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*President:* Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1 Mr. ULLOA (Peru) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, I am very pleased to extend to you my congratulations on your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly.

2. Speaking from this rostrum as head of the Peruvian delegation to the United Nations General Assembly, I should like to take this opportunity, on grounds of long and personal friendship, to pay a tribute to the memory of Victor Andrés Belaunde, whose spiritual life was bound up for more than twenty years with the establishment, activities and ideals of the United Nations, from the time when he participated in the preparation of the San Francisco Charter—which bears his signature—to the day when he died in this city, in the very midst, in fact, of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, devoting his talent and eloquence to the Organization to the very end.

3. I myself had the honour to represent Peru at the first session of the United Nations General Assembly which was held in London in 1946. Addressing the Assembly then, as I do now, I expressed our concern at the relations which were beginning to develop between the great Powers and the small States in the post-war period. The international political scene of 1919 was being repeated. The useless sorrows of war were once again leading peoples along the path of stubborn hope to a new international organization, which this time would not bear the threadbare name of "League of Nations" but was to be entitled optimistically and euphemistically, the "United Nations".

4. Although the suffering world was experiencing political, social, economic and spiritual tremors, there survived the hope of an enduring and organized peace. However, two phenomena were recurring which carried in them the fatal seeds of new upheavals and traced the mistaken route which was inevitably to lead to further historical confrontations. The system of great Powers was maintained, unlimited and unchecked together with the power of veto, capable, because of the strength of those Powers, of frustrating both theoretical and ad hoc peace, and of frustrating also the will and desire of international democracy.

5. The other phenomenon which was repeated under the pressure of the last annihilating days of the Second World War was the re-establishment, through a precarious and uncertain balance of power, of an international law based on terror. The spectre of destruction and death was to preside, through the ensuing night of misery and lurking distrust, over mankind's stumbling progress towards a future that reason could not foresee nor hope discern. To the disarray, the confusion and the increased international tension were added some new elements. The first of these was the proliferation of new States which, owing to historical, political, economic and social factors, was inevitably to aggravate, in and outside the United Nations, the precarious relations between the great Powers and the smaller States.

6. Secondly—although this listing does not imply any order of priority—advances in science and the development of communications, while raising humanity's legitimate aspirations, increased the need for and the advantages of international aid and co-operation which—leaving aside the subtle political calculations of the great Powers—are a requirement and a mandate of the prevailing concept of human welfare.

7. Thirdly, this same science which, creating for itself an image by its practical achievements, has made a giant vault into space and has developed in laboratories formulas and wise theories in which intuition plays some part, is also carrying out experiments, in the atmosphere and underground, designed to ensure the world's certain destruction, if it continues to follow blindly its present course in international affairs.

8. These negative aspects—negative in that they are obstacles to peace and undermine international solidarity, are occurring and developing concurrently with a new spiritual climate of solidarity and understanding in which the primary concern of international law is man himself, for whose welfare such law must exist and ensure peace.

9. However, the painful and clear reality is that law and peace have not followed the same path, the path which, although wandering and sometimes turning back,

has nevertheless been simply and clearly traced, throughout history, by the desire to promote human welfare. The paths of law and peace have diverged. To use a contemporary illustration, we might say that a wall is being built out of the preponderance of the political and economic interests of some and the needs of others. This wall becomes higher and stronger whenever, in international affairs, the higher concept of human solidarity is diminished or ignored.

10. When we stop and, from our weak and tottering observation post, survey the recent past and immediate future of international peace, we are naturally confronted with the heart-rending and futile drama being enacted in Viet-Nam. As human beings and as Members of the United Nations, we would wish our eyes and ears not be assailed by so much suffering. We fail to understand why the parties to the conflict, if they sincerely wish to bring it to an honourable and humane end, are marking time outside the negotiating chamber while they discuss responsibilities that must be judged by the future and not by those directly and passionately involved in the events.

11. The picture which Viet-Nam presents is one of horror for mankind. For reasons of humanity more important than this useless and unlimited military confrontation, the destruction must be brought to a halt. There is all the more justification for ending it as we know that a cease-fire is the logical prerequisite for any negotiation.

12. Were it not sardonic, discouraging and macabre to do so, we might describe a harrowing procession of the dead and the dying, not only men but also principles of international law, proclaimed by all and heeded now by few. What remains, beneath the mounds of rubble in Viet-Nam, of the great principles of independence, self-determination, neutrality and non-intervention?

13. Certain Powers are the protectors, the allies of, almost the spokesmen for, one of the local factions involved in the war in Viet-Nam. They claim that they are fulfilling commitments based on the world situation and their own national policy requirements. Other Powers, for similar reasons, declare their willingness to lend the other side economic, political and military aid, a position more resembling that of actual allies of the belligerents.

14. The Middle East question is also a cause of concern and sorrow to the Members of the United Nations as well as to other peoples who, if no better, are comparable to those who are more immediately and directly involved. In this matter it is inescapable that we respect and uphold the decisions of this Organization.

15. It is recognized that the case of Israel is unique in international law, for Israel is a State created by the formal will of the international community, expressed by the legitimate organs of the United Nations. Those organs, therefore, have a primary obligation to maintain that which their work created. Unless they do so unequivocally and resolutely, they will appear as discredited judges who amass dossiers and reports and pollute the air with words, while the litigants are assaulting and wounding each other on the battlefield, constantly imperilling the lives of on-lookers.

16. There appears to be virtually unanimous agreement that aggression and force cannot be tolerated as a means of creating situations of law, unless for the purpose of maintaining and ensuring respect for law itself. However, correction of the measures which may have been employed for reasons not even fully known or understood cannot be a condition for recognition of the existence of a State, when its existence is the result, not of conquest or rebellion, the outcome of which seem to be accepted and approved nowadays in international law, but of the implementation of a decision of the international community which affirmed and upheld the principle of self-determination.

17. It is guided by that principle that we Peruvians maintain our traditional position. Self-determination is a constant in our international relations. The Peruvian State was founded on that principle. We have invariably upheld it in all our dealings concerning frontier demarcation, in the disputes to which incomplete solutions occasionally gave rise, and even in our protests and efforts to have errors corrected. We cannot fail to insist on application of the same principle in international conflicts between other States, however remote and little understood those conflicts may be.

18. The problem of Gibraltar is neither political nor legal in the accepted sense and customary definition of those words. It is a problem of decolonization which has peculiar features of its own. There was an unjust annexation for political and military reasons, with a view to future strategic geography. There was also an annexation of a portion of territory not disputed or taken possession of in any way at the outset and there was a displacement of the original population and an expansion of territorial occupation beyond the exact limits of the original concession.

19. At this new stage of the Gibraltar problem Spain is not only supported by history and the simple moral and logical arguments based on the background to the problem, but is seeking a solution in keeping with present-day realities and principles. The political and military aims that led to the original events no longer exist, and the new concept of decolonization must give Spain encouragement and support so that it may again hoist its flag on the once merely historic but today symbolic Rock of Gibraltar.

20. Another case of an old legacy of current international concern is that of the Malvinas Islands, over which, by reason of certain circumstances, the United Kingdom extended its rule, whereas the Islands rightly belong to the Argentine Republic, the legitimate heir to Spain's legal title to the Islands themselves and the neighbouring mainland. In this case, as in that of Gibraltar, it is useless to turn to the diplomatic dialectic used by the ruling Power since, in the light of current principles and realities of international law and policy, this is a case of decolonization which must surely lead, not to a local autonomy and independence which would not be in keeping with the historical antecedents, but to the restoration and recognition of legitimate sovereignty. The strategic considerations which determined the United Kingdom's possession of the Malvinas Islands and Gibraltar no longer have any validity.

21. In our view, the principle of self-determination cannot be applied in the case of Gibraltar or the Malvinas Islands. Its application is ruled out by two essential facts which entirely preclude any expression of the will of the original inhabitants. When indigenous inhabitants have been directly or indirectly expelled from a territory; when, over a long period of time, economic and social conditions have developed which have made it impossible for them to continue dwelling where there is no employment or decent livelihood; and when those who would rightfully be entitled to exercise self-determination are no longer present, self-determination ceases to be of great moral and juridical significance and becomes instead a device to conceal the truth behind empty or insincere formulas.

22. As is generally known, a consultative meeting of Foreign Ministers convened by the Organization of American States, was held in Washington on 22 September last to consider once again the situation of our countries in the light of the intellectually corrosive and politically interventionist attitude of the Government of Cuba. That Government is seeking to interfere with the institutional system which our countries' civic self-determination has established since their independence, and which they are trying, despite periodical changes and setbacks, to consolidate and perfect in order to strengthen their independence and the essential democratic freedoms and human rights whose achievement is the best assurance of the political, moral and juridical welfare of their citizens.

23. Peru, in addition to agreeing, as on other occasions, to concerted action and continental solidarity against foreign aggression, expressed in particular at that meeting its solidarity with the Republic of Venezuela, with which it has long had fraternal ties and which revealed and denounced before the Organization of American States the interference of the Government of Cuba in its internal problems.

24. Our position on this question has never changed, will never change, and never can change. We are proud that, in the course of the international history of the Americas, we often took the initiative in diplomatic and even military measures—in 1847, 1856 and 1866 for example—to reject intervention in the Americas by those who would have conspired against our political régime and our institutions.

25. Our position in those instances was one of consistent opposition to intervention, as it was in the case of other problems which arose within the geographical area of the American continent. We would therefore be failing to live up to the demands of our history and abandoning our faith in the democratic solidarity of the Americas were we not prepared to oppose any form of intervention, whether it comes, unfortunately, from another American republic or whether its source lies in ill-concealed political interests outside the continent.

26. Peru is following with great interest and confidence the increasing activity of the United Nations in the economic field, activity aimed primarily at alleviating human poverty in many parts of the world, improving basic living conditions, ensuring planned national development as a source of employment and to provide basic needs, promoting industrialization to

secure technological advancement and progressive improvement of welfare and ensuring the most equitable distribution of wealth possible as the moral goal of contemporary civilization.

27. In this connexion, we intend to make a special effort, at this session of the General Assembly, at which we have been honoured with the chairmanship of the Second Committee, to contribute in the most rational and practical manner possible to the achievement of these ends. We have contributed in the same way in the past in the Economic and Social Council; in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which we helped to establish; in the United Nations Industrial Development Organization and in the Governing Council of the United Nations Development Programme. We shall also be considering, on the basis of our own experience, the benefits of assistance to the developing countries and of technical and financial planning.

28. In order to achieve the goals which I have mentioned, we believe it is necessary to lay down certain conditions based, not on economic considerations, but on political and juridical factors that must not be overlooked or under-estimated. Without these conditions, the painfully erected and outwardly striking edifice of a prosperous economy can become a cumbersome structure which imprisons economic independence, compromises political independence and lowers the dignity of men and nations, thus making them galley slaves navigating wearily and hopelessly on an unknown course leading far from their legitimate objectives.

29. In the higher interest of a more equitable co-operation between people, and in the light of the damaging experience of mistakes which we made, sometimes through necessity, we Peruvians have agreed, and will continue to agree, to fair but controlled participation by foreign capital in our development. Because of long-standing and strong national convictions, however, we are not prepared to grant any privileges, concessions, exemptions or general or specific advantages which might turn economic, technical and financial co-operation into dependency or a trusteeship.

30. That is, frankly, our position. As far as the current United Nations Development Decade is concerned, we note both within and outside the United Nations a greater measure of discouragement than of satisfaction or even hope. The developing countries have obtained only a small part of what they legitimately hoped for; the scarcity of multilateral and collective aid has worsened their credit situation and is leading them to the slippery slope of inflation.

