

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION

Official Records



**1569th
PLENARY MEETING**

Wednesday, 27 September 1967,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 9:</i>	
<i>General debate (continued)</i>	
<i>Speech by Mr. Costa Méndez (Argentina) . .</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Speech by Mr. Thiam (Senegal)</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>Speech by Mr. Martin (Canada)</i>	<i>8</i>
<i>Speech by Mr. Farah (Somalia)</i>	<i>14</i>
<i>Statement by the representative of Cuba . .</i>	<i>17</i>
<i>Statement by the representative of Argentina</i>	<i>17</i>

President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. COSTA MENDEZ (Argentina) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, I must first of all congratulate you on your unanimous election to the office of President of the twenty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly and wish you every success in your work at this important session of the General Assembly.

2. I should like to say once again how satisfied and pleased my delegation was with the intelligent and objective way in which Mr. Pazhwak, of Afghanistan, conducted the difficult discussions in this General Assembly during its last sessions.

3. Argentina is attending this General Assembly imbued with the best spirit of collaboration and is prepared to take part in the various discussions with the firm determination to show solidarity and understanding in connexion with the various problems that, to a greater or lesser extent, are causing the Members of our Organization concern. Some of these questions are of such a serious nature that they have endangered world peace throughout the past year and are still doing so. I refer not only to the armed struggle going on in various parts of the world, but also to the incitement to violence and subversion which is trying to undermine the stability of the international order. It is true that the balance among the nations has always been precarious and unstable, but today there is more danger than ever that this precarious balance will degenerate into universal frustration.

4. I should like to speak first about the items that are of most interest to international public opinion and that are more relevant for my country's foreign policy and I shall leave the question of the Malvinas, whose importance for my Government and my people is obvious, to the last.

5. Viet-Nam has lived under the shadow of war for twenty-five years and has become a centre of con-

frontation of international political interests. In the present phase, this confrontation goes beyond the strict geographical and national limits within which the events are taking place and has given rise to a military conflict so serious as to endanger the peace of the world.

6. While the leaders of certain countries persist in their subversive action and incite and encourage violence, movements of force, which are no other than the defensive reaction to this attitude, will be the logical and inevitable consequence. In these circumstances, my delegation supports all the efforts designed to bring peace to the region, founded on sound political bases that will enable the peoples of South-East Asia to live free from threats.

7. The consideration of this problem by the United Nations will offer a new opportunity to find ways leading to a final settlement of this long conflict. Moreover, we think that in the present circumstances it would not be reasonable for the world Organization that was especially created to preserve international peace and security to stand aloof from what is so obviously a breakdown of peace and security. Lastly, my delegation thinks that the basic objective should be to establish a balance in South-East Asia and that to do so it is necessary to bring about a progressive limitation of the area of armed confrontation through mutual de-escalation.

8. The problem of the Middle East has caused, and still causes, the Argentine delegation much concern. The course of the discussions that took place during the recent emergency special session of the General Assembly and the scanty agreement that was reached there allows us to think that this problem is at a particularly critical stage of its evolution. It is true that all Member States, and more especially those directly concerned, are making a real effort to find an effective way of bringing the situation to an end. Such a situation not only imperils the tranquility of an extraordinarily complete geographical area but is a challenge to the ability of our Organization as an instrument for bringing about a peaceful international order, based on law and justice.

9. In short, it is a twofold problem: on the one hand, we find the Assembly sharply divided on the question and consequently going through a particularly difficult period; on the other hand, the situation in the area in which the confrontation took place is so precarious and unstable that it is not difficult to predict that at any moment there could be fresh armed clashes there.

10. The picture that I have painted is certainly gloomy and should cause pessimistic reflections. Nevertheless, we think that the geographical characteristics and the political and racial circumstances

of the region must necessarily dissuade either of the parties from trying to gain supremacy and should, on the contrary, encourage them to seek a suitable system of balance of interests, which implies a balance of mutual concessions.

11. As we have already said, it would be possible to achieve peace, starting with the withdrawal of troops from the occupied zones and the termination of the state of belligerency. This is the first step on the way to final peace. We also, and consequently, think that it is necessary for the General Assembly to make a fresh study of the question, with a view to adopting effective decisions along these lines that will make it possible to bring the various interests into harmony and to lay the foundations for final peace.

12. From the moment that hostilities broke out, my country in particular, as a member of the Security Council, and the group of Latin American countries in general have been working hard to obtain a cease-fire, first of all, and then an agreement to work out a true peace. The position taken by the Latin American group was both morally and legally sound. It acted calmly and objectively and did not ask either of the parties to make any undue concessions, nor did it make any demands of them that were not consistent with the normal requirements for post-war settlements. We reaffirm once again our faith in the Latin American position and we persist in that position, because we think that through it the parties could attain the goal that they are seeking. This position was always designed to obtain reciprocal military and spiritual disarmament. And we still think that that is the only sure basis for future understanding.

13. The situation of Jerusalem is of particular concern to us, for reasons that I explained in the General Assembly at the appropriate time. The resolutions adopted by the General Assembly must be respected by Member States. We hope that Israel will repeal the measures it enacted on the status of that city and will refrain from any other action in that direction, as was asked of it in General Assembly resolutions 2253 (ES-V) and 2254 (ES-V).

14. We also wish to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for the assiduity with which he concerned himself, through the despatch of a special representative, with the protection, well-being and security of the inhabitants of the zones which had been the scene of military operations, as also with the scrupulous respect for the humanitarian principles governing the treatment of prisoners of war, as was requested of him in Security Council resolution 237 (1967) and in General Assembly resolution 2252 (ES-V), which my delegation had the honour to sponsor.

15. There is one problem that has existed since the end of the Second World War and that we cannot fail to mention, since it creates international tension and concerns the happiness and the future of a whole people. The division of Germany, which has not been overcome in the last two decades, has estranged the members of one and the same family and has artificially imposed a state of affairs that runs counter to the most genuine desires of a nation. It must be recognized that the Federal Republic of Germany has made

every effort both to facilitate a solution to this specific problem and to diminish the general tension in the world, and in these efforts it has sacrificed doctrinary principles that up to a few years ago were the foundations of its international policy. Argentina urges the peace-loving nations to give their support in the quest for a final solution to this problem.

16. In the economic sphere, Argentina has set itself a basic objective: the establishment of an economic and social system that will stimulate and develop individual initiative, efforts and freedoms and thus promote the competence and progress of the whole community. Argentina wants to achieve an increasingly intensive development of its commercial, industrial and financial relations in an atmosphere of solidarity that will make it possible to attain the common good of all nations.

17. The resolute, lively and vigorous activity of the industrial nations from the year 1945 onwards in laying the foundations of international co-operation was undoubtedly the most outstanding feature of the post-war period. Now that this first stage of international co-operation has been completed with the recovery of the European nations that had been devastated by the war, the backward condition and increasing weakness of the countries which have become known as the developing countries has begun to acquire dramatic significance.

18. The specific object of the Development Decade proclaimed by the United Nations is to eliminate the inequality in the wealth and the rate of progress among nations. Our country has supported this movement of international solidarity with faith and enthusiasm. Nevertheless, we do not think it is going too far to say that today, when the Development Decade is entering its last stage, the gap between the industrialized countries and the developing countries, in all the matters by which economic progress is measured, is tending to increase and not to diminish. The Argentine Republic is well aware that the main effort to close this gap and to overcome backwardness must be made by the developing countries themselves. The Argentine Republic is well aware that, in the last resort, it is each State that has the major responsibility and the most specific obligation.

19. The Argentine Government has adopted a series of economic, social and educational measures designed to modernize its structures and thus to make it possible to speed up its growth rate. But within this activity my country is giving as much importance to adjusting the machinery for improving the terms of its foreign trade as to the amendment and improvement of the provisions that affect the sources of the resources that help its balance of payments, such as freightage, insurance and tourism.

20. But this national effort, which each country can and must make, needs to be supplemented by international co-operation. His Holiness Pope Paul VI rightly drew attention to this, in unequivocal terms, when he stated in the Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*^{1/} that it is necessary to seek concrete and practical means of organization and co-operation in

^{1/} Published in the Vatican on 26 March 1967. (Vatican Polyglot Press.)

order to make the existing resources available to all and thus to achieve a true communion among the nations. This duty, said Pope Paul VI, concerns primarily the most privileged of the nations. And this co-operation must include, in the first place, the promotion of more equitable opportunities in order to allow of a suitable expansion of the foreign trade of the developing countries. Such expansion is a necessary condition for increasing the growth rate of those countries. The intensification of the transfer of financial and technological resources is a complementary, but very important, aspect of that co-operation.

21. The present situation shows how little has been achieved, both in the matter of trade and in financial and technical matters. Even admitting the benefits that have been received within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) through the Kennedy Round, many highly industrialized countries still have tariff walls and other qualitative restrictions which are an obstacle to the entry of raw materials from the developing countries.

22. This situation runs counter to the fundamental standards upon which the process of liberalization of trade should rest. For this purpose, the establishment of a realistic system of preferences to promote the export of manufactures and semi-manufactures from the developing countries to the consumer markets of the highly industrialized countries would be of great advantage for improving the situation of the developing countries.

23. More than three years after the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the nations are preparing to attend the second session of UNCTAD, to be held at New Delhi in 1968, where they will have an opportunity for a joint discussion of matters of economic, commercial and financial importance. Argentina hopes that on this occasion it will be possible to arrive at effective formulas or principles for the solution of various aspects of the many problems that may be included in the agenda.

24. Technological development is today perhaps the subject that is of supreme and genuine interest to the world. There can be no progress without technology. There can be no development without technology. There can be no possibility of genuine and complete well-being without technical knowledge. Scientific research and technological development are advancing at an exceptionally rapid rate these days and it is therefore necessary here and now to formulate the plans and adopt the necessary decisions to ensure that this development of science and technology is co-ordinated among the countries of different levels of living in order to prevent its becoming a new source of disputes instead of bringing welfare and progress. We consequently think that we should try to bring about the transfer of scientific knowledge in all urgency and should see that the exchange of technological knowledge is speeded up.

