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President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. GANAO (Congo, Brazzaville) (translated from French): Mr. President, the Congolese Ambassador to the United Nations who spoke before I arrived [1583rd meeting] on the inclusion of an item in the agenda, expressed to you the sincere congratulations of our delegation on your overwhelming election to the Presidency of this session.

2. In so doing our representative was anxious not so much to comply with a mere diplomatic formality but to carry out a mission—that of conveying to you the profound satisfaction felt by the people of the Congo at seeing the representative of a socialist country accede to the highest office of the Assembly. For us this event is an important step on the road back to universality as the goal of the United Nations, which had become an instrument in the service of imperialists and a jungle where the weaker countries, designated within these walls by the commonly accepted term of "small nations" were first brutally and savagely manhandled in the open, to be gobbled up diplomatically here in due course.

3. We trust that the representatives of the "small nations" have taken due note of the historic implications of this event, and we hope that they will also realize more fully that the Organization is faced with certain problems an equitable solution to which would effectively contribute towards restoring equilibrium in the United Nations.

4. Allow me then, Mr. President, to say to you that your election is for us a source of great reassurance, for the above reasons, naturally, but also because your outstanding human qualities, combined with your qualities as a consummate diplomat, inspire confidence as to the way in which the debates at this session will be conducted.

5. Our work is beginning this year at a time when world peace is threatened more than ever. To the

crises of the past which have still not been disposed of has been added one more of particular significance—the Middle East crisis. The peoples directly or indirectly engaged in the last World War, even those that did not take part in the fighting, still remember the atrocities that the vile human race was capable of committing against itself. We know that none suffered more from the madness of nazism than the Jewish people.

6 We of the Congo understand therefore that the Jewish people, today brought together within a nation, should take all appropriate steps to ensure the defence of their country if it should be the object of aggression. It is what we all do. But the Congo cannot agree that the right of self defence, to which each and every one is entitled, may be exercised even before the suspected attack has been carried out; this reveals the existence of an ambition which has no currency in the twentieth century, the ambition to conquer territories by force of arms.

7. At the present time, more and more countries recognize that there must be a political solution to this conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbours. Such a solution, in which the presence of the Palestine refugees would be a predominant factor, cannot be conceived as having any chance of success unless a climate favourable to negotiations is created beforehand. Hence the United Nations must call on the State of Israel to comply with the resolutions adopted at the fifth emergency special session [2253 (ES-V) and 2254 (ES-V)] concerning the City of Jerusalem and must at the current session require that Member State, in the interests of world peace, to withdraw its forces to the positions it held prior to 5 June 1967.

8. Unfortunately, peace is threatened not only in the Middle East, where to all outward appearances war has brought into conflict protagonists of one and the same region; it is even more seriously threatened in Viet-Nam where one of the strongest Powers in the world—the strongest of all, according to some—is intervening directly in the internal affairs of the heroic people of Viet-Nam and committing acts of barbarism unequalled in history except by the madness of Nazism referred to already.

9. Time and time again in the past, here and elsewhere, we have condemned the brutal and barbarous intrusion of the American imperialists in Viet-Nam. In doing so, our purpose was not merely to denounce an act as base as it was unjustifiable; we also hoped to bring this tragedy home more and more to the peoples of the world, especially the peoples of the famous "small nations" which have to come out of their shell, to shed their reprehensible apathy and see the problem as of direct concern to them and react accordingly.

10. Today we are happy to see that more and more countries, Members of the United Nations, are calling for an unconditional halt to the bombing of North Viet-Nam by the American aggressors. The new attitude of those countries, some of which have close relations with Washington, has for us a twofold and definite significance.

11. In the first place, the policy of blackmail and camouflage by the United States Government with its bogus peace initiatives in Viet-Nam is laid bare. It will be recalled that the United States promised to stop the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam as soon as that country demonstrated its willingness to negotiate; and as we know, the Government of President Ho Chi Minh indicated such readiness as long ago as January of this year. In these circumstances, let the worthy representative of the United States not come up here again on to this rostrum, please, with the cynicism characteristic of dollar diplomacy, and ask us by what procedure a political solution can be brought about.