31. We are well aware that international aid or assistance schemes are based on the assumption that the recipient countries will make a direct contribution to their own development, making their own special and continuing contribution to the co-operative effort through their toil, austerity and even sacrifices, through their driving enthusiasm and shining faith. That is why we Peruvians proudly lay claim to being first in the field, in the Americas, in achieving what in our country is referred to as the co-operation of the people. The term has also been used outside Peru, as a conscious symbol of human endeavour.

32. It is also well known because of the repercussions of the proclamation and its underlying justice, that three countries of the South Pacific—Peru, Chile and Ecuador—have proclaimed a new law of the sea which is in keeping with geographical, economic and biological as well as human realities. This law gives to the coastal States exclusive rights of jurisdiction for the control and exploitation of the maritime areas over which they have proclaimed their territorial sovereignty.

33. An increasing number of Latin American States, including Argentina and some countries of Central America, have also issued similar proclamations, while other countries, basing themselves, for reasons of self-interest, on non-existent or outworn concepts, have adopted speculative positions of power which have been reflected in the frequent and, in our view, illegal activities of their nationals.

34. Against this background and in this situation which is being improperly or unjustly maintained by certain Powers, we shall examine, realistically and with open minds, but most carefully, the proposal, included in the agenda of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly [A/6695] at the request of Malta, for a study of the possibilities of peaceful utilization of the seabed, without prejudice to present national jurisdiction.

35. We are not unaware of the benefits which mankind could derive from the basic aim of the Maltese proposal, namely, that of preventing any Powers from initiating large-scale exploitation of the riches of the sea-bed. Nor are we unaware of the fact that certain other countries, whether or not situated close to the ocean floor, are technologically and financially more capable of such undertakings. However, we share Malta's wish that such undertakings should be restricted to peaceful utilization of the resources of the sea-bed, observing existing areas of national jurisdiction that have been proclaimed and will be maintained by those countries which advocate a new law of the sea to protect and defend their maritime wealth and the welfare of their people.

36. In this area, where we see international politics abandoning law or even opposing it or attempting to bend it to its interests, we should turn more frequently to international legal instance which the United Nations created, as a supreme and far-sighted expression of its ideals, in the International Court of Justice, that least ambitions and least pretensions of United Nations organs in that it lacks powers to initiate measures and has no jurisdiction other than that which States choose to grant it.

37. However, if the idea of peace is the reason for the founding, the efforts and the hopes of the United Nations—if ideally—there cannot be peace without justice; and if all human conflicts can find in justice the path which leads straight to peace, then States, if they are not prepared—as they seem not to be—to stand charged with basic insincerity, must show a greater readiness to accept juridical settlement of their differences. This solution, moreover, will be all the more realistic, since, as Montesquieu put it, laws are simply necessary relationships resulting from the nature of things.

38. We see no reason to disguise the scepticism we feel regarding the international situation, which has deteriorated markedly in recent times. The great Powers, openly or tacitly using their strength and their fatal right of veto, are frustrating the possibilities offered by international co-operation for a negotiated peace; they offer us instead an imposed peace which, by definition, is unjust or may lead to the tragic and inevitable abyss of death and destruction of the human beings for whose moral aspirations and well-being international law, international relations, and the United Nations itself were created.

39. Faced with this reality of action or inaction by the great Powers—choices unavailable to the smaller countries—the latter stand impotent and all the light of their humanism, all their stubborn aspirations, which have sometimes illuminated the pages of history, cannot prevail. Our claims and aspirations thus become but vain demands.

40. A great feeling of frustration, affecting the very being and *raison d'être* of the United Nations, has been obscuring our hopes; we have become embittered at the prospect of being the victims of the action or inaction, the blindness, yes—let us say it bluntly—the incompetence, of the great Powers, whose vacillating attitude is blocking our horizon and barring our way. While those Powers have shown an impressive ability to transport human intelligence to the far corners of space, they reveal themselves incapable, at the same time, of ensuring the welfare of man on his own planet.

41. Mr. BISTA (Nepal); I bring a message of felicitations and good wishes from my august Sovereign, King Mahendra, for the success of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly.

42. While thanking you, Mr. President, for allowing me to take the floor, I wish to express my delegation's sincere congratulations to you on your election as the President of the General Assembly.

43. This is the first time in the twenty-two years of the life of the United Nations that a representative of a socialist country has occupied the Chair of the Assembly. In your election is reflected not only the international character of the office of the President, but also the spirit of coexistence and co-operation that generally governs the relations between the countries of the West and the East today. Romania has devoted special attention to fostering this spirit successfully in its relations with the countries of Europe as well as with those elsewhere. And you, Mr. President, for some years now have been personally responsible for the conduct of the foreign policy of Romania, which aims at the development of good relations with all countries of the world on the basis of peaceful coexistence. My delegation believes that you will guide the deliberations of this Assembly with success, and pledges you its support in the discharge of your responsibilities.

44. My delegation would also like to pay its tribute to Ambassador Pazhwak for the exemplary way in which he guided the deliberations of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, as well as of the fifth special session and the fifth emergency special session. He ably presided over the Assembly session

when the world was threatened with a grave and serious crisis as a result of the war in the Middle East.

45. The questions before the General Assembly are of great importance. Representatives of 122 countries have assembled here at this session to deliberate on the questions of war and peace confronting us. Some of these questions have their origin in the deep-rooted prejudices among peoples carried over from the pages of past history, while some of them arise from the immediate rivalries among great Powers.

46. A great amount of mutual suspicion and a false sense of security which permeate the actions and behaviour of States have prevented us from proceeding more purposefully towards the goal of general and complete disarmament. Relics of the cold war still continue, to a great extent, to aggravate the tension in Asia, Europe and elsewhere in the world. Big-Power politics and the accompanying interests of the big Powers have kept some nations perpetually divided against their will. The fate of the divided nations, and indeed that of other small nations, is judged in terms of the interests of big Powers. Our Organization itself is still very far from its goal of universality.

47. The deceleration in the rate of growth of the developing countries has left us far behind the target set for our growth in the United Nations Development Decade.

48. The question of decolonization continues to defy peaceful solution, mainly because one or two misguided countries amongst us refuse to recognize fundamental human rights, the basic equality of all mankind and the rights of peoples to freedom and independence.

49. While speaking on the question of war and peace in general, our attention is naturally drawn to a very distressing situation which, although not included in the agenda of the United Nations, might any day lead to most disastrous consequences engulfing all of humanity. I am referring here to the unjust, inhuman war in Viet-Nam, which, to the horror of mankind, is escalating daily. Nothing is more deplorable in the contemporary situation than what is happening in Viet-Nam today, and nothing symbolizes and dramatizes the difficulties of a small country—which is moreover divided against its will—more than the question of Viet-Nam.

50. This ancient nation struggled hard and heroically to gain its freedom from the yoke of colonialism and continues to struggle equally hard and heroically to retain it. The Geneva Agreements of 1954 recognized the political independence, integrity and unity of the Viet-Nameese people. The determination shown by the Viet-Nameese people in their current struggle is simply an expression of their will to exist as an independent, unified and national entity.

51. To the extreme regret of the peace-loving peoples in the world, and the Asians in particular, the war in Viet-Nam goes on, with big-Power interest dominating at the expense of the Viet-Nameese people. Our sympathies go out to those brave people in their hour of struggle.

52. Viewed from any angle whatever, the war in Viet-Nam is wrong. This war must end. His Majesty's Government has stated, and I take this opportunity to

state again, that the essential condition for the ending of the deplorable situation in Viet-Nam is the cessation of hostilities. The ending of bombing and the de-escalation of other military activities should be the first important step in this direction. To this end we have always supported the efforts made by the Secretary-General to bring peace to this unhappy land.

53. Once the bombing ends, hostilities cease and a cease-fire is agreed upon, it will not be difficult, we hope, for peace talks to commence among all parties interested in the question of Viet-Nam, including, of course, the Viet Cong, so as to arrive at a solution which will permit the Viet-Nameese people themselves to decide their destiny. The paramount concern of those involved in the question of Viet-Nam should be to contribute to the creation of an atmosphere congenial to peace talks. The question of Viet-Nam is basically a political question, and our efforts should be aimed at finding a political solution.

54. The armed hostilities that flared up in the Middle East during the middle of this year between Israel and the Arab States aggravated the already tense situation in the world. Indeed, this war was the gravest breach of the peace faced by the United Nations in the last two or three years. Here, not only was the question of the survival and dignity of the contending parties involved, but also the political interests of the super-Powers were at stake.

55. The emergency special session of the General Assembly convened to deal with the situation brought to light a general consensus among all Member States that forcible occupation of foreign lands should not be permitted, and that terms of peace cannot be dictated by nations which happen to be militarily victorious at the moment. The General Assembly further directed the attention of the world to the fact that the state of belligerency existing in the Middle East was also responsible for the deterioration of the situation in the area.

56. Israel today occupies territories of its neighbours and, in disregard of a General Assembly resolution, has even proceeded to change the status of the Old City of Jerusalem and integrate the City into its own territory. In consequence of the military occupation by Israel, the Suez Canal, so vital for international commerce, has remained closed indefinitely. His Majesty's Government cannot condone a situation such as this, for which the military occupation by Israel of foreign lands is solely responsible. Even the most extended doctrine of military necessity or self-preservation fails to justify the attitude taken by Israel during the past few months.

57. His Majesty's Government most assuredly recognizes the rights of Israel as a sovereign State and regrets the state of belligerency continuously directed against it. We also believe that Israel in its turn must respect the independence and territorial integrity of its neighbours.

58. Settled international frontiers must be scrupulously respected by all States. If these are violated with impunity, by force of arms, the whole fabric of peaceful international society and the foundations on which the United Nations is built will crumble. Thrice in the life of the United Nations, crisis in the Middle

East has erupted. This must not recur. Peace on a more enduring basis must be sought. The great Powers on their part must refrain from interference. Nations in the area must learn to live and let live in peace. The rights of sovereign States, including maritime rights, must be respected. But the first requisite for securing peace in the Middle East is the ending of military occupation of foreign lands and the implementation of United Nations resolutions.

59. Whatever the achievements of the United Nations in the field of international peace, the deliberate exclusion of the People's Republic of China from the world body has made the latter less effective and less universal. The most populous nation in the world with its vast land mass, a member of the thermonuclear club in its own right, China cannot be barred indefinitely from its rightful place in the United Nations if there is to be a solution of outstanding international problems affecting the question of war and peace in this troubled world. By refusing to restore the lawful rights of China in the United Nations, a certain section of its membership has already done enough harm to the cause of peace. It would be in the interest of real peace if we could realize Chinese representation in all the negotiations on disarmament and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. My delegation believes that reason will ultimately prevail with those who, through their negative attitude, still refuse to recognize the existence of a great nation like China. The sooner they give up this attitude, the better it will be for world peace and security. Nepal has tremendous faith in the United Nations. That faith in itself has always inspired us to maintain that the United Nations will be a more effective instrument of peace with the People's Republic of China than without it.

60. One of the most significant achievements of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee this year, has been the agreement between the super-Powers to present identical texts of a draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.<sup>1/</sup> Although my delegation realizes that the extremely important third clause, concerning international control and methods and procedures of inspection, is not yet agreed upon, the very fact that the two super-Powers have reached an agreement on other basic points of the proposed treaty is in itself a good augury for peace. His Majesty's Government welcomes this draft treaty as a product of peaceful co-operation between the super-Powers.

61. My delegation is happy to note that after a long and bitter cold-war situation the super-Powers are now steadily moving towards an era of closer co-operation. This new trend in international relations is also affecting the attitudes of the non-aligned countries, which, instead of remaining aloof from the two super-Powers, are now identifying themselves with their co-operative measures. My delegation's support for the proposed treaty is animated by the same spirit in which we supported the Moscow Treaty.