25. All this, however, is not enough. It is also necessary to form new nuclei of research and new centres for the promotion of technology in the areas which are becoming industrially conscious. The United Nations has a fundamental mission in this field which may be decisive. It has four instruments for the task:

the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, the United Nations Institute for Training and Research and the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development.

26. It is impossible to over-emphasize the importance of this item today for my delegation and for all the countries in the same situation as mine. For that reason I think that it is the duty of the highly industrialized countries to make a great effort to enable those organizations to fulfil the functions that were assigned to them in the instruments setting them up.

27. Argentina is prepared to play an active part in this fundamental part of modern life. Hence it cannot agree that nuclear research, and above all the exploitation of the atom for peaceful purposes, is the exclusive right of a few countries. The Argentine Republic wishes to reaffirm once again its firm support of any instrument preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons which is properly drawn up and which reflects an acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligations between nuclear and non-nuclear Powers. And on this subject I have the honour to inform the Assembly today that Argentina has adhered to the Treaty of Tlatelolco^{2/} on this subject, which was signed by the Latin American nations at Mexico City. No agreement on this subject, however, can restrict the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. If our countries were to renounce this possibility, it would mean that they were accepting a new type of dependence and subordination.

28. Lastly, I wish to refer to two items that are of special concern to my delegation and that I could not fail to mention before this Assembly. Throughout the history of its foreign policy, Argentina has been particularly emphatic in upholding the principle of non-intervention. It has supported and defended that principle vigorously and has obeyed it punctiliously. In the United Nations, my country supported and voted in favour of General Assembly resolutions 2131 (XX) and 2225 (XXI) and has complied with them.

29. To my great regret, however, I must refer today, in this Assembly, to the violations of that principle that there have been since the last session. In recent days we have witnessed specific and definite violations of this principle which, having been duly confirmed, were severely condemned at the Twelfth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Organization of American States, held at Washington in June 1967. These violations consisted in the instigation and organization of subversive activities, terrorism and other forms of intervention designed to change the régime of another State by violence.

30. Argentina feels obliged to express once more the concern with which it views these violations and to draw attention vigorously to the extent to which they are disturbing the peace of America and obstructing the normal course of the tasks and activities necessary for the attainment of general well-being and the progress of its nations. Argentina has not tolerated and will not tolerate these violations and will denounce them whenever it deems necessary in the forums that it considers competent.

^{2/} Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, signed on 14 February 1967.

31. There is one objective of Argentine policy that has permanent and undisputed priority: to procure as soon as possible the full exercise of Argentine sovereignty in the Malvinas. No subject is of more importance to us, there is no objective that stirs my people more, no task that can call forth greater sacrifices from them. The unification of the territory of the Republic is a national imperative and the present Argentine Government is prepared to secure its full realization. In keeping with a tradition of our foreign policy which has never been denied, we have decided to use peaceful means to obtain the settlement of this dispute with the United Kingdom. Having brought the question before the United Nations, we have placed our faith and our hopes in its authority and its ability.

32. The process of decolonization should embrace not only the countries which were the victims of colonial policy but also those territories which were part of other States and which were occupied by force, their population being replaced by a nucleus of settlers belonging to the occupying Power. This population, which was foreign to the territory, was a cloak for military and political objectives of the great Powers in the nineteenth century.

33. The Argentine Government will in due course provide information on the progress of the negotiations with the United Kingdom, as it told the Secretary-General in its note of 15 December 1966. In any case, Argentina will not relax its efforts until the islands are returned to it.

34. Mutual consideration and respect among States, the absence of any discrimination between men, races or nations and the full exercise of human rights—these are the very basis of peaceful and organized international coexistence and the very essence of the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter. In striving to ensure that these principles are put into effect, we are fighting not only for the life of our Organization but also for the national independence of each one of our States and for the full development of man. Argentina today proclaims these principles once again because it knows that it can only attain the great national objectives through a life of full co-operation in the international community.

35. Mr. THIAM (Senegal) (translated from French): Mr. President, I should like to extend to you my delegation's sincere congratulations on your election as President of this session. We welcome your election for more than one reason: first, because you represent a country towards which our people has the warmest feelings; and, secondly, because it may augur favourable changes within a continent the balance of which is one of the guarantees of peace.

36. Nevertheless, the opening of this session of the General Assembly has not been marked by euphoria. It is true that few, if any, sessions have. On the other hand, few sessions have, at their opening, been marked by so profound a disenchantment. It could even be said without exaggeration that this session finds the Assembly in disarray and suffering from a sense of impotence. Why impotence? In examining the problems before us, we note that none of them is really new. Although they may have reached an acute stage, the stage of crisis, they have nevertheless been with us for twenty years, if not longer.

37. These problems claim our attention, fade, and appear again, depending on circumstances; and sometimes they reappear in a new form; but they continue to exist. The feeling of impotence stems from our realization that these problems, far from having been solved, have stagnated, when they have not deteriorated.

38. No one can claim today that we are on the way to seriously consolidating the peace. On the contrary, this problem has become more and more complicated as the international community has grown in size. The process of decolonization has been arrested and this, in some cases, further jeopardizes the peace. Improving the level of living of the under-privileged peoples has been the subject of much fine writing, whose generous sentiments are equalled only by its inefficacy. The United Nations Development Decade, which has dashed as many hopes as it aroused, is proof enough of that, if proof were needed.

39. This stagnation, which has affected many areas of our post-war existence, was bound to be reflected in the present world situation. That situation is certainly not brilliant.

40. The continent of Asia is aflame at both ends. The war in Viet-Nam and the Middle East crisis may at any moment give rise to a general conflagration. China remains a cause of concern, not only because of what it stands for, but also because it has been outlawed by the international community for nearly twenty years. The precarious partition of certain Asian countries, whose dividing lines constitute areas of friction for other Powers, adds to the general insecurity which weighs heavily over Asia and over the rest of the world.

41. Africa has become a prey to instability, and unless measures are taken the many problems it has inherited after the recent and not always smooth decolonization may thrust it back into darkness.

42. While the United States of America, because of its privileged position, enjoys a certain amount of domestic harmony, everyone knows that—sometimes perhaps involuntarily—it creates enormous problems by its omnipresence.

43. As to old Europe, while there are encouraging signs of relaxation of tension, which are due to the commendable efforts of certain Governments, we cannot but note that no substantive problem has been settled there since the last world war. Whereas the European blocs are being eroded from within and the separating walls have begun to show cracks and even a few chinks here and there, the substantive problems, on the other hand, remain unsolved. As everyone knows, no peace treaty was ever signed with Germany, which is still divided. The frontiers of certain countries, which must be delimited if equilibrium is to be maintained in Europe, are still in dispute.

44. That is the far from brilliant picture of the present world situation. As I have said, few are the problems which date less than twenty years back. And the feeling of impotence we experience because these problems are so chronic is accompanied by another feeling—fear of catastrophe. Lightning, it is said, never strikes twice in the same place. Yet we cannot fail to note, if not an identity, a certain similarity between the prob-

lems which go to make up the present situation and those which had existed in the twenty years following the First World War: disagreement among the victors; conflicts between former allies; repeated violations of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which was, we must remember, an instrument for world peace; and the progressive impotence of that international institution, which was unable to solve any of the problems of its day.

45. Today, as then, we are unfortunately facing if not the same problems, at least the same deep-seated trouble, which is amplified by the greater size of the international community. We are not among those who, reading the Introduction to the Annual Report of the Secretary-General [A/6701/Add.1], find it full of unwarranted pessimism. We are well aware that international problems are not as readily solved as domestic ones. They require great patience and great skill. But when we see so little progress made in a quarter of a century, when the forces of evil loom ever larger while future prospects keep on growing dimmer, it is only natural that we should be perplexed. That is the time to sound the alarm. This is exactly what the Secretary-General has had the courage to do, and we warmly commend him for it. He has done his duty. Ours is to ponder and to seek both the cause of our ills and the remedies for them.

46. These ills are to be found at all levels and in all sectors of international relations; first, with all due respect, in the relations between the great Powers; secondly, in the relations between the industrialized countries and the countries of the Third World; and, lastly, in the latter countries' relations among themselves. These offer us an opportunity for self-criticism.

47. My statement, which I shall try to make fairly brief, will deal with these various aspects. At a time when we are perplexed and therefore disinclined to exert ourselves, when a certain lassitude invades and dulls our minds, it would seem useful to try to assess with some precision the problems that beset us, in order, if possible, to develop a new approach to them.

48. Our troubles, as I said, stem first of all from the relations between the great Powers.

49. On the morrow of the Second World War the great Powers, having conquered the enemy through joint action, proceeded to put into effect a far-reaching and generous plan intended to benefit all mankind. They meant to save mankind from the scourge of another war; to defend the fundamental rights of men and nations; to promote economic and social progress; and, for these ends, to practice tolerance and to unite to maintain international peace and security. All these things will be found in the Charter that was signed at San Francisco. This attitude was based on the optimism born of the euphoria of victory and on a certain trust among the victors, cemented in the trials of war. The great Powers regarded this lofty mission as a sacred duty.

50. We know, alas, what happened next. They became bogged down in what was termed "the cold war", with its train of mistrust, suspicion, accusations, demagoguery, and a frantic search for client States for the purpose of building up zones of influence.

