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President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. HARMEL (Belgium) (translated from French): Mr. President, the tribute Belgium pays you as you assume the presidency of the General Assembly is no mere formality, for our two countries co-operate with each other; they are both dedicated to bringing about a European rapprochement, in a spirit of respect for their different régimes, and in the course of this joint endeavour to build up peace through a relaxation of tension we have come to know the spirit by which you are animated and the talents with which you are endowed. We accordingly rejoice, for you are a happy choice for one of the loftiest tasks life has to offer—presiding over the General Assembly, whose mission it is to bring the peoples closer together and teach them how similar and interdependent they are.

2. We have no illusions in the matter: the political context in which this session will take place will be forbidding; and your work will be difficult. Our delegation will therefore assist you to the best of its ability.

3. We also wish to express our gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Pazhwak, whose name will be preserved on the roster of Presidents who have stood for peace.

4. The question is raised regularly, in my country at least, whether the general debate with which the General Assembly traditionally begins its work is useful or even necessary. Let me say at once that I do not share this sceptical attitude, for once a year each of our Governments, in pondering the Secretary-General's annual report and particularly the introductory chapter, is forced to make its own appraisal of the international situation and of what the United Nations has done about it. We can thus measure the progress made and also, unfortunately, the difficulties that are still with us.

5. On behalf of Belgium, I shall devote my analysis to what we regard as the twin pillars of peace: settle-

ment of the conflicts which endanger peace, and co-operation between the countries which are in a privileged economic position and those which are not.

6. As regards the first subject, although there is no overt crisis threatening security in Europe, I should nevertheless like to outline the situation briefly. As everyone knows, our States, mindful of their duty towards the international community, are endeavouring to establish a system of security which would guarantee tranquillity and peace in Europe. We are doing this to protect ourselves, but also to protect the rest of the world from the consequences of confrontations of which there have been several in our continent in the past twenty-five years.

7. Fresh hopes have arisen since the advent of the policy of peaceful coexistence. We for our part have redefined, in what we believe to have been both a realistic and an imaginative manner, our relations with European States whose régimes are different from ours in order to overcome, with mutual respect and understanding, difficulties stemming from the Second World War.

8. Although some progress has been made in that regard, thanks to a broadening and intensification of exchanges of every kind, we are not yet in a position to present a list of specific gains.

9. I must say in this connexion that I read with some disappointment the statement made in this very hall by Mr. Gromyko [1563rd meeting]. He ascribes political intentions to the Federal Republic of Germany which are belied by its actions. He also oversimplifies the problem of European security, telling us that we should simply do away with the two defensive alliances, but failing to explain how our security would be safeguarded. Yet it is precisely because the arrangements we have made have dispelled our former fears that we can now envision with confidence a dynamic policy of rapprochement.

10. Despite my somewhat disillusioned comment, we shall certainly not be discouraged from persevering in our efforts. We know that the policy of rapprochement will not yield instant results. That very knowledge moves us to even greater endeavours, with good will and unfaltering faith.

11. In the past twelve months, unfortunately, security in several regions of the world has not improved; the contrary is true. A serious conflict, which had been brewing for a number of years, broke out in the Middle East. The events in Viet-Nam continue to perturb Asia and the rest of the world. The problem of Cyprus remains unsolved.

12. It is needless to repeat Belgium's political positions on these various conflicts, for they were stated

here earlier. They have not changed, and that fact is in itself disappointing, for it indicates that there has been no progress. I shall devote myself rather to seeking the causes of this stagnation, of our being powerless to find the means of pacifying the troubled areas.

13. Should we not, perhaps, begin by asking ourselves whether the dynamic element without which the difficulties cannot be surmounted nor the proper reconciliation methods found—by which I mean the political will to achieve durable solutions—is sufficiently strong and wide-spread? Later, when negotiations are under-way, we can also ask ourselves whether States always prefer reality, i.e. a genuine agreement, to the appearance of a diplomatic victory. For we have repeatedly seen parties to a dispute setting prior conditions the acceptance of which would make negotiations meaningless. Lastly, can solutions be found if States agree to discuss only those points which are of interest to them and reject out of hand those of interest to others? To find a reply to these questions, we need but examine some of our basic conflicts.

14. To start with, look at the crisis in the Middle East. The dialogue is not being begun. The parties have taken up diametrically opposite positions and each of them is setting pre-conditions for the over-all settlement of the problem. Should not the Assembly, rising above these possibly understandable but dangerous positions, provide a general framework for negotiations? The search for precise solutions would be facilitated if both parties knew for certain that the United Nations as a whole wished the solution—the only solution possible—fully to meet the following two requirements: first, respect for the sovereignty of the other party, as established by its membership in the United Nations; and, secondly, rejection of any territorial changes based solely on the right of conquest. Starting from these two premises, and with the aid of States which have taken praiseworthy initiatives and whose influence may be helpful, the Security Council should be able to work out the details of agreements whereby peace would be restored in the region.

15. One thing, at any rate, should be clear to all Members: no solution can be found without action by the United Nations, and particularly by the Security Council. In the present circumstances, it would be vain to count solely on what might emerge from an encounter between the parties concerned; and to believe that matters can be arranged by some friendly intervention alone, unless the fundamental principles I have cited are used as the basis for any future arrangement, is to believe in fairytales. The only way to prevent another outbreak of armed hostilities is—such, at least, is our profound conviction—for the Security Council to take strong and definite political action, with the support of all of our States and within the framework of the principles we all share.

16. Turning to Viet-Nam, I must admit, that, as my Swedish colleague said a little while ago [1563rd meeting], it is hard to imagine that the United Nations should take no interest in a problem which so closely concerns world security. Here again, the search for a solution is greatly complicated by exclusions and intransigent declarations made by both sides. Some

States claim that the United Nations is not competent to deal with the matter. These same States frustrate attempts to convene the Geneva Conference, which laid down the legal foundations for the recognition of the independence of the States of what once was Indo-China.

17. In our view, it is deplorable that it should be possible, on procedural grounds, to prevent the convening of the organ best suited to find a political solution to this conflict. The upshot of such total rejection of multilateral gatherings is that the major opponents, that is to say, North Viet-Nam and the Viet-Cong on the one hand, and South Viet-Nam and the United States on the other, continue to face each other, while our States are forced to hover on the edges of the arena as anxious spectators. Peace itself is at stake; yet, far from promoting it, additional obstacles are set up in the way to peace.

18. How is peace to be brought about if the places where solutions might be found are rejected? We take a particularly serious view of this, for our common desire that the fighting and the bombing should cease will be very difficult to achieve until we can offer realistic and imaginative guidance by tracing the broad outlines of the political future of a pacified Viet-Nam.

19. The third, and perhaps the clearest, example of the failure of our multilateral action in bringing about the requisite conditions for peace, is Cyprus. The United Nations stepped in to separate the opposing parties. In so doing, it accomplished its mission, and we must congratulate it. But what has it done since then? Apart from spontaneous but weak attempts, it has undertaken no organized and continuing action to find a lasting settlement acceptable to all the parties concerned. The Secretary-General, in the Introduction to his Annual Report [A/6701/Add.1, para. 40] stresses that it is not the mission of the United Nations to maintain indefinitely an unsatisfactory status quo. We can only say that he is right.

20. Why, then, are we unable, in all these matters, to play the role within the United Nations that is ours under the Charter? We have the means at hand. If we reread the Chapters of the Charter which confer pacifying functions on the Security Council, we shall see that they give it the right and the necessary authority to initiate action. They give it the means for continuing action. They authorize it to investigate, recommend negotiation, propose mediation and arbitration, have recourse to judicial settlement and, lastly, if these methods of conciliation fail, consider enforcement measures.

21. In fact, no use is made of these possibilities. To see how true that is, we need merely to read the report prepared by the Security Council for the General Assembly. Hence the frustration felt in some of our countries with regard to the action of the United Nations and the crisis of confidence mentioned by the Secretary-General; both result from that inability to take decisions, that reluctance to take action, because of which the countries sitting in the Security Council and therefore bearing a special responsibility under the Charter cannot achieve what public opinion, what world opinion, expects of them.

22. We nevertheless believe that the antagonism between the USSR and the United States, which has lasted throughout the existence of the United Nations, most fortunately is on the wane. It is inconceivable that the dialogue now in progress between these two great States should not be reflected in their interchanges in the Security Council. It is there that the spirit of détente and tolerance should find its most fertile soil and its best testing ground. For, as Mr. Brown said here yesterday [1567th meeting], no group in our Assembly can impose its will upon others if positive results are to be expected. In consequence, we can at last ask that the Security Council should stop confining itself to separating the combatants without trying to eliminate the causes of the combat.

23. We are well aware that it is far easier to bring out the errors and criticize the action of the United Nations than to make positive suggestions. I shall nevertheless advance a few.

