests, which, far from having weakened its power as the chief instrument for saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war, have enabled it to rise afresh each time with the necessary vitality to safeguard and to proclaim with authority the pronouncements in the preamble and the guiding principles enshrined in the Charter.

40. At the last session of the General Assembly, the delegation of the Dominican Republic appeared for the first time as the genuine representatives of a democratic State ruled by a constitutional Government elected by universal suffrage, after the vicissitudes that the principles on which the Republic had been based in 1844 had suffered for many years.

41. The Government which I have the honour to represent at this rostrum not only bases its desires for justice and progress on the will of the people to survive and to work out an effective democracy on the lines of that defined in the Charter of Santiago de Chile,^{2/} but also to give unlimited respect to the legal order of the United Nations and to the rights inherent in man, which are the guarantee of the human species.

42. At the end of a year of that profession of faith, my delegation is glad to affirm that today the Dominican Republic is a State based on law and its democratic institutions are guaranteed by a Constitution that has satisfied the social, political and economic

^{2/} Organization of American States, Fifth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Santiago, Chile, 12-18 August 1969, Final Act.

demands of the Dominican people, despite the economic and financial collapse from which the country was suffering when the constitutional period of Government started on 1 July 1966, as a result of a prolonged political crisis and the ravages of the civil war.

43. The progress made by the Dominican Republic during the constitutional period of Government under the leadership of Mr. Joaquin Balaguer has fully justified the confidence of the people, who voted overwhelmingly in favour of it. Their vote confirmed the determination of the people to live under the protection of a democratic régime that was able to establish the rule of justice, internal public confidence and international prestige, after the disruption brought about by the serious events that had disturbed the institutional life of the Republic for years, when the armed and civil rebellions, facilitated by the previous armed conflict, had not yet been put down and the majority of the population had an alarming quantity of destructive weapons at their disposal and veritable arsenals were concealed in various parts of the country. It must be recognized that while, on the one hand, the task to be carried out called for a bloodless campaign for this type of disarmament, on the other hand there was a need for spiritual disarmament to overcome the danger and obstacles in the way of restoring to all minds the good sense and wisdom that had perished under the impetus of a state of disorder, pitilessly directed, that had taken possession of the will and patriotic sentiments that have been the outstanding characteristics of a people enamoured of freedom and independence.

44. At the present time the country has made great progress towards the reconciliation and pacification of the communities, profoundly divided by political rancour which a disrupted economy has made worse and worse, bringing the disorder to a state not unlike that of the disasters that shatter the normal life of peoples.

45. I would not be sincere in making this statement if I did not acknowledge that the country is still faced with some difficulties, which must be recognized as the remnants of the process of general disruption and of a real state of war with all the evils that such situations generate.

46. These difficulties naturally affect the Government's plans for the total restoration of the national economy and of the results that are to be expected of the finances of a progressive State, where the juridical and administrative authorities are doing their utmost to overcome one of the most disturbed periods in the history of the country.

47. In spite of these reservations, which I feel obliged to make, I must state here that the general Dominican situation already allows us to hope for the progressive recovery of all the factors that are essential for the restoration of the economic order and the rationalization of financial stability.

48. While we are still convalescing from many of the merciless evils that endangered democratic principles in the national territory, I can affirm that the necessary safeguards for the investment of national and foreign capital have been strengthened and public and private initiative has been encouraged by appropriate modern means, for the mobilization of all the pro-

ductive forces of the country in order to rescue the copious natural resources that can stimulate those investments and the boundless wealth of possibilities that the country offers from the stagnation that had overtaken them. Thus we hope to overcome, in a short space of time, the inertia that has been the actual cause of the delay in making progress in a medium that is so propitious for the achievement of the techniques recommended to the less developed countries.

49. In order to give the development plans a more dynamic character, the public Administration has made a great effort to give undiscriminating assistance for the development of diversified agriculture; it has managed to inspire confidence in stock breeding activities, which could rise to much higher levels from which the producers could profit in foreign markets; it has improved the deficit situation of the sugar industry in the dependent zones of the State. In that last respect, the increase in the quota assigned to the Dominican Republic in the United States market, after negotiations which were welcomed in the competent official centres, offers new prospects, not only in regard to the economic yield itself but also to the acquisition of the currency needed to give a more ambitious direction to the economic and financial system, whose scientific machinery is already operating, governed by the most advanced methods adapted to the modalities, possibilities and demands of the medium for which these instruments of economic progress in our time are designed.

50. In the Government's programmes, which cover all promising fields, electrification is also being considered as a means of ensuring the constant expansion of industry, better conditions of economic life through the reduction of unemployment to a minimum and better paid use of labour.

51. These programmes, which are now in full operation, include a considerable number of public works of every kind and provide for immediate and direct action by the Government to carry out the large-scale building activities that are needed to solve, as far as possible, the disturbing problem of housing.

52. The development plans, whose scope I need not enlarge upon in this sketch of the Dominican situation, are also designed to provide greater guarantees and facilities for trade expansion and, in particular, to secure foreign markets for the national products and to stimulate an immediate and rapid increase in those productive activities. It is for this reason that the Dominican Republic supports the principles and resolutions concerning Latin American economic integration, which culminated in the Meeting of American Chiefs of State at Punta del Este^{3/} and, more recently, the session held at Asunción, Paraguay,^{4/} at the ministerial level, which was an essential step for the adoption of the Latin American common market within the prescribed time.

53. All these projects, some of which are already in operation, have been and will be possible in my delegation's country because of the Government's policy

^{3/} OAS, Meeting of American Chiefs of State, held at Punta del Este, Uruguay, from 12 to 14 April 1967.

^{4/} Second Session of the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Latin American Free Trade Association, held at Asunción, Paraguay, from 28 August to 3 September 1967.

of arming all men with goodwill and initiative and freeing the minds of the people of the passions that have so deplorably divided the Dominican family. The Administration is indeed convinced that the destiny of the country depends on the pacification of consciences and the passage from revolution, in the way in which it was suffered by the people, to a true revolution of the people, consisting of progress and the uniting of all Dominicans to channel the immutable attributes of the Republic towards a new destiny of civilization and general well-being.

54. Lastly, I must acknowledge that the technical assistance we have received from the United Nations, the economic and technical assistance of the Organization of American States and the economic impetus that the Alliance for Progress has been providing through that organization, in accordance with the principles adopted at the Punta del Este meeting which gave rise to the Alliance, have been of great help in the efforts undertaken by the Dominican Government and people to lift the country out of the unfavourable situation into which it had sunk.

55. I thought it well, before speaking of the items on the agenda, to give a precise survey of the progress made by the Dominican Republic and I hope that in so doing I have confirmed the favourable predictions made by the Dominican delegation at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly. It gives my delegation great pleasure to express its gratitude for the honour that has been conferred on it in being chosen as one of the Vice-Presidents of this Assembly. This is undoubtedly a recognition of the efforts that my Government is making to reaffirm the principles of effective democracy and to comply with the rules established by the Charter, as well as reflecting proportional representation of the various geographical regions.

56. The Dominican Republic reaffirms the sacred and inalienable right of self-determination of peoples. This principle brought about the separation of our people from the metropolitan country and the appearance of the Republic in international life, influenced by the liberal ideas of the French revolution, the liberating ideals of Simon Bolivar and the declarations concerning determinant rights.

57. Armed with these firm convictions, we shall always support the immutable right of peoples to become free and independent States, wherever they may be and providing the desire for independence is an expression of the will of the dependent communities, whatever may be the size of the territory or the density of the population.

58. We believe that our status as a State constituted in exercise of the right of self-determination, to which all peoples are entitled, does not allow us to disregard this principle or to remain indifferent to any weakening of it by the governing Powers for reasons of self-interest or policy.

59. In 1961, during the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, the Dominican delegation maintained that, if denuclearization was indivisible, then it should be recognized that Latin America, as a region, had the right to adopt an individual denuclearization agreement. Scarcely five years later, this

view was shared by nearly all the Latin American countries.

60. This proposal for the banning of nuclear weapons, which was designed in this part of the hemisphere for the countries which not only realize that it is impossible for them to produce weapons of this destructive nature but are reluctant to weaken their economy still further when there are such urgent demands for material, social, political and cultural development, produced the essentially wise result of bringing about a collective will opposed to the introduction of weapons of mass destruction in this part of the world, in conflict with the inequality of defence of the Powers involved in this matter.

61. As a result of this state of mind, on 14 February 1967 the Latin American countries signed in Mexico the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America [see A/6663], which had come about as a result of the various sessions which had preceded the drafting and signature of this instrument. The Dominican Government's decision to become a party to this important Treaty does not in any way interfere with any agreements on this serious problem which the nuclear Powers may make among themselves.

62. In keeping with the position that we have adopted on the question of general and complete disarmament, my country will continue its efforts to bring about the favourable atmosphere which may lead to the adoption, through the United Nations, of an instrument giving effect to this noble aspiration.

63. In accordance with our consistent devotion to the natural principle of the self-determination of peoples, my delegation is inclined prima facie to think that, at the right time and place, the people of Korea should express their wishes through an electoral consultation, in a direct vote held on the basis of universal suffrage and guaranteed by the United Nations. For this purpose it would be necessary to prepare a consultation based on the functions that have been entrusted to the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.

64. My Government doubts whether, in the state of affairs which large regions subject to the principles of the Charter and to other advances of positive international law are experiencing, a step of such great implications could be taken in the near future. The problem calls for clear and precise replies to many unknown factors in order that the final decision on the subject, and its implementation, may not meet with other complications that might make it more difficult to put an end to a situation in which not only the Powers concerned but all States Members of the United Nations are interested.