12. Secondly, this new attitude proves that the peoples of the Third World have realized that every one of their countries, without exception, could in its turn become a Viet-Nam, if the international situation pointed that way and the Americans considered that the security of the United States, or of its satellites, might be threatened from that quarter. In other words, once American vested interests begin to be affected, even if there is no question of acquiring others, the moment the policy of Washington comes up against the firm determination of the people of the country concerned to live in freedom and be the sole master of its destiny, each and every country of the Third World could in its turn become another Viet-Nam, and they have realized this.

13. As far as the Congo is concerned, the explanation of this new attitude on the part of the young nations is that the peoples of the Third World are now more familiar with the problem of Viet-Nam and are beginning to understand that, in the final analysis, every country in the Third World is a Viet-Nam without knowing it.

14. This important stage in the struggle which we are facing, the heroic people of Viet-Nam are now passing through it with courage and determination, confident that the final victory will be theirs.

15. The final victory will likewise be won by other countries, fighting in other parts of the world, particularly in Africa. The process of national liberation of peoples, although it has been the major event of this second half of the twentieth century, has not been completed as yet. Vast territories of our continent are still under the colonial yoke. Indeed, in certain regions the forces of evil are forming alliances and consolidating their positions to achieve their Machiavellian plans for reconquest.

16. Thus the situation in the Territories under Portuguese domination remains disturbing. In Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) patriots are being killed daily by the bullets of reactionary colonialists supported by their NATO allies. We are firmly convinced that without the material and financial as-

sistance provided by the monopolies, and without the collusion of certain great Powers, a pathetic little country like Portugal, which allows its population to languish in a perpetual state of under-development, would never be able to carry on a war of such proportions on three fronts by itself.

17. The Rhodesian affair, as the President has said, has revealed what our Western partners—or the majority of them at any rate—think about the Africans. The dismal subterfuges and delaying tactics of London have shown us the full extent of the knavery which besmirches the friendship between Europe and Africa, when we consider in another context the negative attitude of one of the partners towards the great controversies of subversion, apartheid in South Africa, and genocide practised against the populations of the Portuguese colonies. If this continues, future generations may well grow up inured to race hatred fanned by the stubbornness of a handful of hare-brained people in high places or a few wizards of high finance.

18. In any case, now as always, we categorically reject the unilateral declaration of independence by the illegal régime of Ian Smith. It is most regrettable that the administering Power, the United Kingdom, has for two years refused to put down the rebellion and restore lawful rule by installing a representative government.

19. Clearly the so-called selective sanctions have been an utter failure; their only effect has been to strengthen the hand of Ian Smith and his racist clique. Moreover, the resumption of talks between the British Government and the rebels shows plainly the existence of a standing plan designed to preserve British interests in the region by keeping the white minority in power.

20. On the question of South West Africa, the Congolese Government notes with mortification that no progress has been recorded to date. The racist Government of Pretoria persists in its refusal to co-operate with the United Nations Council for South West Africa set up by the General Assembly [resolution 2248 (S-V)]. Here, as in Rhodesia, sanctions should be applied against the inveterate backsliders of Pretoria. But what purpose could all these sanctions serve when we know that the great Powers, while condemning the odious policy of apartheid in the United Nations, in actual fact connive at the evil practices of those who support white supremacy to safeguard their economic interests?

21. Africa, of which I have sketched a brief and not very cheering outline, has witnessed a new phenomenon just recently: the presence of mercenaries in our continent. The mission of these hired killers, these soldiers of fortune, whose only allegiance is to the dollar, the pound sterling, the Belgian franc or other strong currency, is to invade and ravage certain regions of Africa. These contemptible adventurers, who massacre harmless citizens or if need be carry them off as hostages, go so far as to try to impose on lawful Governments conditions that are, to say the least, unacceptable. This intolerable situation is anathema to my Government, for at any time it could undermine the dearly won sovereignty of the new States.

22. In this connexion a particular tribute must be paid to the French Government, which last year made arrangements to dismantle the recruiting centres set up on its territory, especially in the Ardèche. We invite those Powers which maintain mercenary activities to follow this admirable example.

23. The situation in Africa in no way distracts our attention from other current problems, in particular the question of disarmament, which is the corner-stone of our international system. We concede that a few timid steps have been taken towards disarmament, the most recent being the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, signed at Mexico City on 14 February 1967, But we should also frankly recognize that initiatives designed to lead to general and complete disarmament are so half-hearted that they seem calculated to preserve a monopoly and perpetuate the blackmail of nuclear weapons that has gone on too long already.