24. To begin with, we should like the General Assembly to appeal to the Security Council and, more particularly, to the Council's permanent members, to use their powers of conciliation and the broad range of measures set forth mainly in Chapter VI of the Charter.

25. Secondly, we support the Secretary-General's suggestion in the Introduction to his Annual Report [A/6701/Add.1, para. 159] that the Security Council should hold closed meetings. This suggestion is far more than a mere matter of procedure. How can one possibly endow an organ with executive responsibilities on the one hand and, on the other, expect it to find, in public, under the eye of the cameras, solutions to the extremely difficult problems which are referred to it and which concern the prestige of some countries and the interests of others? None of our Governments would be able to bring off this tour de force in their domestic decision-making. How, then, can we ask a number of States to work together under such conditions?

26. Thirdly, we should like the meetings of the Security Council to be held, as provided for in Article 28 of the Charter, at the Government member level. The proposal made yesterday by the Secretary-General that a meeting of this kind should be held with the Ministers of the principal countries members of the Security Council has, I must say, aroused great hopes on our part.

27. Lastly, I should like to recommend once again a serious study of what last year [1432nd meeting] I called the strategy of peace. In that connexion, I cannot but regret the particularly unsatisfactory and cursory manner in which the Special Political Committee considered the problem of the peaceful settlement of disputes. It is also most deplorable that the Netherlands representative's suggestion^{1/} was not taken up. How can it be claimed—as it was claimed—that there is no need to formulate conclusions on the best ways of preventing armed conflicts from arising? Would it not be useful to define the best procedures for obtaining and ensuring a truce, when we see that it is in this very area that the assistance of the United

Nations has been the most often sought in the past twenty-three years? Truly, it is by performing such an analysis that the General Assembly can make suggestions which would be of help to the Security Council, the organ responsible for the prevention and settlement of crises.

28. I also wish to support the Secretary-General's efforts to bring about the conditions and general operational framework for the maintenance of peace. Here again, what we must have is political agreement on the need for specific action. Once such agreement has been demonstrated, the constitutional and financial problems will be readily solved, as they are within our countries when a political will is manifest. If such an affirmation of principle can be had, then, and only then, we should like a special committee to be set up to settle the practical details. We think it would be a mistake to go ahead and set up a committee which would not know its exact terms of reference and scope of activity.

29. These considerations, which relate to highly important subjects, bring us to the following conclusion: we firmly believe that the pessimistic views we have formed in examining certain specific threats to world security should prompt us to revise the methods of action used by the United Nations. It would not be a drastic revision. There is no question of amending the rules and principles inscribed in the Charter, but simply of returning to a painstaking and scrupulous discharge of the obligations contained in it. We must emphasize once again the obligations of the Security Council, its permanent members' responsibilities towards the rest of us, and also the heavy if temporary responsibilities assumed by States which ask for our votes for election to the Council. Surely it is for the General Assembly to support the Security Council's efforts and, if need be, remind the States which sit in it of what we expect and hope from them.

30. For it is only through such fresh awareness of our responsibilities, a spirit of détente and an unremitting effort at mutual tolerance that our Organization—which everyone recognizes to be indispensable—can accomplish what our peoples expect of it.

31. I should now like to deal briefly with the second subject, which we have called "the second pillar of peace": co-operation. The fact is that peace is not merely the absence of war. There are other situations which endanger peace, because of the injustice and misrule they reveal. If we wish to know what these situations are, we have but to open the Annual Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization [A/6701, p. 95]. There, following an analysis of world economic trends in 1966 and the first months of 1967, we read that the over-all economic growth rate in the developing countries had already weakened slightly from 1964 to 1965; it dropped again from 1965 to 1966. For these countries as a whole—and that may be one of the most discouraging facts cited—total agricultural production, according to the report, diminished by more than 1 per cent in 1966. At the same time, of course, the total number of mouths to feed in those same developing countries rose by about 3.5 per cent annually, so that the combined effect of these two factors is that there is less food available per person from year to year.

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Annexes, agenda item 36, document A/6617, para. 5.

32. These are brutal and to us cruel facts which show that, in the painful process of mankind's joint development, something is very wrong and growing worse.

33. We know that many efforts are being made to remedy the situation, and that they should be added up; yet their total falls far short of the needs. These efforts include the development programmes carried out by the Governments and peoples of the poor countries themselves in a courageous endeavour to further those countries' growth; the timely action of the regional economic organizations which they set up and which broaden the usually narrow markets in developing zones; the many kinds of assistance furnished by private initiative and marked by a high degree of generosity, for it comes from all countries, whether rich or merely less poor than the others; and also bilateral aid accorded by many States which enjoy a high level of living and multilateral aid given by groups of privileged States, of which the European Economic Community is an example, to certain African countries. Lastly—and I list them last, for they fit in with the rest—there are the world-wide programmes conceived and executed by the specialized agencies and organizations associated with or dependent on the United Nations.

34. All these things, which are being done in the name of a more just order, are juxtaposed, added and sometimes tangled together. But who is better qualified than the United Nations to determine how much and what kind of aid is required and distribute wisely the various efforts made throughout the world, so that the second development decade may succeed in altering the as yet tentative but so far disappointing rate of economic and social growth of many countries?

35. Here again, we would not merely criticize; we have three suggestions to make.

36. First, the Assembly should solemnly proclaim that it recognizes it to be a duty of the United Nations to put forward a global development programme and to co-ordinate all development efforts throughout the world.

37. Next, we believe that it should also note, emphasize and endorse the trend in the Northern Hemisphere towards a rapprochement between the economic and social structures of the market-economy and planned-economy countries. That trend, too, will reduce world tensions as it will reduce the drain on all national incomes caused by the steady rise in armaments. We hope and believe that the relaxation of tensions between the East and the West will enable the international organizations, which have for so long been semi-paralyzed by these tensions, vigorously to discharge their mission of practical co-operation, using in particular some of the resources liberated by parallel reductions in armaments.

38. Lastly, I want to say that while waiting for these goals to be progressively reached, the more fortunate countries, when undertaking bilateral or regional co-operation programmes, should be prepared to regard the United Nations regional or local representatives as the natural coordinators of any multiple development action in their area. It is to be hoped that such countries will consult them before delineating an aid

programme. Belgium, for its part, announces that it is prepared to do so henceforward, being desirous of following the Secretary-General's suggestions and taking one of the steps that have to be taken towards the establishment of a world authority for co-operation and development. Belgium will persevere in its endeavour until this objective has been decided upon, accepted and attained within the United Nations.

39. What have we tried to do today, following the example of others? Not to conceal certain obstacles which lie in the way of the United Nations and hamper its action for peace. Not to conceal them; but also not to accept political crises and the distress of the many as inevitable; on the contrary, always to seek, together with others, rationally, energetically and stubbornly, to overcome them. This is no doubt what one of my compatriots meant to suggest in a message of encouragement which he sent me yesterday and which I want to share with you. He quoted a line of Paul Claudel's which, I believe, applies to the situation in which we all find ourselves and to the work we have begun. It goes: "Belief in light is finest in the dark." Like many of us, and together with them, Belgium will persevere in its search for the lights of peace.

40. Mr. ROBINSON (Trinidad and Tobago): I am grateful to you, Mr. President, for the opportunity afforded me to make the position of my country clear on the major issues now being agitated in this Assembly. Some of these issues are much older than our Assembly Hall. Some will, no doubt, continue to perplex mankind long after the voices of all of us present here cease to be heard in any part of the world.

41. Whatever the outcome of any single issue may be in the future, however, it will, I think, be generally agreed that all of us are bound here and now by the same obligation to strive, even to the limits of our strength, to resolve the issues which at the present time vex and bedevil the world. The obligation is equally binding on us, wealthy and poor, large and small. As one writer has recently put it: "We have become irrevocably involved with and responsible for each other." That you, Mr. President, are the first with your political affiliations to hold this office is recognition of this interdependence, apart from your notable personal qualities attested to by everyone who knows you well. I congratulate you on your appointment and feel sure that your term of office will be a successful one.

42. I also wish to express the satisfaction of my country that, in the difficult events of 1967, this Organization was able to retain the wisdom, experience and high character of the Secretary-General U Thant.

43. It is in recognition of our own inescapable involvement that Trinidad and Tobago has, since our independence, adhered firmly to the principles of the United Nations Charter. Within the framework of the Charter we have sought to collaborate with all nations and especially with those having similar historical antecedents or social and economic experience. In particular, we have worked closely with our colleagues in Latin America and the Caribbean who are in geographical proximity to us. As a further development

in regional collaboration, this year we sought and gained admission to the Organization of American States.