62. Some non-nuclear-weapon nations are trying to seek a guarantee against nuclear attack. My delegation cannot reconcile itself to this idea because it considers that seeking such a guarantee itself pre-

supposes that the possibility of nuclear war does exist. The efforts and endeavours of all countries should be directed towards the creation of conditions under which the very concept of nuclear war would be abjured.

63. This year again, the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee has failed to produce any concrete formula concerning general and complete disarmament. My delegation understands the limitations of the Committee; it has no power to control the expenditure on armaments, which is increasing in astronomical proportions. However, my delegation hopes that the conclusion of a non-proliferation treaty, supplemented by the functional and structural improvement of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee should help the nations of the world to move towards more extensive arms control and disarmament measures. My delegation further hopes that the non-proliferation treaty will encourage the nuclear Powers to negotiate a comprehensive test-ban treaty, and also an agreement to discontinue the production of fissionable material for military purposes. What is urgently required of the nuclear Powers that have signed the Moscow Treaty is that they show their real interest in extending the scope of the treaty to cover underground tests. But as long as the nuclear Powers continue their underground tests with a view to perfecting nuclear weapons, general and complete disarmament can only be a far cry.

64. Despite continued disagreement between the super-Powers on the question of general and complete disarmament, it is heartening to note that the super-Powers have agreed on a Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies. My delegation is firmly convinced that the benefits of space exploration can be extended to States at all stages of economic and scientific development. The people of Nepal, as other peoples of the world, have been greatly inspired by the tremendous prospects opening before mankind as a result of man's entry into outer space. We hope that the sanctity of the Treaty will be fully maintained and that outer space will never be used as a base to destroy any part of the earth we live on.

65. Under General Assembly resolution 2220 (XXI), the report of the Special Political Committee on the comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects was referred to the General Assembly at its fifth special session. It is regrettable that at the fifth special session no recommendation could be adopted and, consequently, we are again faced with the same question. My delegation has always maintained that the peace-keeping capacities of the United Nations should be strengthened. We realized fully, during the recent crisis in the Middle East, the importance that is attached to United Nations peace-keeping efforts.

66. My delegation would like to reiterate its profound faith in the United Nations Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty [General Assembly resolution 2131 (XX)]. If States refrained from resorting to force in settling their disputes, as indicated in the United Nations

<sup>1/</sup> Documents ENDC/192 and ENDC/193.



Charter, or if States harboured no designs against the territorial integrity or political independence of other States, many of the ills now afflicting the international community would end.

67. Colonialism, which still continues to vex the world profoundly, is repugnant to the Charter of the United Nations, inasmuch as the system of international peace and security established under the Charter on the basis of equal rights of man is incompatible with colonial practices. The rights of colonial territories and peoples to immediate independence, whatever the stage of their social, economic and political advancement may be, is recognized by the General Assembly in solemn declarations. But despite these declarations and the process of decolonization which has been a feature of national development in many colonial territories, millions of people still languish under the yoke of colonialism.

68. Its classic examples are found in Africa in the shape of Portuguese colonialism. Portugal claims that these Territories are not colonial territories at all, but part of metropolitan Portugal. This claim nobody accepts. But Portugal is encouraged to hold on to its claim and defy the United Nations successfully, partly because of the military aid it receives from its NATO partners and partly because of its unholy alliance with Pretoria and Salisbury.

69. With regard to the question of Southern Rhodesia, while my delegation believes that this is a question to be decided between the Administering Authority and the people of the territory on the basis of the democratic principle of "one man, one vote", we recognize the inalienable right of these people to immediate independence. The present minority régime in Salisbury is illegal, but it seems to have come to stay indefinitely, despite the selective economic sanctions imposed by the Security Council. The Administering Authority has not viewed its responsibility towards the people of Southern Rhodesia with seriousness. It is high time for it to take firmer measures than those it has taken up to now against the illegal régime.

70. The Government of South Africa, representing a minority, suppresses the will of the majority by means of State laws and State apparatus which are based on the inequality of races. My delegation strongly condemns the policies and practices of apartheid pursued by the racist minority régime in Pretoria.

71. The recent International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism, held at Kitwe, Zambia, has highlighted the grave situation resulting from the policies of apartheid. My delegation wishes to pay its tribute to the Government of Zambia for holding the Seminar and thereby reaffirming the determination of the Zambian people to continue to fight against apartheid.

72. While it practises racialism at home, the South African Government has claimed the right to govern the Territory of South West Africa against the will of the people and in violation of the principles implicit in the Mandate. The General Assembly has properly revoked the Mandate and declared the Territory to be a special responsibility of the United Nations. For the fulfilment of the responsibility, the fifth special session of the General Assembly constituted a United

Nations Council for the administration of South West Africa pending independence. Notwithstanding the rejection by South Africa of the General Assembly's competence to deal with the question, we had hoped that with the support of the two major Powers, namely the Soviet Union and the United States, it would not be impossible to effect South Africa's withdrawal from South West Africa and to enable the people of the Territory to exercise their inalienable right to independence. But our hope in this direction has for the time being been shattered by the refusal of those two Powers to serve in and co-operate with the United Nations Council for South West Africa. My delegation pledges its support to any move calculated to give effect to the General Assembly resolutions on South West Africa.

73. The question of Portuguese colonialism, Southern Rhodesia, apartheid and South West Africa are intertwined. The solution of the one question can hardly be conceived in isolation from that of the others. The rulers in Lisbon, Pretoria and Salisbury are determined to hold on to their possessions and to play with the fate of millions of people. It is indeed unfortunate that the economic interests of major industrial countries continue to serve to strengthen this determination.

74. My delegation feels that much of the tension and quarrels between nations and the instability of the general international situation have their source in the difference of standards of living not only between nations, but also between communities within those nations.

75. The United Nations since its inception has devoted its attention to the promotion of economic co-operation among its Member States. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was one of the most important steps taken in this direction. Although the recommendations of that Conference were the result of a great deal of compromise between various points of view, they have not since been implemented satisfactorily.

76. The primary concern of any developing country is the problem and the prospect of its development. The developing countries had placed a great faith in the achievement of the growth target set for the United Nations Development Decade. But the lack of adequate transfer of capital to the developing world has not merely resulted in a deceleration of its rate of growth but has also appreciably widened the income gap between the developed and the developing world. It was reasonably expected that the first Conference would lead to favourable terms of trade for the developing countries, but all our hopes in this regard have been disappointed, and the Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development recently had to propose a global strategy of development.

77. Developing countries are handicapped in their trade and development by the fact that the price of industrial goods continues far to outweigh the price of primary products. While many of us may be tempted to believe that highly industrialized Powers are responsible for this state of affairs, so far as the developing countries at their initial stages of development are concerned, what is responsible for the slow pace in the diversification of our trade and our development is

the lack of a balance of equitable economic relationship between the price of our produce and that of the industrial goods manufactured in the neighbouring countries which are more advanced industrially and economically. The area of differences between the developing countries at various stages of development is often much wider than the area of differences between some of those countries and the developed countries.

78. The Convention on Transit Trade of Land-locked States, which is one of the beneficial results of the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, has been ratified by the requisite number of States and now comes into force. This Convention establishes the right of land-locked countries such as Nepal to an unrestricted transit of goods to and from third countries through the territory of a coastal State. But many developing coastal States, in disregard of the common interest of the developing world, have not only failed to ratify the Convention, but some of those States have also neglected to sign it.

79. The present economic situation of the world demands that the developing countries should concentrate on the mobilization of their internal resources. Economic developments and social reforms are the parallel requisites for the general well-being of the people. In my own country, we have paid very particular attention to the development and progress of our people through schemes of industrialization and such other basic measures as land reform and law code reform. We have developed our own political institutions suited to the genius and temperament of our people. We have tried and succeeded, in particular, to secure the maximum participation of the people in the affairs of State and to raise their standard of living, taking special care to close the gap between the wealthier and the poorer sections of society to a minimum.

80. Political peace and economic development are two inseparable links of human progress. As the world grows smaller, it must, if it is to survive, be more united and more prosperous. Unless we are united in our purpose, there is very little that the United Nations can do. The existence as well as the strength of this world body is our best and only hope. The time has come for all of us to reaffirm our faith in the United Nations Charter and work together to create a new world order, in which peace will reign and law prevail, and in which man may at long last have a fuller, richer and happier life.

81. Mr. Al-Sabah (Kuwait):<sup>2/</sup> Mr. President, I should like to express to you my warmest congratulations and those of my Government and delegation upon your unanimous election to the Presidency of the General Assembly during its twenty-second session. I feel certain that your ability and experience in international affairs will enable you to shoulder the responsibilities of your office during the present session, which is confronted with very serious problems that jeopardize world peace and security.

82. I should also congratulate our former President, Abdul Rahman Pazhwak, on the exemplary manner in

which he guided the proceedings of the twenty-first regular session, the fifth special session and the fifth emergency special session. He was a model of firmness, integrity, and impartiality. I also take this opportunity to thank our Secretary-General for his unceasing efforts to enhance the prestige of the United Nations and enable it to fulfil its mission in the maintenance of international peace and security.

83. Three months ago an emergency special session was convened to consider the Israel aggression which was launched on 5 June and which resulted in the occupation of Arab territory in Sinai, the Gaza Strip, the West Bank of Jordan and the Syrian Heights. That emergency special session ended, unfortunately, in complete disappointment to the nations of the world which attached great hopes to its deliberations. Its failure was due to the reluctance of certain Members to uphold the Charter and to shoulder their obligations under international law and justice.

84. The emergency special session was a great test for the United Nations, during which great ideals were sacrificed and the noble principles embodied in the Charter were flouted. While we deplore the disappointing outcome of the emergency special session, we voice the hope that the present session will make up for the uneventful deliberations of the emergency special session. We base our optimism on the fact that all Members of this Organization will realize the dangers implicit in the present grave situation in the Middle East resulting from the continued presence of Israeli troops in Arab territory, which constitutes a challenge to the Charter of our Organization and a threat to international peace and security.

85. If at the present session a resolution branding the aggressor and compelling it to withdraw its troops from Arab territory to the positions it occupied before 5 June is not adopted, then this Organization will be paralysed and will become merely a forum of debate without any effectiveness in the maintenance of peace and security and the rule of law, which are the purposes for the fulfilment of which this Organization was founded. Moreover, such a failure will result in disillusionment among the nations of the world with the work of our Organization and its capacity to uphold the principles of the Charter.

86. The conduct of Israel since the cease-fire and the statements of Israeli leaders raise a number of inter-related issues. Israel has completely misinterpreted the deadlock which emerged during the emergency special session. It has interpreted the fact that no resolution had been adopted by the General Assembly ordering it to withdraw its troops from the territories it occupied between 5 and 10 June 1967 as a mandate giving it a free hand in the occupied territories which would allow it to consolidate its occupation through oppressive measures. Israel has thus been oblivious of the unanimity which prevailed in the Assembly in favour of ending the military occupation and eliminating its traces. While ignoring the consensus which was reflected in the statements of the delegations, it acted as if it had been given full powers to do anything it pleased. It consequently annexed some parts of the territories under occupation and proclaimed that this was irreversible and not negotiable. Its conduct in

<sup>2/</sup> Mr. Al-Sabah spoke in Arabic. The English version of his speech was supplied by the delegation.



other parts of the territories gives the impression that Israel labours under the illusion that it has full sovereignty over them. For instance, Israel expelled tens of thousands of people from the West Bank to the East Bank of the Jordan by means of threats and intimidation. It drove a large number of people from Gaza to the West Bank. It began to establish Israeli settlements in various parts of the territories under its occupation. It has been exploiting the natural resources in the occupied territories, such as the agricultural and mineral resources, including the oil, and has been using them for the benefit of its own economy. It is now making profit from the historic sites in the territories under its control, whether in Jerusalem or elsewhere, which are being used to promote its tourist trade.