51. Central Europe and the Balkans, and then Asia, were affected by it, while at the same time various military blocs and alliances were formed. The concept of collective security was jettisoned. The United Nations stopped being what was expected of it, i.e. the highest forum for world harmony and understanding, and became a field of battle, each Power or group of Powers attempting to use it for their own ends, make it serve their own interests, and sometimes utilize it to cover up operations they would not own to. The controversy with regard to the peace-keeping operations, which is still continuing, and veto after veto on the enemy camp's proposals—and those vetoes were numerous enough, in all conscience—attested to a deterioration in the climate of political relations between the great Powers and to a regression of international morality. Gradually, beyond the national State frontiers, a veritable "international frontier" was established, delimiting the zones of influence of the great Powers where the hostile worlds met. The cold war multiplied, as someone said, from the Baltic to the China Sea the zones of friction or sensitivity and the calculated pressures which were increased or relaxed depending on the circumstances.

52. Realizing how dangerous this state of affairs was for mankind, the great Powers came to an agreement on what is generally called "peaceful coexistence". In the present circumstances we cannot hope that they may advance from coexistence to co-operation, co-operation without mistrust or ulterior motives. Peaceful coexistence, then, is the lesser evil which we have to accept; but it is not a generous theory. It lacks human warmth; there is something frozen and static about it; it often tends to protect acquired positions, to maintain a status quo which is bound to be altered one day, for a status quo, alas, is often maintained to protect one's own interests, to perpetuate conditions favourable to oneself at the expense of others.

53. If coexistence could be a sure guarantee of peace, if only for the time being, it would at least offer us a temporary comfort. But the truth is that this so-called peaceful coexistence is never entirely peaceful. Its purpose is, no doubt, to protect us from the risk of direct confrontation between the great Powers.

54. But peaceful coexistence never put a stop to the race for bases, the frenzied search for allies and strategic raw materials, the arms race, the manufacture and stock-piling of weapons of mass destruction on the pretext that they would act as a deterrent, localized wars waged by proxy, indirect participation in civil wars, the supply of weapons and troops sometimes camouflaged as volunteers and sometimes as mercenaries, and the training and equipment of foreign soldiers. The present situation in the Middle East and in some parts of Africa is a striking example.

55. Such methods, when used by those who have assumed the lofty undertaking of safeguarding the peace in accordance with the Charter, seem to us startling to say the least. They strike at the heart of international morality. Not only is there a lessening of trust; more importantly, men's faith in a better future is also lessened.

56. Wherever we turn to look, we find ills which, unless they are done away with, presage a future for mankind as somber as the present. For, apart from

the relations between the great Powers, these ills are also to be found in the poor organization of economic relations between the developed countries and the Third World.

57. A year ago [1414th meeting], my delegation commented forcefully on this scandal of the twentieth century and proposed the holding of an economic Bandung; such a conference will be held at Algiers next month. A world proletariat, comprising some 75 per cent of the population of this planet, and having only 15 per cent of the total world income to live on—85 per cent of that income being enjoyed by only one quarter of the population—that is sheer madness. The United Nations Development Decade, a project which is now running its course, has failed to live up to the hopes it had aroused. And yet, its goals are modest enough, in all conscience, when compared with that scandalous phenomenon, international economic relations. Whether we look at trade in primary commodities, of which the developed countries are the principal sellers, or trade in manufactured goods, of which those countries are the main suppliers, or the natural resources to be found in our own regions, we see nothing to explain the vast difference between levels of living in the developed and the under-developed countries. This scandalous disparity stems solely from human selfishness and unfairness. It is curious that, although this fact is no longer denied by anyone and although the danger it represents for the future of the developed countries themselves, as well as of the underprivileged regions is generally recognized, only slight, not to say negligible, efforts are being made to remedy the situation. To have one one-hundredth of the national income of the developed countries transferred to the poor countries—is that really asking too much? But there is every indication that the Development Decade will have had no appreciable results. Yet the entire amount would be only a little more than \$30 thousand million for the ten years in question. The Viet-Nam war alone costs \$27 thousand million a year to one of the two sides.

58. Seeing the relative paucity of their aid to the development of backward regions, how can certain Powers feel surprised that an increasing number of developing countries should disapprove of their world policy? Assuming that those Powers are fighting to stop the spread of an ideology they do not share, is adding to the world proletariat the best way of achieving their aim? Would it not be better, on the contrary, to help to raise levels of living everywhere? Instead of sending arms to countries of the Middle East, would it not be better to help them to use their immense resources, from which they derive little benefit today, to transform the great deserts of Arabia into green pastures and arable land? Instead of encouraging secession by certain African countries in order to seize their copper, their oil, or whatever, would it not be better to reshape trade relations with them so that the trade would be mutually beneficial? Instead of sending mercenaries to some region or other in a desperate attempt to restore the *status quo ante*, would it not be better to initiate a useful dialogue with the peoples of the region with a view to setting up fruitful co-operation, in line with the requirements of our times? Dreams of conquest and covetous ambitions belong in museums; they have become ana-

59. In any case, so long as the problem of developing the backward regions by revising international economic relations is not on the way to a solution, there can be no hope of one day freeing mankind of its ills.

60. Has not the time come to regard assistance by the developed countries towards raising levels of living in the Third World not as a mere moral duty any longer, but as a legal obligation? In this connexion, I cannot but express astonishment at the silence the great Powers have maintained from the beginning of this session on a problem of such vital importance to the Third World. It is true, of course, that the Third World itself should admit that it is in part responsible for the situation in which it finds itself. For some of our ills reside in the relations among the countries of the Third World.

61. It would not be honest to point an accusing finger at the others and chastely throw a veil over our own defects and shortcomings. At first sight, the Third World seems a global concept, a homogeneous whole with the same basic conditions everywhere. In fact, that is not so. Certainly we share the same aspirations, especially with regard to peace, protection of our independence, and economic and social development. We have tried, time and time again, to define and apply a unified global strategy vis-à-vis the great Powers; but we are forced to recognize that, despite such attempts, the States of the Third World tend increasingly to become "satellized", sometimes helping thereby to encourage the policy of blocs and the division of the world into enemy camps.

62. This satellization is almost a physical phenomenon, and one, unhappily, difficult to resist. Nevertheless, we have carefully evolved a policy of non-alignment, not only because we believe it to be in our interest to keep out of blocs and empires, but also because any reduction of areas of friction serves the interests of peace. The truth is that, try as we may, we shall never be as lucky as some countries, which were liberated in the nineteenth century and which have been able to build up buffer zones over a number of decades. There is no Monroe Doctrine for Africa or Asia. The troubles of the outside world have their repercussions on us, as our troubles have on the outside world. The Congo problem was a thorn in the side of the United Nations for a longtime. The Middle East crisis and the Viet-Nam war are the focus of world concern today.

63. The weakness of the Third World, however, is also caused by our own internal difficulties: instability within most of our States, which is certainly due to our economic weakness, but also—let us be frank about it—to institutions ill-suited to our particular conditions, to frontier quarrels and to tribal dissensions, all these being ailments that are characteristic of the Third World.

64. Other sources of permanent conflicts, in which we sometimes involve outside Powers because we cannot cope with them ourselves, are the differences in our political régimes, economic systems and chosen ideologies, particularly as between neighbouring States.

65. We are compelled to recognize today that the arms race is not confined to the great Powers. Un-

fortunately, and that is often our tragedy, we too engage in it, and while the size of our military budgets often bears no relation to our productive investments, it is obvious that the funds we invest in health, education and other areas of general development are slim in comparison with our military expenditure.

66. These are the ills that beset us, that beset mankind. If we look more closely, beyond the facts and the anomalies I have mentioned, we shall find that our general attitude and behaviour are open to criticism. Out of laziness or excessive caution—I would not say out of apathy—when faced with problems, we take positions that are dictated by the immediate circumstances. We tend to prefer expedients, temporary or provisional solutions, to solutions which go to the heart of the matter; the war in the Middle East is an example. We choose to deny self-evident facts and to believe in fictions; the Chinese problem is an example. Where solutions based on law and justice cannot be achieved by force, we do not avail ourselves of the benefits of a dialogue; the Viet-Nameese problem is an example. We invoke principles, and we reject them when they no longer serve our purpose; the problem of the maintenance of peace and the competence attributed in turn to different United Nations organs by the great Powers are an example. We also often fall prey to dogmatism, intolerance and intransigence, and I admit this readily, for it is typical of the young nations we represent.

67. The above is a list, and a very incomplete one at that, of the ills that beset us. I am aware, of course, that I have made a severe diagnosis, one whose severity is perhaps equalled only by the incompetence of the diagnostician. But my country is merely attempting to search its conscience, as a member of the international community.

68. We stand in urgent need of defining a new attitude which would enable us not only to resolve our present difficulties but to clear the way for future action.

69. It seems to us that the first thing we must do is develop a sense of belonging to the world community. We members of the Senegalese delegation, like everyone here present, are representatives of a national State. But until we have taken careful stock of our national needs and requirements, and also of the needs and requirements of the world order which we see evolving, the changes and transformations we all must undergo before we enter into a new era must needs be accompanied by violence—for everything that is happening today indicates that a new era is about to dawn. Mankind cannot possibly survive unless it makes up its mind to do away with the anomalies of which it has become aware in recent years. Either men will be wise enough to prepare for the advent of the new order, or the new order will come about against their will, that is to say, by means of violent, unnecessary and gratuitous upheavals. In the meantime, however, we must be firmly resolved to abide by the rules of our changing society. Empire building, territorial conquest, interference in the domestic affairs of States, unwarranted appropriation of the resources of others, must all be banned in international life.

70. We must also not allow problems to deteriorate through lack of attention. International problems are

often so vast, of course, that it is difficult to assess them fully and therefore to find balanced and just solutions for them. But we must not approach them in a spirit of helplessness or defeatism simply because they are complex.

71. The two problems which dominate this session and on which I shall now comment briefly—Viet-Nam and the Middle East—offer a striking illustration of this negative attitude.