44. We do not accept that regional collaboration is inconsistent with national self-determination. In fact, we are convinced that national self-determination can often be most effectively pursued within the framework of regional groupings. We are firmly of the view that it is through such associations that small nations are afforded the best opportunity to contribute to the solution of the world's problems and their own.

45. Permit me now against this background to make reference to the Middle East. This subject has engaged the attention of the Assembly for the past two decades, but this year it has achieved a greater dominance than ever before. Throughout the most dangerous period of the crisis, our Permanent Representative, who also had the honour to be President of the Latin American Group, played a very active part. We adhered firmly to the stand of the Latin American Group, which sought to find a balanced solution based on the Charter provisions prohibiting the threat or use of force in the settlement of international disputes.

46. The problems of the Middle East remain unresolved. However, there have been continuing efforts during the last two months to find solutions to these problems. While the issues are still unsettled, it is, in our view, of considerable importance that attitudes do not become inflexible. We understand the strong emotions involved in this conflict. Accordingly, we welcomed the indications emerging out of the Khartoum Arab Summit Conference, held from 29 August to 1 September, that there might be some progress towards the end of the state of belligerency in the area.

47. In our view this is crucial to any resolution of the conflict. Similarly, there must be a withdrawal of Israeli forces from the area occupied as a result of the fighting in June. We can in no circumstances accept that there is in the twentieth century a right to territorial aggrandizement by means of war. Acceptance of any such right would endanger the existence of all small States.

48. Accordingly, we stand by the proposals put forward by the Latin American group as still the most realistic basis on which the conflict might be resolved. Nevertheless, it is incumbent on me to say that the proposals put forward some time ago by President Tito of Yugoslavia do represent a definite step forward from the resolution of the non-aligned States put forward at the fifth emergency special session. In particular my delegation feels that the proposal enabling free passage for all ships through the Strait of Tiran would remove a substantial source of tension in the area.

49. We are particularly concerned about the humanitarian issues arising from the conflict. Human suffering must never be a matter of indifference, and the refugee problem should be approached with a much greater sense of urgency. We underline still further the importance of this matter against the background of the decision of this Assembly to designate 1968 as International Year for Human Rights [resolution 2217 (XXI)].

50. If the mutual goodwill of the peoples in the area is not an immediate possibility, then at least let there be a cessation of belligerency and let there be a search for peace among the statesmen of the area in the spirit of the Charter to which we subscribe. As the late Ambassador Stevenson once wisely observed:

"Many of the really hard problems in international relations may never be solved at all. The conflict between Moslem and Christian which dominated world politics for some 300 years was never resolved.... So with the Thirty Years' War which started as a conflict between two ideologies, Protestant and Catholic.

"The underlying issues were never settled because they were logically irreconcilable; but they did cease to preoccupy the minds of men.

"Before that war finally petered out, curiously enough, a Catholic, Cardinal Richelieu, was organizing the Protestant League and a Protestant General was leading the armies of the Holy Roman Empire."

51. I turn now to another issue in which we of Trinidad and Tobago have sought to collaborate with our neighbours to achieve a satisfactory solution to one of the problems engaging the attention of this Organization at another level. Permit me to refer now to political and constitutional developments in the Caribbean area.

52. We have for a long time enjoyed social, cultural and economic ties with our neighbours in the Caribbean and we have, to a large extent, experienced parallel political and constitutional development. These affinities existed before any of the formerly British Territories in the area became independent and, with appropriate modifications, our relations have prospered subsequent to the achievement of independence.

53. The success of our relations with the other independent Caribbean States is based upon mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial inviolability. As regards the non-independent Territories, our relations with them evolved out of the practical necessities and peculiar conditions of the area. We have scrupulously refrained from any interference whatever in their domestic politics. On the other hand, we have sought to collaborate with them in the pursuit of our regional interests in so far as these interests are common and to the extent that they are not incompatible with any of the commitments, obligations or alliances which individual Caribbean States may have developed in the exercise of their sovereign discretion. We have interests in the area and we are genuinely concerned about it.

54. It is with anxiety and anguish, therefore, that we have observed the development of the situation in respect of Anguilla—a matter which is engaging the attention of this Organization at another level. The Caribbean region, for historical and other reasons, is characterized by considerable fragmentation and constitutes an area of weakness which can be exposed to dark and dubious influences. We are seriously concerned that those speaking on behalf of the area should also speak in the interest of the area, and we are anxious that political solutions be sought

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47. In our view this is crucial to any resolution of the conflict. Similarly, there must be a withdrawal of Israeli forces from the area occupied as a result of the fighting in June. We can in no circumstances accept that there is in the twentieth century a right to territorial aggrandizement by means of war. Acceptance of any such right would endanger the existence of all small States.

48. Accordingly, we stand by the proposals put forward by the Latin American group as still the most realistic basis on which the conflict might be resolved. Nevertheless, it is incumbent on me to say that the proposals put forward some time ago by President Tito of Yugoslavia do represent a definite step forward from the resolution of the non-aligned States put forward at the fifth emergency special session. In particular my delegation feels that the proposal enabling free passage for all ships through the Strait of Tiran would remove a substantial source of tension in the area.

49. We are particularly concerned about the humanitarian issues arising from the conflict. Human suffering must never be a matter of indifference, and the refugee problem should be approached with a much greater sense of urgency. We underline still further the importance of this matter against the background of the decision of this Assembly to designate 1968 as International Year for Human Rights [resolution 2217 (XXI)].

50. If the mutual goodwill of the peoples in the area is not an immediate possibility, then at least let there be a cessation of belligerency and let there be a search for peace among the statesmen of the area in the spirit of the Charter to which we subscribe. As the late Ambassador Stevenson once wisely observed:

"Many of the really hard problems in international relations may never be solved at all. The conflict between Moslem and Christian which dominated world politics for some 300 years was never resolved.... So with the Thirty Years' War which started as a conflict between two ideologies, Protestant and Catholic.

"The underlying issues were never settled because they were logically irreconcilable; but they did cease to preoccupy the minds of men.

"Before that war finally petered out, curiously enough, a Catholic, Cardinal Richelieu, was organizing the Protestant League and a Protestant General was leading the armies of the Holy Roman Empire."

51. I turn now to another issue in which we of Trinidad and Tobago have sought to collaborate with our neighbours to achieve a satisfactory solution to one of the problems engaging the attention of this Organization at another level. Permit me to refer now to political and constitutional developments in the Caribbean area.

52. We have for a long time enjoyed social, cultural and economic ties with our neighbours in the Caribbean and we have, to a large extent, experienced parallel political and constitutional development. These affinities existed before any of the formerly British Territories in the area became independent and, with appropriate modifications, our relations have prospered subsequent to the achievement of independence.

53. The success of our relations with the other independent Caribbean States is based upon mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial inviolability. As regards the non-independent Territories, our relations with them evolved out of the practical necessities and peculiar conditions of the area. We have scrupulously refrained from any interference whatever in their domestic politics. On the other hand, we have sought to collaborate with them in the pursuit of our regional interests in so far as these interests are common and to the extent that they are not incompatible with any of the commitments, obligations or alliances which individual Caribbean States may have developed in the exercise of their sovereign discretion. We have interests in the area and we are genuinely concerned about it.

54. It is with anxiety and anguish, therefore, that we have observed the development of the situation in respect of Anguilla—a matter which is engaging the attention of this Organization at another level. The Caribbean region, for historical and other reasons, is characterized by considerable fragmentation and constitutes an area of weakness which can be exposed to dark and dubious influences. We are seriously concerned that those speaking on behalf of the area should also speak in the interest of the area. And we are anxious that political solutions be sought

not in the abstract but in relation to the realities of the region and the fundamental interests and aspirations of the people who inhabit that part of the world.

55. It must be recognized as a fact that excessive fragmentation can restrict and even nullify the power of self-determination. In recognition of this fact and bearing in mind the interests of the region as a whole, Trinidad and Tobago has, at the invitation of the British Government and the Government of St. Kitts, Nevis and Anguilla, and in collaboration with other independent countries of the Caribbean, sought to assist in finding a satisfactory solution to the issue of Anguilla.

56. Here let me say at once that we maintain—though this is contested—that ultimate responsibility for the administration of the Territory resides in the United Kingdom, which at the least admits constitutional responsibility for the Territory's external affairs. We agreed to assist only with the concurrence and at the request of the United Kingdom Government; and it was signified to us that this was the wish of all the parties concerned.

57. We noted that the demand of the separatist movement in Anguilla was originally for new constitutional and economic arrangements within the framework of the continuing responsibility of the United Kingdom. Having regard especially to the fact that some of the grievances of the Anguillans stem indisputably from the deficiencies of the previous colonial administration, we cannot support any attempt by the United Kingdom to wash its hands of and withdraw from the confusion created under its umbrella.