24. Thus as far as we are concerned, until frank and sincere negotiations are held at Geneva, countries such as France and the People's Republic of China, which by their own efforts are making bold efforts to accede to full nuclear power, are not only justified in doing so but will no doubt one day contribute effectively to the search for ways and means of achieving genuine general disarmament.

25. At all events, talks on disarmament will have no meaning unless and until all nuclear Powers are associated in them. Yet as we know, at each succeeding session all possible means are brought to bear by the United States imperialists to keep the People's Republic of China out of the United Nations. In this connexion the delegation of Congo (Brazzaville) reiterates what it said last year, namely, that no current problem, be it disarmament, peace in Viet-Nam or peace pure and simple, can be settled without the effective participation of Peking.

26. Those who are opposed to the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China lead their vassal Governments to believe that the People's Republic is so aggressive that to admit it into the United Nations would be a threat to world peace. My delegation's answer to that specious argument is that the People's Republic of China maintains no military bases outside its own frontiers. These same detractors even maintain that the proletarian revolution now taking place in that great country is an unstable factor which does not make the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China sound policy. Our answer to them is that this is a domestic problem, just like the race disturbances which every year cause bloodshed in the United States of America. Has the place of the United States imperialists been challenged here on that account? Who has even dared to raise a finger to denounce the genocide practised on the black population of the country of Lincoln and Kennedy?

27. The truth is that the entry of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations would upset the status quo and would challenge a situation brought about dishonestly; and it is in the interests of the representatives of the Third World to try to thwart these designs if they wish to take up their proper role in the management of world affairs.

28. My delegation therefore demands the expulsion, pure and simple, from this Organization and all its organs, of the emissaries of Formosa, who represent no one but themselves, and the restitution to the People's Republic of China of the seat which rightfully belongs to it.

29. With regard to the so-called Korean question, my Government has stated time and time again that it is no concern of the United Nations, which has no title to discuss it. We consider that the Korean question, which amounts to restoring unity to the temporarily divided territory, is a domestic matter for the Korean people, to be settled by them alone, and that no interference is permissible, not even by the United Nations.

30. That is, in fact, why we have called for the dissolution of the Commission set up by the United Nations. In its twenty years of existence it has achieved nothing, and it perpetuates the unjust division of Korea into two distinct States. In the view of my delegation, the main obstacle to unification is the existence of the famous United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. We are all aware that the Government of Washington has always used and still uses the flag of the United Nations as a cover for its occupation of South Korea and its aggression against the Democratic Republic of Korea. The existence of the Unification Commission—which has unified nothing at all but on the contrary has legalized the occupation of South Korea by the American imperialists—is in flagrant contradiction to the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter. We have to admit the helplessness of the Organization in coping with this problem.

31. If I were inclined to say a word about the concern of all countries, and of the Organization itself, on the subject of economics, I would merely say that my country, like many others, shares the disquiet of the Secretary-General when he states in the Introduction to his Annual Report:

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

32. For the problem of co-operation between the industrialized countries and the developing countries is as acute as ever. With the United Nations Development Decade coming to a close, the economic potential of the highly industrialized countries continues to rise, but the development of the countries of the Third World is not proceeding at the rate expected.

33. My delegation is therefore gratified to see that the Board of Governors of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund at Rio de Janeiro^{1/} adopted a resolution calling on all international institutions to promote the economic development of the developing countries, to improve the standard of living of the people, and to stabilize commodity prices at a remunerative level. This means devising appro-

^{1/} Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Finance Corporation, the International Development Association and the International Monetary Fund, held at Rio de Janeiro from 25 to 29 September 1967.

appropriate machinery, with balanced commitments on the part of both the producing and the consuming countries, which will have to set aside the necessary resources for that purpose. My Government hopes that the resolution will not remain a dead letter. Let us hope that the initiative will be taken up and developed at the second session of the United Nations Trade and Development Conference at New Delhi,^{2/} so that the efforts undertaken may be translated into concrete negotiations.