87. Zionist expansion in Palestine and the Middle East has now become a reality, although only seventy years ago it was no more than a dream and a far-fetched ideal.

88. The military occupation, which was denounced by the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations, is not treated by the Israelis as a temporary situation, but has been transformed in accordance with a deliberate well-planned policy into ambitious territorial expansion, as is attested to by the explicit measures taken by Israel openly and in defiance of world public opinion. Almost every day Israeli leaders announce that their decisions are irrevocable and irreversible. Moreover, it is well known that Israel has refused to comply with the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly during the emergency special session.

89. Israel has persisted in flouting General Assembly resolutions 2253 (ES-V) and 2254 (ES-V) calling upon it to rescind all measures already taken and to desist forthwith from taking any action which would alter the status of Jerusalem. These resolutions had been adopted by an overwhelming majority. Israel also disregarded General Assembly resolution 2252 (ES-V) and Security Council resolution 237 (1967) calling upon it to ensure the safety, welfare and security of the inhabitants of the areas where military operations had taken place and to facilitate the return of those inhabitants who had fled the areas since the outbreak of hostilities. Suffice it to draw the attention of the Assembly to the reports on these issues prepared by the personal representatives of the Secretary-General, which furnish incontrovertible proof of Israel's contempt for the will of the United Nations and its rejection of the norms of international law.

90. For all these reasons we believe that Israel is determined to take advantage of the impasse in the General Assembly and the failure of the emergency special session to convert into a concrete resolution the opposition proclaimed by the Members to Israeli occupation and their demand that it should be brought to an end. Moreover, Israel's refusal to comply with the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council constitutes a serious challenge to the authority of the General Assembly during the present session.

91. The trend of events clearly shows that the responsibility for Israel's defiance rests with those

Governments whose attitude during the fifth emergency special session prevented the General Assembly from adopting a resolution demanding the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Arab-occupied territories. Hence we call upon those Governments to reconsider their previous stands in light of the conduct of Israel during the recent months and the plans revealed in the statements of Israeli leaders, which are the outcome of a clearly formulated policy to annex the occupied territories, exploit their resources and expel the native inhabitants to make way for Israeli settlers.

92. There had been doubts about Israel's expansionist intentions immediately after the aggression. These doubts have now given way to certainty. Our worst fears have come true. If anybody is still sceptical then let him heed the measures and statements of Israel, which expose its aggressive designs and territorial ambitions.

93. The State of Kuwait, which firmly believes in the purposes and principles of the United Nations, considers the world Organization as the proper forum for eliminating the consequences of Israel's aggression against the Arab States. We assert this for many reasons. We should keep in mind that the United Nations had assumed a special responsibility towards the Palestine question twenty years ago and over the years adopted numerous resolutions which have not been implemented on account of Israel's intransigence. Israel's perennial policy is aimed at usurping the legitimate rights of the native inhabitants, and facing the world with a fait accompli. Israel was admitted to the United Nations on the faith of an undertaking to discharge its obligations towards the world Organization. Foremost among these are the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly regarding the Palestine question which, *inter alia*, recognize the right of the Arab refugees to return to their homes and live in dignity in their fatherland.

94. The United Nations has reaffirmed its responsibility on many occasions through the medium of its main organs. This same responsibility was acknowledged by the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine in its previous reports and has been reaffirmed by the Secretary-General in his recent report. It is a legal responsibility which the United Nations originally assumed and cannot abandon by allowing the fait accompli to be the final deciding factor. We welcome the statement in the introduction to the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization that "there is a desperate need for a determined, immediate and urgent effort by the United Nations to help bring about the conditions essential to peace in the Middle East" [A/6701/Add.1, para. 46]. We should like to express to him our appreciation for the sincere efforts he made to put into practice the purposes and principles of this Organization.

95. The theory of direct negotiations propounded by Israel is clearly designed to exclude this question from the forum of the United Nations with the intent of relegating to oblivion all the United Nations resolutions on Palestine and establishing a new situation based on force, coercion and the reaping of the fruits of military occupation and territorial aggrandizement. This mali-

cious strategy is aimed at excluding the United Nations entirely on the pretext that it has no jurisdiction.

96. The United Nations, by virtue of its special responsibility and the role it has been playing for the past twenty years, is solely competent to take the practical measures necessary to eliminate the consequences of Israel's aggression against the Arab States. Any proposal aimed at ignoring that function is tantamount to divesting the United Nations of its responsibility. The pretext Israel is using means in effect the violation of territorial frontiers and the annexation of territory by means of military conquest, as if these were acts which gave the aggressor the right of bargaining and turning his aggression into material advantage. It is a very serious course of conduct which will undermine past and present efforts and extinguish the obligations assumed by the competent organs of the United Nations towards the Palestine question.

97. Unless the United Nations takes immediate effective steps to discharge its responsibilities, it will leave the door ajar to new violations of the Charter and the norms of international law. The unlawful measures taken by Israel in Jerusalem prove this beyond any doubt. I ask: what justification is there for the unlawful measures taken by Israel in the Holy City? Shall we prevent the competent organs of the United Nations from doing their duty? Failure to discharge those obligations will encourage any aggressor in the future to consolidate his gains and impose the consequences of his aggression on the international community.

98. We are advocates of peace. The kind of peace we have in mind is based on right and justice. It is peace founded on the principles of the Charter and the norms of public international law, which are still being violated every day in the occupied territories. The occupation authorities are still destroying villages, expelling the native people from their homes and humiliating them. It is well known that the rules of international law require occupation authorities to respect the rights, lives and property of the inhabitants. They also prohibit changing the status of occupied territories and require respect for the laws, administrative and municipal regulations which were in force before the occupation.

99. I join all peace-loving people in asking whether it is fair that all those principles and norms of international law should be disregarded and whether it is right that a whole nation should be prevented from living in peace in its own homeland.

100. The principles of right and justice require respect for private property and recognize the inherent right of all nations to self-determination and full respect of their national character and dignity.

101. A lot has been said about the concepts of right, justice and the rule of law. If we accept justice as such we realize that it connotes basic principles and rules of international conduct which prohibit invasion and military occupation, the confiscation of individual and public property, and the expulsion of a whole nation from its homeland. It also means, above all, that such vile means should not be used to dictate solutions.

102. When I speak of justice in the context of a nation which has been denied it, I am referring to the Arab people of Palestine, which has been rendered homeless and has been denied its most elementary human rights. While we celebrate the International Year for Human Rights, let the international community keep in mind the tragedy of that nation which still looks forward to the day when the principles and concepts enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights will be something more than empty words.

103. The Israel aggression committed last June which led to the military occupation of Arab territory will not affect the legal status of the General Armistice Agreements concluded in 1949. The proper thing to do is to honour the provisions of those Agreements and refrain from violating the Armistice lines. The obligations contained in those Agreements are binding on all parties and cannot be unilaterally abrogated.

104. The Secretary-General clearly stated on page 2 of his annual report on the work of the Organization [A/6701] that Israel "... had denounced the Egyptian-Israel Mixed Armistice Commission and for some years had refused to participate in it". He was thus objecting to Israel's unilateral non-compliance with the provisions of the Agreements as being illegal.

105. In the introduction to his annual report the Secretary-General stated that: "there has been no indication either in the General Assembly or in the Security Council that the validity and applicability of the Armistice Agreements have been changed as a result of the recent hostilities or of the war of 1956" [A/6701/Add.1, para. 43]. The Secretary-General added: "Nor has the Security Council or the General Assembly taken any steps to change the pertinent resolutions of either organ relating to the Armistice Agreement." [Ibid.] He also stated: "There is no provision in them for unilateral termination of their application." [Ibid.]

106. That is the policy of the United Nations as expounded by the Secretary-General, which is in harmony with the norms of public international law and the principles of the Charter. While we uphold those obligations, we call upon all Governments to reaffirm that the provisions of those Agreements are still in force and to act on that basis.

107. The cause of freedom and peace is indivisible. The vast geographical distances that separate us from the events now taking place in Viet-Nam do not tempt us to remain silent, especially as we believe that the nature of war portends world destruction, regardless of the source of the danger.

108. Hence we add our voice to the voices that have been heard calling for cessation of the air raids on North Viet-Nam as a first step to a peaceful settlement between the parties concerned within the framework of the Geneva Agreements. In that manner the people of Viet-Nam will be given the opportunity to decide its own future and to choose, without foreign intervention, the system of government and the form of national unity it prefers.

109. The representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has become an urgent necessity. It is futile to exclude a country with a

population of more than 700 million which is a nuclear Power and exercises great influence on the course of events in South-East Asia and the world at large. We believe that seating the People's Republic of China in the United Nations will impose upon it an international obligation to co-operate with all countries under the aegis of the world Organization in a manner which will promote the cause of disarmament, end the nuclear race, and maintain international peace and security.

110. The problem in the world today is the wide gap between the developed and the developing countries, especially in the economic and technical fields. We believe that the haves should help the have-nots if humanity is to attain a higher standard of living. History will not exonerate us if we disregard the solemn obligations we owe to humanity as a whole. If we wish to live up to the principles this world Organization stands for, every one of us must strive to raise the standard of living, not only within his own country's frontiers but in the world as a whole. We should combine our efforts to promote economic and social development on the basis of close co-operation between the developed and developing countries. Only in so doing shall we uproot the main causes of conflict existing in the world today, remove the elements of dissension within the human family and bridge the wide gulf that divides the rich from the poor.

111. In the same spirit, we are eagerly watching the efforts being made to achieve general and complete disarmament. We hope that those efforts will be successful so that the world may enjoy peace at last and so that the toil and labour of human beings shall be used for the happiness of mankind. Concluding a general and comprehensive agreement on disarmament will release important human and material resources which are now being used for destruction and utilize them to achieve prosperity and happiness, the more so as the vast amounts which are spent each year on producing new weapons are aimed at annihilation and wider destruction.

112. It is a good omen that at this moment, while I stand on this rostrum, the USSR is beginning its celebrations to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution. I take this opportunity to express my congratulations and best wishes and those of my Government and people to the Government of the USSR and its friendly people who are bound to the Arab countries and peoples by strong bonds based on co-operation and good understanding.

113. Before I conclude my statement, I should like to address a few words to this august body to underline the serious conditions the countries and peoples of the Middle East are undergoing because of the military aggression launched by Israel last June. That aggression is an open challenge to the rule of law, to the Charter of our Organization and to the basic principles of international law.

114. It is true that this time it is the Arab States which are the victims of aggression. Yet what guarantee is there that other countries will not be subjected to similar aggression in the future? Unless the United Nations takes prompt action to repel the aggression, impose the rule of law and apply the principles of the Charter, the forces of aggression will gain in strength

and will be tempted to expand at the expense of their neighbours. That ultimately means that humanity will revert to a primeval condition in which the law of the jungle prevails.

115. Since the day when Israel was established on the territory of Arab Palestine the Arab countries of the Middle East have not enjoyed security, peace or stability and have not been able to achieve prosperity by utilizing their material resources to develop their economies and raise their standards of living. The acts of flagrant aggression committed by Israel and the territorial expansionist designs it incessantly proclaims and seeks to implement at the expense of the Arab countries have compelled those countries to divert large amounts in their budget and vast material resources of their national wealth for purposes of self-defence to safeguard their own security. These resources could have been better utilized in promoting health, education, development and exploitation of natural resources. Yet how can all or part of this be done while those countries have been the victims of aggression by Israel and the Zionist elements behind it, an aggression which has been repeated three times in the form of all-out war during the past twenty years?