65. Whatever decision is taken on this important item of the agenda will have to conform to the requirements of the legal and peaceful settlement of disputes. Whatever steps meets with general agreement, it will have to take into account all the previous happenings that led to the Korean situation, with the important participation of the Security Council in the circumstances with which we are all familiar. Whatever settlement is agreed upon, it will have to satisfy the need for effective and legitimate security measures calculated

to maintain the *status quo* until such time as the final decisions are put into effect.

66. With regard to the policy of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, we have to admit that whatever proceedings may be contemplated must be in keeping with the declaration in paragraph 3 of Article 1 of the Charter, which lays down the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations: "To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion". This is clearly a provision that Member States are called upon to fulfil, although the subject of human rights has become a glaring reality as the cause of international tensions which are liable to unleash the scourge of war, a result which all States which are subject to the régime of the world Organization are in duty bound to avoid.

67. This situation is one of great delicacy which requires to be handled with the greatest circumspection, in view of the fact that the principles of the Charter oblige Member States to refrain from intervening in the domestic affairs of other States, even if those Members of the United Nations are subjects of international law which are not contractually bound to the United Nations.

68. On this matter my Government is of the opinion that, in view of the tensions to which we have referred, it would be wise not to prolong the sanctions which have been adopted beyond what is expedient and not to extend their field of application unduly. It is this thought that gives the Dominican Republic serious doubts with regard to Rhodesia and South West Africa.

69. I must explain that my Government regards these general considerations only as a basis for deductions which may meet with the approval of the States which are trying to find more perfect solutions.

70. The Dominican Republic intends to take part in the second session of UNCTAD, which is to be held at New Delhi from 1 February to 25 March 1968, taking a realistic view of our problems and with the desire to obtain the co-operation of the developed countries in confronting the delaying influence, a social evil which is just as complex as the evils of ignorance, destitution and poverty suffered by peoples. It is to be hoped that we shall have the same hope at New Delhi that we had at Geneva in 1964.

71. Since that last session, there have been as many obstacles to the progress of the under-developed countries as there were before. When it is possible to appraise the practical results achieved, it will become clear that very little progress has been made towards the achievement of the objectives set forth in the Geneva Final Act.^{5/} In this connexion special mention should be made of the deterioration in the terms of trade brought about in the foreign trade of the countries which are struggling to achieve more satisfactory levels.

^{5/} *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development*, vol. I, *Final Act and Report* (United Nations publications, Sales No.: 64.II.B.11), Annexes, Annex B.1 (a).

72. I do not think there is any need for me to repeat here that we must always recognize that the development of our countries depends essentially on their exports. This is a problem inherent in development not only as a vital necessity for the peoples but even more as an imperative requirement for survival. Thus the fall in the prices of many of our basic products to levels that are sometimes desperately low is a tragedy for us. Nevertheless, we feel that in this age of burning realities we must not foster illusions that might lead to acts of unforeseeable consequences.

73. The item concerning the world social situation is also of special interest to us. It is only by a thorough knowledge of the facts and of their different characteristics in the different regions that we can arrive at effective ways of finding specific and workable solutions in a field of such magnitude and such complexity. There is no denying that wars have their origin in the spirit of men and it is therefore in the spirit of men that the defences of peace must be conceived.

74. The majority of countries in the world are confronting a crisis which is not only political and economic but also, and very emphatically, a crisis of understanding. It is clear from history that misunderstanding among the countries of the world has been the cause of the suspicion and mistrust that have dragged nations into the disagreements and frictions that cause war. We therefore feel that the item should be discussed on the basis of all the particular points that are likely to generate social phenomena and to bring the peoples nearer to the road that leads to their well-being, which in the last resort is the road of peace.

75. We urge once again that the problem of Viet-Nam should be solved on the basis of agreements satisfying the opposing interests and we recognize that the precedent established by the peaceful and democratic elections in which the people of Viet-Nam had an opportunity to express their wishes freely through their votes is a sign that a legitimate right properly exercised can still meet the challenge of armed force. These results provide a fresh element on which to form the decision that must be taken on the request of the peace-loving peoples.

76. Lastly, we reiterate our confidence that the situation in the Middle East can be settled through negotiations which respect the procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

77. The blood of Quijote flows in the veins of all us Latin Americans to a greater or lesser degree, and for that reason we are always ready to break lances in honour of the great lady called freedom, for it is only she who will produce the peace for which we long. We must be attached to peace and international brotherhood if we wish to survive. Only through the widest co-operation among peoples, the sole means at our disposal, can we find a strong shield against the disasters of individual ambitions. Our voice is the voice of the small nation that calls upon the great nations to reflect, so that they may fulfil their great destiny and their great duty. The voice of the weak, armed with law and justice, can be stronger than the voice of the strong, armed with their own political interest. We do not like to see the great nations using

their power to trample on the small, nor do we like to see various nations aligned for the destruction of other nations or for destruction among themselves. A pragmatic conception of life teaches us that political inequality inevitably accompanies the juridical equality of States.

78. These considerations bring to mind the unchanging Dominican thesis, faithfully and brilliantly expressed by Dr. Americo Lugo, our country's great orator and internationalist, at the Fourth American International Conference, held at Buenos Aires in 1910, for we have always pursued a great ideal, striving for it and ready to die for it if necessary. This great voice of a small nation at this big Conference was praised by Leopoldo Lugones, the eminent Argentine poet, who said: "Whether or not it is the voice of the weak, it is the most honourable and the noblest that has been heard at this Conference". Dr. Americo Lugo, criticizing the lack of a great ideal in the programme, said: "The established nations which are prosperous and rich are looking for markets; but those that are not prosperous but are weak and poor are seeking peace, stability and freedom before markets. I do not believe in wealth"—he added—"but in virtue, ideals are more necessary than bread. To think one thing and to profess another dishonours diplomacy. Sincerity is the chastity of nations". Carlos Mascari called Lugo "the valiant defender of the American ideal".

79. Let us hold fast to these ideas and follow this path. As far as we Dominicans are concerned, that is our national and international line of conduct.

80. Mr. RAMOS (Philippines): Allow me on behalf of my delegation to extend to you, Mr. President, our warm congratulations on your election to preside over the deliberations of the General Assembly at its twenty-second session. Your election as the first representative from the socialist countries of Eastern Europe to head the General Assembly is a significant event in the history of the United Nations. It symbolizes the gratifying degree of maturity, tolerance and understanding which the United Nations has attained since San Francisco and through the period of the cold war. We have come to realize that although our countries may profess divergent political beliefs, this should not deter us from devising a practical working relationship that would enable us together to strengthen the fabric of peace in the world and to advance the welfare of mankind.

81. I should also like to associate myself with the expressions of sincere admiration and appreciation which preceding speakers have addressed to the outgoing President of the Assembly, Ambassador Abdul Rahman Pazhwak of Afghanistan, for the able and statesmanlike manner in which he guided the deliberations of this body during one of the most critical periods of its existence.

82. Allow me to outline the views of my Government on some of the crucial issues confronting the international community.

83. Of the gravest concern to us is the situation in Viet-Nam. We are concerned not merely because of the geographic proximity of the Philippines to that country but because that land has become the testing-

ground for the free world's determination to resist acts of subversion and aggression masquerading as wars of national liberation. The triumph of Hanoi and the Viet-Cong in South Viet-Nam would mean that movements of the same nature could with impunity be started anywhere in the world and pursued to success. It would give a new and more dangerous dimension to subversion and aggression, and no country anywhere would be immune. In the interest of our own national survival we do not wish to see this happen.

84. Let me pause at this juncture to say that we endorse wholeheartedly the proposal of Mr. Andrei Gromyko, the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, in his policy statement on the necessity of accelerating the elaboration of the definition of aggression in the light of the present international situation [1563rd meeting]. We reject, however, his charge that my country, together with the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand and the Republic of Korea, is an aggressor in Viet-Nam.

85. The Philippines, like the other allied nations, is in Viet-Nam in response to the plea of a sister nation for help in its life-and-death struggle to preserve its liberty and national identity against subversion from within and aggression from without. My country maintains a civic action contingent in South Viet-Nam. It is there in a non-combat capacity. It is engaged in medical, engineering and civic action projects, and seeks to assist the Viet-Nameese people in their task of national reconstruction. We are in Viet-Nam to help, not to obstruct; to save, not to kill; to build, not to destroy.

86. The Viet-Nameese people have endured war for nearly a quarter of a century. Today, the situation in that country constitutes a serious threat to the security of South-East Asia and to the peace of the world. We therefore anxiously desire an end to the Viet-Nam conflict. It has become clear that a political settlement would be the speediest and most practical method of ending the war, and we would welcome an agreement to that end. Indeed, the President of the Philippines, Mr. Ferdinand Marcos, stated before this Assembly last year [1411th meeting] that the Philippines eagerly looks forward to a negotiated settlement in Viet-Nam whereby both North and South, together with their respective allies, would agree to a cessation of hostilities until such time as the Viet-Nameese people themselves can freely determine their own destiny in accordance with the principle of self-determination.

87. This continues to be our policy. We continue to support any initiative that could bring the war in Viet-Nam to the conference table. We agree with the Japanese delegation that the world should cease arguing as to which side is right and which is wrong, or which is the aggressor and which is the victim of aggression. What is urgent is that negotiations commence in order to bring this dangerous conflict to a speedy end. It is a matter of regret that in the past year efforts toward a pacific settlement failed to produce any positive results.