34. I cannot conclude my statement without once again expressing the thanks of President Alphonse Massamba-Debat to U Thant, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who has agreed to the request from all quarters to accept a further term of office, although the unwillingness of certain great Powers to give him the sincere co-operation indispensable to his high office might rather have decided him to withdraw. This courageous attitude on the part of the Secretary-General is justly appreciated by President Massamba-Debat's people who, be it noted, are not losing faith in the future of the Organization, let alone in the future of the world.

35. The Congo believes implicitly in the triumph of the forces of progress over the forces of evil. How in fact could we do otherwise, particularly at this time when we are about to celebrate with our friends the Soviet people, within the circle of international proletarianism, the fiftieth anniversary of the great October Revolution? That great victory of oppressed over oppressors is the beacon lighting up the path of all those who are fighting for their freedom; and the Congo, yesterday enslaved and today free, will bear the torch aloft in the struggle, in the hope that tomorrow will see the rebirth of a United Nations which respects the principles of its own Charter and is resolutely determined to establish a lasting peace throughout the world.

36. Mr. AMERASINGHE (Ceylon): Mr. President, it is deeply gratifying to the Government and people of Ceylon that you should be occupying the Chair at the twenty-second session of the General Assembly. On behalf of my Government and my delegation, I offer you our cordial congratulations and sincere good wishes on your election to this high office. We are confident that the Assembly will, in its deliberations, be well served by your experience and ability.

37. I wish also to take this opportunity of expressing our high appreciation of the contribution made by your predecessor in office, His Excellency Mr. Abdul Rahman Pazhwak, the Permanent Representative of Afghanistan. He had to preside over this Assembly during a most crucial period. We should like to express our admiration of the equanimity, patience and conscientiousness with which he discharged a most onerous task.

38. It has taken the United Nations twenty-one years to bring to this podium, as its President, a representative of one of the socialist group of countries. This is significant and symbolic. The United Nations has come of age and has demonstrated that degree

of political maturity necessary to appreciate the process of political and economic evolution that has resulted in two principal political and economic ideologies establishing themselves in the world, each with its right to exist and to compete for recognition and acceptance without resort to violence and compulsion. Each of the systems has its own efficacy and value, and the lesson that twenty-one years of the United Nations existence has taught us is that the two political and economic systems must exist in a spirit of mutual tolerance if peace and harmony are to prevail in the world.

39. We meet also at a time when an event of epochal significance is to be celebrated. Fifty years ago a country that was little more than a gigantic feudal estate, with a backward agrarian economy, underwent a revolutionary transformation, politically and economically. Today we salute the Soviet Union and acclaim the phenomenal scientific and technological progress and the impressive economic achievements which have made it one of the two most powerful nations in the world.

40. We trust that the spirit of mutual tolerance which enables the two systems and the two blocs to exist side by side will, in turn, engender a spirit of mutual respect that would lead them towards closer co-operation in the use of their power and influence for the good of all mankind. There are, happily, signs of increasing co-operation between the two super-Powers. The hope of the future lies in the promotion and acceleration of this process.

41. The Secretary-General's annual report for 1966 [A/6701] makes depressing reading. The fault, however, lies not with the author but with the material—that is, ourselves. Every reference to achievement, whether in the political or economic sphere, is followed by an unambiguous expression of disappointment. These are the thoughtful reflections of the Chief Executive of this world Organization, a man whose patent sincerity, moral integrity and honesty of conviction are beyond doubt and whose faith in the Organization has not wavered in the face of repeated discouragement. His complex task in the course of which he is often called upon to reconcile irreconcilables is not made easier by criticism, which, however well meant, takes no note of the fact that there is no room for expediency where conscience must prevail.

42. There are two main areas of crisis—Viet-Nam and the Middle East. In each of these areas the situation is grave and portentous. Although our main attention is necessarily directed towards Viet-Nam where fighting is still in progress, the Middle East crisis should not be relegated to a position of secondary importance. The fighting has stopped there but the Organization has yet to find an answer to Israel's continued defiance of the principles on which the Charter is founded as well as of United Nations resolutions that have received overwhelming support.

43. The origins of the Viet-Nam situation as it exists today lie with the end of the struggle of the Indo-Chinese States to free themselves from colonial rule. As it was the Geneva Agreements of 1954 that brought French colonial rule to an end in Indo-China,

^{2/} The session will be held at New Delhi from 1 February to 25 March 1968.

they alone can provide an appropriate framework for an abiding settlement in Viet-Nam and for the restoration of peace in that area. Those agreements were not merely an epitaph on French colonial rule in the East. They were meant to be a prologue to a new era and a new order.