116. That sad reality and those painful conditions are sufficient proof that no stability or peace can be achieved in the Middle East except on the basis of right and justice. Force, aggression and usurpation cannot decide the future of the people of Palestine or deprive them of their national character or destroy their national identity, based on a cultural heritage shared by the Arab nation, which yearns for peace based on right and justice. The Arabs will not tolerate injustice or condone any aggression.

117. I feel that it is my duty to utter a warning against the dire effects of perpetuating injustice and allowing the aggressor to persist in his expansionist policy. I therefore appeal to all Members, especially the great Powers, to perform their duty by finding a solution for the problem in harmony with the principles of right and justice. Only such a solution will restore peace and security to this afflicted region.

118. We sincerely believe that such a solution is within our reach, and we whole-heartedly support all endeavours towards this end. But should our Organization fail, the Arab countries and peoples will do everything in their power to remove the consequences of Israel's aggression and to see that justice is done. And then the international community will bear the responsibility for the turmoil that will agitate our region, and the ensuing crisis will be more serious and explosive than the one we are now dealing with.

119. Mr. MAKAME (United Republic of Tanzania): Mr. President, I should like to take this opportunity to express to you the congratulations of the delegation of the United Republic of Tanzania on your unanimous election as President of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly. This is a fitting tribute to your wise statesmanship. It is also fitting since we share, during this month, the pride and joy of our socialist friends on the fiftieth anniversary of the great October Revolution. It is the hope of my delegation that with your wise leadership and tested experience the General Assembly at its current session

will be able to consider seriously the grave problems on its agenda.

120. The General Assembly ended its twenty-first session on a note of cautious optimism. That it was able to do so was due in large measure to the wise guidance of His Excellency Ambassador Pazhwak of Afghanistan. I think that it would not really be far-fetched to say that many delegations, particularly those from Africa, Asia and Latin America, shared this optimism. We had reasons for that attitude. In the course of its three months' session, the Assembly had made laudable progress in various fields of great importance to the welfare and security of mankind. By its resolution 2222 (XXI) of 19 December 1966, it unanimously commended the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies to Member States for their signature and ratification. In the field of social, humanitarian and cultural affairs, the Assembly, by its resolution 2200 (XXI) of 16 December 1966, adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. In the field of colonialism and racialism, the most important and perhaps the most far-reaching step taken was the decision to terminate the South African Mandate over South West Africa.

121. There were many more important and encouraging steps taken by the Assembly, such as the establishment of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization and the decision to convene the Second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at New Delhi in 1968. All these actions were, and still are, a good testimony to one inescapable fact, namely, that given the necessary co-operation of all Member States, the United Nations can be effective in matters of security, human rights and the fight against colonialism, racialism and aggression. But effectiveness depends upon co-operation by Member States. If that is not forthcoming, then the United Nations cannot play its proper and necessary role in world affairs. And the sad truth is that all too often Member States treat the United Nations as if it were merely an adjunct to their own policies—something which it is useful to have on your side but which can otherwise be ignored. Thus we have resolutions passed after long consideration and then ignored by affected Member States; we see clear cases of aggression and the United Nations being made powerless to arrest that aggression, because its Members refuse to abide by the principles on which it was established. It is actions of this kind which have caused the cautious optimism of last year to change slowly but steadily into an atmosphere of frustration and disappointment.

122. There have been two sessions of the Assembly since the last regular session. I do not want to give the impression that the Tanzanian delegation regarded the outcome of those two intervening sessions as completely fruitless. Nevertheless, Tanzania and, I believe, many other progressive countries found their outcome painfully retrogressive. For in the special and emergency special sessions the United Nations shied away from its responsibilities, both as regards the Middle East crisis and as regards the question

of South West Africa. This happened because a number of Member States, including those that bear primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, employed their economic and political strength in order to nullify the effectiveness of the United Nations in the fight against aggression, colonialism and racialism.

123. The question of the Middle East has been inscribed on the agenda of the Assembly for discussion during its current session. The Assembly has agreed to treat this question as one of high priority and my delegation is pleased that the Assembly has accorded to the item the priority it deserves. The grave consequences arising out of the recent war in the Middle East must be a matter of serious concern to all peace-loving Members of this Organization. Indeed, that war is a clear example of how an explosive situation, left unresolved, and, aggravated by outside Powers, can inflict untold misery upon millions of innocent people.

124. Tanzania has made its position quite clear. We will never condone aggression. We have stated, and we state it again, that Tanzania will not recognize territorial aggrandizement arising out of wars of aggression. We recognize the State of Israel and we hope that it will so behave that we can live in peace with the people of Israel. Tanzania, like many other Member States of this Organization, is aware that the people of Israel belong to a group of people who have endured torture, agony and persecution from one century to another. For this reason, they have our sympathy. But we cannot accept the suggestion that these facts justify the developments in the situation in the Middle East since 1948. We believe that the unquestioning support given to Israel by some former persecutors of the Jews is a supreme example of the political cynicism which constitutes the gravest threat to all the ideals of this Organization.

125. Israel and all those who unquestioningly champion its policies towards its Arab neighbours must realize that the Arab people have a case—a very strong case indeed. The creation of Israel was, in the eyes of many peoples of the world, an act of injustice. All the subsequent acts and behaviour of the Arab people towards Israel must, if they are to be understood with sympathy, be viewed in relation to their attitude to the original decision to partition Palestine. But the United Nations condoned and accepted that original act of partition, if only to atone for the long history of Jewish suffering.

126. My delegation would like to make it quite clear that Tanzania cannot accept and recognize boundaries of Israel which are a result of continual conflicts subsequent to the establishment of Israel. The record speaks for itself. The boundaries of the State of Israel provided for in part II of the Plan of Partition with Economic Union recommended in resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947, were not the boundaries claimed by the State of Israel in 1956. The Armistice Agreements which were signed at the end of the 1948 Palestine war left Israel in control of a share of the former Mandated Territory larger than that recommended by the United Nations. Again, one of the claims advanced by Israel, particularly after the 1948 war, is that the Strait of Tiran is an international waterway. After the recent war, various statements reported to

have been made by officials of the Government of Israel give the impression that Israel is moving slowly towards an illegal integration of all the Arab territories which it now occupies. In fact, the first step has already been taken. The Government of Israel has announced that it will settle Israeli settlers in Jordanian territories under its occupation. Tanzania views this with grave concern and condemns this annexation of Arab territories. Indeed, this step exposes Israel as a country pursuing an expansionist policy at the expense of its Arab neighbours.

127. Israel must, therefore, withdraw from all the Arab territories under its occupation. For, unless Israel is made to withdraw from these territories, a dangerous precedent will be set and other nations may well be encouraged to commit similar acts elsewhere. What is at stake here is not only thousands of square miles of Arab lands and the misery of millions of Arab people. All these things are at stake. But more and even graver issues are involved. The basic principle of the inviolability of the boundaries of sovereign States as recognized in international law and custom is one of them; the usefulness of the United Nations as an instrument capable of preventing aggression is another. The entire system of collective security through the United Nations is endangered. Indeed, the effective survival of the United Nations as an instrument for world peace has to be considered in relation to this question, much as the Italian aggression against Ethiopia involved the future of the League of Nations. It is the sincere desire of Tanzania that this Organization should not suffer the same fate as its predecessor.

128. As we turn our attention to the problems of decolonization and apartheid, we are saddened to note the continued frustration of the legitimate aspirations of many millions of people in so many territories in different parts of the world. As the Secretary-General was constrained to remark in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization, a change of attitude on the part of the Powers administering such territories and the adoption of policies in keeping with the objectives of the Charter "would not only be in the interests of the dependent peoples concerned, but also of all Member States, including the administering Powers" [A/6701/Add.1, para. 135].

129. It is now almost seven years since this Assembly, in a moment of high idealism and lofty enthusiasm, expressed, in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the abhorrence felt by all men of decent conscience at the continuance in the present age of the denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

130. In the twilight zones outside of Europe and North America, since the end of the Second World War, more than a million victims have fallen in colonial wars. Indeed, a great part of this number have fallen in one African country alone. Today, while peace, progress and security reign in the serene areas of the northern world, the tree of liberty continues to be watered by the blood of martyrs in vast areas of the southern world. From Mozambique, Angola, Aden and other areas of colonial domination, the world's press continues to bring us sickening reports of tyranny, repression and not-so-subtle forms of genocide.

131. I should like now to make a few remarks on Rhodesia. On 11 November 1965 a group of racists in the British colony of Rhodesia declared that colony to be independent and themselves the Government. The British Government—the legal sovereign authority—termed the action of Ian Smith and his followers an act of treason against the British Crown, and stated that Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom would have nothing to do with the rebels in Rhodesia. With the stated objective of ending this rebellion, the British Government took various political, economic and diplomatic measures against Rhodesia. Africa has supported these measures, but has continually called for stronger action because events in that country are of direct concern to the security of African States and the freedom and dignity of African peoples. But both before and after the rebellion, Her Majesty's Government assured every one of us that it was a matter for the British Government to deal with. In January 1966 it even told us that its measures against Rhodesia would be successful within a matter of weeks.

132. It is now nearly two years since the illegal declaration of independence. Ian Smith and his rebel followers are still in power. And to make matters worse, Ian Smith has consolidated his power: he has strengthened the oppressive measures directed against the African people of that colony, has legislated for more apartheid, and has now begun to threaten the neighbouring independent country of Zambia.

133. What went wrong with these British forecasts? The answer is not far to seek. For the simple truth about the whole Rhodesian problem is that the four million African people in that colony have been deceived; Africa has been deceived; the Commonwealth has been deceived; and the United Nations and the world as a whole have been fooled.

134. It is not Ian Smith who has done all this cheating and fooling. He made his position crystal-clear long before 11 November 1965. It is the British Government which has been guilty of this deceit before the world and before this Organization. It has been consistent in only one thing, that is, the dishonesty and trickery with which it has treated the whole Rhodesian question. Britain called Smith a rebel, but Britain has treated Smith like a member of Her Majesty's loyal opposition in a British parliament. Britain said it would not deal with a treasonable régime; but Her Majesty's Government has proceeded to negotiate with the rebels in Rhodesia. Britain says it is in favour of majority rule in Rhodesia; but no evidence is provided to support this statement. Indeed, one of the most cynical statements yet made is that given by the British Prime Minister on 20 December 1966. Mr. Wilson stated that because Smith had rejected the "Tiger" constitution,<sup>3/</sup> which was designed to give independence to Rhodesia on the basis of minority rule, then paragraph 10 of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' communique on Rhodesia<sup>4/</sup> would apply; in other words, all past offers of settlement had been withdrawn and no legal independence would be given to Rhodesia

<sup>3/</sup> Outlined in proposals made following a meeting of the United Kingdom Prime Minister and Mr. Ian Smith on board HMS Tiger from 2 to 4 December 1966. The proposals were accepted by the United Kingdom Government, but were rejected by the Rhodesian régime on 5 December 1966.

<sup>4/</sup> Issued at Lagos, Nigeria, in January 1966.

before majority rule. Yet, a few months ago [June, 1967] the British Prime Minister sent Lord Alport to see Ian Smith to find out what amendments to this "Tiger" constitution were necessary before the rebel régime could accept it. Mr. Wilson and Ian Smith are now engaged in secret negotiations on this matter.