88. We would, however, emphasize that any peace negotiations must necessarily involve mutual accommodation. The suggested withdrawal of the allied forces from South Viet-Nam without a corresponding movement on the part of Hanoi can only lead to the

aggravation of the situation, and hence must be rejected. We cannot agree that peace must be purchased at any price. The liberty and national identity of a valiant people are not commodities that can be traded, no matter how tempting the offer may be, in the marketplace of peace.

89. Nor is it wise to worry only about how soon the peace negotiations can begin; we must give some thought also to the question of how long the talks might last. The talks that ended the war in Korea lasted nearly two years, and so for two years longer the fighting went on and blood continued to flow. We must ask ourselves whether or not we want to see that kind of marathon peace talks in Viet-Nam.

90. We are encouraged by the progress which the Republic of Viet-Nam has made in the task of national reconstruction and in restoring civil government. Especially noteworthy are the results of the recent elections held there in the midst of a tragic war of national survival. The Soviet Foreign Minister has derisively described those elections as mere "comedies". We wonder, however, if the term is not more accurately descriptive of the elections held in certain countries where only one political party exists, where only one slate of candidates is permitted, and where the winning candidates garner an astonishing 99 per cent of the vote. In South Viet-Nam, there were eleven slates of candidates and the winning slate garnered only 35 per cent of the vote.

91. At this point, I wish to refer again to Mr. Gromyko's policy statement [1563rd meeting]. He spoke at great length about the conflict in Viet-Nam and about the problem of Germany. We thought it strange that Mr. Gromyko should have one prescription for peace in Europe and an exactly opposite prescription for peace in South-East Asia. Thus, he denounced the "demands for a recarving of the political map of Europe" [*ibid.*, para. 112]; and the failure to understand "the realities of present-day Europe" and to respect the inviolability of its present boundaries made in Moscow, Paris, Warsaw or Berlin [*ibid.*, para. 113] as dangerous threats to the peace of Europe. His formula for peace in Europe appears to be as follows: do not act in disregard of the present-day realities in Europe, do not disturb existing political settlements, do not attempt to impugn or attack the inviolability of boundaries, especially the boundary between West Germany and East Germany, including the wall that cuts Berlin in two. In short, Mr. Gromyko warned one and all not to disturb the status quo in Europe, lest the balance of forces on which the peace of that continent rests be dangerously tilted and upset.

92. For South-East Asia, on the other hand, Mr. Gromyko seems to favour a contrary formula. He proposes, in effect, that the present-day realities in South-East Asia be disregarded, that existing political settlements be set aside, that the political map of South-East Asia be recarved and existing boundaries between the two Viet-Nams—and perhaps the two Koreas as well—be obliterated, if necessary, by force of arms. He does not want to preserve the status quo in South-East Asia, nor is he interested in maintaining a balance of forces on which the peace of the region could rest.

93. Without necessarily accepting as valid his prescription for peace in Europe, of which the principal ingredient is the permanent division of Germany, one is bound to ask by what logic—other than the logic of the selfish interests of the Soviet Union and the international communist movement—does he argue that an entirely contradictory set of principles is best for peace in Asia? Why is the principle of the inviolability of frontiers valid for Germany but inapplicable to Viet-Nam?

94. The Soviet Government, according to Mr. Gromyko, is committed to the permanent division of Germany and favours the admission of the two Germanys into the United Nations. We do not subscribe to such a policy whether as regards Germany or as regards Korea and Viet-Nam. We consider the truncation of these countries to be temporary, and we share the hope that some day their peoples will have the opportunity to decide freely on the issue of unification as part of a negotiated political settlement. But, meanwhile, we entirely agree with the Soviet view that existing boundaries and demarcation lines must be respected, and we maintain that this applies as much to Korea and Viet-Nam as it does to Germany.

95. This analysis would seem to indicate the existence of an inconsistency or contradiction in the Soviet policies towards Europe and towards Asia. Yet, on further analysis, there may not be any inconsistency or contradiction at all. The Soviet Union stoutly supports the status quo in Europe because it is clearly in its interest to do so. But the Soviet Union is not interested in supporting the status quo in South-East Asia, firstly, because it does not wish to give credence to Peking's fantastic allegation of collusion between the United States and the USSR in Viet-Nam; secondly, because the Soviet Union does not wish to oppose openly Peking's view that the status quo in South-East Asia must be violently overthrown in the interest of expanding the frontiers of the communist world; and thirdly, because the Soviet Union probably does not feel any particular obligation to help arrest a conflict that could lead to a direct confrontation between the United States and Communist China.

96. If this analysis of Soviet motives is either partly or wholly mistaken, we are ready to stand corrected. But how else is it possible to explain the persistent refusal of the Soviet Union to discuss and to seek a solution of the question of Viet-Nam in the United Nations or to reconvene the Geneva Conference?

97. No less serious as a threat to peace in South-East Asia and in the world at large is the situation in mainland China. We note with dismay the disturbing events occurring in that unhappy land. Communist China's recent nuclear explosions and the shrill threats of nuclear war which it now directs at the whole world are well known. We are also painfully aware of the recent violations of international law, particularly the blatant infractions of traditional diplomatic immunities, which have occurred in that country. That the incidents there appear to carry the sanction, nay the encouragement of the régime in Peking is a matter for concern. No less disturbing is the inability or unwillingness of the States concerned to take a firmer stand against those violations.

If respect for law is to be upheld and if international justice is to be maintained as the basis of relations among States, we cannot let these transgressions pass unchallenged, lest by our indifference we contribute to a general breakdown of international law and order.

98. But even more pernicious are the miniaturized cultural revolutions which the political upheaval in Communist China has triggered off in many lands of Asia and Africa. It would seem that Communist China has perfected a new version of an old Communist export commodity—revolution. This is an export product the world can very well do without.

99. All this makes the question of the Chinese representation issue in the United Nations quite academic. A régime that openly flouts the basic rules of international law and disregards the traditional norms of diplomatic conduct, that engages in nuclear blackmail, that rejects the principle of peaceful coexistence and proclaims the doctrine of perpetual revolution and the inevitability of war obviously has no place in this Organization. Certainly my delegation has no reason to change its stand on this issue.

100. While the excesses of the Red Guards in connexion with Mao Tse-tung's "cultural revolution" have caught the attention of the world, this is but a transient phase in that country's long and turbulent history. What constitutes a truly wholesome revolutionary development in Asia is the co-operative endeavour of the South-East Asian nations which have united themselves to secure peace, stability and progress for the peoples of the region. The movement towards regional organization and co-operation in South-East Asia represents an important milestone in the history of Asia. It holds out the promise of a better future for the nations of Asia and merits the support of the United Nations.

101. In Asia the need for economic and social development has received more attention than ever before. The Asian peoples have come to realize that there is no substitute for regional unity and co-operation. We in South-East Asia have gone beyond our national frontiers in search of friends and partners in the task of economic development. And we have achieved a measure of success. Thus, we now have the Asian Development Bank, with headquarters in Manila. The Association of Southeast Asia (ASA), composed of the Philippines, Malaysia, and Thailand, has been re-activated. Within our modest resources many projects have been initiated, and since 1966 various conferences on economic, social and technical matters have been held in each of the three countries.

102. Only last month, the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand established a new regional grouping, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations or ASEAN for short. Since this organization's purposes and membership coincide with those of the Association of Southeast Asia, it has been decided that the older and smaller group would eventually be absorbed into the newer and larger one.

103. Our region has also seen the organization of the Asian and Pacific Council (ASPAC) composed of nine members, whose activities are being geared to new needs in the economic, technical and social fields.

Recently, the Asian and Pacific Council held its second meeting in Bangkok, and the member countries re-affirmed their determination to pursue the goals of the organization. All these regional groupings in Asia have been organized in pursuance of the United Nations Charter.

104. Then we have the Conference for the Development of South-East Asia which held its first meeting at Tokyo in May 1966, and its second conference last April at Manila. To the credit of Japan it should be pointed out that the Japanese Government has decided to earmark an amount equivalent to 1 per cent of its gross national income for the economic development of the region. That is the goal recommended for the United Nations Development Decade, but the goal is still far from being achieved.

105. We now turn to the situation in the Middle East. The Philippines maintains friendly relations with the Arab States and with Israel, and sincerely hopes that peace based on justice will soon be established in that area. The Philippines supports the efforts and decisions of the United Nations to solve the problems brought about by the hostilities. We are grieved by the sad plight of the refugees, innocent victims of war, who now live in refugee camps, destitute, homeless and uncertain of the future. We share the general concern for the preservation and protection of the holy places in Jerusalem, and we should like to see the adoption of effective arrangements for such preservation and protection.

106. We must address ourselves to two principal objectives in the Middle East: first, we must insist upon observance of the principle that the United Nations does not and cannot condone any territorial gains achieved by force of arms, whatever the cause or provocation; and secondly, we must equally insist upon the establishment of conditions that would guarantee the political and territorial integrity of all the States in the area, and encourage peaceful coexistence and fruitful co-operation among them.

107. We hope and pray that the Middle East, cradle of civilizations and birthplace of religions, will once more become a haven of peace, tolerance and progress. We urge all Member States to refrain from making the Middle East, which is the geographic crossroads of three continents, a chessboard for great Power ambitions. Instead of encouraging hate, fear and conflict among the peoples of that area, let us support their right to live together in peace, prosperity and freedom.

108. We have followed with great interest the efforts of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament in Geneva to deal with a problem which has haunted us since the birth of our Organization. We hail its success in reaching agreement on a draft treaty to halt the spread of nuclear weapons. ^{6/} We know that no less than twenty-four countries possess the capability and the resources to become members of the nuclear club. Time, therefore, is of the essence. The gravest of perils would confront mankind if the draft treaty submitted by the United States and the Soviet Union for consideration by the General Assembly were to be unduly delayed or to fail to be adopted. We hope,

^{6/} Documents ENDC/192 and ENDC/193.

therefore, that the treaty will soon take its place as another milestone on the long and difficult road to general disarmament, together with the Antarctic Treaty of 1959, the nuclear test-ban Treaty of 1963 and the Treaty on outer space of 1967 [resolution 2222 (XXI)].