72. It seems to us, as we said before, that the Viet-Nameese problem must be settled by the Viet-Nameese themselves. In this case, as in others, we must be guided by principle. The problem is essentially one of self-determination. The question is whether or not the Viet-Nameese have the right freely to determine their destiny. But self-determination manifestly means cessation of all foreign intervention. It is not possible, it is intolerable that a foreign Power, whatever it may be and however generous its motives, should choose a preordained régime for Viet-Nam; the Viet-Nameese people must not be subjected to any pressure, from near or from far. That presupposes, in particular, cessation of the bombings, as a first step conducive to negotiations. The Viet-Nameese, and they alone, can decide whether they wish to form two separate States, with two different Governments, or whether they wish to merge into a single national community.

73. In this matter, our position is one of non-alignment; we are neither for the East nor for the West, neither for North Viet-Nam nor for South Viet-Nam. We stand on principle, on the side of the Charter, which in the last analysis means on the side of peace.

74. I remember a recent study on relations between the United States and the Third World. It reveals how close the people of the United States is to the Third World, because of its past as a colonized nation which paid dearly for its independence, and because of the fair and progressive position which some of its most illustrious sons took at one point on decolonization. But the study also shows that, because it recognizes no form of progress other than its own, the United States manages to give the impression that even its most generous plans are sinister plots against the freedom of other peoples. We for our part have no desire to inveigh against anyone, but we are firmly convinced that the Viet-Nameese problem must be settled, once again, by means of negotiation, and any measure that might encourage negotiation should be given immediate consideration.

75. Our position with regard to the Middle East was stated clearly when a vote was taken at the fifth emergency session. We do not question the existence of the State of Israel. All the States of the Middle East have a right to existence and to territorial integrity. But, for that very reason, we strongly favour the withdrawal of Israel troops from all occupied Arab territories.

76. Naturally, the substantive problems raised by the presence of Israel in the midst of the Arab world must be examined. Naturally, no one can oblige the Arab nations to recognize Israel. But it would be good to bring about a more relaxed and tranquil atmosphere, one less dangerous to both sides, so that attention can be given to the substantive problems without whose

solution no peace can be hoped for in that part of the world.

77. The fate of the Palestinian refugees is not merely a political problem; it is also a human problem, and it remains unsolved after twenty years. The status of the Gulf of Aqaba must be defined once and for all, and so must the status of all waterways in the area. But, here again, it should be recognized that the Arabs and the Jews are not the only ones responsible. The conditions under which Palestine was partitioned were such that what happened was bound to happen. Moreover, since the 1948 explosion, which followed the adoption by the Assembly of a plan for the partition of Palestine [resolution 181 (II)], that region has been living on borrowed time. Armistice commissions were set up pending restoration of a stable peace. These commissions still exist, at least on paper, and we are still awaiting the stable peace promised us.

78. A second disturbance, which occurred in 1956, likewise failed to accelerate the search for a solution. The United Nations confined itself to stationing some blue berets along the borders. The blue berets remained there for eleven years. Peace is not to be maintained by such methods. It is time now, it is high time, to seek drastic remedies for a situation that has been with us all too long. It is our view that such remedies should be based on resolution 181 (II) of 1947. This resolution, of course, set up a Jewish State; but it also created a Palestinian Arab State. It established a status for the city of Jerusalem, a city which, being of concern to three religious communities, should be preserved from the uncertainties of political fluctuations.

79. But before we can deal with the substantive problems, passions must die down, and it is the duty of each one of us, whatever views we may take of these problems, to remain calm, help to bring about a relaxation of tension, and talk sense to both parties. Israel and its supporters have nothing to gain from prolonging the humiliation of the Arabs; nor have the Arabs anything to gain from maintaining extremist positions which, we believe, are not endorsed by world opinion. This is why we hope that the Khartoum Conference^{3/} will mark a turning point and will have given birth to a realistic policy which, while defending the legitimate interests of the Arab nation, by whose woes my country is particularly moved, will take account of the need to maintain peace throughout the world. Whatever difficulties we may encounter in our respective regions, whatever bitterness we may feel at the repeated reverses which history, of course, deals out to all peoples, we must never jeopardize world peace, for it is the precious possession of all mankind. To forsake peaceful coexistence because of the Middle East would be madness, for regional conflicts, no matter how acute or how important, cannot be solved unless the world is at peace.

80. These are the comments my delegation wished to submit to the General Assembly. Shall this session, marked at its opening by disenchantment and a sense of impotence, end in failure? Whatever happens, we must not regard our impotence as an established fact, for that would mean an abdication, a resignation, on

^{3/} Arab Summit Conference, held from 29 August to 1 September 1967.

our part. It would mean denying, not only the United Nations, which we would not so deny, but our very reason for being. That is why, however great the difficulties, delays, reverses and failures we encounter, we must continue on our way. Stormy and threatening as the international skies may be, we must hope for a break in the clouds that will permit us to plot our course to a future of peace and concord. We who are the crew must not desert the ship.

81. Mr. MARTIN (Canada): Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you most warmly on your election to the Presidency of this body. Your election is both a tribute to your own person and to the distinctive contribution which Romania is making to world affairs. I look forward to close co-operation with you over the coming weeks and I take this opportunity as well to acknowledge the distinguished service rendered by your predecessor, Mr. Pazhwak of Afghanistan.

82. If we are to judge by the pace of our activities since the conclusion of the last regular session, this Organization is a vigorous and healthy one. Two special sessions of the Assembly, an intensive series of meetings of the Security Council, not to mention the normal activities of other United Nations bodies, testify to the continuing vitality of the United Nations.

83. While this record of activity is encouraging, some will no doubt say that the results at which we have arrived are disappointing and that the United Nations has only confirmed its reputation as a forum for debate rather than an instrument for action. What have been called the "interlocking stalemates" on our agenda remain as they were before. And yet, if talk is cheap it is certainly better than resort to the use of force. It should be of some encouragement to us that our agenda is crowded and that the world so often turns to this Organization with its troubles. As far as my country is concerned, the future of the United Nations is linked to its capacity to become a universal forum in which all the conflicting interests, ideologies and points of view of mankind can be brought together. Without contact there can be no co-operation. Without debate there can be no reconciliation. And, moreover, this Organization was able to bring about a cease-fire in the Middle East, and this Organization did assume responsibility for South West Africa. The fact that we proceed slowly and that frequent stops have to be made on the way should not be blamed on the vehicle, but on the road we have to travel.

84. All of us subscribe to the high ideals of the Charter by the very fact that we are here. Where we go wrong and where we are apt to be disappointed is in putting those ideals into practice. Clearly, there must be willingness to negotiate compromises. I am encouraged by the fact that at the two special sessions of the Assembly this year there were genuine and persistent efforts on all sides to negotiate. Failure to reach agreement was perhaps understandable in the circumstances. What we must ensure is that we do not accept frustration; on the contrary, we must make frustration a spur to further efforts in the continuing search for agreement on outstanding issues.

85. The Middle East is of major concern to us at this time. My country has followed developments there with anxiety for the future of that historic area of

the world and with sympathy for the thousands of innocent people who are, as always, the first victims of war. Canada has been directly involved, as you know, in the affairs of the Middle East through our membership on the Security Council and our participation in the United Nations Emergency Force and the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization. We are a major contributor to the programme of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency. Nothing illustrates better the vital contribution the United Nations has made to the area than the fact that two of these organizations continue to have an indispensable function to perform in relieving suffering and in helping to maintain a relative tranquillity.

86. It is clear, nevertheless, that we have failed to establish the foundations for a lasting peace. The securing of such a settlement has been Canada's abiding concern ever since 1947. We witnessed the opportunity slip away in 1949. In the early months of 1957 we emphasized again and again in this Assembly the vital importance of action to remove the causes of war. When tensions were mounting once more in the Middle East in the spring, with others we sought to have the Security Council urge restraint on the parties involved. Now again it is incumbent on all of us, and particularly on the permanent members of the Security Council, to make every effort to lay the basis for a long-term settlement.

87. Speaking at the fifth emergency special session on 23 June last, I said that in Canada's view, "the withdrawal of the Israeli forces, vital as it is, must be related to the other basic issues involved" [1533rd meeting, para. 121]. This remains our view. These other issues include: respect for the territorial integrity of all the nations of the area, and the ending of claims to belligerency; respect for the rights of all nations to innocent passage through international waterways; justice for the refugees; and arrangements for the preservation of the special spiritual and religious interests in Jerusalem, involving, I would hope, some form of international supervision by this Organization.

88. The first priority must be to see whether the efforts which were made at the fifth special emergency session in July to work out a resolution combining some or all of these principles can be resumed and carried to a successful conclusion. If an agreement on principles could be reached, we should also, I think, take the advice of the Secretary-General in the Introduction to his Annual Report and give him an appropriate authorization for the designation of a special representative to act as a much-needed channel of communication between the parties and as a reporter and interpreter of the events for this Organization [A/6701/Add.1, para. 48]. But even if it should prove impossible to reach agreement on a statement of principles, I believe that the United Nations should none the less send out to the area a special representative of the Secretary-General—and do so without delay—with a broad mandate to establish and maintain contacts with all sides and assist in the return of peaceful conditions. This appointment would not be a victory for any party, but a genuine demonstration of the responsibility of the United Nations to encourage the peaceful settlement of disputes.

89. I wish to say a special word concerning the refugees. The most recent report of the Secretary-General^{4/} based on the findings of his Personal Representative, brings us once again face to face with our responsibility to preserve and strengthen "the dignity and worth of the human person". His report points to the urgent need for more international assistance of all kinds, and the Government of my country is considering how it can help further such assistance. Whatever generosity we can summon—and I know that many Governments have been generous over the years in their response to the needs of the refugees in the Middle East—this will not, however, be sufficient to solve the underlying problem. It is essential that justice be done to the rights and claims of the refugees in the framework of a general settlement.