44. In any objective assessment of the course of the Viet-Nam conflict we must recognize the fact that at the end of the struggle for national liberation from colonial rule in the former Indo-Chinese States, the outcome of which was the Geneva Agreements of 1954, the balance of advantage lay with the liberation forces of Ho Chi Minh. That balance of advantage was renounced by Ho Chi Minh in the faith that elections would be held to determine the wishes of the people of both parts of Viet-Nam. The provision in the Geneva Agreements calling for elections in July 1956 for the reunification of Viet-Nam was, like the other provisions of those agreements, unexceptionable.

45. The Geneva Agreements, after an interval of thirteen years, still command universal respect. The havoc of war has only reaffirmed their validity. It is, therefore, imperative that we seek to restore conditions as nearly as possible approximately to the situation that existed in 1954 immediately after the conclusion of the Geneva Agreements. This requires the unconditional cessation of the bombing of North Viet-Nam.

46. It is most encouraging to note that a military solution is not being sought in Viet-Nam and that a political settlement is the professed aim and desire of the United States. It is also encouraging to note that even in the United States the opinion is very widely held that the bombing of North Viet-Nam is no longer a military imperative. What is left now is to translate into concrete action the desire for a cessation of the bombing and for a political settlement. It is the duty of all those who are outside the conflict to use their influence to close that gap between desire and fulfilment. It is equally our duty to remain loyal to the substantive principles of the Geneva Agreements.

47. The intention of the Geneva Agreements was not that there should be two Viet-Nams but that there should be one. And yet we find a school of thought contending that the decisive question is not whether North Viet-Nam will come to the conference table, but whether it comes to the conference table genuinely prepared to negotiate a compromise peace in which the people of South Viet-Nam can freely determine whether it wants to be governed by the Communists or not, allowing North Viet-Nam to go its own way. That thesis is based on a proposition completely at variance with the intentions of the Geneva Agreements and with the objectives of enlightened policy relating to divided countries—the proposition that they must remain divided according to whether one section wants Communism while the other does not want it. Such propositions and such assumptions can only perpetuate the division of countries and are not calculated to promote peace. If they are to be strictly applied it would mean that every country should be partitioned on ideological lines.

48. My Prime Minister has himself explored the possibilities for bringing the hostilities in Viet-Nam

to an end and for starting negotiations to establish peace in that area. Fundamental to my Prime Minister's proposals was the principle that the internal affairs of a country were primarily a matter of exclusive concern to the people of that country and that no interference by outside parties could be justified. Acceptance of that concept implies acceptance of the principle that the people of a country should not only determine how its internal affairs should be handled but also be free to determine the nature of the political system which it wishes to establish and maintain for itself. There is nothing novel about this proposition or this concept. We all avow it.

49. In accordance with that principle, my Prime Minister's proposal was that the internal affairs of Viet-Nam should be settled by discussion among the three parties concerned, namely, the Saigon régime, the National Front for the Liberation of South Viet-Nam and the Government of North Viet-Nam, and that they should meet without interference from outside sources to discuss, in the first instance, the pre-conditions for a cease-fire. It was his hope that, if such a conference could take place, any agreement emerging from it would have definite prospects of being binding on other countries too, as it would represent the wishes of the people of Viet-Nam as a whole.

50. First among the pre-conditions for a cease-fire was the cessation of the bombing of North Viet-Nam, to be followed by an agreement on interim procedures for ensuring a status quo and by the cessation of belligerent activity by all parties. Other requirements, such as the withdrawal of all foreign troops and military personnel and the suspension of military aid, followed the provisions of the Geneva Agreements closely. We found, in the course of our discussions with the North Viet-Nameese, that they recognized the possibility of dealing with the two situations separately—the situation in North Viet-Nam and the situation in South Viet-Nam—although the two situations constituted one problem.

51. In regard to the South, the North Viet-Nam Government's refusal to recognize the status of the Saigon régime and its insistence that the National Front for the Liberation of South Viet-Nam be regarded as the sole representative of the people of the South would appear to present some difficulty but should not prove to be an insuperable obstacle. It is another manifestation of the hardening of attitudes that takes place when hostilities are prolonged. That should not make us despair of some easing of the situation resulting from the cessation of the bombing, and in turn producing just that slight change of temper which could lead to the determination of a formula that would permit all those concerned with the situation in the South to be brought together in negotiations.