109. My delegation has also followed closely the efforts of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations to resolve the differences that divide our membership on the question. On the basic constitutional question, our position is well known. We believe that whenever the Security Council, which is vested with the primary responsibility under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security, should fail for any reason to discharge its responsibility, the General Assembly is clothed with residual authority and competence to take necessary measures to that end. We are pleased to note that the principle of the complementary roles of the Security Council and of the General Assembly has been confirmed by recent developments. During its fifth emergency special session, the General Assembly, at the request of the Soviet Union, took over the question of the Middle East crisis after a stalemate had developed in the Security Council.

110. This development foreshadows a possible breakthrough in the solution of the constitutional issue, and should lead to a generally acceptable formula on the financial aspects of the question. It is also our hope that while the search for such a formula goes on the highly developed countries will make good their solemn pledge to offer voluntary contributions in order to meet the deficits that have been incurred by the United Nations in its peace-keeping operations.

111. Let me now turn to the question of colonialism. While we are gratified to note the accelerated pace of decolonization in recent years, we view with deep concern the continuing deterioration of the situation in South West Africa, in Southern Rhodesia, and in the Portuguese territories in Africa. We are, of course, pleased to see that the United Nations has terminated the Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa [resolution 2145 (XXI)] and, as a first step towards the achievement of independence and self-determination by its peoples, has established the United Nations Council for South West Africa [resolution 2248 (S-V)]. We are equally happy to see that that Council has been organized. The Council, however, faces a serious challenge and the Philippine delegation will support any proposal calculated to strengthen it in discharging its responsibilities.

112. The racial tension and strife in some countries underline the relevance and urgency of the work of the United Nations in combating racial discrimination and apartheid. The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination constitutes the inspiration and guiding force behind these efforts. The Philippines recently became the fourteenth Member State to ratify this historic convention and expresses the hope that it will soon come into force.

113. Once again we must declare our strong opposition to the policies of apartheid of the Republic of South Africa, which constitute the most pernicious and revolting form of racial discrimination known to

man. So long as the policies of apartheid exist, the door will remain open to the danger of an international racial conflagration. The United Nations must unrelentingly press forward to overcome the resistance, indifference and ignorance which have prevented many countries from harmonizing their policies with the principles of the Charter and the objectives of many resolutions against racial discrimination and apartheid.

114. Now I should like to consider with the Assembly the most appalling and anachronistic spectacle of our time, the spectacle of a world divided into rich countries and poor nations, in which the rich are getting richer while the poor are becoming poorer still.

115. This situation was anticipated by the founding fathers when they incorporated in the Charter provisions for international co-operation to promote higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress. Have we been faithful to these objectives of the Charter? In all candour, we cannot answer in the affirmative. Many Member States have approached the problems of economic and social development with doubts and reservations, with ambivalent and equivocal actions. They have not offered the necessary remedies with sincerity and resolution. They have met the mounting needs of the developing nations half-heartedly, if not with deliberate indifference.

116. That certain modest gains have been achieved cannot be denied. The United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance has evolved into the United Nations Development Programme. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, and the United Nations Capital Development Fund have been established. There is intensified activity in the training of scientific, technical and administrative personnel in the developing nations; there is a more vigorous campaign on behalf of the World Food Programme; and the specialized agencies of the United Nations are doing their share of the massive task of alleviating the lot of the world's sick, ignorant and hungry. But the basic need remains unsatisfied: namely, the need for more development capital made available to the developing countries on easier credit terms. Unfortunately, the developed countries, socialist as well as capitalist, with abundant resources to spare, have shown little readiness to respond to the need.

117. We are aware that the developing countries, many of which are politically emancipated but not yet economically decolonized, must learn to rely on their own efforts and resources. But even when they have done so, the developing countries will fall short of their objectives. On the other hand, since the developed countries cannot long endure as islands of prosperity surrounded by a sea of want and misery, it is clearly in their own interest to transfer more substantial resources to the developing countries in order to provide a firm foundation for an expanding world economy.

118. We have been told that the modest goals of the United Nations Development Decade, now in its seventh year, cannot be achieved. Thus, what promised to be a decade of development may yet turn out to be a decade

of retrogression. There is danger in the seeming apathy of the developed nations towards the massive, sustained effort which is required to prevent the permanent division of the world into rich and poor nations. We must strike at the roots of this apathy and convince ourselves anew that we are members of one human family inhabiting one world and that we must act sincerely in the light of that conviction.

119. In conclusion, may I be permitted to recall that between this session and the preceding regular session the General Assembly was convened in the fifth special session and in the fifth emergency special session. The two special sessions left the world greatly discouraged by their failure to adopt effective practical solutions to the problems which called them into being. As a result of these successive frustrations of the General Assembly, disparaging remarks about the United Nations have been heard; that the Organization was ineffectual in discharging its responsibility to maintain international peace and security, that it was impotent and a failure.

120. As we begin the work of this regular session these harsh judgements tend to darken our view. Yet, this general debate in which we are now engaged should provide evidence of our renewed faith in the Organization and of our determination to live up to our responsibilities under the Charter. In spite of temporary setbacks and failures, no delegation sitting in this Assembly today would agree that our Organization has outlived its usefulness. We believe in the continuing validity of our Charter and in the enduring worth and value of our Organization. We are confident that, with patient and determined effort, we can overcome our difficulties and problems.

121. The United Nations remains the primary guardian of man's universal conscience. Despite its idealism, or perhaps because of it, this Organization is still mankind's best hope for peace and progress. As long as the United Nations exists, man's dream of a freer and more abundant life for all remains capable of fulfilment. Let us, therefore, strive to keep this Organization a living and dynamic body ever responsive to the needs and aspirations of mankind. This we must do for our own sake and for the sake of generations yet to come.

122. Mr. EBAN (Israel): Mr. President, Israel warmly welcomes your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly. Our satisfaction is grounded in a deep personal respect. It is further enlarged by the cordiality which inspires the relations between our countries. Our peoples share the bitter and indelible memories of the European tragedy. They are now united in their instinct for national independence and international co-operation. Above all, they are both sustained by the vision of a world order in which national and social diversities may be preserved, respected and reconciled. The principles which lie at the root of Romanion foreign policy are thus important for the promotion of international peace and understanding.

123. The international situation which we are now bringing under review cannot be defined in simple terms. The times are grave enough. But they do not justify apocalyptic predictions of a third world war. Our age is marked by a constant enlargement of

national freedom, by an intensified social conscience, and by a slow but perceptible growth of world community. Conflicts which in other days would have widened into global war are now responsive to factors which limit their duration or scope. Moreover, it has been the general international experience that when issues are submitted to negotiation, a settlement is reached. The converse is certainly true. No resource, no technique, no remedy is ever effective for any dispute in which one of the parties refuses to negotiate with the other. This is the central fact about the hostilities in Viet-Nam and the tension in the Middle East. In both these conflicts, as in all others, every external device, including prolonged international discussion, has been doomed to frustration in the absence of agreement to seek a direct settlement.

124. It is understandable that the Viet-Nam question should so far have dominated this general debate. Hostilities there are constant and intense, no cease-fire has been achieved, and the great-Power relationships are dangerously involved. Last year I expressed the view that

"The choice lies between a negotiated solution now, and negotiated solutions at a later date ... the price of postponement will be exacted in heavy loss of life; in expanding ... havoc; in the prolonged agony of the Viet-Nameese people". [1428th meeting, para. 87.]

Nothing has since occurred to change this sombre view. We are strengthened in our conviction that there is need for a simultaneous declaration by all parties involved in the fighting of their willingness to end the war by negotiation and to take reciprocal steps towards this end.

125. After all, it is now recognized by all parties that the Geneva agreements must form the basis of a settlement. It is also accepted that all parties involved in the conflict should participate in the negotiation of a settlement. Would it not then be tragic for this cruel war to continue merely because of differences on the sequence and nature of action which one party would take in response to action publicly pledged by the other? The statement made by the representative of the United States [1562nd meeting] fully justifies the rapid convening of the Geneva Conference as the most expeditious way of removing the dispute from the battlefield to the conference table. It will be difficult for peace-loving States to understand why this step should be further delayed.

126. On 19 June [1526th meeting] and on subsequent dates, I described my Government's views, and policies on the Middle Eastern conflict. These have not changed. Until peace is achieved we shall fully preserve and respect the cease-fire agreements. We stand ready to negotiate their replacement by treaties of peace which will ensure the security of all Middle Eastern States and establish conditions of stable co-existence. In negotiations with Arab Governments we shall make viable and equitable proposals compatible with the national honour and legitimate interests of all States. We shall also make suggestions for effective regional co-operation, and for the regional and international solution of population problems created by the wars and belligerent policies of

the past two decades. We shall, of course, give consideration and make reply to whatever suggestions the other negotiating parties decide to submit.

127. In short, we propose that a nineteen-year-old war be brought at long last to a permanent end by pacific settlement and direct agreement. The principles held valid in all other international relationships must be applied in this case. Never in the history of nations has progress towards a durable settlement been made in the absence of a will to negotiate. Never has the United Nations approved or condoned a refusal by sovereign States to attempt a direct settlement of their differences. Indeed, repeated recommendations by the Security Council and the General Assembly calling upon the Arab States to negotiate a final settlement with Israel for the establishment of permanent peace have remained unfulfilled, with tragic results, for nearly nineteen years.