90. The principles of compensation, repatriation and resettlement enunciated in previous resolutions of our Assembly provide the necessary guide-lines for settling the refugees in permanent homes. The parties directly concerned have moral and historical obligations towards the refugees which must be recognized; but it would be unrealistic to expect that they could, in present circumstances, carry out alone an effective programme of this kind.

91. I would therefore hope that we might give serious study to the establishment of a co-ordinated plan of international action aimed at regional development on an ambitious scale. It would help provide a basis for a solution of the refugee problem and could lead to a new era of peace and prosperity in the area. It would require the full support of the Members of this Organization as well as the co-operation of the countries in the Middle East. Such a plan might encompass agricultural and mineral development, a co-ordinated approach to the development and utilization of water resources, and, if feasible, projects for desalination and the production of electric power.

92. It would appear essential that an international programme along these lines be carried out in conjunction with a settlement of other outstanding questions, if it is to have any prospect of success. Nevertheless, we should not delay for this reason an attempt to develop the practical programme and to establish the appropriate machinery.

93. Another principal area of concern to this Organization over the past year has been the situation in southern Africa, particularly in Rhodesia and in South West Africa. Canada supported—and I wish to reaffirm that support—resolution 2145 (XXI), which terminated the mandate of South Africa over South West Africa and brought South West Africa under the direct responsibility of this Organization. We participated actively as a member of the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa in the search for practical means of implementing that resolution. This search has not led to arrangements for the transfer of the administration of South West Africa. I would hope, however, that the Assembly will now consider alternative approaches to this problem, including the idea of undertaking preliminary consultations with the peoples and the de facto authorities of South West

^{4/} Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-second Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1967, document S/8158.

Africa. This might be done through a representative of the Secretary-General, as my country and a number of delegations have already suggested.

94. Frankly, the attitude of the Government of South Africa gives us cause for concern. My Government would consider invalid any attempt by South Africa to take action which would have the effect of dividing the Territory into smaller parts or of incorporating it into South Africa. The international character of the Territory and the interests and well-being of its inhabitants must be the paramount considerations which guide our actions. At the same time, we have no choice but to take into account in whatever we do the capacities and resources of the United Nations.

95. In December 1966 [resolution 232 (1966)] the Security Council took far-reaching decisions to apply mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia. Canada has repeatedly expressed its conviction that Rhodesia must not be granted independence before majority rule is attained. We have complied strictly with the terms of the Security Council's decisions. There is a total ban on trade between Canada and Rhodesia. I am disturbed, however, at indications that the Security Council decision is not being fully implemented. Without full co-operation from every Member State in this Organization, the purposes of the United Nations will be frustrated. And so we look forward to receiving the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of sanctions.^{5/} Once that is available, the Security Council will be in a better position to decide what further measures should be taken.

96. Now, clearly, one of the principal obstacles to the effective implementation of United Nations recommendations relating to southern Africa is the continuing lack of co-operation from the Government of South Africa. Whichever way we turn, in whatever direction we look for solutions, we find the same implacable opposition. My Government is conscious of the dilemma: on the one hand, we cannot ignore the implications of South African policies for the world community as a whole; and, on the other hand, to invite a physical confrontation now with South Africa carries the gravest implications. It is evident that such a confrontation would impose a heavy burden on those States which would have to accept the principal responsibility for taking the necessary measures. We have a legitimate interest in doing all we can to banish apartheid as an instrument of South African policy. At the same time, we must recognize that the real interests of this Organization are best preserved by measuring our ends against our means.

97. Now I want to say a word about the vital and worrying problem of Viet-Nam. It would be encouraging and, indeed, deeply gratifying to all of us at this Assembly if we were able to note that the thunder clouds of war had lifted from Viet-Nam since one year ago when we gathered in this same forum to review the problems of the world. That is not the case. The suffering and destruction in Viet-Nam continue unabated. Despite all the efforts, including those of my own country, to seek a basis for nego-

tiation the issues behind the conflict seem to remain as intractable as ever.

98. Once again we face the question, therefore, whether this Organization can help to bring the Viet-Nam conflict closer to a peaceful and mutually acceptable conclusion and to foster political stability and economic progress in an area of the world where both are so badly needed.

99. There are, of course, reasons which militate against immediate and formal action being taken by this Organization at this time. We cannot escape the obvious fact—and it is a fact that I regret—that some of those most directly concerned with this conflict are not represented in the United Nations. I do not wish to suggest that if it were otherwise we would automatically find ourselves closer to a concrete solution to the problem in Viet-Nam. Whether this situation will change in the future I cannot say, but I do not believe that efforts for peace need be held in abeyance until it does.

100. A second important reason for the inability of this Organization to contribute constructively to a solution in Viet-Nam is that the great Powers are divided on the causes of the conflict and on the measures required to terminate it. As we all know, the Security Council can function effectively only if its members will unite their strength to maintain international peace and security, as the Charter indeed calls upon them to do. And I can see no immediate prospect of that unity being found.

101. And so to be realistic in assessing our present ability here to act collectively and as an organization must not be regarded as a justification for apathy and inertia by each of us individually. This, I think, has been the conviction of the Secretary-General, who has made repeated efforts to find a solution, as have others. This has also been the conviction of Canada. We must strive to bring into play whatever channels and whatever forms of peace-seeking machinery may be available to the international community. Our goal must be the restoration of peace, and making it secure, at the earliest possible time. That surely was the overriding concern which gave birth to this Organization; and I am one of the very few in this hall who attended that birth.

102. As Members of the United Nations, partaking as we do of common objectives and obligations, I think we must register our concern in terms clear enough and unequivocal enough for all those directly involved in this conflict to hear and understand. At the same time we must work with all the resources of ingenuity, imagination and flexibility, and above all with a sense of justice, towards devising whatever means may be mutually acceptable for bringing the conflict in Viet-Nam from the field of hostilities to the conference table.

103. Yesterday, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Britain said: "We are ready to meet with the Governments of the Soviet Union, India, Canada and Poland, as proposed by the President of the World Federation of United Nations Association..." [1567th meeting, para. 108]. I should simply like to say that my Prime Minister, in the name of the Government of

^{5/} *Ibid.*, Supplement for January, February and March 1967, document S/7781 and Add.1-2; and *ibid.*, Supplement for July, August and September 1967, document S/7781/Add.3.

Canada, has indicated our willingness to attend such a conference.

104. Whether the path we select as the most direct route to that conference table bears a name derived from the Charter, or from the Geneva Conference machinery, matters less to my mind than our assessment of its likelihood of leading to an end to the war. For our part, the Canadian Government, which has a special interest and a special responsibility because of our membership in the International Commission for Supervision and Control, will, as in the past, continue to explore all possibilities of making use of that Commission or acting in conjunction with its Commission partners, Poland and India, to try to lead the parties to the conflict towards negotiations.

105. There is not the slightest doubt in my mind now that the first step in that direction will involve the question of the bombing of North Viet-Nam. It seems clear that all attempts to bring about talks between the two sides are doomed to failure unless the bombing is stopped. That is a matter of first priority if we are to start the process of de-escalation and to open the door to the conference room, as several representatives who have preceded me at this rostrum have pointed out—in particular the Prime Minister of Denmark [1562nd meeting] and the Foreign Minister of Sweden [1563rd meeting].

106. But we must not for a moment pretend that a halt in the bombing would in itself bring an end to the war. I believe it is now the first step. There are no magic formulas; there are no simple prescriptions for the settlement of problems as complex as the issues behind the hostilities in Viet-Nam. On 11 April of this year in our Parliament, I made certain suggestions on how a start might be made on the road away from war by a progressive return to the cease-fire arrangement worked out at Geneva in 1954. I proposed then that the following steps might be taken:

(1) As a first step towards disengagement, the bombing of the North might be terminated and the demilitarized zone restored to its intended status subject to effective international supervision;

(2) A freezing of the course of military events and capabilities in Viet-Nam at existing levels;

(3) The cessation of all hostilities between the parties, that is, a cease-fire; and, finally,

(4) Following the cease-fire, withdrawal of all outside forces whose presence in the area of conflict was not provided for at Geneva, and the dismantling of military bases.

107. I recognized then, as I have elsewhere, that there is no hope for peaceful settlement in appeals or proposals which place the total burden of responsibility for making essential concessions on only one side. That sort of approach is relevant only in circumstances of military victory and defeat.

108. If, therefore, we are to recognize a halt to the bombing for what it is, namely, the key to a solution, the starting-point in the process of solving the Viet-Nam problem, let us be very clear in our own minds that it is only one side of a military equation and that we cannot proceed, if we are to have any hope of success, as if the other side did not exist. No attempt to

bring an end to the conflict can disregard either the political or the military interrelationships in the area. Canada is ready at all times to accept its responsibilities in the International Commission for Supervision and Control to act in conjunction with its Commission partners in helping to lead the parties to the conflict in Viet-Nam to the conference table, and to assist in every way to achieve the establishment of an equitable peace in Viet-Nam. I believe that as long as that war continues, it serves as an obstacle to the settlement of other vital issues that concern us all.

109. At a time when our Organization is beset with difficulties in fulfilling its responsibilities for the maintenance of peace and security, we can draw encouragement from the increasingly effective part which the United Nations is taking in the great task of economic and social development. Hunger, disease, poverty and ignorance threaten the peace just as surely as disputes over frontiers or relations between races. And here the United Nations is making steady progress. It devotes by far the largest portion of its total resources to promoting economic and social progress. But more is required. Peoples around the world will judge our actions in large measure by our success in helping to provide an adequate response to their most vital needs. Indeed the future of the United Nations system itself is directly related to its ability to make an increasing contribution to overcoming the glaring disparities in living standards which mark today's world. In Canada we are deeply conscious of the need for more aid on better terms. This has been reflected in a greatly expanded development assistance programme. In a period when, unfortunately, the total flow of resources to developing countries has tended to remain static, Canada has taken the decision to expand its contribution to international development progressively so as to reach the target of 1 per cent of our gross national product by 1970-71. We are constantly seeking to improve the quality of our aid programme. We attach particular importance to the expanding role of the United Nations Development Programme, to which we are a major contributor. We intend to play our full part in the replenishment of the International Development Association and hope that the resources available to this important agency will soon be significantly expanded.