58. Our agreement to assist in the solution of the issue still subsists. We believe that a solution can be found which gives expression to the legitimate aspirations of the Anguillans and which does not further the process of excessive fragmentation and accentuate the weakness of the area and its exposure to questionable external influences.

59. The key to the situation remains a recognition of its responsibilities to the area by the United Kingdom, a signatory to the Charter, a Member of the Organization, and a guardian of its disassociated associated State.

60. I turn now to the matter of peace-keeping, which to many people represents the essential function of the United Nations. The prestige of this Organization, to a large extent, rises and falls with its successes and failures in this field. Those whose wish it is to propagate mischief against the Organization seize eagerly upon its shortcomings in the peace-keeping role. Whatever their motives may be, however, we cannot deny an element of reason in their attacks. If the United Nations must finally admit defeat as keeper of the world's peace this will be, in effect, an admission by our civilization that its continuance cannot be guaranteed having regard to the terrible weapons of destruction now at man's command.

61. Moreover, the hopes of all of us who see in peaceful coexistence a framework for the reconciliation of conflicting ideological and national interests, will be dimmed and our efforts will be gravely discouraged if we see here in the United Nations, which

should be the principal region of international co-operation, a continuing inability to resolve differences of opinion regarding so central a function as the peace-keeping role.

62. It is against the background of those observations that I offer a brief comment on the present situation in respect of peace-keeping operations. We do not oppose the request that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations should be allowed to continue in being. We do suggest, however, that thought should be given to other possible approaches, lest prolongation of the Committee's existence should turn into a ritual which can be an admission of failure. The danger we apprehend is that there will be an unwritten agreement among Member States that no further measures will be taken while the Committee is in being and before it resolves the basic disagreements within its membership. Could not some concrete advance be made in the voluntary provision of facilities, services and personnel while we await more general agreement?

63. We trust that the three aspects of the financial issue have now been sufficiently identified so that no one aspect will hinder the proper treatment of another. We urge, as a matter of separate distinctive and immediate concern, that the Organization be relieved of at least part of its continuing financial handicap.

64. Permit me now to refer to a few areas of tension which, while not in geographical proximity to Trinidad and Tobago, continue to attract our deep concern, either because of issues of principle or from humanitarian considerations. These areas, in our view, pose an ever-present threat to the peace of the world.

65. I refer first of all to Southern Rhodesia. Ever since the rebellious group of racists seized power in Southern Rhodesia we have maintained and continue to maintain that such constitutional violation for such iniquitous purposes and in defiance of world opinion should be resisted, and that the power of the Administering Authority should be used to defeat the rebels and ensure the orderly progress of the country to majority rule.

66. Instead, a programme of sanctions was embarked upon which, as we cautioned would be the case from the very start, has been restricted in its scope and limited in its effect. The result is that the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia still stands as a source of continual irritation on the African continent and in the world outside, a triumph of constitutional violation, a symbol of racial arrogance, a cancerous growth in the body politic of Africa, disseminating the poison of racial intolerance in Africa and throughout the world.

67. Let no one underestimate the potentially injurious effects of such areas of pollution on all mankind. Already it is clear that the régime is in receipt of aid and comfort from the principal source of racist infection—South Africa. This is all the more portentous, as South Africa is itself in a posture of defiance against this Organization in respect of the Territory of South West Africa, and in all its deeds and its defiance South Africa is supported by Portugal. Every such example of the refusal or the incapacity of the nations to act is ammunition in the hands of

those who advocate that force, not principle is the final arbiter and that violence is the most reliable means of redress.

68. I turn now to the conflict in Viet-Nam—a source of unbelievable distress to the people of that unhappy land and agony to the civilized conscience of mankind. We do not believe in the desert as a symbol of peace, nor do we believe that the destruction of a people can be in their interest or in the interest of anyone. Viet-Nam has been a theatre of war continuously for over twenty years. Within recent times the war has assumed the proportions of a major conflict and contains the seeds of general conflagration. My delegation urges the intensification of efforts to achieve a cease-fire in Viet-Nam, followed by negotiations among the parties to the conflict. We would support any reasonable initiative towards this end.

69. I cannot end this brief review of areas of tension over which my delegation is particularly concerned without reference to those States which indiscriminately seek by force to impose a pattern of government and of society on peoples outside of their borders. I refer particularly to the activities of the Government of Cuba in the Western Hemisphere. I say to the representatives of the Government of Cuba; unwarranted intervention in the affairs of other States cannot but justify intervention in your own. Exporting revolution, be it remembered, is a two-edged sword.

70. Permit me now to turn to what my delegation considers to be the more positive aspects of the work of the United Nations. Representatives will remember the high hopes with which we inaugurated the United Nations Development Decade, designed principally to accelerate the pace of economic advance in the poorer countries and to arrest the growth of the gap in living standards of peoples in different parts of the world.

71. It now appears that, by a process of cumulative causation, we are in a relatively worse situation than we were at the commencement of the Decade. In trade liberalization, in aid, in capital flows, the picture for the poorer countries, generally speaking, is one of gloom.

72. While there have been considerable and noteworthy efforts in some of these fields, other developments have offset advances gained in an almost inexorable process. It appears that we are now in need of a total review of the strategy of development. My delegation is not of the view, however, that objectives must necessarily change. What seems to be required is a more intensive study and a more general awareness of cause and effect.

73. We are aware that in different ways some kind of review has been taking place. However, as a result of the resistance often encountered in the field of action, and the resulting slow rate of progress, there has, as a matter of strategy, been a tendency to concentrate on a single issue at one time. Experience has shown, however, that progress in one field is often accompanied by retrogression in another, and even where there is advance in a number of fields, but at too widely varying rates, the desired results will not be achieved.

74. Hence, we have been considerably heartened by the resolution of the General Assembly [2188 (XXI)]

authorizing a general review of the programmes and activities in the economic, social, technical co-operation and related fields of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, the IAEA, the UNICEF, and all other institutions and agencies related to the United Nations system. It must be admitted, however, that pending the outcome of this review, there will be no real alternative to an unsatisfactory piecemeal approach. In this setting, we urge that the major priorities should be UNIDO and UNCTAD.

75. On behalf of my delegation, I wish to express strong support for a general system of preferences. However, I wish equally strongly to emphasize the need, within such a system, for adequate accommodation of the special interests of countries which depend on the present limited preferences for their economic and political stability. Trinidad and Tobago, like many other countries, has only recently emerged into independence. We are just five years old. Our economic system, like others, has been shaped over several centuries of imperial rule and it would be unreasonable to expect the necessary structural changes to be achieved overnight. What is necessary is arrangements that will permit the structural transformation to proceed, even if they be of a transitional nature.

76. We anxiously look forward to proposals arising from the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to eliminate the more adverse features of the experience of the poorer countries in respect of world trade. In this respect we stand firmly by the side of the Latin American countries and others of the Group of Seventy-Seven.

77. The extent to which the world environment has become hostile to economic progress in developing countries and the possible political and social consequences in these countries should not be underrated. Peoples all over the world are becoming increasingly aware of the great strides made in the scientific and technological fields. They are becoming more and more convinced that with the knowledge, instruments and resources available to man, his failure to control his economic, political and social environment no longer arises from incapacity, but from a lack of will. There are signs among our younger generation of a growing crisis of confidence in our civilization; there are manifestations of disillusionment, unrest and alienation. The vision that can take us to the moon must surely be capable of new levels of political, economic and social co-operation.

78. It is these new levels of co-operation that we seek above all, here in the United Nations and in all the councils and assemblies which debate the great issues of our time. The new levels of co-operation must reflect the total involvement of all of us in an age when science has for the first time made possible the total destruction of all of us. In this enterprise there is no alternative to success. For the basic issue is the greatest that mankind has ever faced: it is life here on earth.

79. Mr. BOURGUIBA (Tunisia) (translated from French): Mr. President, the Tunisian delegation is highly gratified that you are to conduct the proceedings of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly. We have worked with you in the past and we know your

great devotion to the cause of peace and of the United Nations. Your country, with which my own maintains most cordial relations, has done much for the development of the United Nations. By electing you, the General Assembly has therefore also wished to do homage to Romania and it is from the heart that I convey to you our congratulations and wish you every success.

80. I should also like to congratulate Mr. Pazhwak of Afghanistan on the manner in which he presided over the proceedings of the twenty-first regular session of the Assembly. His great capabilities also enabled him to guide to a successful conclusion the far from smooth discussions and debates of the last two emergency sessions.

81. As our work begins, we should also like to wish success to this session of the Assembly, which is opening under extremely adverse conditions. For we are meeting on the morrow of an emergency special session that has been outstandingly disappointing and sterile; disappointing in that it failed to take any decision on the substance of the problem with which it had to deal, and sterile in that it was unable to obtain results on the only point on which there was an overwhelming majority. Unhappily, therefore, the crisis occasioned by Israel's attack on the Arab countries will be the principal concern of this session as well.