128. Our policy of seeking a transition from the cease-fire to a negotiated peace settlement deserves international endorsement and respect. There is no other valid choice. The Arab Governments have had nothing so far to suggest except a return to the situation which prevailed on 4 June. This we cannot accept. We shall not commit the irrational course of returning to the political anarchy and strategic vulnerability from which we have emerged. National suicide is not an international obligation. Our road does not lead backward to an armistice eroded by belligerency, destroyed by blockade, undermined by guerilla war, and corrupted by the avowed contempt of our sovereignty. History summons us forward to a new spirit and structure of relations, for which there is no word but peace.

129. It has been said that the tense and dramatic United Nations debates during June and July did not lead to substantive conclusions. They did, however, shed a clear light on the choices before which we stand. The General Assembly is not starting its work anew. It has rendered emphatic judgement on three central issues: It has declined to "condemn" the resistance by which Israel, through anguish and sacrifice, pulled itself back from the threshold of danger. It has repeatedly dismissed the ridiculous change that Israel's decision to resist annihilation should be defined as "aggression". And it has firmly rejected proposals for restoring a situation which has recently led to one war and which would, if reproduced, lead inexorably to another.

130. These three emphatic verdicts compose an international judgement of deep significance and moral force. They stand before the States of the Middle East as a warning and a guide. They warn against the illusion that States which proclaim and practise war can receive international indulgence when, having provoked war, they go on to refuse peace. And they guide the Governments of the Middle East away from the debris of past conflicts towards the horizons of a new and better age. Thus, the recent discussions of the General Assembly, with the concurrent expression of massive world opinion, amount to an incisive criticism of the intense and virulent Arab belligerency which has beset Israel for two decades, and which has still not been renounced. Every year the Arab Governments come to the United Nations to complain of

Israel's energetic refusal to disappear. The complaint has begun to evoke the reaction which it merits.

131. The most important operational conclusion of our debates so far is the rejection of solutions based on a return to the explosive situation of early June. Voices from all five continents have echoed that rejection. The Foreign Minister of the Ivory Coast summarized it in three short sentences:

"... to advocate a political status quo in the region is to seek escape from an ugly situation only to be brought face to face with it once again... the conflict between Israel and the Arab world can be resolved only by means of negotiation. [1540th meeting, para. 47]. ... Let but the dialogue begin, and the solutions will follow." [*Ibid.*, para. 49.]

132. In similar vein, representatives of diverse traditions and cultures from Europe, Asia, Africa, the Americas and Australasia raised their voices against reproducing the precarious conditions of early June; in favour of a new and stable regional order; against the illusion that there could be withdrawal from the cease-fire lines except in a context of peace; in favour of establishing accepted boundaries and other arrangements ensuring security from terror and war; against the ambiguities of an obsolete armistice; in favour of treaties of peace, ensuring security for all.

133. I have here summarized only a small part of the impressive international consensus on the main question at issue. The central logic is that the time is now ripe for constructive innovation. The reckless decision by President Nasser last May to disrupt all the elements on which a decade of relative stability had rested was not a transient episode. It has led to revolutionary consequences. The previous structure has been shattered beyond repair. Coming after nineteen years of implacable belligerency, the Egyptian move towards swift encirclement and sudden blockade; the Syrian practice of terrorist war; King Hussein's fateful initiative—to which he has publicly confessed—of opening hostilities from which he had every opportunity to abstain, have all contributed to this disruption. A new edifice has to be constructed. It cannot now arise or thereafter endure unless the States of the Middle East decide to build it together.

134. The force of Israel's position and the intensity with which it upholds that position can only be understood against the background of sharp experience. Preoccupation with the consequences of the war should not lead us to forget its origins. The dominant memory in Israel today is not only of military success but also of the peril and solitude which preceded it.

135. In early May, we still believed it possible to prolong the situation and arrangements which had existed for ten years. Our most urgent concern at that time was to frustrate the terrorist infiltrations organized and launched in growing intensity from Syria.

136. It was then that clouds hitherto unforeseen began suddenly to gather thick and fast. On 15 May Egyptian columns began to move into Sinai. On 17 May the United Nations forces received and accepted a notice to quit. On 21 May Egypt mobilized its reserves. On

22 May a blockade was announced and imposed in the Strait of Tiran. On 1 June the Egyptian Government notified other States in writing that the ground for that action was the existence of a state of war. Operational orders were then issued to Egyptian air forces designating the Israeli targets which they were to bomb. A daily reconnaissance of those targets began. On 25 May Cairo radio had officially announced that "The Arab people is firmly resolved to wipe Israel off the map". On 30 May Egypt and Jordan signed a pact for the encirclement and strangulation of Israel. On that day Nasser declared that "The armies of Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon are stationed on the borders of Israel. Behind them stand the armies of Iraq, Algeria, Kuwait, Sudan, and the whole Arab nation. This deed will astound the world. The hour of decision has arrived."

137. By early June Iraq had joined the Egyptian-Jordanian pact to the accompaniment of Nasser's ominous words to Israel: "We are facing you in the battle and are burning with desire for it to start in order to obtain revenge." And so by 4 June the noose had grown intolerably tight. Ninety thousand Egyptian troops with 900 tanks were massed on our frontier with their advance columns a few hours away from Tel Aviv. Forty thousand Syrian troops were poised to strike at Upper Galilee from advantageous positions in the hills. Jordan had trained its artillery and mortars on Israel's population centres in Jerusalem and in the vulnerable narrow coastal plain. Troops from Iraq, Kuwait, and Algeria were moving into position in expectation of sharing the glory and the spoils of Israel's annihilation. Two hundred tanks were massed against Eilat at Israel's southern tip. The blockade had cut Israel off from its commerce and maritime contact with the entire eastern half of the world. Israel's economy and commerce were paralysed in a total mobilization of manpower. All that time, the Security Council was listening with patience, and without much rebuke, to frank statements by Arab representatives calmly announcing that a state of war existed with Israel and that that gave the Arab States all the rights resulting from belligerency.

138. With every hour that ticked away, it became more evident that no organ of the United Nations was going to be able to do anything, or even to say very much, that would assist or even console Israel in its impending ordeal. World opinion was gripped by an ardent but powerless horror as the prospect of Israel's disaster came into view. The moral and historic implications of Israel's possible doom became central themes of agitated discussion throughout the world. A people which had lost six millions of its brethren in an orgy of hatred was now embattled and about to be assaulted in the shelter and refuge of its nationhood. The Assembly should reflect that this monstrous and sudden design of aggression was concerted by Egypt against Israel at a time when not a hair of Egypt's head had been touched; when no Egyptian interest had been violated, and when for ten years there had been no clash whatever between Egyptian and Israeli forces.

139. Israel itself during those tense days pondered the issue of survival in deep solemnity of spirit. There had not been many such moments in three thousand

years of national history. For what was at issue had been made clear in the words of President Nasser, which will be inscribed on the tablets of history as long as the drama of last June is narrated or recalled. For the statement he made on 26 May solves all problems of motive and of responsibility. It reads:

"The Arab people wants to fight. We have been waiting for the right time when we will be completely ready. Recently we have felt that our strength has been sufficient and that if we make battle with Israel we shall be able, with the help of God, to conquer. Sharm-el-Sheikh implies a confrontation with Israel. Taking this step makes it imperative that we be ready to undertake a total war with Israel."

140. And three days later, as more armoured brigades moved towards Israel, the same message was conveyed in briefer words: "If we succeed in restoring the situation to what it was before 1956, there is no doubt that God will help us and will inspire us to restore the situation to what it was prior to 1948." That is to say, prior to Israel's existence.

141. Thus, for the only time since the creation of the United Nations, the intention to wipe out a sovereign State had been openly proclaimed. And it had been proclaimed amidst the conditions conducive to its fulfillment.

142. Everyone in Israel and multitudes throughout the world will always recall the darkness of that hour. Only exceptional vigilance and speed in resisting the aggressive design avoided a disaster which would have weighed for ever on the conscience of mankind. Now this memory haunts and inspires our policy for the future. It is our primary duty and supreme resolve to ensure that such a dangerous situation shall never recur. This duty and this resolve must prevail over all other considerations.

143. The lessons of this experience present themselves to us with lucid clarity. The new situation which we seek must differ from the old in several essential respects. We cannot reconcile ourselves again to unilateral belligerency, or be satisfied with intermediate situations which are neither war nor peace. In accordance with all the traditions and precedents of international law, the cease-fire situation must be replaced by peace treaties with the automatic corollary that belligerency is at a permanent end.

144. We agree with those who have said that the fragile and violated armistice lines must be superseded by accepted frontiers and other arrangements ensuring security against terror, destruction and war. And it is vital, in our view, that the new situation should rest on contractual arrangements which commit and engage the responsibility of Israel and each Arab State. No external declarations or guarantees, no general affirmations of Charter principles, no recommendations or statements by international bodies, however unexceptionable in themselves, can replace the sovereign responsibility of the Governments concerned. I stress this point in the light of proposals such as those, for example, presented by Yugoslavia to other Governments—but not to Israel—according to which there would be a movement away

from the cease-fire lines without any direct peace arrangements with the Arab States.

145. No service is done to international causes by seeking clever but ineffectual substitutes for direct and reciprocal national commitments. The collapse of the 1957 arrangements on Gaza and the Strait of Tiran had much to do with the fact that Egyptian responsibility was never directly affirmed or engaged. And our ordeal in May and June teaches us a lesson about the limitations of international guarantees in the present state of the world's power balance. The Middle Eastern peace, with its relevant agreements and provisions for enforcement, must spring up from within the region. It cannot be grafted onto it from outside. The Middle East is not an international protectorate. It is a region of sovereign States which bear the main responsibility for adjusting their mutual relations.