110. As we seek to give new impetus to international co-operation in the field of development at this time, preparations for the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), which will convene in New Delhi soon, will be uppermost in our minds. I believe that the signal achievement of UNCTAD to date has been the way in which it has brought donors and recipient countries together in the study of the development process as a whole, and placed in perspective the relationship between its financial and trade aspects. As a result of UNCTAD's work we appreciate more clearly the fundamental truth that economic development is a joint endeavour, depending for its success on synchronized action by both developed and developing countries. I am sure that the Conference itself will mark an important step forward.

111. There have been three important developments in the field of arms control since I spoke to the General Assembly at the twenty-first session: first, the ap-

proval of the Treaty on the peaceful uses of outer space [resolution 2222 (XXI)]; second, the conclusion of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, signed at Mexico City on 14 February 1967; third, the submission of draft treaties^{6/} on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons by the United States and the Soviet Union on 24 August in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

112. With its imminent entry into force, the Treaty on the peaceful uses of outer space will soon be an established and far-reaching fact. It ranks among the important achievements in the arms control sphere since the establishment of the United Nations.

113. I am sure we would all wish to congratulate the States of Latin America and the Caribbean for reaching agreement to establish the first nuclear-free zone in an inhabited part of the world. This Treaty will lend impetus to the non-proliferation negotiations, which have now been intensified in Geneva and will shortly be before this Assembly.

114. The conclusion of a non-proliferation treaty is vital, urgent and of paramount importance. I urge that the General Assembly endorse the results of more than two years of effort so that a treaty can become a working reality soon. The treaty may not be a measure of nuclear disarmament, but it is a vital step towards nuclear arms control, in itself an important prerequisite to ultimate nuclear and general disarmament. It will help to prevent a new nuclear arms race, greatly reduce the danger of nuclear war and contribute to conditions in which the nuclear Powers can address themselves to the problem of reducing their nuclear arsenals. Far from perpetuating a nuclear weapons monopoly, the international forces generated by this treaty will bring pressure to bear on the nuclear Powers themselves to undertake further measures of nuclear arms control.

115. We are confident that the treaty will not inhibit collective defence arrangements nor the civil nuclear programmes of non-nuclear signatories. On the contrary, in my view, the treaty will enhance nuclear development for peaceful purposes in non-nuclear States. My country, by the way, has long had a nuclear capacity, but it determined from the very beginning to use its nuclear know-how for peaceful purposes only.

116. We are firmly convinced that this treaty should prohibit non-nuclear signatories from developing so-called peaceful nuclear explosive devices. There is no distinguishing between military and civil nuclear explosive technology, between the destructive power of a nuclear bomb and a nuclear excavating charge. A more permissive provision for peaceful nuclear explosions would represent a fatal loop-hole by means of which non-nuclear States could acquire military nuclear technology. That is not to say that we should not expect the nuclear Powers, perhaps in this Assembly, to undertake explicitly to extend nuclear explosive services on reasonable terms upon request once they become technically feasible.

117. We also believe that non-nuclear signatories should have some parallel assurances from the nuclear Powers against nuclear blackmail and we hope this

Assembly will be able to agree on appropriate measures. We hope that an equitable safeguards formula can soon be agreed upon which can be accepted by all interested parties. Such an article would do much to promote the extension of international safeguards on peaceful nuclear activities and strengthen the mechanics of nuclear arms control.

118. In the next two or three weeks we shall receive the Secretary-General's report on nuclear weapons;^{7/} such a report—the product of so much knowledge and experience—must command our careful attention; it must command the careful attention of all people interested in the development of a rational and stable world order.

119. My Government endorses the right of all States to take whatever measures they deem necessary to ensure their self-defence, but we would urge the suppliers and the recipients of arms to exercise restraint in their sale and acquisition so that a serious imbalance of arms does not develop in any area where it might lead to the outbreak of fighting. The United States recently proposed the registration of arms shipments to the Middle East, for instance, and we think that this is a practical, constructive and forward-looking proposal to which this Organization might well lend its good offices. We would hope that the principal arms suppliers to the area would give it serious consideration.

120. I should now like to turn for a moment to a specific measure of arms control in which there was reason to hope that the nuclear Powers might be expected to make progress in the near future. Some months ago, as we know, the United States proposed to the Soviet Union that they enter into discussions designed to limit offensive and defensive strategic nuclear weapons systems and in particular the deployment of anti-ballistic-missile systems. To date those talks, I gather, have not started, and we understand that the Soviet Union has not responded to United States efforts to get the talks under way. Meanwhile the Soviet Union has continued to develop the anti-missile defence of Moscow. The United States has recently announced its intention of going forward soon with a limited and light armament defence oriented against a potential Chinese nuclear threat foreseen for the early 1970s.

121. As the representative of a secondary Power vitally concerned about nuclear arms control and disarmament I must state that it seems unreasonable to expect progress in this direction if the nuclear-weapon Powers are not at least prepared to discuss limiting their own nuclear weapons. I therefore appeal to those Powers to pursue their efforts to reach agreement on measures of self-restraint with the same diligence that they are promoting the non-proliferation treaty. As the United States Secretary of Defense so aptly expressed it, what the world requires is not a new race towards armament but a new race towards reasonableness.

122. My Government has always been actively interested in peace-keeping, not only because Canada has contributed military personnel and financial support to United Nations peace-keeping operations

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

^{7/} Subsequently circulated as document A/6858 and Corr.1.

for many years but because we attach the greatest importance to the work of the United Nations in the maintenance of peace and security. And I strongly support what my colleague, Mr. Brown, said yesterday [1567th meeting]. Along with several other Governments, I think my country can claim the right to contribute a special knowledge of peace-keeping to our discussion. My Government regrets therefore that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations was not able to meet this summer despite the encouraging signs of progress in its work which were beginning to appear some months ago. Recent developments in the Middle East and elsewhere strengthen our belief that this Organization has an important task to perform in the maintenance of peace and security.

123. Some may feel that the issues are so difficult and the disagreements so profound that there is little point in the Special Committee continuing to meet. But I do not take that view. We would have been surprised if progress were not to be slow. The questions under study are among those which challenge the most deeply held beliefs of Member States about the nature and purposes of this Organization. We cannot afford the luxury of cynicism. Moreover, at the last series of meetings of the Committee concrete proposals were made which deserve to be explored further. I have in mind particularly proposals relating to a special scale for the financing of peace-keeping operations and proposals for the advance planning and co-ordination of logistical and other arrangements for peace-keeping. I have in mind, too, proposals which have been made relating to the Military Staff Committee and the role it might play in this whole area.

124. Our reasons for holding these views have been confirmed by the observations which the Secretary-General has made in his report on the United Nations Emergency Force, in which he clearly summarizes the essential nature of peace-keeping forces in general. I have noted, for example, his statement that "In these operations none of the planning and preparation which are expected of normal military procedures can be counted upon" [A/6672, para. 10] and his subsequent commentary on the difficulties this creates for the United Nations. I would suggest it is time, eleven years after the decision to organize the first peace-keeping force, that we should be able to count upon at least some of the normal planning procedures which each of us would take for granted in our own countries. Training should be standardized and equipment should be made available when needed, to mention only two items.

125. It takes no foresight on my part to predict that the United Nations will be called upon again to supply peace-keeping forces or observer groups in crisis situations. Peace-keeping in this Organization is not dead, because of incidents that occurred within the past few months. It will continue to be a very necessary and useful function for this Organization. And that is the reason why we believe forward planning is necessary. Even if continuing disagreement here prevents the United Nations from doing this planning, my Government intends to explore how peace-keeping arrangements can be improved and we would hope to consult other traditional participants in that regard. We want to be sure that if and when we are called

upon to take part, and if it is feasible and appropriate to do so, we will be ready to respond.

126. Unlike peace-keeping, the peaceful settlement of disputes has been neglected too long by us. I was glad, therefore, to read the cogent observations of the Secretary-General in the Introduction to his Annual Report [A/6701/Add.1]. The peaceful settlement of disputes is a vital concept of the Charter of this Organization; it must be an essential technique of modern diplomacy. It is easy to pay lip service, of course, to the concept of peaceful settlement and more difficult to suggest how in practice it might be implemented. It would be fruitless to expect that, even if there were agreement on the means of implementation, these would always be used. And so I do not raise this subject on the assumption that good intentions are all that we require.

127. We have a responsibility, on the contrary, to take a close look at the procedures we have used in the past to decide whether they are adequate, and if necessary to make recommendations for new procedures. In this regard, I welcome the work that has been done by the Government of the Netherlands on the subject of fact-finding. If our discussion of these proposals leads to some constructive result, then we shall have made a good start towards the kind of review I have mentioned.

128. May I also suggest that we take up and implement the proposal made by the Secretary-General for periodic meetings of the Security Council under Article 28 of the Charter and, in particular, that a meeting at the level of Foreign Ministers be held during the twenty-second session, when so many Ministers are here [A/6701/Add.1, paras. 157-159]. The Secretary-General has said that he would be prepared to suggest a tentative agenda for such a meeting [*ibid.*, para. 160]. I would hope that he will be authorized to do so, and I agree that there must be careful preparations for such a meeting. I believe that we must not let this session end without having done everything in our power to find solutions to the problems that divide us, that concern our peoples and that now test the acceptance of this organization in many countries of the world.