82. We believe it is vital for the United Nations, at this critical moment, to live up to its responsibilities and to the hopes reposed in it by mankind. We must not, once again, disappoint world opinion and, once again, present the picture of a big family where there is a great deal of talking and rather too much squabbling, but where nothing is ever done or, at best, never done soon enough. In the brilliant introduction to his annual report, our Secretary-General has brought out the difficulties which are facing the United Nations and which are basically due to the opposing views on constitutional and political matters taken by its Members; his analysis, which applies to peace-keeping operations, is a priori applicable to the crises which endanger peace. This is precisely why the United Nations has never been able to make a sufficiently sustained and persistent effort to resolve the perpetual state of crisis which has prevailed in the Middle East for twenty years. Never, since the partition of Palestine, has it taken a close look at the heart of the problem it has created. Never has it been willing to recognize explicitly, in so many words, the flagrant injustice which has given rise to the continuously menacing and explosive situation in question and to face it courageously. My delegation continues to believe that peace cannot be founded on the misfortune of a people. The peace that must prevail between men, communities and countries can never be the result of violence, aggression and humiliation. Violence can only bring forth violence, and the continuing war cannot be stopped until the wrongs have been redressed and the peoples concerned have been given back their rights.

83. It should not be thought that twenty years, or something more than twenty, will be long enough for millions of human beings to forget the injustice which has driven them from their homes and their

native land. Certainly a solution to the problem must take account of the facts as they are today, but no solution that fails to take into account the original facts can be lasting. It is a lasting solution that we must seek and find, and to do so we must realize that only the withdrawal of Israel troops from the territories they occupied following the attack of 5 June last can open the way to it. To ask the Arabs to accept one injustice because otherwise they might be exposed to more is not realistic but cynical, for if they were to yield to such an argument even once they would find themselves caught in the gears of a machine which they could not stop, so that, logically speaking, they would henceforward be the willing victims of the dream of the Zionist fanatics, the ones who have coined the well-known expansionist slogan, "From the Nile to the Euphrates," the very ones who arrogantly reply to the General Assembly's unanimous injunctions on Jerusalem and its status that "The situation is now non-negotiable" and who deny to hundreds of thousands of refugees, victims of numerous aggressions—the aggression of 5 June being merely the most recent—the right to return to their homes, in making false statements by which, I believe, no one is deceived. This refusal to admit the refugees is followed by frantic appeals to Jewish communities throughout the world to send settlers; two days ago it was declared that such settlement is effective in certain parts of the territories occupied by force of arms, and this creates yet another fait accompli and further aggravates an already highly explosive situation.

84. We understand those who, like the Secretary-General himself, fear that things will go back to where they were; we understand that most of the delegations here present should oppose above all an outright return to the confused and explosive situation which existed previously. But all States Members of the Organization must also clearly understand how dangerous a precedent would be created if the withdrawal of troops from territories occupied by force were to be predicated on conditions which, in the last analysis, would be a conqueror's conditions. If the Arabs should simply submit—which, of course, is what Israel wants—that would mean excluding the United Nations from the discussion, depriving it of its *raison d'être* and saying that Israel is in the right and was being logical in its way in calling for direct negotiations; I say logical in its way, for its attitude is in line with the logic of victorious aggression, with the law of the jungle, which its leaders seem to have embraced with so light a heart.

85. In our view, it is when the Arab territories have been evacuated that the international community, acting through the United Nations, both here and in the Security Council, will have the opportunity and the duty to take up at once the substance of the problem and examine it earnestly and with perseverance, in order to find a solution that would be both lasting and just.

86. Tunisia, for its part, having a sense of involvement with the Arabs and of involvement in all mankind, will certainly make such modest efforts as it can to that end. By stating unequivocally that the de facto situation created by force must be undone

the United Nations will have placed itself in a position to play its proper part—a decisive and essential part—in bringing about the desired solution.

87. We are confident that the Members of the General Assembly will display the imagination and the spirit of initiative required to enable us to end this session with—at the least—the outline of a solution in hand. We should be able to evolve a majority view here on those principles which should form the basis for a settlement of the question. In that connexion, the efforts of Yugoslav diplomats to formulate a series—no doubt open to improvement—of principles which could furnish the framework of an acceptable solution should be encouraged and assisted, and we feel that a tribute should be paid to President Tito and to the Government and delegation of Yugoslavia, whose major concern has always been that the United Nations—and particularly the General Assembly—should play a leading role in the search for peaceful solutions to the problems facing us.

88. In connexion with the role which the United Nations could play, both in the Middle East and elsewhere, I should like to comment on the highly important question of peace-keeping operations.

89. My Government deeply regrets that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations has been unable to make any substantial progress. We had hoped that, following the serious events in the Middle East which shook the entire world, it would resume its examination of the question in the light of the new developments.

90. On the one hand, the events in the Middle East have brought out—unfortunately, a contrario—the usefulness of the peace-keeping operations, and, on the other, it became clear that yet another emergency special session of the General Assembly had to be convened, and this demonstrated once again that the General Assembly should be able to assume a primary role in the maintenance of peace, naturally without prejudice to the role assigned to the Security Council.

91. This may not be explicitly provided for in the Charter, but it is certainly in the spirit of the San Francisco text. We hope in this connexion that this session will not confine itself to merely continuing the Special Committee in existence, but will take up the question again in a more constructive way and will display not only imagination, of which we certainly have no lack, but also, and above all, authority. And now my delegation wishes to congratulate all the members of the Special Committee, in particular Mr. Cuevas Cancino, its dynamic Chairman, on their efforts and their achievements. Tunisia is prepared, as in the past, to contribute to the success of future operations of that kind by all the means at its disposal, however modest they may be.

92. Another sphere in which the United Nations has suffered a setback is decolonization. Leaving aside the activities of mercenaries, no progress has been made with regard to the very worrying problem of South West Africa, or the Rhodesian crisis, or the situation in the Territories under Portuguese domination. Colonialism and racism continue to be rife in an immense part of Africa—one-third of that continent and, certainly not by chance, the richest third—and

there is not even a glimmer of effective international action ahead.

93. We do not, of course, count on international action alone to restore freedom and dignity to tens of millions of our African brothers who are the victims of a system everyone regards as anachronistic. But I think that we in the United Nations owe more to the freedom fighters than well-intentioned resolutions and words of compassion. I regret, in this connexion, that the great Powers should have preferred not to compromise themselves by joining the majority of the Assembly in order to launch in South West Africa an action which, if firm, could have been decisive. In the particular case of South West Africa, we would remind them that the United Nations has a special responsibility, and appeal to them to give full and unreserved co-operation to the United Nations Council for South West Africa.

94. I now come to the problem of disarmament. This is one area in which, despite everything, we can be relatively optimistic. For while there may be reason enough for the mental reservations and apprehensions that some of us may have, the submission of a draft treaty for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is an act of great import. There are still obstacles to be surmounted and opposition to be overcome; we are fully aware of the imperfections and inadequacies of the text; but just the same, the fact that it has been drafted by the United States and the Soviet Union^{2/} constitutes an achievement which is to the credit of both countries, as also of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

95. We understand the concern of those unaligned countries which find it hard to renounce the right to acquire nuclear weapons, precisely because they do not wish to stand under anyone's protection. But I can think of nothing more ludicrous and wrong than an under-developed country—and the non-aligned countries are in that category—having the means to destroy millions of human beings by nuclear weapons, while continuing to be unable to protect millions of its own citizens from hunger and destitution. No country, except for a very few Powers, and certainly none of our developing countries, can engage in nuclear research save at the expense of its paramount task, which is to overcome under-development. To be convinced of this, one need but remember the damage caused to African, Asian and other countries by the conventional arms race. That is an aspect of the question of disarmament which, I believe, we should consider far more seriously today than we have ever done; and the conventional arms race engaged in by small countries should also be examined in the light of the latest events in the Middle East.

96. If the United Nations were, in one way or another, to sanction armed conquest, there would be nothing left to prevent certain small countries from yielding to the temptation of trying to obtain political concessions or even territorial gains from their neighbours by means of a rapid and effective attack. Our Assembly ought perhaps to make a study of the funds developing countries spend on armaments and to compare them, for example, with what they spend on national education or health and, generally speaking

^{2/} See documents ENDC/192 and ENDC/193.

with their really productive investments—investments in human welfare.

97. This question is, of course, connected with another on our agenda: the question of foreign military bases. For it is obvious that, at a time when bases of the conventional type are being dismantled one by one, there are being introduced, but more subtly and discreetly, bases of a new kind, consisting in the massive presence of hundreds and sometimes thousands, of foreign training instructors—or alleged instructors. In our view, the difference between a so-called training base and just a base is merely one of terminology, and it is clear that the first term is simply camouflage for the second. It seems to me that here is not only matter for thought, but matter for action, and rapid action, to prevent the initiation of the usual and fatal process which, once started, cannot be halted, of an arms race in countries the sum total of whose resources does not suffice to enable them to rejoin the developed countries and break out of the vicious circle of economic, social, intellectual, and in fact human under-development.