146. These considerations have a direct bearing on the role of the United Nations in the Middle Eastern conflict. The fact that the United Nations was unable to prevent the war has a direct bearing on the question of its capacity and title to impose a peace. The interests of the parties and of the Organization itself require that United Nations action be realistically adapted to United Nations capacities. A call to Middle Eastern States to negotiate the conditions of their future coexistence is the most constructive course which the General Assembly can take. What the United Nations should strenuously avoid is the tendency to make its existence a substitute for negotiation and a barrier to direct settlement. This danger was frankly discussed by our Secretary-General in his Annual Report to the twenty-first session when he wrote:

"In such cases as the United Nations Emergency Force, the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine, the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan and the United Nations Force in Cyprus, the crux of the matter from the standpoint of the United Nations is the continuing absence of any earnest resolve on the part of the parties directly involved in the dispute to seek a reasonable way out of it. Indeed, at times it seems, and it may actually be the case, that they tend to take the attitude that the very United Nations presence frees them from any pressing obligation to exert a really serious effort towards a settlement of their differences."^{1/}

147. There is already evidence that Arab States regard the United Nations as a shelter against the necessity of peace. This is the precise antithesis of what this Organization is meant to be. The United Nations is an instrument for ending conflicts, not an arena for waging them. It expresses its higher ends when it serves as a bridge, not as a wedge. There is no precedent in international life for the refusal of States to recognize another State except for the purpose of exercising a state of war against it. United Nations organs should take care lest by action or omission they inadvertently sanction or condone this refusal. For our insistence on direct negotiation is not a matter of procedure. The issue is one of prin-

ciple and substance. A refusal to negotiate is inherently identical with a refusal to live in peace. Surely a process as complex as the transition from prolonged belligerency to peaceful adjustment cannot possibly be envisaged in an atmosphere of ostracism. Indeed, my Government can never regard the state of belligerency as terminated so long as Arab Governments, whatever else they do, maintain their refusal to negotiate a settlement with us.

148. It was the general view of the Assembly in its fifth emergency special session that a radical change in the Arab attitude towards Israel is an essential condition of any movement away from the present situation. While we hope and believe that this modification will ensue, we must acknowledge that it has not yet taken place. At the recent Arab Summit Conference held at Khartoum from 29 August to 1 September, the Arab Governments proclaimed three principles: no recognition, no negotiation, and no peace or conciliation with Israel. But recognition, negotiation and peace are the central themes of the Charter system. By rejecting them all, these Governments place their relations with Israel outside the Charter context, and thus forfeit their moral and legal right to invoke the Charter in their own cause.

149. An ominous interpretation of the Khartoum decisions emerges from the article published last week by Mohamed Hassanein Heikel, the leading spokesman of Egyptian policy, in which he said that: "The door to political action in dealing with the immediate stage of the Arab struggle is not closed, but there will be no peace or negotiations with Israel." He went on to say that:

"The door to military action is open at all times for those able to take such action, provided they are backed by other Arab States so that their military power will not be undermined by economic pressure. The United Arab Republic, more than any other State, is capable of military action for several reasons. Therefore, fighting is a major possibility in settling the urgent problem. In fact, the main responsibility in military action falls on the air force."

150. The conclusion is plain. Arab policy can be simply defined. The aim is to secure Israel's withdrawal by political pressure while refusing any commitment to peace; and thereafter to be free to resume, in more advantageous conditions, and with the aid of new Soviet arms, the attempt at Israel's annihilation which was mounted but frustrated three months ago. That is what current Arab policy is. Everybody in this hall knows this to be true. That the United Nations cannot co-operate with this policy or do anything to encourage it should lie beyond doubt. To ask Israel to exchange security for vulnerability and to put itself in the position most convenient for the next Arab assault would be to violate international prudence and common human morality. By standing steadfast against such a course the international community will promote an eventual understanding of the need to pass from two decades of war to new vistas of peace. The firm attitude of the General Assembly at its last session may have set some realistic tendencies afoot. It would be tragic if a loss of patience or an uncon-

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Supplement No. 1A (A/6301/Add.1), sect. IV.

sidered change of position were to prevent them from coming to maturity.

151. In the forthcoming debate on the Middle East situation we shall make further proposals on the international and humanitarian aspects of the current crisis. It is deplorable that the Jordanian Government, whose warlike decision on 5 June provoked the journey of refugees from the west to the east bank of the Jordan, should now be using their plight as an instrument of political warfare. A month ago they were urged to return westward against a background of incitement to civil disorder. Now when thousands could be returning at this very moment under categories approved by the Israel Government, their return is wantonly delayed or prevented.

152. I regret to note another element of discrimination in the international comment on the Middle Eastern travail. There has been an intense campaign of interest concerning west bank residents who moved without coercion across the Jordan as a result of King Hussein's wanton war. They are now free in personal movement; thousands have returned, and thousands more have been authorized to return. But there is relative silence about Jewish communities, especially in Egypt, whose members are not free to move—because they are held in conditions of cruelty in concentration camps for no reason or purpose except of sheer malice. The fact that universal Jewish religious interests could have been violated for many years by Jordan without international protest, and that Jewish victims of a war provoked by Egypt can thus languish amidst international silence has a grave significance in the light of a particular historic experience going back many centuries.

153. In a recent communication to the Secretary-General, I have commented on the present situation in Jerusalem. We cannot think without indignation of the policy adopted during the period of Jordanian occupation and annexation. I have found it shocking to behold with my own eyes the destruction and sacrilege suffered by Jewish religious institutions and to reflect that the principle of access to the Holy Places of the three religions was so wantonly violated for so long. Those who read the records and annals of the United Nations in future years will be astonished not to find a single word of criticism directed against a régime which made Jerusalem a military frontier, which separated its citizens into two hostile camps, and which, by obstruction of access, desecrated some of the highest and noblest sanctities in the history of mankind. After twenty sordid years of division, war and sacrilege, there is now unity, peace and the assurance of access to the Holy Places. There are still matters to be resolved in Jerusalem. As we have pointed out in our communication, the present situation, which has arisen directly from Jordanian aggression, does not foreclose or pre-empt the agreed settlement of those important aspects of the Jerusalem problem which have always been at the origin of the universal interest in the City.

154. My Government and delegation have carefully studied Foreign Minister Gromyko's address in the general debate [1563rd meeting]. The General Assembly in its fifth emergency special session emphatically rejected all the accusations, charges and pro-

posals brought before it by the Soviet Union. Indeed, the Soviet Union secured practically no support for its policies and ideas outside the Soviet and Arab groups. A distinguished representative of the Latin American group spoke of "an extremist and ridiculous Soviet resolution". Indeed, the Soviet theory of alleged Israeli "aggression" was so far-fetched that only Bulgaria and two other members of the Security Council gave it their support. It was, therefore, surprising to find Mr. Gromyko coming back here to present the very merchandise which had been rejected by this body a few weeks ago.

155. The tension which exploded in the Middle East on 5 June was largely of Soviet manufacture. For over a decade the Soviet Union has initiated and developed a vast programme of one-sided arms importation into Arab States with a resultant escalation in the quantity and destructive quality of weapons in the Middle East. The Soviet Government has for fourteen years prevented the Security Council, apparently as a matter of principle, from ever expressing any criticism of any act of Arab hostility against Israel. The denial of free passage in the Suez Canal; the violent obstruction of legitimate water development; the murder of Israelis on Israeli soil by Arab infiltrators; the sponsorship by Syria of terrorist infiltration—all went forward under the protective wing of the Soviet veto. Not one specific public word has been uttered by the Soviet Union for several years concerning the duty of neighbouring States to respect Israel's sovereignty and security. And according to President Nasser, it was a Soviet report of non-existent Israeli troop concentrations on the Syrian frontier which influenced the decision of the United Arab Republic to mass troops in Sinai and to dismiss the United Nations force. This is a grave and fearful guilt. During the first weeks of the recent hostilities, the Soviet Press, which is not entirely resistant to governmental influence, published a series of caricatures portraying Israel in monstrous anti-Semitic stereotypes reminiscent of the Stuermer. On 6 September, a violent attack on the Jewish religion and on its concept of divinity appeared in the Pravda Ukrainy.

156. The unbalanced policy of one of the Powers charged with primary responsibility for international peace and security has thus served to aggravate hatred and rancour amongst Middle Eastern peoples. Writers, intellectuals, and socialist and communist leaders in many lands have expressed a strong wish to see the Soviet Union adopt a more balanced policy in the Middle East and to show a sensitive regard for the cultural ties and spiritual solidarities which bind Jewish communities throughout the world, including those in the Soviet Union.

157. Mr. Gromyko's address [1563rd meeting] said in effect that the best way to promote peace is to restore the conditions which have led to war. His denunciation of Israel runs counter to the passionate sentiment of progressive opinion in all countries, including Eastern European countries. In not one single word did the Soviet Foreign Minister suggest any modification of extremist Arab policies towards Israel. He made no appeal for the cessation of beligerent practices, for free navigation of Israeli ships

and cargos, for negotiation or for the conclusion of peace between the Arab States and Israel. Speaking for a country which in the past two decades has expanded its territory over vast areas of Europe in the name of security, Mr. Gromyko seems to be indignant at the idea that a viable security system and permanent frontier agreements should be constructed in the Middle East for the first time by negotiation and mutual accord. Finally, the Soviet Union, which has exceeded all other Member States in the number of Assembly resolutions to which it has refused compliance, volunteered its presence for the imposition of sanctions against Israel for not having passively submitted to the Jordanian bombardment of Jerusalem—and for having established unified and equal services in a City against whose illicit invasion by Jordan Mr. Gromyko himself spoke so eloquently in the Security Council in July 1948.^{8/}

158. Is it not unfortunate, even incongruous, that the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution should be clouded by a Soviet policy of hostility to a small people which achieved its independence with strong Soviet support; a nation which suffered untold anguish in the Hitler decade and now finds its last hope of identity and survival under such persistent challenge and assault?