135. Tanzania has always been deeply concerned about the British position on this issue. In 1964, and again in 1965—before the unilateral declaration of independence—Tanzania had asked the British Government to declare that independence would not be granted to Rhodesia before majority rule. The British Government refused to do so. After the unilateral declaration of independence, Tanzania insisted, and still insists, that real and effective action, including the use of force, should be used against Rhodesia; we demanded that the concerted power of the whole of the Commonwealth should be invoked and that the United Nations should be asked to impose total mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia under Chapter VII of the Charter. We warned that unless all these measures were taken, Smith would succeed in his rebellion. The British Government has declared at different times that the sanctions it had imposed on Rhodesia at that moment were enough. Now it is clear that Tanzania was right and the British Government was wrong. We find no satisfaction in that position. But what is more disturbing now is the fact that the British Government has proceeded, and is now proceeding, slowly but surely to a legalization of what it originally called treason.

136. Britain has failed to end the rebellion. The course to be followed in Rhodesia is therefore clear. The limited mandatory sanctions which Britain asked the Security Council to impose on Rhodesia have failed. The United Nations should, therefore, be given complete co-operation in handling the crisis by imposing total mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia. The failure of the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia does not need a detailed analysis. All the evidence and data at our disposal as well as the evidence collected by the Committee of Twenty-Four shows clearly that sanctions have failed basically because certain countries have deliberately subverted them by continuing their lucrative trade with Rhodesia.

137. This Organization, therefore, has a great moral responsibility with regard to the defeat of the illegal régime. Total mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia must be applied, and these sanctions must be applied by all States.

138. This Assembly must specifically call upon South Africa and Portugal to comply with such sanctions without delay, failing which the Security Council should be requested to declare their involvement with Rhodesia to be a threat to world peace, requiring action against those States in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. South Africa and Portugal, together with their racist allies in Rhodesia, must be made to respect the decisions of this international Organization. For it must be realized that Portugal and South Africa have allied themselves with Rhodesia to fight together against the basic human rights of millions in the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola and in Zimbabwe, South West Africa, and South Africa itself.

139. It is a matter of great regret to the Tanzanian delegation that up to this time Portugal still has not recognized the rights of the African peoples under its domination to self-determination, freedom and independence. Peace cannot come to these areas until the African peoples are accorded human dignity and a chance to develop their countries in accordance with the wishes of the majority. This unholy alliance of white racists must be defeated. The United Nations cannot fail to be involved and the sooner it recognizes its active responsibilities, the sooner and the less violently will the problems be solved.

140. Let me now make a few remarks in respect of the particular question of South West Africa. As will be remembered, and as we have earlier observed, this Organization has revoked the Mandate over South West Africa and transferred to the United Nations authority over the Territory of South West Africa. However, to this day the régime in Pretoria has consistently refused to recognize the authority of this Organization and is continuing, with impunity, to carry out illegal activities against the people and Territory of South West Africa in contravention of all international norms of conduct and behaviour; for instance, the measures announced by South Africa with regard to Ovamboland, and the illegal arrest, which amounts to abduction, of thirty-seven African nationals of South West Africa. These are acts in contravention of the decision and authority of this Organization and have already been condemned by some organs of the United Nations.

141. It is our hope that the General Assembly will take at the present session the necessary measures to enforce the authority of the United Nations Council for South West Africa. With regard to the communication from the Foreign Minister of South Africa to the Secretary-General dated 26 September 1967 [A/6822], my Government was not really surprised either by its impertinent tone or by its negative character. Tanzania categorically rejects the contents and implications of this communication. The Tanzanian delegation will make its full views known when this subject comes up for discussion later in this session.

142. The situation in South-East Asia has worsened since the Assembly last met in regular session. The vicious and terrible war in Viet-Nam is slowly bringing us closer to another disastrous world war which will involve every one of our States. The international community cannot continue to ignore this question. Responsibility for the present danger, and for the present sufferings of the Viet-Namese people, lies squarely upon the shoulders of all those who are continuing their active intervention in the affairs of this South-East Asian nation. Tanzania believes that the only practical solution is that the people of Viet-Nam should be left alone to settle their own affairs. That means the withdrawal of all foreign troops and the termination of all foreign interference in the affairs of Viet-Nam. A first step should be the immediate and unconditional cessation of the bombing of North Viet-Nam. It is only then that it will be possible to settle the problem of Viet-Nam on the basis provided for in the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

143. Yet when in this Assembly one speaks of the situation in South-East Asia, the absence of the repre-



sentatives of the People's Republic of China becomes even more ludicrously obvious than usual. Apart from being the most populous nation on earth, China is one of the most powerful. Whether one likes its political system or not, the facts cannot be altered. My delegation is aware that there are those who have been spending enormous sums of money in order to prevent the People's Republic of China from taking its place in this Assembly and in the councils of this Organization. But sooner or later this deplorable attempt must fail if the United Nations is to be in a position to tackle many of the real problems of world peace and progress.

144. Tanzania has called for, and will continue to demand, that the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in this Organization be restored. This must be without any conditions. Taiwan cannot claim to represent the wishes of the 700 million people of China. The truth of this fact must be faced. The United Nations makes itself ridiculous by pretending that Taiwan is China. In the view of the Tanzanian delegation there is only one China and that is the People's Republic of China; and Taiwan is a part of it. The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in this Organization cannot be regarded as a privilege to be dangled before the eyes of that sovereign State and with intolerable conditions attached.

145. When we consider the problems of economic and social development, we are faced with the situation in which a small handful of States overflowing with wealth and strong in industrial power deploy their vast resources with scant regard for any considerations other than the maintenance and, if possible, expansion of their affluent condition. Is it any wonder that, lacking any more inspiring concepts of man's transcendental nature, many strata of futility and frustration widen and deepen in the fabric of their societies?

146. Although this Organization solemnly accepted in 1960 a programme of interdependence and co-operation, the underlying principles of this programme have not been implemented by more than a few Members of this Organization. The resultant halting progress—and in some cases even stagnation—in social development is all too often taken as a confirmation of the inadequacy of a State's social or political structure, when the fault lies equally in the selfish or anachronistic policies of other Members of the international community. No honest review of the world's economic situation provides my Government with any occasion for rejoicing. The uneven balance of trade between the developed countries of the North and the developing countries of the South continues to deteriorate. The notorious trade gap of \$20,000 million grows wider and wider. Prices for industrial goods continue to rise, whilst prices for agricultural and primary products stand still or fall. This fact has been amply emphasized by the Secretary-General in referring to the failure of the United Nations Development Decade. The terms of trade show annually an adverse trend against the developing countries and this appears to constitute an unchanging pattern.

147. What is the answer to this phenomenon? No doubt there may be many answers, but two answers seem to be abundantly clear. The first one is that there must be a new psychological disposition and a more realistic

political commitment on the part of the developed countries to improve their terms of trade with the developing countries. They must be committed to the proposition that it is morally wrong, and potentially dangerous, for developing countries to dwell in poverty due to their unfair terms of trade with the industrial countries; that it is always dangerous to have islands of poverty in the midst of a sea of plenty; that there must be preparedness, on the part of the richer countries, to increase the prices they offer for the raw materials coming from the developing countries; and that their markets must be so organized as to guarantee fixed prices for these raw materials. There must be, too, the commitment to look favourably upon the proposal to extend preferential treatment to the developing countries without demanding reciprocity. The proposal of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development dealing with compensatory financing<sup>5/</sup> and the Horowitz proposal<sup>6/</sup> are two recommendations which should engage the serious attention of the industrially advanced countries.

148. These are some of the questions which we hope to discuss, agree upon, and conclude at the second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at New Delhi next year. We hope that at the New Delhi trade and development conversations an attempt will be made to establish a new era in international trade relations for the developing countries. We hope, in fact, that the New Delhi talks will provide for the developing countries what the Kennedy Round of GATT provided for the industrial countries. But we hope, above all, that the second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development will proceed on the basis of meaningful and concrete negotiations, resulting in firm commitments on the part of all the participants to do something positive. This is how we in Tanzania reflect upon the nature of the second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

149. But there is another possible answer to the unevenness in the terms of international trade. That answer is to be found in the attitudes of the developing countries themselves. My Government has always advocated that there must be a greater degree of self-reliance, self-respect and horizontal collaboration within the developing countries themselves. There must be less dependence upon degrading hand-outs and loans or gifts from the richer countries and far more reliance upon self-help, hard work and co-operative enterprise. The rewards to be gained from these factors of development are high and commendable. This is not to reject the benefits of meaningful and unrestricted assistance from abroad, but the emphasis should be upon the sweat of our own brows.

150. It is in this light that we must look at the contribution yet to be made to our development through multilateral aid by the United Nations Industrial Development Organization and the United Nations Capital Development Fund. With copious contributions and the proper use of resources, we feel sure that both these organizations can assist developing countries in their march towards economic development.

<sup>5/</sup> See Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, vol. 1, Final Act and Report (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 64.II.B.11), annex A.IV.17, p. 52.

<sup>6/</sup> Ibid., annex A.IV.11, p. 48.

151. Finally, I should like to say a few words on the problems of disarmament and the menace of nuclear weapons. Earlier I made reference to the conclusion of the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, which was commended to Member States by this Assembly at its twenty-first session. This Treaty and the 1963 partial test ban treaty cannot be regarded as providing security for mankind against the horrors of a nuclear war. They may be a beginning, but it would be disastrous for us to become complacent.

152. The present attempts to produce some meaningful and concrete results at the Geneva disarmament negotiations must be pursued with greater vigour. These talks have been going on for a long time now, and if there has been any progress at all it has been painfully slow. What is more disturbing is the fact that while these talks go on, the great Powers continue to increase their nuclear arsenals. Also, the negotiations are taking place without the participation of an important Member of the United Nations, and another nuclear Power, namely, the People's Republic of China, is absent because of its deliberate exclusion from participation in the work of this Organization. These things mean that the effectiveness of the disarmament negotiations, and, indeed, the effectiveness of any treaty on nuclear weapons will be compromised.

153. It is urgently necessary that we, the United Nations, should exert ourselves to obtain positive results from these discussions on disarmament and nuclear weapons. And it is certainly Tanzania's hope that the big Powers, which continue to increase the number and the effectiveness of their deadly nuclear weapons, will yet see reason. They must realize the stark and naked truth of one inescapable fact, namely, that security cannot be achieved through actions based on insecurity and fear. If we human beings do not soon face up to the real problems of poverty and misery in this world, instead of spending our resources on the instruments of national suicide then the outlook for all of us will be bleak indeed.

154. As the passing years rush us into the closing decades of what was hailed as the century of the common man, we are moved to ask ourselves: "With how many of the injustices, the anomalies, and the brutalities of the present century shall we enter into the third millenium of our calendar, if indeed we enter at all?"

155. And will our heirs and successors, if they are spared the most tragic consequences of our activities and efforts, even while benefiting from our breath-taking scientific and technological developments, bless us for our vision and courage, or curse us for our blindness, our greed and our apathy?

156. All the lessons of the past, all the portents of the future, warn and exhort us that the choice of civilized man must be to live in mutual dependence and harmony under the collective discipline of the rule of law, or not to live at all.

157. Mr. BARROW (Barbados): Mr. President, it is a great pleasure and honour for me to associate the Barbados delegation with previous speakers who have congratulated you on your appointment to the high office

of President of this twenty-second session of the General Assembly. I wish at the same time to record our deep appreciation of the tremendous contribution to the cause of world peace made by your predecessor, Mr. Pazhwak of Afghanistan, in the course of three strenuous sessions since September last year.