98. This brings me to another subject on which my delegation is optimistic—the unremitting, laudable, but unfortunately little publicized, efforts the United Nations has been making in the economic and social sphere. We are beginning to see today the results of years of preparation, and a whole framework of economic and social activities is emerging the purpose of which is to break the vicious circle of colonial or semi-colonial heritage holding captive the African, Asian and Latin American countries and to enable them, if not to close, at least to reduce the gap between themselves and the developed countries.

99. Despite this optimistic attitude of ours, we cannot but give close heed to the alarm sounded by our Secretary-General in his Annual Report to the Assembly, and particularly in the Introduction to that report. The Economic and Social Council, in its own report for this year [A/6703] expresses the same concern.

100. In the introduction to his annual report, the Secretary-General writes:

"Again this year, I am constrained to express my great concern regarding the loss of momentum in international aid and its adverse effects on the results of the current Development Decade." [A/6701/Add.1, para. 61]

And he adds:

"The Kennedy Round of negotiations has been a noteworthy success, but it must be recognized that the new agreements do not give much satisfaction to the developing countries, especially in the agricultural sector." [Ibid.]

101. It is discouraging to see that in 1966 the rich countries taken together contributed a much smaller percentage of their gross national product to development aid than in 1960.

102. In the same document we read with reference to UNCTAD:

"It is also my duty to record, however, that, in the period under review, progress made towards

the fulfilment of the aims and objectives set forth in 1964 has been alarmingly slow, and that no significant breakthrough has been registered in either trade or development financing ..." [Ibid., para. 71]

103. Thus, on three subjects of capital importance in international economic life the Secretary-General uses—and rightly so—a language which should cause deep concern to the Members of the United Nations.

104. I would also point out that the situation as regards the food balance in developing countries continues to be alarming. FAO projections for 1975 include a net deficit of cereals which may be as high as 47 million tons, while imports to make up for this deficit might amount to over \$8,000 million.

105. Thus, the international community does not seem to be winning the race against need. The developing countries must make a very special and persistent effort if this race is to be won. Moreover, the assistance which the rich countries should furnish in the name of international solidarity and which I believe is a duty for all should not in itself be the decisive factor; improvement in the terms of trade is equally necessary. The United Nations seems to us to be perfectly situated to achieve that objective. It is encouraging to note that new organizations concerned with the main aspects of development are constantly being added to the United Nations family. The latest newcomer is the United Nations Capital Development Fund [resolution 2186 (XXI)], which is to assist the developing countries by making available to them additional capital aid in the form of grants and loans, especially long-term loans.

106. We would express the hope that the first pledging conference, set for the end of October, will be successful. There is always a risk that the proliferation of such organizations might lead to a scattering of efforts and raise still further the already high operating costs. That could occur if these organizations did not operate to full capacity and if certain trends in the international flow of capital were not corrected. It is startling to note, for example, that during the period 1961 to 1966, only 10 per cent of that flow was furnished by the international organizations.

107. It should also be noted that, from 1960 to 1965, the flow of resources to the developing countries did not increase in proportion to the growth of the developed countries. In our view, these two basic trends should be corrected, so that multilateral aid is augmented and so that the rich countries participate in a more regular and consistent, and less precarious, manner in the development and progress of the countries which are emerging, or endeavouring to emerge, from their present situation.

108. We express the hope that the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development will usher in a new phase in the process that was begun in 1964 and that it will concentrate on realistic action and on the adoption of concrete and practical solutions to the problems facing the international community. This hope is not unfounded, for we find that, while there are inadequacies and failures, the world is becoming increasingly aware of the

urgent need to remedy the first and prevent the second. Thanks to this awareness, and to the sum total of experience acquired by international and national organizations, it should be possible to remedy the situation before it reaches the point of no return.

109. The idea is generally accepted today that there can be no peace in a world in which only one-third of the population enjoys a comfortable existence, while the other two-thirds live under extremely precarious conditions if not in complete destitution.

110. The hope which the under-developed countries place in international solidarity is very real; but we know that we cannot possibly count on that solidarity alone. Only those countries can hope to achieve some development which count on themselves first, which are really prepared, as they say they are, to make every sacrifice and accept every discipline to improve the lot of their peoples.

111. Tunisia, for its part, having a decade of independence behind it, can for the first time take stock of what it has accomplished in its struggle against under-development and for the promotion of human welfare. We have had ten years fraught with difficulties, many of whom vestiges of the colonial era, ten years of bitter struggle against under-development in all its forms, including backward economic structures, superannuated social institutions, and mental attitudes unsuited to modern times, ten years at the end of which there is at last a reasonable and serious hope that in the near future the Tunisian will fully recover his human dignity, as well as his freedom. Looking back, we can see that profound changes have taken place in Tunisia: women have been completely emancipated, the children are in school, the citizens are becoming increasingly aware of both their rights and their duties in a society which is ever striving for greater justice.

112. The least indulgent observers have had to admit that our structures have undergone a total change. There is a word we are chary of using because we hold it sacred and because it has been depreciated through over-use in political terminology today, but it describes rightly what has occurred in Tunisia; that word is revolution.

113. The method we chose to overthrow the old order of things and to replace it by institutions designed to serve the people is socialism, but a purely Tunisian socialism, adapted to our needs and conditions. As the President of the Tunisian Republic has said:

"What matters, when we are faced with a choice of roads leading to a better life, is to define our goals, which are: an end to exploitation, prosperity for all, a decisive voice in economic and political matters for the masses. Where ways and means are concerned, what counts is efficiency, progress towards unanimously accepted goals.

"These are the principles on which Tunisia bases its socialist revolution, in the conviction that they constitute the way best suited to a country which is striving to rise to the status of a developed country."

114. At the same time, we resist the temptation of believing or proclaiming that our experience is of

universal value, or even that it is valid for all under-developed countries; but we are convinced that our methods, our will to make progress and our rejection of facile demagoguery and striking slogans constitute an experience which deserves a few moments' meditation.

115. There is still a long and hard road ahead before our country reaches an economic take-off, but substantial gains have been made; we are bound to say that a decisive part was played in this by outside aid, and we freely express our gratitude to the friendly countries which have had their share in it, and to the United Nations, whose Development Programme is particularly active in Tunisia.

116. The fight against under-development remains our primary concern, as we think it ought to be for all the countries of the Third World, whether in Latin America, Africa or Asia. But that can be so only in times of peace.

117. The Middle East, alas, that vast region which pertains to both Asia and Africa, has been the victim of war, aggression and occupation. Day before yesterday [1566th meeting] we heard a statement by Israel's Minister for Foreign Affairs; his country's friends as well as its adversaries agree that it conveyed what the first call a hardening of position and the second, arrogance. I cannot help but see a cause and effect relationship between Israel's extreme attitude and the General Assembly's inability or unwillingness to come to a decision. Is it not anachronistic, not to say scandalous, that at a time when all countries, under the guidance of the United Nations, are seeking more efficacious means of strengthening international solidarity in an effort to combat under-development in renewed brotherhood, the international community should resign itself to impotence, thereby helping to bring about a situation where exacerbated racism and religious fanaticism constitute over-riding and, what is worse, openly admitted motives?

118. Mr. NYAMWEYA (Kenya): Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. My delegation notes with pleasure that for the first time we have a President from a socialist country. We welcome this development as a further demonstration of the universality of this Organization. My delegation is convinced that, under your able leadership, the twenty-second session will make a significant contribution towards the reduction of international tension and the strengthening of friendly relations between States. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay my tribute to His Excellency Mr. Abdul Rahman Pazhwak of Afghanistan for the great skill and statesmanship with which he guided the work of the twenty-first session.

119. We meet today at a time when explosive issues pose a serious threat to international peace and security. It is time for reflection and a realistic appraisal of the situation. It is a crucial moment for deep heart-searching and agonizing decisions in the interests of peace and understanding. Failure to act prudently could spell disaster for the world. On the other hand, sane action could avert such a disaster. The choice is ours; we should not long delay it nor pretend that such dangers do not exist.

120. The first major issue I wish to deal with is the Middle East crisis. The Middle East situation, already very complicated, has been rendered even more intractable of solution by the recent outbreak of war.