159. Surely the aspiration of the Soviet Union to be acknowledged everywhere as a peace-loving and progressive Power demands a policy less hostile to Israel's security and legitimate rights, and more respectful of the Jewish cultural and spiritual heritage in the Soviet Union and the world. If the anniversary of the October Revolution were to inaugurate this revision of policy, then the international outlook would be greatly transformed and the anniversary itself would become a positive political event.

160. The Israel delegation will give its full attention to the forthcoming discussion on the definition of aggression. That discussion does not begin anew. There are already established criteria which most peace-loving States would accept. The official Arab war against Israel, now entering its twentieth year, offers many examples which the Soviet Union and Israel should be able to assess in a similar light.

161. First, there is the use of armed force across a frontier with the aim of destroying a sovereign State. On 7 July 1948 Mr. Gromyko in the Security Council denounced what he called the "armed aggression and military operations directed against the Jewish State"^{9/} by the invading army of Transjordan. On 21 May of that year he had already expressed:

"... surprise at the position adopted by the Arab States... and particularly at the fact that those States—or some of them, at least—have resorted to such action as sending their troops into Palestine and carrying out military operations aimed at the suppression of the national liberation movement in Palestine".^{10/}

162. Now we should do well to remember that the Middle Eastern tension today is nothing but the un-

^{8/} Official Records of the Security Council, Third year, Nos. 93-95, 330th to 336th meetings.

^{9/} Ibid., No. 93, 331st meeting.

^{10/} Ibid., No. 71, 299th meeting.

finished sequel to that original aggression. It is as true today as it was in July 1948 that to plan or carry out operations designed to liquidate a sovereign State is inherently aggressive. It is also aggressive to intervene by subversion in the affairs of sovereign States.

163. Israel affirms its solidarity with the resistance of the American States, as expressed in their current meetings, to interventionist policies and acts of subversion carried out against Venezuela, Bolivia and other American States under the spurious cloak of liberation.

164. But there is one document on the definition of aggression which puts this subject squarely in the context of the Middle Eastern crisis. Here is an extract from a draft convention on the definition of aggression submitted some years ago by the Soviet Union to the Sixth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly:

"1. In an international conflict that State shall be declared the attacker which first commits one of the following acts:

"..."

"(e) Naval blockade of the coasts or ports of another State;

"(f) Support of armed bands organized in its own territory which invade the territory of another State, or refusal, on being requested by the invaded State, to take in its own territory any action within its power to deny such bands any aid or protection;

"..."

"6. Attacks [such as those referred to above] may not be justified by any considerations of a political, strategic or economic nature, or by ... the refusal to recognize that [the State attacked] possesses the distinguishing marks of statehood."^{11/}

165. Who in the Middle East imposed a naval blockade on the coast or port of another State? Egypt or Israel? Who in the Middle East supported armed bands organized in its own territory to invade the territory of another State and refused to take in its own territory any action within its power to deny such bands any aid or protection? Syria or Israel? Who has sought to justify such action by the affirmation that the State so attacked lacks the distinguishing marks of statehood? Israel or the Arab States?

166. Is there not a vast gulf between the objective Soviet criteria on aggression and the refusal to apply those criteria to the policies of Arab States towards Israel? This is the crux of the item proposed. What is the use of elaborating general principles if they are not to be objectively applied in particular cases? Discussion on the Soviet item is therefore to be warmly welcomed. The definition of aggression is for us a matter of deep historic and moral importance. All that the appropriate committee has to do is to enumerate what Israel has suffered from the Arab States in the past

^{11/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 16, Annex II, document A/AC.77/L.4.

two decades. It will then have a complete and detailed draft for a convention on the definition of aggression.

167. In the appropriate committees, my delegation will strive to promote the pacific settlement of disputes; the accelerated advancement of developing societies; the defence and consolidation of human rights; and the elimination of colonialism, racialism and religious and ethnic discrimination. Amidst national ordeals we must all pursue our international vocation. Indeed, the pathos of Middle Eastern life lies in the useless draining away in regional strife of vital energies which should be brought into the service of the great human causes.

168. For nearly twenty years the United Nations has been discussing the issues arising from an obdurate refusal to acknowledge and recognize the sovereign rights of one of its Members. This is the primary cause and single origin of the conflict. Just as the conflict has a single cause, so also does it have a single solution. The mere decision to negotiate a peace settlement embodies the prospect of solving the political, territorial, humanitarian and security problems which will never be overcome across a gulf of sullen separation. The United Nations will serve the deepest international truths if it summons the nations of the Middle East to their inalienable responsibility for shaping the future of their common region.

169. The shocks and ordeals of the past year have added a new dimension to Israel's experience. They have also reminded the world of what is involved in our nation's survival. History speaks to us across centuries of time. Civilized humanity cannot ignore Israel without rejecting its own youth. The first need is for greater vigour and boldness in resisting the policies which deny the central fact of Israel's sovereignty and right to peace and security. The issue thereafter is whether the Arab and Israeli nations, which have been primary agents in man's spiritual adventure, can transcend their conflict in dedication to a creative future. If international bodies and friendly nations can help to keep this vision alive, then the past year may have seen the last of our region's wars, and the first glow of its future peace.

170. Mr. N'JIE (Gambia): Mr. President, I have great pleasure in adding my own and the Gambian delegation's warm and sincere congratulations to the numerous well-earned tributes which you have drawn from so many other representatives on the occasion of your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly at its twenty-second session. Permit me to say that none has deserved this honour better than you, and it is a matter of deep satisfaction to my delegation that your well-known contributions to the advancement of peace as well as to the ideals of this Organization have today received the acknowledgement which is their due.

171. May I also be allowed to extend my congratulations to your immediate predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Pazhwak, for the masterly way in which he conducted the affairs of the General Assembly at its twenty-first session. It was not an easy session, but throughout the strains and tensions of a difficult period, Ambassador Pazhwak always performed his duties with wisdom, tact and impartiality, and thereby earned the eternal gratitude of this Organization.

172. The general debate in the autumn session of the General Assembly is traditionally a time for stock-taking and introspection. It also provides the occasion for those delegations which so desire to put to the Assembly their thoughts on and their formulas for the solution of international problems. I shall endeavour to state, as succinctly and as clearly as I can, my Government's position on certain issues with which we shall be concerned during this session.

173. In spite of the pessimistic note which was struck at the beginning of this session, and to a certain extent re-echoed in the Annual Report of the Secretary-General [A/6701], I should like to say that there is much in the way of positive achievement for which the twenty-first session could congratulate itself. There is a tendency to take our achievements and successes for granted and to emphasize and brood over our failures. If we are not to give way to despondency, it would be salutary to take our failures with our successes.

174. My Government is satisfied that the United Nations has achieved something in Cyprus and in Kashmir, and it is our fervent hope that this is but the beginning of what will be a lasting solution of the problems in those two areas.

175. The Gambia Government attaches due importance to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and therefore welcomes the latest steps taken in this general direction through the submission by the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of identical texts of a non-proliferation treaty. Further progress can now be envisaged towards general and complete disarmament with effective international control.

176. It is gratifying to note the growing co-operation among Member States in providing and exchanging information on outer space activities. We must now press ahead with the preparation of draft international agreements on assistance and with the formulation of international law for outer space.

177. South Africa continues to apply its inhuman and abhorrent policy of apartheid in defiance and utter disregard of world opinion. It is to be deplored that, contrary to the resolutions of the Security Council and of this Assembly, certain States continue to increase their investments in and their trade with South Africa. If the Vorster Government is to be forced to revise its policies of apartheid, it is imperative that all States co-operate in measures decided here, and particularly in the application of resolution 2054 (XX) of 15 December 1965, calling for sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter.

178. On the other side of the picture, I am sure we all note with satisfaction the increased assistance being given to the victims of repression in South Africa and the success of the training programme established by the Secretary-General in pursuance of Security Council resolution 191 of 18 June 1964.

179. The failure, or rather the refusal, of the Portuguese Government to comply with previous Security Council and General Assembly resolutions calling for its recognition of the rights of the peoples under its administration to self-determination and inde-

pendence, the acts of repression daily being committed against our brothers in Portuguese-dominated Territories and the numerous violations by Portuguese troops of the territorial integrity of independent African countries adjacent to Portuguese-held territory, constitute a serious and permanent threat to international peace and security. As in South Africa, this situation calls for energetic and concerted action under Chapter VII of the Charter. My Government has always co-operated in all measures applied in this regard.

180. The Gambia's position in regard to the Rhodesian problem is clear and constant. Whilst maintaining that it is the primary responsibility of the British Government to bring down the rebel régime of Ian Smith, to restore legality and to prepare the way for independence under majority rule, my Government has always held the view that the use of force must not be ruled out. We recognize, however, the difficulties and dangers which armed intervention in Rhodesia might pose, not only for Britain but more particularly also for Rhodesia's neighbours. The Gambia has loyally co-operated in the application of mandatory sanctions, but it is evident now that these have failed to achieve the desired effect. It is time that the British Government considered other means of ending the rebellion in Rhodesia, either on its own or by concerted action with the United Nations.