158. It is a little less than a year since I had the honour to address this Assembly on the occasion of my country's admission to full membership in the United Nations. Barbados is the baby of the Organization. However, independent countries, unlike some members of the animal kingdom, are born with their eyes wide open. I regret to say that what we have seen in these past ten months has not given cause for satisfaction. From where we stand there is one highly visible thread woven throughout the pattern of international relations in the economic, social and political spheres. It is a kind of selective and arrogant disdain by most of the great Powers towards the practice of genuine international co-operation.

159. Nowhere is this more evident than in connexion with the question of South West Africa. The delegation of Barbados participated in the fifth special session of the General Assembly earlier this year, held against the background of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI). That resolution, representing the sovereign act of 114 Members of this Assembly, declared that South Africa had failed to fulfil its obligations to South West Africa under the Mandate. It therefore terminated the Mandate, and put South West Africa under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. At the same time, the resolution charged an Ad Hoc Committee to recommend practical means by which the Territory should be administered "so as to enable the people... to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence".

160. Some of the most powerful nations of the world gave their assent and approval to that resolution. Perhaps ingenuously, we believed that when nations were prepared to commit themselves to the search for practical means of bringing South West Africa under direct United Nations administration, that commitment would be honoured in the spirit and in the letter. We were wrong. When the day of decision came and this Assembly was faced with the reasoned, moderate, and balanced resolution jointly sponsored by nearly all the African, Asian and Latin American countries, we found the now familiar formula repeated once more: the smaller and less developed countries of the world on one side, and the larger and more developed countries on the other. On the one hand, we were told that we were being unrealistic because the resolution asked too much; on the other hand, we were told we were being unrealistic because the resolution asked too little.

161. My Government stands firm by its commitment to assist in bringing about the liberation of the peoples of South West Africa through the machinery of the United Nations. It will therefore give all the support of which it is capable to the United Nations Council for South West Africa in its difficult task.

162. The crisis in the Middle East, which has lain simmering for the last eighteen years, boiled up to a full head of violence in the early days of June. There

are few international problems which touch the small countries of the world more closely than this long-standing conflict, and there are few in which the responsibility of the so-called great Powers is more directly engaged. It was these Powers that sponsored the creation of the State of Israel; their negligence, their pursuit of shifting and contradictory policies, have been largely to blame for the tragedy that has overtaken more than a million Arab refugees and for the sorry, wasteful belligerence that has hung like a miasma over the region since 1948.

163. My Government cannot accept without protest the systematic maintenance of a state of belligerence between Members of this Organization. We cannot afford to. Small countries must insist upon their right to exist and to be recognized. It was for this reason that the delegation of Barbados at the fifth emergency special session of the General Assembly was proud to co-sponsor the balanced resolution of the Latin American countries, which called for a withdrawal of Israel's forces from the territories captured in the recent war and for an end to belligerence by all parties to the conflict. This is the position which we shall continue to hold, for it springs from our conviction that international life can operate on no other basis than the mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity which the Charter of this Organization prescribes.

164. There are permanent members of the Security Council who are eager, when it suits them, to remind us of the primary responsibility which the Charter places on them for the maintenance of world peace. I wish to say that in the Middle East they have fallen short of fulfilling that responsibility.

165. In Viet-Nam we have witnessed the distressing spectacle of a great Power harnessing to the destructive works of war its enormous potential for the constructive works of peace. This wastage of human and material resources in a world of hunger, poverty and disease is one of the tragic ironies of our time.

166. The voice of our Secretary-General has been a leading one in the call for a settlement by negotiation. We of the smaller territories, even though we cannot pretend to be more than baffled and frustrated bystanders, can and must raise our voices in the call for peace.

167. I scarcely think that it is a coincidence that the Organization now finds itself in greater difficulties on the question of peace-keeping. To put it mildly, we cannot help wondering if all the arguments about the constitutional and financial difficulties of setting up viable peace-keeping machinery do not represent a smoke-screen rather than a set of valid problems. We could have no clearer demonstration of the need for this machinery than the recent events in the Middle East. If the Organization had had the capacity to interpose itself quickly and effectively between the conflicting parties, the limited success of the United Nations Emergency Force and the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization would not have vanished in the smoke of battle. Let us hope that this will serve to give a greater sense of urgency and realism to the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

168. Let us turn now to some problems which are of central concern to all the developing countries, large or small. Last year, from this rostrum, I spoke of the moral and political implications of the inequitable distribution of the world's wealth. While we could not have realistically hoped for any dramatic changes in the world economic situation in one brief year, we scarcely expected that no progress at all would have been made towards arresting the dangerous tendency for the rich to become richer and the poor poorer.

169. Indeed, it is easy for us in the developing areas to take a pessimistic view when we see that even the modest aims of the United Nations Development Decade have not been achieved. The report of the Secretary-General points out [A/6701, p. 81] that the rate of over-all growth in the developing countries, which had slowed down slightly between 1964 and 1965, further declined to between 3 and 4 per cent between 1965 and 1966. Over the same period the rate of growth of the developed market economies increased by 5 per cent in real terms, and that of the European centrally-planned economies by more than 7 per cent.

170. It is for those reasons that my country strongly supports every initiative that leads to a greater and more effective involvement of the United Nations in the global problem of economic development. We want to see more attention paid to Article 55 of the Charter, which has a meaning and an urgency that was perhaps not fully foreseen by those who drafted it. For it is now more obvious than ever that the conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for friendly relations among nations cannot be achieved without the promotion of higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development.

171. No developing country wishes to remain permanently a ghetto-dweller on the fringes of world society, complacently awaiting hand-outs from the kitchen windows of the advanced nations. And it is only in this Organization that we see any prospect of ending the immoral and illogical arithmetic by which the poor countries can actually be penalized for increasing their productivity.

172. For this is very largely a question of morality and logic. The Secretary-General's progress report on the outflow of capital from the developing countries<sup>1/</sup> tells its own story. The policies of some advanced countries do little to dissipate the clouds of uncertainty that hang over the future of our exports. Our hopes are further frustrated by a panoply of restrictions on access to markets in the advanced countries for manufactures from developing countries.

173. These conditions of economic frustration notwithstanding, the Government and people of Barbados dare to hope with the Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development that the second Conference to be held at New Delhi in 1968 will be an opportunity for frank examination and real progress on those important issues. In particular, the representatives of Barbados will be looking for concrete advances towards the improvement of export possibilities for raw materials, and preferential

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Forty-third Session, Annexes, agenda item 5, document E/4374.

treatment for manufactures and semi-manufactures from developing countries.

174. In this context, my Government must welcome the establishment of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization. Small as our country is, industrialization nevertheless has great importance for us. We shall be particularly interested to see what assistance that Organization can offer countries in our peculiar circumstances in our life-and-death battle to free ourselves from the dangerous dependence on one or two primary products which is a legacy of our recent colonial past.

175. Because of that past, and because of the close historical and cultural ties which bind us, my Government is deeply interested in developments in the new States in the Caribbean which have a status of association with the United Kingdom Government. While we scrupulously refrain from intervention in their domestic affairs, it is natural that we should feel a deep and friendly concern for their problems. The present constitutions provide the associated States with full internal self-government, but the United Kingdom Government retains responsibility for their defence and external affairs. There can be no question, therefore, that it is the United Kingdom Government which is answerable to the United Nations for all constitutional developments in these Territories towards complete self-government in the context of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). It would, indeed, be contrary to the spirit of the Charter if those communities were cut off from all effective contact with this Organization by even the most benevolent constitutional device.

176. The need for this kind of contact was particularly felt in the recent discussions at the United Nations on the so-called Anguilla question. My own Government, at the invitation of the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of the unitary State of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, undertook to join with three other independent Caribbean countries in the search for a peaceful solution to the constitutional problem created by the purported secession of Anguilla. That search continues in the context of the need to reconcile respect for the territorial integrity of the State with a proper concern for the inalienable rights of the community of the island of Anguilla.

177. One of the urgent tasks confronting an independent country which has recently emerged from the wilderness of colonialism is the inescapable obligation to chart a new course based on the imperatives of realism and self-interest. Although my country has no intention of completely severing the cultural and economic ties which link us to Great Britain, we are convinced that our best interests lie in vigorous promotion of the cause of regional co-operation. That is why my Government has taken active steps, in conjunction with the Governments of Guyana and Antigua, to create a free trade area as a hopeful prelude to the establishment of a wider Caribbean common market.

178. Our search for new horizons has naturally increased our awareness of our hemispheric destinies. My Government is gratified that its application to join the Organization of American States was approved by acclamation on Wednesday last [4 October]. We are convinced that such regional institutions provide the

best framework for pursuing common goals, so long as the approach is always consistent with the basic principles of the United Nations Charter.

179. The Government of Barbados welcomes the steps taken by the Latin American Governments to conclude a Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. We support that initiative because we recognize that any efforts to limit the spread of nuclear weapons by creating nuclear-free zones is a vital contribution to disarmament and the peace and security of the world. It is therefore regrettable that one of the provisions of that Treaty should have the effect of excluding certain countries in the hemisphere from immediate accession to the Treaty. That is a potentially dangerous loophole which weakens the whole purpose of such an accord.

180. In this address I have dealt largely with the degree to which we in the developing countries consider that the achievements of this worthy Organization have fallen short of its own declared ideals and the aspirations of the majority of mankind. We on our part pledge our fullest support to you, Mr. President, and the other Members of the United Nations in closing this gap between achievement and expectation in the year that lies ahead and in the years to come.

181. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of Cuba, who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

182. Mr. ALVAREZ TABIO (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): Once again we have heard the thugs and intellectuals of the OAS denounce what they call the interventionist attitude of the revolutionary Government of Cuba. This time it was the turn of the representative of the Government of Peru, the self-styled champion of non-intervention in Latin America.

183. Did he by any chance raise his voice to denounce the imperialist aggression against the legitimate Government of Guatemala in 1954? Did he oppose the mercenary invasion of the Bay of Pigs, which was ordered, financed, organized and directed by the Government of the United States? Did he speak up to denounce the criminal blockade of Cuba? And what did the Government of Peru do at the time of the brutal invasion of the Dominican Republic by the Yankee marines?

184. The OAS has neither a moral nor a legal basis for accusing Cuba, because, ever since the United States became a member, that organization has been simply an aggressive military alliance, challenging everything that represents the full liberation of Latin America. With a few honourable exceptions, the OAS has ceased to be an international forum and has become a grotesque and ridiculous circus, in which only the ring-master has any say.

#### AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (continued)\*

#### THIRD REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE (A/6840/Add.2)

185. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly is now invited to examine the third report of the General Committee [A/6840/Add.2]. The first topic mentioned is agenda item 92: "Declaration and

\*Resumption of the discussion at the 1572nd meeting.

treaty concerning the reservation exclusively for peaceful purposes of the sea-bed and of the ocean floor underlying the seas beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction, and the use of their resources in the interest of mankind."

186. Mr. Y. F. GAUCI (Malta): The wording of agenda item 92, concerning the sea-bed and the ocean floor, as proposed by my delegation and as just read out by you, Mr. President, gave rise to certain doubts among some delegations about the precise implications of our proposal, and particularly about the legal aspects involved. And although the General Committee unanimously agreed to the inscription of this item, divergent views were expressed about its correct allocation in committee. It was then decided to defer the allocation, to allow consultations to take place.

187. Those consultations have enabled my delegation to clarify the purpose and scope of the item we have proposed. We agree that the present title of item 92 unduly emphasizes legal objectives.

188. Consequently, I have the honour formally to propose, under rule 22 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, that the wording of the title of item 92 be changed to read as follows: "Examination of the question of the reservation exclusively for peaceful purposes of the sea-bed and the ocean floor, and the subsoil thereof, underlying the high seas beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction, and the use of their resources in the interests of mankind".