129. I might appropriately refer in this context to the recent meeting between the Heads of Government of Greece and Turkey on the question of Cyprus and to the steps which have been taken on the Island to facilitate a return to normal conditions. I would urge that those negotiations be resumed and brought to a fruitful conclusion. The peace-keeping force in Cyprus is one with which my country has had something to do and in which it plays a part. We must ask ourselves whether or not the continuation of the force serves in any way as a bar to a settlement. I have been assured that it does not. But it would be encouraging if a political solution to the problem by those concerned could be effected.

130. My Government believes that the objective of universality of membership is one which we should ever keep before us, even though the prospects for reaching that objective may not be bright. I should like to say again what I said on this occasion last year: "...if this Organization is to realize its potential capacities, all nations, and especially those which,

like continental China, represent a significant proportion of the world's population, must be represented here." [1413th meeting, para. 72.]

131. I say this in the light of the turmoil that exists in mainland China at the present time. Last year I outlined [1475th meeting] what we considered to be a reasonable basis for the seating of a representative from continental China in the United Nations. While we were disappointed by the response to our suggestions, we continued to believe that they represent a reasonable and just solution of the problem of China's representation. I would also hope that the question of the relationship of non-Member States with the United Nations could be re-examined, and I welcome the repetition of the Secretary-General's suggestions on an observer status in his annual report.

132. When I say that we would welcome, because of our conviction on the validity of the principle of universality, the membership of continental China, I should like to emphasize, of course, that if one supports that membership, one likewise must as a supporter of the principle of universality, recognize the right of Formosa to a place in this Organization.

133. Mr. President, I know you will permit me a brief reference in conclusion to the centenary celebrations which are taking place in my country this year. "Man and His World" is the theme of Expo 67 at Montreal. Expo has given Canadians renewed confidence in their ability to accomplish great things together and to solve their own problems by their own efforts. It is an achievement which has fired the enthusiasm of many visitors and helped to reveal to them man's unity and diversity, his shared goals and unique responses. Expo, as we call it, has demonstrated graphically how national styles and national pride can be made subordinate to a larger whole and a wider good. That must also be the first task of this Organization: to reconcile conflicting national interests with the common good and on the common ground of the Charter of the United Nations.

134. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): Mr. President, on behalf of the Government of the Somali Republic it is my privilege to join with my fellow representatives in congratulating you on your election as President of this session of the General Assembly. We are confident that your wisdom and guidance will greatly contribute to the success of the session, and my delegation pledges to do its full share to make the session a constructive one.

135. At the beginning of another session of the General Assembly, I should first of all like to reaffirm the faith of the Government and people of the Somali Republic in the United Nations. We firmly believe that this Organization, with all its imperfections, still represents the hope, and the possibility, that the world community will come to accept those principles which alone will ensure mankind's survival. The principles of the United Nations Charter represent the attempt of the nations to develop a new ethos for international morality. This we all know, but it is necessary to remind ourselves that such an attempt needs many decades of patient trial and error for its realization. The attitudes of the past will not disappear immediately. Exploitation of the weak by the strong and the principle that might is right are

evils which are still with us. Only a few months ago the Arab-Israeli conflict led to a situation where the principle that the fait accompli is its own justification was allowed to hold sway and is still supported by some Powers.

136. However, the long historical view can afford us some comfort. A hundred and fifty years ago the slave trade could be profitably carried on by men who considered themselves to be of good conscience, and slavery formed the basis of many well-established societies. Only a small group in one corner of the globe questioned its moral validity. Today slavery is universally condemned. Again, it is only in the present century that the idea of the worth and of the rights of the common man has gained practical recognition. And so it is possible to be optimistic about the survival and the unquestioned acceptance of the principles of the United Nations Charter. It is to those principles that my delegation will turn during the course of this session in its attempt to contribute to the solution of the many problems which we are called upon to consider here.

137. In our interdependent world no nation can be concerned solely with its internal or regional affairs. Turning to the world scene as a whole, the war in Viet-Nam continues to present itself as the major threat to peace and security. In the face of the ever-mounting escalation of this devastating war, there has grown a virtually unanimous conviction that the war must stop. We believe that the United States has an international and moral obligation to initiate those first steps which can create the conditions necessary for the opening of negotiations on the basis of the Geneva Agreements of 1954. Consonant with the general attitude of my country, my delegation joins with all others who emphasize that the right of self-determination belongs to the people of Viet-Nam and that they alone can enforce that right. We believe that if they were relieved of the burden of a war which epitomizes the struggle between two opposing world ideologies, the Viet-Nameese people would be able to turn their energies towards the building of a unified State. We believe also that they alone have the right to decide what form that State should take.

138. The ideal approach to this problem would be to bring it before the United Nations. Unfortunately there are procedural obstacles to such a course of action because some of the parties to the dispute are not Members of our Organization. It would appear to my delegation that, under these circumstances, the least that Member States of the United Nations can do is to direct individual and collective appeals to the parties concerned to resolve the conflict by negotiations.

139. The lesson to be drawn from the present inability of the United Nations to take a more positive role in the Viet-Nam conflict is that the Organization will continue to be ineffective in matters of such magnitude if it does not apply the principle of universality of membership. I refer, of course, to the exclusion of the People's Republic of China from its rightful place in the United Nations. It is illogical and against the interest of the world community to deny the Government of the most populous nation participation in the deliberations of this Assembly and in

the other organs of the United Nations. We hope that this session of the Assembly will finally correct this situation. Not only the problem of Viet-Nam but also the problems of general disarmament and those relating to nuclear armaments cannot be approached realistically by the United Nations without the presence of this world Power.

140. The situation in the Middle East provides as great a threat to world peace as that in Viet-Nam. It was a matter of great regret to my Government that the fifth emergency special session of the General Assembly did not accept the resolution put forward by the non-aligned States as a basis for a just settlement.^{8/} During the present session, my delegation will again support those who seek a solution on the basis of the principles that are contained in that resolution. The inescapable responsibility of the Assembly in the eyes of my delegation is to express its strong condemnation of Israel's occupation of Arab territory. Only by doing so will it uphold the principle that territorial expansion brought about by war is inadmissible and that the use of territorial gains to exact political concessions is equally inadmissible. It is hard to think of a more dangerous precedent on the international scene than the one which the Israelis would like to make, namely, that an aggressor only needs to be successful in order to enjoy the fruits of his aggression. My delegation will also continue to add support to the almost unanimous body of opinion which specifically condemned Israel's illegal action in incorporating the old city with the rest of Jerusalem. The United Nations must remain of one mind in this matter, and not be misled by clever but spurious arguments which are based on false sentiment rather than on true principles.

141. The situation in the Middle East cannot be touched on without some mention of the question of the Arab refugees. It is this problem more than any other which ensured that bitterness, tension and violence would remain endemic in the area. In the recent conflict, as in that of 1948, Arab families fled from the dangers of war. Many of those families now find themselves dispossessed of their homes and their fields. The weight of world opinion has prevented the Israeli authorities from closing the door entirely to people who are trying to return to their homes. But the prospect of return remains small for the majority of those refugees who were unable to make use of the limited facilities for return in the limited period of time allotted for this purpose. Israel's illegal occupation of Jordanian territory has thus compounded the problems and increased the bitterness created by the existing refugee situation. It is a clear illustration of that Zionist policy which has already dispossessed so many of the Arab people and which aims at continuing the process.

142. At the height of the recent Arab-Israeli war the threat to international peace engendered by the conflict brought home to everyone the necessity of dealing with the basic problems which have given rise to two wars within eleven years. In those dangerous moments of crisis, certain major Powers admitted that in leaving the problem of the Palestine

Arab refugees unsolved the United Nations had failed to shoulder one of its gravest responsibilities. It is the earnest hope of my delegation that the forthcoming debate on the Middle East situation will result in a sincere effort to get to the roots of this problem.

143. In the past few years there has been little cause for satisfaction about the progress of this Organization towards the realization of its disarmament goals. My delegation is therefore pleased to note that there have been encouraging developments in the field of disarmament since the twenty-first session of the General Assembly. However far in the future the prospect of general and complete disarmament may lie, the Treaty on the use of outer space, the tabling by the United States and the Soviet Union of a draft treaty on non-proliferation and the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America are all significant steps towards this goal.

144. My delegation hopes that this effort on the part of non-nuclear Powers will receive the necessary support and co-operation of the nuclear Powers, who must now sign a protocol pledging themselves to respect a denuclearized Latin America in order that the treaty may come into force. We believe that this provision is a useful step towards the attainment of that balance of responsibilities which should exist between nuclear and non-nuclear Powers. At the present time the scales are weighted in favour of the nuclear Powers who are asking the non-nuclear States to refrain from acquiring nuclear weapons but are not proposing to cut down or do away with their own nuclear armouries. Under such conditions, guarantees that the nuclear Powers will not use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear States are essential.

145. We look forward to having the significance and the scope of the Latin American treaty further explained by our Latin American colleagues during this session. The fact that they have been able to agree on such a treaty and the elucidations we shall hear from them will give added impetus for an analogous treaty for Africa, and we hope that the General Assembly will express its support for such initiative by the countries of Africa.

146. These items on the credit side of the disarmament ledger are not, however, cause for complacency. There are still the larger debits to be considered. All sides decry the armaments race, and yet the armaments race continues unabated. The reason for this strange phenomenon is that nations are shackled by fear and suspicions. These fears and suspicions constantly breed counter-fears and counter-suspensions, and so the spiral of armaments and other war preparations on land, below the seas and in the skies grows constantly higher. All this uses up vast manpower, an enormous proportion of scientific talent, and gigantic amounts of money and economic resources—all of which are urgently needed for productive purposes.