181. The admission of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations has been debated in this Assembly for many years now. We support those who feel that the People's Republic of China's record of aggression and interference in the domestic affairs of other States and its open flouting of the Charter and aims of the United Nations hardly qualify it for membership of this world body. But in the quest for world peace, the Gambia Government would not oppose the admission of the People's Republic of China, as it holds the view that there is enough room at the United Nations for the two Chinas. Nevertheless, we shall not support any resolution which calls for the admission of the People's Republic of China on the one hand and the expulsion of the Republic of China on the other.

182. My Government is convinced that the Viet-Nam problem is one that does not lend itself to a military solution. Only a political solution can bring peace back to the unfortunate and long-suffering people of this troubled area. It is a matter for regret that so far all attempts to get the parties to the dispute to negotiate have failed. My Government feels that efforts should be pursued to bring the parties to the conference table.

183. In spite of all the efforts deployed by this Organization to prevent a confrontation, hostilities again broke out between Israel and the Arab countries on 5 June last. Although, as events proved, the United Nations was unable to prevent the confrontation, this Organization once again proved its usefulness by quickly bringing about a cease-fire. Both in the Security Council and in the fifth emergency special session of the General Assembly it was not possible to devise a solution acceptable to both sides. My Government's stand on this problem is dictated by its respect for two principles enunciated and accepted

by this Organization: the peaceful settlement of disputes and the recognition and protection of the sovereignty and independence of Member States. My delegation's concern during the difficult and protracted debate on this situation was to help arrive at a solution, both equitable and acceptable, which would restore peace and harmony in this part of the world. In the event, this was not to be, but my Government has not given up hope that in the end reason will prevail over emotion and that peace and security will come back to the peoples of the Middle East.

184. The United Nations Development Programme, which now combines the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, continues to make a vital contribution towards improving the economies of the developing countries. The newly formed United Nations Industrial Development Organization also holds great promise for accelerated industrial development in the developing countries. The ever-widening gap between the rich and advanced nations on the one hand and the developing countries on the other, the deterioration in the terms of exchange and trade between these countries are matters which call for urgent examination and positive solutions at the instance of the world body. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development has a special duty here. My Government feels that the United Nations must encourage interest in the economic relations between the developed industrial nations and the developing primary production countries in the field of aid. At a time when the need for such aid is growing, it is saddening to note that the volume of assistance from donor countries is on the decline. The problem is made more serious by the fact that the primary production countries suffer from the effects of a continuous deterioration in the terms of trade.

185. It is evident from all this that this Organization is persevering—and to a great extent succeeding—in its efforts to make this planet of ours a better place to live in. Whilst the record could have been bettered, there is no denying that once again the prophets of doom have been proved wrong. This is not to say that there is cause for complacency. The situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where foreign mercenaries are threatening the sovereignty of the country, and that in Nigeria, threatened by secession and disintegration, need to be meditated. There are lessons in these, I am sure, for all of us.

186. As regards Nigeria, although the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Federation must be respected, and the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States recognized, my Government feels that the situation has reached a stage where the possibility of some form of international mediation should be explored.

187. The presence of foreign mercenaries on Congolese territory constitutes a threat and an affront to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. All assistance should be given to the Government in Kinshasa to remove this threat.

188. I should like to say a few words about my country's foreign policy. Recognizing the importance

of the individual State in the collective search for peace, the Government of the Gambia pursues a policy of non-alignment. To us this simply means freedom to decide on issues according to our conscience, without external influence. We strongly believe in African unity and its potentialities for the achievement of world peace. We also believe in regional co-operation. This has been amply demonstrated by the conclusion, in April of this year, of a Treaty of Association between my Government and the neighbouring Republic of Senegal. The Treaty, which provides for annual meetings of Heads of Government, and for the setting up of a permanent secretariat to service an Inter-State Ministerial Committee which will be the main organ of co-operation, is a testimony of the will of the people of Senegal and the Gambia to face their common problems together.

189. Besides living in peace and co-operating with its neighbours, my country will continue to support the United Nations. I must say, however, that effective support will depend on whether or not we shall be able to afford continued membership of this Organization. At the level at which the Gambia is assessed for contributions, this is, to say the least, doubtful. We have made repeated representations, not only to this Organization, but also to the Organization of African Unity and to various Commonwealth organizations, about the rates at which the Gambia is assessed for contributions to these organizations. We strongly feel that these scales and rates are based on data and criteria which do not take into account the circumstances of small unendowed countries like the Gambia. We question the equity of applying to the Gambia a minimum rate which was fixed for countries several times larger and richer. Our representations have met with some success in the Organization of African Unity and in the Commonwealth organizations of which we are members. I hope that they will be taken in good part here, thus enabling the Gambia to continue to play its part and to discharge its obligations in the comity of nations.

190. I cannot end this statement without paying a special tribute to our Secretary-General, U Thant, for the eminent services he has given and continues to give to this Organization and to the whole world by his dedication to the ideals of our Charter and his untiring efforts in the settlement of international disputes.

191. When my Prime Minister had the privilege of addressing this Assembly on the occasion of my country's admission to this Organization in 1965 [1332nd meeting], he remarked that the United Nations was yearly becoming a more potent force for the maintenance of world peace and suggested that everything should be done to maintain and further strengthen its efficacy as an instrument for the improvement of the lot of mankind. It was in that spirit that he pledged the Gambia's support for any cause which this Organization may decide to make its own and which aimed at furthering the uniqueness and the value of the individual in the common humanity of all peoples.

192. I reiterate here today my country's undiminished faith in the United Nations and all that it stands for, and I pledge anew the Gambia's unqualified support for and co-operation in the work of this great Organization.

193. The PRESIDENT (translation from French): The representative of the Syrian Arab Republic has asked to exercise his right of reply. I now call upon him.

194. Mr. DAOUDY (Syria): To hear Mr. Eban talking about peace in the Middle East one feels at a loss at how little he and his Government care about the dignity of this Organization and its Member States. It is a sad feature of the present state of affairs in our international community that the man who represents the forces of aggression and genocide should dare to come and address the United Nations General Assembly and give lessons about morality, the rule of law and the implementation of the Charter of the United Nations.

195. Suffice it here to mention what The New York Times and other media of information have communicated this very day from Jerusalem: that the Israeli authorities have decided to create Jewish settlements on the occupied West Bank of Jordan and in the occupied Syrian territory. In a dispatch from Jerusalem, the correspondent of The New York Times had this to say:

"Premier Levi Eshkol made the first announcement tonight of concrete plans for the settlement of territories seized from the Arabs in June.

"He said the Etzion bloc of settlements which were built on the west bank of the Jordan before the 1948 war, would be re-established in the near future.

"Earlier, it was announced that several members of Nahal, the army-sponsored youth organization, would begin work on the establishment of a settlement in the northern section of the captured Syrian Heights, near the village of Baniyas."

196. It is very significant that the Tel Aviv authorities, who knew when their Foreign Minister would address the United Nations General Assembly, chose the same day to announce their evil design to move their population into the occupied territory. What adds to the despicable act of aggression which has been taking place for the last one hundred days against the Arab countries is the timing of Mr. Abba Eban's statement which took place only a few hours after that decision had been reached by the Tel Aviv authorities.

197. Does anyone doubt any longer what we have been saying for years about Israel and the real purpose of its creation? Can anyone describe this act of occupation and expansion by any other terms than what it really is: namely, a tragic resurgence of neo-Nazism in our part of the world? In what way does this differ from what Hitler did against Czechoslovakia, Poland and other European countries, and which led to the Second World War? Zionism is following in the footsteps of Nazism, another philosophy based on intimidation, aggression, occupation and expulsion of peoples from their lands.

198. This is what Israel has been doing against the Arab countries since it was imposed upon Palestine against the will of its lawful inhabitants. Its record during the last twenty years has been marked by three all-out wars and a large number of acts of aggression across the demarcation lines. The outcome of this tragic venture has been the dispossession of almost

the entire population of Palestine and the creation of a permanent hotbed of tension in the Middle East.

199. And today Mr. Eban comes here to tell us of the peaceful intentions of his Government—on the very same day when the ancestral homes of our people on the Syrian plateau and the Western Bank of Jordan are being prepared for perpetual occupation by settlers coming from the four corners of the world. Had this Assembly upheld the Charter of our Organization and condemned the act of genocide committed during the June war, Israel would have hesitated before embarking upon this new defiance of the international community.

200. We repeat once more that if it were not for the encouragement received by Israel from its protectors and benefactors in the West, and particularly in the United States, we would not have witnessed today this affront to the dignity of our Organization.

201. We, for our part, are duty-bound to denounce these repeated acts of neo-Nazism and will never admit or accept that an aggressor may enjoy the fruits of his aggression. But let this Organization make no mistake: what Israel is committing at present with impunity, will, unless it is condemned and re-

dressed, be copied and repeated elsewhere and everywhere in the world. Let everyone of us remember that the occupation of Arab territory by Israel, its expulsion of the inhabitants and the influx of foreign settlers to replace them, are a time-bomb directed not only against the security and well-being of the Arab countries, but against each and every Member of the United Nations and the international community. Let this Assembly remember what price humanity had to pay for its lack of action when Fascism and Nazism started invading foreign territories in defiance of all norms of human values and rules of international law. Let us remember all of that, lest future generations say that the United Nations lacked the courage to act in 1967 in the face of international banditry and genocide. The League of Nations behaved exactly in the same way in the thirties. The results of that unforgettable and unforgivable behaviour were too tragic and too disastrous to be easily erased from the hearts and minds of subsequent generations.

202. My delegation reserves its right to intervene once more to answer in detail the speech we have just heard from the representative of the Tel Aviv occupying forces.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.