189. I take this opportunity to express the appreciation of the delegation of Malta for the co-operation and understanding shown by many delegations in the course of the consultations that have just taken place.

190. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Members of the Assembly have heard the proposal of the representative of Malta, based on rule 22 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly. If there is no objection to his proposal, I shall take it that the General Assembly approves the new wording proposed for item 92.

*It was so decided.*

191. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We now pass on to the question of the allocation of item 92 as now amended. The General Committee recommends in its report that the item should be referred to the First Committee. If there is no objection I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts the recommendation.

*It was so decided.*

192. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I now invite the Members of the Assembly to consider paragraph 2 of the General Committee's second report. The General Committee recommends the inclusion in the agenda of an additional item entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations".

193. If no formal objection is raised, I shall take it that the General Assembly approves the inclusion of this topic in the agenda as item 97.

*It was so decided.*

194. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): To pass on to the allocation of this item, the General Committee has recommended that it should be allocated to the Fourth Committee.

195. Since there is no objection, may I consider that the General Assembly adopts the recommendation of the General Committee on this point?

*It was so decided.*

196. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I now refer the Assembly to paragraph 3 of the second report of the General Committee, concerning the inclusion in the agenda of an additional item entitled "Dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea". The General Committee recommends that this question be included in the agenda.

197. Mr. MOUANZA (Congo, Brazzaville) (translated from French): Mr. President, the chairman of the delegation of the Congo (Brazzaville), who is the country's Foreign Minister, will shortly have the opportunity of offering you the sincere congratulations of my Government on your election as President of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly. In the meantime, however, I cannot help but express my delegation's satisfaction at seeing you called to this supreme office of the Assembly.

198. Reverting to the matter before us, I would observe that the Korean question has now been discussed by the United Nations for nearly twenty years without any progress being made, with the result that the unjust division of Korea into two separate States still persists today. In the face of such a situation, it is more than ever essential to find out what the obstacles are that stand in the way of unification.

199. The delegation of the Congo (Brazzaville) is firmly convinced that the primary obstacle is the existence of the notorious United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.

200. This Commission, set up at the fifth session of the General Assembly [resolution 376 (V)] with the continuation of the work of the United Nations Commission for Korea as its terms of reference, has in the course of time become an instrument of the United States' aggressive policy on Korean soil. Its activities are at variance with the entirely legitimate interests of the Korean people. For convincing evidence of this, we have only to analyse the reports submitted every year to the General Assembly. These reports, which are often stereotyped, make it clear that all the Commission does is sing the praises of the puppet régime of South Korea. On the strength of these false reports, the Government in Washington has hypocritically spread the claim that democracy is flourishing in South Korea, whereas this is anything but the case.

201. We all know that the United States has used and still uses the flag of the United Nations to camouflage its occupation of South Korea and its aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In occupying South Korea for the past twenty years, the United States has only one purpose—to transform the region into an American colony and at the same time a military base.

202. The existence of the Commission in Korea is in flagrant contradiction to the Purposes and Principles of the Charter. We therefore call vigorously for strict observance of the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of all countries and for respect for the right of peoples to self-determination.

203. Consequently, considering the pernicious role played in Korea by a United Nations Commission set up for the purpose of unifying Korea—though in fact it has unified nothing at all; on the contrary, it has legalized the occupation of South Korea by the American imperialists—the delegation of the Congo (Brazzaville), desiring solely the unification of the country, that is to say both parts, since they are one and the same country, requests all the Members of the Assembly to support the inclusion of this item in the agenda.

204. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The representatives of three Afro-Asian countries—Cambodia, Congo (Brazzaville) and Yemen—have taken an important and extremely positive step, by requesting the inclusion in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly, as a special item of urgent character, of an item entitled "Dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" [A/6836].

205. The Soviet delegation will, of course, state its position on the substance of the matter during consideration of the question in the appropriate Committee. At the present time we wish merely to express our position on the inclusion of this item in the agenda and on its allocation.

206. The General Committee has, as we know, recommended the inclusion of this new item in the agenda of the current session. It has, however, decided to recommend inclusion of the item as one of the sub-items of the so-called "Question of Korea" which already appears on the agenda of the General Assembly. It is to be regretted that, as a result of the procedural manoeuvres of the United States delegation, the General Committee was unable to decide that the question of dissolution of the so-called Commission for Korea should be considered as a separate and special agenda item of the General Assembly, as suggested by those who introduced it and as, indeed, it deserved to be considered in view of its importance in principle.

207. The efforts of the United States delegation to prevent consideration of the item entitled "Dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" once again clearly confirm that no one except the United States itself has any interest in maintaining that Commission which, as we know, has been used by it for its own selfish aims.

208. Speaking in the General Committee, the Soviet delegation stated its position of strong support for the proposal made by Cambodia, Congo (Brazzaville) and Yemen in connexion with the need to dissolve the so-called Commission for Korea. Nevertheless, we feel it necessary to reaffirm here that the question of the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea has been

a pressing problem for a long time and must be settled without delay. The many years of that body's "activity"—if we may use such a word—have not led us one step closer to the unification of Korea, which is still divided; but have merely created additional difficulties in the matter of reaching that unification. Moreover, that Commission has been and is still being cynically used by the United States as a means of gross interference in the affairs of the Korean people, the United Nations serving as a screen to conceal the continued occupation of South Korea by United States forces.

209. The delegation of the Soviet Union believes that it is necessary to put an end, without delay, to intervention in the domestic affairs of the people of Korea and to terminate the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. The right to decide the fate of the Korean people should now be left to that people, and to it alone, with no foreign intervention, not even by the United Nations; that people must be allowed to build its own life on its own soil. In the interests of the Korean people, and, I would stress in the interests of the United Nations itself, it is essential to put an end without delay to that illegally created body, used by Washington as a weapon in its aggressive policies, the aim of which is to maintain the occupation of South Korea and to use that country as a strategic beachhead.

210. In view of what I have said, the Soviet delegation still contends that the item dealing with the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea must be considered as a separate item.

211. Mr. DIACONESCU (Romania) (translated from French): The Romanian delegation strongly supports the inclusion in the agenda of the current session of the item "Dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea". As we know, the question was raised by Cambodia, the Congo (Brazzaville) and Yemen [A/6836], and was accepted without opposition by the General Committee.

212. In supporting the inclusion of the item in the agenda of the General Assembly, we have in mind first of all the fact that the re-establishment on a democratic and peaceful basis of the national unity of a country temporarily divided, as is Korea, is a matter which concerns the people of that country and no one else. This is therefore a domestic affair to be settled by the Korean people themselves, in the exercise of their inalienable and unchallengeable right to self-determination.

213. Article 2 (7) of the United Nations Charter specifically prohibits the United Nations from intervening "in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State". Respect for this fundamental principle, one of the pillars of the Organization, demands the dissolution of the Commission in question, which symbolizes foreign interference in the domestic affairs of a country.

214. Furthermore, we have the many reports of the Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea as conclusive evidence that in spite of nearly twenty years of existence it has made no progress towards achieving the goals it claims to have set itself.



Its activities have not only failed to bring us closer to a just solution; they have in fact rendered the unification of Korea even more difficult. The prestige of the United Nations requires that the Assembly close this chapter of interference in the affairs of the Korean people.

215. Finally, the discussions of the question of Korea over the years have revealed that the periodic renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea has only served to mask the continued occupation of South Korea by foreign armed forces.

216. These very forces, while fanning the flames of conflict in the Far East which endanger the peace and security of that region and of the whole world, constitute the main obstacle to the unification of Korea. It is our view that in order to remove that obstacle and to create the conditions in which the Korean people can freely make up their own minds concerning their own affairs, the United Nations must take action to ensure that its flag will no longer be used as a cover for operations which are in flagrant contradiction to the United Nations Charter.

217. It is with these facts in mind that Romania favours the inclusion in the agenda of the present session of an item on the withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations. For the same reason, the Romanian delegation supports the inclusion in the agenda, as a separate item, of the question proposed by Cambodia, the Congo (Brazzaville) and Yemen, entitled "Dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea".

218. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): In the absence of any formal objection, may I take it that the General Assembly approves the inclusion of this item in the agenda?

*It was so decided.*

219. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We now pass on to the allocation of the item. The General Committee recommends that it should become sub-item (c) of agenda item 33 (Question of Korea) and that it should be allocated to the First Committee.

220. If there is no objection, may I consider that the General Assembly approves the General Committee's recommendation?

*It was so decided.*

221. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Chairmen of the First and Fourth Committees will be notified of the decisions taken this afternoon by the General Assembly.

222. I call upon the representative of the United States of America, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

223. Mr. BUFFUM (United States of America): I wish to say, just very briefly, that I think we must all regret that the time of the Assembly this afternoon has had to be occupied in listening to what was nothing more than propaganda diatribes, pure and simple, going into the substance of the question when, as I understand the

procedure, our discussion today should have been devoted only to the question of inscription and allocation of an item.

224. The reasons for the intervention of the representative of the Soviet Union are, I think, neither unclear nor surprising. The USSR representative has gained a reputation as an Oriental scholar, but I regret to say that I suspect that applies to countries such as China and Japan, to which he has devoted more attention; because frankly, the "facts" which he has presented to us today concerning Korea bear no resemblance whatsoever to the truth. I categorically reject all the allegations he made about my Government and its role in Korea.

225. Perhaps more surprising was the statement made to us today by the representative of the Congo (Brazzaville). With your permission, I should like to read briefly an earlier submission on the same subject, that is, the work of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, by the representative of the Congo (Brazzaville). On 14 December 1962, that representative said that his delegation:

"... wished to thank the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea for its careful report, in which, it was regrettable to note, the Commission had had to confess that no progress had been made in the settlement of the Korean question. As in certain other cases concerned with the right of peoples to self-determination, the Commission had met with total obstruction on the part of one of the interested parties. The de facto Government which controlled North Korea had denied the United Nations the right to carry out necessary investigations in a part of Korea."<sup>8/</sup>

He also recalled that:

"That obstructionism had begun in 1947, when the USSR had prevented the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea from supervising free elections in the part of Korea occupied by Soviet troops. In that way, an allegedly democratic régime had been established north of the 38th parallel with the help of Soviet tanks, a régime based on a political system that had led to the mass flight of Koreans to the southern part of the country. On 25 June 1950, North Korea's refusal to co-operate with the United Nations had been transformed into armed aggression. Its leaders, subsequently assisted by Communist China, had gone to war with the Republic of Korea and the United Nations. Since the armistice which had ended that war, the Government of North Korea had frustrated any solution by repeatedly refusing to co-operate with the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea."<sup>9/</sup>

226. Now that constitutes, in the view of my delegation, a far more accurate representation of the facts of the case than anything we have heard here this afternoon.

<sup>8/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, First Committee, 1302nd meeting, para. 32.

<sup>9/</sup> *Ibid.*

227. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of the Congo (Brazzaville), who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

228. Mr. MOUANZA (Congo, Brazzaville) (translated from French): Mr. President, I apologize for returning to the rostrum at this late hour, when representatives must be rather tired and anxious to go home. I would like just to say one word to the United States representative.

229. He came up to this rostrum and made a statement in the name of my country. When he began to quote, I wondered what representative of the Congo (Brazzaville) could have made such a statement, and

I quickly realized that the statement had been made five or six or more years ago.

230. I regret to have to tell the United States representative that he has not been following the course of events; I should like to point out to him that the current régime in the Congo (Brazzaville) is not the same as the one whose representative made that statement five years ago.

231. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The 1967 United Nations Pledging Conference of the United Nations Development Programme will take place on Monday, 9 October, in the General Assembly Hall.

*The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.*