121. My Government maintains diplomatic relations with both the Arab States and the State of Israel, and we believe that every sovereign State in that area is entitled to peaceful existence. All the parties concerned should get together for constructive talks. One major obstacle in the way of constructive and fruitful talks is the occupation of Arab territory by Israeli troops. My Government in principle is opposed to the acquisition of territory through the use of force and cannot therefore support territorial acquisitions arising out of the recent war in the Middle East. One cannot but assume that the presence of Israeli troops in the Sinai Peninsula greatly contributes to the continued closure of the Suez Canal. My delegation views with serious concern the effects on international commerce of the closure of the Canal.

122. My delegation welcomes the presence of the United Nations in the affected areas to promote an effective cease-fire, and considers that it should remain for as long as is necessary. It could also be used for the supervision of the withdrawal of troops from occupied areas.

123. It is well known that the aftermath of this war has gravely aggravated the problem of refugees in the Middle East. Israel and the Arab countries should be assisted in planning a comprehensive scheme that would cater for all the refugees. The problem facing the refugees will be best dealt with in an atmosphere of peace. War propaganda, which can only inflame the tense situation in the area, should be avoided as it will impede all peace efforts. Furthermore, it is imperative that no party directly involved in the current crisis, or any external party that may be interested, should engage in or encourage hostilities or aggression. No effort should be spared to encourage the holding of discussions and negotiations aimed at bringing about an honourable and peaceful settlement through the machinery of the United Nations.

124. The other issue of grave concern to world peace is the Viet-Nam war. The exceedingly dangerous situation in Viet-Nam is a forceful reminder of how close we live to a general war, of the futility of violence and war, of the incalculable loss of life and property, and of the catastrophe produced by rigid and misguided policies and concepts of great Power roles in world politics. Humanitarianism, and a people's destiny and well-being are relegated to second consideration. Grand ambitions of ideological victory have become more important than respect for human life and a false sense of national prestige reigns over common sense. While desperate attempts are being made to find a peace formula, the intensified military activity is bound to sabotage these efforts.

125. My Government's policy on Viet-Nam is clear. Our paramount interest is the restoration of peace. We do not subscribe to the policy of containing Communism or the policy of spreading it through the barrel of a gun. We believe that any military solution that may be imposed by force of arms will never be permanent. We hold the view that the situation requires a negotiated political settlement on the basis of the

Geneva Agreements. Cessation or scaling down of hostilities would no doubt facilitate negotiations. Every effort towards this end should be made by the parties involved and, in our view, this must include the National Front for Liberation.

126. The Vietnamese people as a whole should be allowed to establish a representative and effective government that does not always depend on any great Power for installation and its consolidation of power. We believe that the United States Government should be persuaded to see the futility and dangers of continued and intensified bombing of North Viet-Nam. Despite military build-up, the war has not been won and the Vietnamese people's suffering has not been lessened. The logical lesson that emerges from the past and continuing trend of events is that negotiation, and not escalation of the war, is the answer. This lesson should impel the parties involved to manifest good faith and respond to appeals for an effective cease-fire in order to promote a politically negotiated solution to the crisis.

127. I should now like to address myself to the problems pertaining to Africa. I should like to start with Rhodesia. My Government, in totally rejecting the unilateral declaration of independence by the unrepresentative and illegal Smith régime, holds Britain fully responsible for allowing the rebellion to linger on by reliance on constitutional technicalities, evasive techniques, and half-hearted measures that were known, if not in fact designed, to be ineffective right from their inception. We hold the British Government wholly responsible for terminating the rebellion by decisive action, if only in defence of legal and moral principles that Britain always claims to pursue and uphold.

128. The British Government, in continuing to make formal and furtive contacts with the Smith régime, offers Smith great and needed opportunities to pretend to the world that a negotiated settlement with him is possible. By so doing, Britain is giving Smith and his minority band of rabid racists more time to entrench themselves. On this I would like to quote my President, Jomo Kenyatta, who, on Madaraka Day last year, said:

"In our view, no solution could be found in furtive discussions at junior level between the colonial Power and the delegates of an unlawful régime. Clearly, the African nationalist leaders in Rhodesia must share in the task of negotiating a final settlement. If necessary, this must be brought about by means of compulsion and force."

129. Events have proved clearly that selective mandatory economic sanctions have failed to topple the Smith régime. The régime has consolidated its position through collusion with South Africa, Portugal and other Powers whose economic interests override human and moral considerations. It is time that, in deference to truth and reality, the British Government acknowledge that economic sanctions have no bite in them and that sterner measures are needed. I again quote my President who, on the occasion of State opening of Parliament early this year, said:

"A gang of disloyal settlers has imposed a police state on Rhodesians, black and white alike. They are desperate men. There may be no limit to the mis-

fortunes they would bring down upon the Rhodesians rather than surrender. They must be made to surrender. If one method fails, another more effective must be used."

My President on the same occasion further stated: "We look to those who proclaim their friendship for Africa, and their belief in justice, to give convincing proof of their sincerity."

130. It is a matter of public record that this sincerity has not been forthcoming. As the report of the Secretary-General [A/6701] shows clearly, the very countries which voted for the resolution on the selective mandatory economic sanctions are in the forefront among those who frustrate its implementation. My delegation strongly condemns these countries.

131. Let me reiterate that my Government will never compromise on the principle that majority rule must precede the granting of legal independence to the rightful people of Zimbabwe. Implicit in this stand is the fact that we believe unswervingly that the principle of "one man, one vote" under a non-discriminatory franchise should be implemented. Furthermore, my Government is totally opposed to the fruitless and furtive talks that are conducted with the Smith régime. This is playing for time. This is endangering the fate of 4 million Africans who are not even represented at these talks. Clearly the African nationalist leaders in Rhodesia must play a predominant role in shaping their own future by participating in the negotiations for a final settlement. All manoeuvres to date have failed. It is evident that the final settlement should now be brought about by compulsion. Let me warn that any delay in settling the issue justly will further entrench the Smith régime and will be detrimental to the interests of the Rhodesian people as a whole.

132. Already Smith has embarked on discriminatory and oppressive legislative measures which are identical to apartheid in South Africa. In addition, he has invited South African troops into Zimbabwe for the purpose of suppressing the African nationalists in their struggle for independence. In the face of this my Government calls on Britain to expel those foreign troops from its colony.

133. Kenya's policy on colonialism is clear and firm. Our goal is the total liquidation of colonialist presence from African soil and indeed everywhere in the world. We shall continue to support liberation movements to the best of our ability until colonialism and white racism are removed from the face of Africa. My President, on the occasion quoted above, said that:

"The burning issue of Rhodesia has never for a moment made us forget the plight of our brothers in Angola, Mozambique and South Africa. They are assured of determined support from the Republic of Kenya in their struggle against cruelty and oppression . . . We have noted the growing extremism of the South African Government and the increase of their armaments. But let these last apostles of apartheid remember that no one in history has prevailed for long against the determined demand of the human spirit for freedom and justice."

134. My Government stands strongly opposed to Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique, Angola and in so-called Portuguese Guinea. Portugal's

colonial rule in Africa is more than 400 years old. Portugal has done nothing to develop the Territories under its rule except to exploit their economic resources for its own benefit. Kenya maintains that the only proper way to development is for Portugal to grant political independence to its colonies. It must realize, as have other colonial Powers, that its economic relations with Africa can best be served on the basis of equality and interdependence between sovereign States. By granting independence to its colonies the basis of the present conflict with African States will disappear.

135. The South African régime is the most outstanding symbol of human suppression in the world today. Its imposed order is sustained by the financial interests of certain countries. Those countries are guilty of supporting the order which derives its strength and perverted pleasure from persecution, discrimination and the insane philosophy of apartheid.

136. Kenya is opposed to the policies of the South African Government and will continue to struggle against them until democracy is established in that country. In line with this policy the Government of Kenya, on achieving independence, severed all economic and trade relations with South Africa, terminated all landing rights for South African aircraft and closed the South African consulate in Nairobi. That remains the policy of my Government. We have no intention of establishing any relations, economic or diplomatic, with South Africa until there is a democratically elected Government or a Government representing the majority of the people in that country.

137. My Government firmly and unconditionally rejects as illegal the present efforts of the South African Government to extend the hated system of apartheid to South West Africa. We have stated previously that the status of South West Africa continues to be that of a Trusteeship Territory. Our position remains unchanged. My Government fully supports the recent efforts by the United Nations to assume control of administration in South West Africa and to prepare the Territory for self-determination. At the same time we deplore the attitude of the major Powers in refusing to co-operate with the United Nations in this respect.

138. Allow me to associate my delegation and myself with the most pertinent observation made by His Excellency Mr. Pazhwak of Afghanistan when he addressed us at the beginning of this session concerning the threats posed by mercenaries in some developing countries, and more particularly in Africa. He said:

"Another new species of war is the insidious use of mercenary forces to invade foreign lands. These illegitimate armies without flags and without government backing may, if they continue to develop as a feature of the modern power struggle, add the spectacle of thirteenth century piracy and marauding to mock the Age of Reason. The great danger for us is that these faceless forces evade the peace procedures governing international relations and erode the narrow beachheads of international law so painstakingly established. We must scotch this movement in its infancy as a new force for chaos in our time." [1560th meeting, para. 27.]