52. In South Viet-Nam we find many countries with which we are on the friendliest terms engaged in activities of which we have expressed explicit disapproval. We have done so because we consider the cause of peace to be of transcendent importance.

53. I turn now to the other and equally serious area of crisis, the Middle East. For the third time in the life of the United Nations, fighting erupted in that

area. With each outbreak of hostilities the fighting has been heavier, the scale of casualties has been greater and the toll of misery has increased. But whereas on previous occasions some measure of stability was restored and the authority of the United Nations was established despite Israel's refusal to accept a United Nations presence within its own territory, the situation that exists today is infinitely more disturbing.

54. The efforts of the Security Council and the General Assembly in emergency special session to bring about a peaceful settlement have so far failed. Far from respect being shown for the General Assembly's appeals and decisions we find that, even when they have received a measure of support constituting the nearest approach to unanimity attainable in this Organization, such appeals and decisions have been completely ignored. Worse still, the most disturbing feature of the present situation is Israel's unabashed determination to retain control over the vast areas of territory that it has acquired through military operations and to absorb them, or some of them, permanently within its borders by establishing permanent Israeli settlements in them. Here we are being treated to the latest exercise in colonization, confirming the worst fears of the Arabs. Actions such as those are not calculated to promote a settlement.

55. The refugee problem has been aggravated. Thousands more Arabs have lost their ancestral homes and are treated like so much human flotsam. The Suez Canal remains closed to international traffic. Its closure not only inflicts continuing and cruel loss on the United Arab Republic; it also imposes a severe financial penalty on all the developing countries east of Suez, which depend so heavily on the smooth movement of traffic through the Canal and which are now compelled to draw on their depleted foreign reserves to pay the higher freight charges resulting from the diversion of traffic around the Cape.

56. Ceylon has always supported Israel's right to exist in peace and security. We still support that right. But Israel's demand for recognition by the Arab States as a condition precedent to all negotiations is, in our opinion, imprudent, ill-timed and insupportable. Recognition must be the culmination and not the commencement of the process of reconciliation.

57. If we have correctly understood the Israeli argument or excuse, it is that it cannot withdraw from the territories that it has seized in war unless its security is guaranteed, and that such a guarantee can come only through a settlement reached directly between itself and the Arab world.

58. The six-day war of June this year provides the most telling rebuttal of these arguments and pleas. A nation that could have succeeded in equipping itself with sufficient material, and in preserving in its economy a sufficient measure of strength to invest it with the power and the capacity to inflict such heavy destruction on others, and to acquire and retain such vast territorial gains through military operations as Israel succeeded in inflicting and acquiring in the course of the June war cannot claim that its existence and security were imperilled. We are fully aware

that Israel has had, in the past, to face a barrage of threats; but if oral threats over the press and radio could be regarded as aggression to which the only possible deterrent is pre-emptive force, war would be endemic today in this world. Israel's present attitude creates the uncomfortable feeling that it seeks to cling to its acquisitions by stipulating exacting terms for a settlement.

59. The continued closure of the Canal, the re-opening of which could be achieved without in the least endangering Israel's security, is a blow directed not merely against the Arab States but, in its effect, against all those countries in Asia which rely on this waterway for the movement of commerce vital to their economic interests. A nation that looks to the world for understanding should not hold such a large section of the world to ransom. But let me make it clear that, however severe the strain imposed on us by the closure of the Canal, we would not want to barter away an iota of Arab interests or Arab rights or any important principle in order to secure the reopening of the Canal.

60. Those rights and the principles we are called upon to defend in this instance have been clearly stated by us in the emergency special session. The United Arab Republic is entitled to and must have complete administrative control over the Canal, and sovereign territorial rights over it. This Organization should never acquiesce in, nor condone, the taking-away or circumscribing of those rights by the use of force. As regards Israel's claim to the right of innocent passage in the Gulf of Aqaba, Ceylon's position has been and still is that the events of 1956 and thereafter did not alter and could not affect the status quo before 1956 so far as the legal rights of any party are concerned. The position prior to 1956 was that the United Arab Republic had the right to, and did in fact, control traffic through the Strait of Tiran. In the absence of international adjudication on Israel's claim to the right of innocent passage in the Gulf of Aqaba, the question remains yet to be settled. The use of force as a means of settlement cannot, however, be countenanced by this Organization.