147. My delegation believes that the solution to this seeming impasse lies in the full use of the provisions of the United Nations Charter. On the immediately practical level the Charter provides alternatives for the use or threat of force, and machinery and methods for the application of those alternatives. That ma-

^{8/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Emergency Special Session, Annexes, agenda item 5, document A/L.522/Rev.3.

chinery will obviously function better if peace-keeping operations can be strengthened and placed on a regular basis and if fact-finding methods and methods for the peaceful settlement of disputes can be improved. It is the hope of my delegation that progress in those fields will not be too long delayed.

148. The Somali Republic, as an African nation, is bound to be greatly concerned with and influenced by the situation in Africa, I shall therefore invite the representatives to look at some African problems.

149. In southern Africa we are faced with an apparently intractable problem—that of the powerful white minority groups in South Africa, South West Africa, the Portuguese colonies and Southern Rhodesia which unjustly impose their will upon the indigenous inhabitants of those territories and deprive them of their social and political rights. The ruling minorities are as entrenched in their belief in their ugly racist policies as the Nazis were entrenched in their belief in their racial superiority. Hitler's overweening ambition gave the world an opportunity to rid itself of his evil philosophy, but what can the United Nations do to put down apartheid; to carry out its responsibility towards South West Africa and to gain their rights for the majority races of Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories?

150. Everyone here knows what can be done and what is not being done by those who bear the heaviest responsibility in this matter. South Africa's traditional trading partners continue to increase their trade with and investment in South Africa, in spite of the resolutions passed by the Assembly condemning such actions; and it is an open secret that Southern Rhodesia still manages to carry on a great part of its normal trading activities under various subterfuges which enable the illegal régime of that Territory to bypass the sanctions imposed by the Security Council. The situation in Southern Rhodesia is likely to become even more intolerable for its African population if a move to introduce apartheid measures is successful. The responsibility of the administering Power, in this case the United Kingdom, and of the United Nations to end the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia has therefore become even greater.

151. The United Nations is taking another approach to those problems: that of educating world public opinion by the wide dissemination of information about apartheid so that, hopefully, politicians and rulers will be pressured by their peoples into the right attitudes and courses of action. But this is a long, slow process and in the meanwhile hundreds of thousands of Africans suffer the most shocking physical and mental indignities. My Government is aware that the carrying out of the relevant General Assembly resolutions on apartheid is not a simple matter for some countries whose economies rely heavily on trade with southern Africa. But it seems to us that no attempt is being made by those countries even to consider alternatives or to enter into consultations on an international level to see what might possibly be done. This negative attitude was illustrated by the refusal of South Africa's main trading partners to accept the General Assembly's invitation to sit on the Special Committee on the policies of apartheid so that the deliberations of

that body could be much more meaningful by the participation of those most closely involved.

152. The imperialist policies of the Republic of South Africa are at the heart of the problems of southern Africa. All the facets of that problem will remain intractable unless many Members of this Assembly are prepared to stop those activities which support apartheid. The charge of hypocrisy has often been made in this hall against South Africa's trading partners, and there have unfortunately been no new developments to invalidate that charge.

153. I turn now to a comparatively new phenomenon in Africa—and a most undesirable one. My delegation would like to add its voice to those which have condemned the activities of the so-called mercenaries. These despicable adventurers who openly boast that they are in the "killing business" believe that they can murder and terrorize African people with impunity. What is even more incredible is that some Governments obliquely encourage their nefarious activities. The mercenaries could not remain in existence if the Governments of their countries of origin or other Governments concerned would exercise appropriate controls. No part of Africa must be a hunting ground for such international gangsterism. It is an intolerable spectacle. We hope that this Assembly will pay due attention to this serious and disturbing development.

154. Before I finish, I should like to turn briefly to developments which have taken place in French Somaliland, where certain policies of the administering Power have caused deep concern to the people and Government of the Somali Republic, especially since the summer of 1966.

155. As the representatives will recall, at that time it was announced that a referendum would be held to decide the future status of the Territory. By December of last year, the conditions under which the referendum was to be held formed the object of serious deliberations and of a formal resolution of the Assembly—resolution 2228 (XXI) of 12 December 1966. The referendum was eventually held in the spring of 1967—unfortunately, without regard being paid to the wishes and requests of the Assembly and, indeed, without regard for many of the basic requirements for a true and just determination of the wishes of the people.

156. Measures taken by the administering Power included the expulsion into the border areas of my country of almost 10,000 inhabitants of that Territory. They have not been allowed to return to their homeland and still have to be maintained by my Government. The Somali Republic is thus directly affected by the developments in that Territory. Altogether, the resulting tension produces adverse repercussions in my country. The Assembly will receive the report of the Committee of Twenty-Four on the issue of French Somaliland. I therefore limit myself at this point to reiterating that my Government is ready to find a solution, either through direct negotiations with the French Government or in any other manner, which will first of all end the plight of those unfortunate expellees.

157. The French Somaliland question is connected with a larger issue. Several hundreds of thousands

of people who are ethnically Somalis live to the west, north and south beyond the borders of the Somali Republic, and are desirous of self-determination. This desire existed long before the creation of the Somali Republic in 1960. National consciousness is not an attitude that can be artificially infused within a few years. Throughout the period of colonialism during which the Somali people were divided, they held high the spirit of national consciousness.

158. Yet the false impression has been created, and continues to be fostered by some, that the desire for self-determination of the Somalis in the territories adjacent to my country is due to some improper influence by the Somali Republic, and that my country has expansionist ambitions. Nothing could be further from the truth.

159. No Government of the Somali Republic has ever denied its sympathy for those Somalis who seek to exercise their right to self-determination. But every Government has emphasized the peaceful intentions of my country. A few weeks ago, when our new Prime Minister, Mohamed Ibrahim Egal, entered office, he made a clear and straightforward declaration of policy on these matters.

160. The essence of that policy is that the Somali Republic harbours no intention to annex the territory of any State whatsoever, nor to expand into any territory. Moreover, while the Somali Government supports the desire for self-determination of Somalis living in the areas bordering the Somali Republic, it is animated by the sincere desire to leave no avenue unused which will improve mutual relations with the Governments directly concerned.

161. As regards its over-all foreign policy, my Government continues on the road followed by the Republic since its re-emergence as an independent nation. It is the policy of positive neutrality. That, in the words of my Prime Minister, means much more than passive non-alignment in the differences between the great world power blocs. It means the determination to contribute to the easing of all international tensions by positive and creative actions, designed to promote peace. I hope that my remarks today have illustrated this spirit.

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

163. Mr. ALARCON DE QUESADA (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, for reasons which were foreign to our wishes and which are known to all the representatives, we were unable to be present at the time of your election to this high office. Because of this, and because of the brotherly ties by which our countries are linked, I wish to tell you how pleased the Cuban delegation was to hear of the election of the representative of the Socialist Republic of Romania as President of the General Assembly. I assure you that you can at all times count upon the greatest collaboration from us in the successful discharge of your responsibilities.

164. I have asked for the floor in order to reply to certain references that were made during the general debate to the most recent meeting of the so-called Or-

ganization of American States, at which they adopted fresh aggressive measures against my country and to which my Government will give a correct reply in due course.

165. We are prepared to discuss the violations of the principle of non-intervention in America here whenever the representatives of the Organization of American States wish and at that time my delegation will gladly describe once again the systematic policy of aggression, intervention and oppression practised by Yankee imperialism against the peoples of this continent for more than a century, with the wretched and servile complicity of the Latin American oligarchies.

166. We wanted to refer specifically to the statement made this morning by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic, whom we are very eager—I confess—to know directly, and we have had an opportunity to do so in this morning's debate. We wanted to see him face to face, for we have had occasion recently to become acquainted with his diplomatic style through statements that have been amply reported by the international press. For example, this is what a Spanish news agency reports, word for word:

"Mr. Costa Méndez, the Argentine Minister for Foreign Affairs, also insisted on the need to use military force and said that his Government"—and here the Spanish agency quotes the Minister—"would not hesitate to support the use of armed force against Cuba."

167. In another part of the report our distinguished colleague, the representative of Argentina to the United Nations, is quoted as follows:

"The Argentine Ambassador to the United Nations did not hesitate to give currency to the opinion that in case of need his country would even be prepared to have a military confrontation alone with Cuba."

168. We merely wanted to take advantage of this opportunity to utter a few warnings to the representatives of the Argentine military oligarchy. As for the generals of Buenos Aires, covered with medals although they have never taken part in a single battle, we would remind them, if they wish to start with an attack on Cuba, that our troops have already shown that they know how to fight and win and how to bring mercenaries such as those who are oppressing the Argentine people to their knees in a few hours. And we warn Mr. Mariscal and his intrepid Ambassador to the United Nations here and now that if they dare to set foot on Cuban soil the gunfire that will welcome them will not be a salute.

169. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of Argentina, who has asked to exercise his right of reply.

170. Mr. COSTA MENDEZ (Argentina) (translated from Spanish): As I pointed out this morning, Argentina has proclaimed and upheld the principle of non-intervention; it has signed documents and agreements establishing that principle and making it law; it has faithfully obeyed that principle throughout its history. It has not accepted violations, either in its country or in other American countries. It has not accepted them today, nor will it accept them in the future. When violations have occurred, to the detriment of the American

international community as a whole or of any American country in particular, it has reacted immediately, without hesitation and with great vigour. Thus it has expressed its solidarity, the solidarity it owes to its brothers of America because it is linked with them by blood and the solidarity it owes them in fulfilment of international documents and agreements.

171. I shall not reply to the Cuban representative's statement. When Cuba returns to the American international community and agrees to abide by the prin-

ciples and rules established in its documents, we shall enter into discussion with its Government.

172. This morning the Cuban delegation has once again indulged in its rhetorical explosions, which, besides revealing a great paucity of ideas, show a lack of respect, not so much to us as to the forum in which they are pronounced. We do not want to enter into such a discussion, for we know that insults do more harm to those who offer them than to those to whom they are directed.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.