139. This new type of external interference and subversion which is being directed against the sovereign independence and territorial integrity of newly emergent States are the latest imperialist manoeuvres to embarrass and frustrate the dignity of such States. We cannot but condemn these new tactics in Africa. We call upon the countries from which those gentlemen of fortune are recruited to stop such recruitment.

140. Permit me to state my Government's policy with regard to the question of the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. I wish to reiterate that, in accordance with my Government's previous stand, we continue to support the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and in its various organs. We believe that it is important to recognize the realities of the political situation. These realities dictate that the People's Republic of China deserves to be seated here.

141. In concluding my statement, let me appeal to my fellow representatives that, in tackling the problems that are before this session, we should avoid apathy and ideological partisanship. We should aim at achieving tangible results. This is what the world expects from this august Assembly. In this way we shall be making a contribution to the ideals out of which this Organization was born.

142. Mr. SAPENA PASTOR (Paraguay) (translated from Spanish): This Assembly, in which our peoples have placed their hopes, is meeting once again in order, through the exchange of the different points of view and opinions of its Members, which are nevertheless united in a common cause, to seek the solution of the many complex and serious problems that afflict the world of today. In a task of such magnitude, the duties that fall upon the President are of fundamental importance and we are under an obligation to give him our full co-operation. The General Assembly has given him its collective confidence. In mentioning this fact, I wish to assure him that my delegation, in keeping with its own traditions, will never, at any moment, give him less than its full co-operation.

143. I come to this Assembly as the spokesman of a people who are devoting all their efforts to peaceful and constructive work designed to raise their level of living and for whom international peace and security are essential requirements if their efforts to achieve economic, political and social progress are not to be halted or obstructed, let alone brought to nought. Our thoughts are therefore fixed on peace and security based on mutual respect, on justice and on law.

144. In view of the interdependence of States which characterizes the age in which we live, any disturbance, or threat of disturbance, of peace, wheresoever it may occur, has repercussions in other places and affects other peoples, no matter how far they may be from the actual or potential scene of the conflict. It is therefore our primary individual and collective duty to play our part with enthusiasm and energy in establishing peace, or restoring peace where it has been disrupted, not only because that is our obligation under the Charter but also in order to protect our own national interests.

145. In two regions of the world in particular, the problems of peace are of extreme gravity. In Viet-Nam the destruction peculiar to wars is continuing and the United Nations, which was created for the purpose of saving peoples from the scourge of war, has so far been powerless to help, as it could and should have done, to bring the bloodshed to an end, to see that the first steps are taken towards negotiations and to ensure that political and not military solutions are reached by means of contacts between the parties.

146. Meanwhile it is difficult to explain to a world under the shadow of the war in Viet-Nam the inaction of an Organization like the United Nations in a matter of world importance. This situation should be given the most careful study.

147. In the Middle East, countries with which my country maintains long-standing and cordial relations of friendship have become involved in a bloody conflict which is costly both in human lives—which are the most precious—and in material possessions. My delegation has no direct interest in the conflict and is prompted solely by the duty which falls on each and every one of us to contribute impartially to the efforts to achieve a just and lasting settlement. Accordingly, before the fifth emergency special session, my delegation, together with its brother republics of Latin America, made every endeavour to find formulas that would make it possible for the tensions and conflicts that had plagued the region for the past two decades to give place to an atmosphere more conducive to the application of all efforts. In the same brotherly and impartial spirit, we shall spare no efforts until the peace for which we all yearn is established.

148. These two conflicts—and they are not the only ones—sadden us. At the same time, the threat of the dissemination of nuclear weapons hangs over the world. Recent events give us reason to think that perhaps the time is coming when this dissemination will be halted and when, as a result, the dread that nuclear weapons, against which we have not the slightest defence, inspires in our peoples will begin to diminish. We long to be free of this threat. When more countries join the hitherto restricted group of States that are able to manufacture and use nuclear weapons, the sufferings and anguish of the great masses of the inhabitants of this world will be even greater.

149. This concern about the possible dissemination of nuclear weapons should, moreover, be appraised in relation to the possibilities of the peaceful use of the atom. We are just as strongly in favour of the extension of the peaceful uses of atomic energy as against the dissemination of atomic weapons. We know the great potential of nuclear energy for the productive tasks of peace and we therefore want to have it in order to speed up our progress as developing countries by the use of a technology to which we have no access today owing to our limited resources. We are not in a position to invest the enormous sums required for research and we feel that nothing could be more contrary to the interests of mankind as a whole, and especially of the nations which see their development delayed by the present conditions of international trade, than the fact that

the present enormous differences between the levels of living of the industrial countries and those of the non-industrial countries are being increased as a result of the monopoly by a few States of the peaceful use of atomic energy, which could even become a monopoly of the industrialization of the atom. In this field we do not merely ask, we demand, assistance through the transmission of information, the generous opening of the doors of the great research centres and the training of national experts in the appropriate centres.

150. These comments are related also to the Development Decade, which was conceived under such good auspices but which nevertheless, although already in its second half, has certainly not fulfilled the hopes placed in it.

151. We have become accustomed, in our common parlance, to classify countries in two big groups and to call them developed and developing. The fact is that the former are industrial countries and the latter non-industrial countries; it is distressing to observe that with the passage of time the distribution of wealth has not improved, that the industrial countries receive and possess most of the wealth and that the non-industrial countries, which account for two thirds of the population of the world, receive for their efforts a minimal payment which is absolutely insufficient to provide for their development.

152. The slower a country's process of industrialization, the more will its attainment of higher levels of living be delayed. The conclusion is that, unless the present conditions of international trade are amended in all urgency, the only course left to us will be to seek ways and means of achieving our own complete industrialization.

153. My country, making the maximum use of its own resources, devoting its best efforts to the task and relying on less external aid, is already in the process of solving its economic infrastructure problems. At the same time it is enjoying political peace and social peace; it is continuing its economic progress; it has achieved remarkable monetary stability and, with the co-operation of the different political sectors, it has just given itself a new fundamental charter. These are the characteristics of a State in manifest progress on all sides.

154. Aware as we are of our role in the international community in general, and in the regional community in particular, we have devoted and are devoting our efforts to achieving Latin American economic integration and, through that undertaking of historic importance, bringing about the effective progress and greater well-being of the peoples of our region.

155. The possibilities of wider markets are being more and more often restricted by the limits of national sovereignty. We do not think that regional economic integration is prejudicial to sovereignty or implies the acceptance of supranational organs. On the other hand, it would enable each and every one of our States to reach the international common market and the adoption of common tariffs. In this important undertaking we need technical and financial aid, and here and now we ask for it.

156. Latin America has vast resources in raw materials and must try to achieve its own industrialization. As far as we ourselves are concerned, we want industries of regional interest to be situated in our own territory and we therefore accept multinational enterprises of a private nature.

157. We shall attend the forthcoming second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, to be held at New Delhi in 1968, with an open mind, hoping once again that the time is drawing near when justice will be done in the distribution of the wealth to which we are entitled by what we do and what we produce. At the same time, however, I must confess that we are not very optimistic. There are still many barriers of prejudice to break down.

158. In this brief review, I have drawn attention to only a few of the problems facing this Assembly. There are others, and certainly serious ones. I need only mention the problems of the liquidation of colonialism and, in particular, the case of South West Africa. I could also mention the question of apartheid, an outrage that is still going on and that must disappear. Our position on these questions is well known; it is that of nearly all the States represented in this Assembly. We shall in due course unite our efforts with those of other countries in order that these problems may soon be no more than bitter memories of the past.

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

160. Mr. ALARCON DE QUESADA (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): I just want to make a brief reference to the speech we have heard this afternoon from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Trinidad and Tobago.

161. Trinidad and Tobago is the most recent member of the Organization of American States and seems already to be exhibiting an excellent knowledge of the style and attitude of the majority of its Latin American colleagues. The representative of Trinidad and Tobago has transmitted a message to us in which he repeated word for word the arguments used by North American imperialism to try to justify its aggressive policy against Cuba and its constant interference in the internal affairs of all the Latin American countries. We, for our part, will answer him with this other message: submission to the foreign policy of the North American Government does not bring any benefits. That course of action will not produce better prices for export products or bigger loans. His friends in the Organization of American States will be able to explain to him, with a wealth of detail, why submission to the orders of Washington has for some time been a two-edged sword.

162. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): As the hour is late and delegations need time to study the General Committee's second report [A/6840/Add.1], I think it would be best to postpone consideration of agenda item 8.

163. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly approves this suggestion.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.