61. If the principles of the Charter are to be vindicated, the United Nations must bring all possible pressure to bear on Israel to withdraw to the positions held by it prior to 5 June 1967, and must insist that that withdrawal should not be subject to negotiation or any prior condition.

62. The Middle East crisis represents the gravest threat to the prestige and moral authority of the United Nations. A great deal, it might be said the very future of the United Nations as the custodian of international peace and security, depends on its capacity to act, and act promptly and effectively, in the Middle East situation. If it fails, it would be reduced to the position of a moral refugee.

63. The simultaneous presentation by the United States and the Soviet Union of identical drafts of a non-proliferation treaty^{3/} presents heartening evidence of the desire of the two super-Powers to cooperate with each other to limit the dissemination of nuclear terror. But the draft remains only an

^{3/} Documents ENDC/192 and ENDC/193.

expression of intent. It is incomplete without agreement on the paramount problem of international inspection. It does not bring us any closer to general and total disarmament. It does not preclude the proliferation of nuclear weapons by those who already possess them. The draft treaty limits and reserves a privilege without imposing any restraint on the exercise of the privilege by those for whom it is so reserved.

64. More urgent than a non-proliferation treaty such as has been drafted is the extension of the existing ban on nuclear testing to cover underground nuclear tests as well. This would have the same effect as the present draft non-proliferation treaty and, in addition, would arrest the process of nuclear-weapon development by the nuclear Powers.

65. The other imperfections of the present draft non-proliferation treaty are the omission of a ban on the use of nuclear weapons in general against non-nuclear-weapon countries and the absence of any provision for the security and protection of non-nuclear countries from nuclear attacks.

66. Although the political crises that continue to threaten international security claim our immediate attention, the economic problems that beset the developing countries are of equal concern and interest to us. It is a truism to say that sharp economic disparities only accentuate political discontent, whether it be on the national or international scale.

67. The United Nations and its associated organizations have been called upon in recent years to assume an ever-increasing responsibility in this sphere. The declaration of the United Nations Development Decade was meant to marshal world opinion and to serve as a psychological force in support of concerted international action to stimulate the economic growth and development of the developing countries.

68. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) was established in December 1964 as a separate organization to deal with all matters relating to international trade which had a bearing on economic development, with the objective of removing such inequalities and such restrictive practices and policies as hampered economic growth and substituting for them more positive forms of international economic co-operation.

69. The Development Decade has become the slogan of the new impetus, while UNCTAD has come to be the main hope of the flagging and faltering economies of the developing world. The combined result of the declaration of the Development Decade, with all that it implies, and of three years of effort by UNCTAD has, however, been disappointing. The Development Decade, with only two years more to run, might pass into history as the "Disenchantment Decade" unless the achievements in the second Development Decade redeem the unrealized hopes and promise of the first. There would have to be something amounting to a miraculous change for the better, both in regard to the trading terms of the developing countries and the volume and terms of the capital aid they receive, if the 5 per cent annual growth rate to be achieved by

the end of the decade were to come even within reach of most of the developing countries.

70. Out of forty-seven developing countries for which comparable data is available, only seventeen have succeeded in achieving a growth rate of 5 per cent. But the thirty countries which failed to achieve this rate of growth together account for 75 per cent of the total population of the forty-seven countries. In fact, for most of the countries the growth rates for the first five years of the Development Decade were lower than the rates achieved in the five years preceding the Development Decade.

71. The average increase of gross domestic product per head of population of the developing countries during the first five years of the Development Decade was hardly \$10, as compared with an increase of \$300 per head in the developed market economies during the same period.

72. What these figures mean is that with hardly any sacrifice on their part the developed market economies can spare much more than they have hitherto done to raise the standards of living in the developing countries. It is by contributing to the reduction in economic disparities not by increasing them, it is by putting greater purchasing power in the hands of the developing countries in the shortest possible time through the adoption of bolder and more imaginative policies rather than by adherence to conservative practices, which give only partial relief in measured doses to the developing economies, that the richer nations can best serve their own ultimate interests.

73. Ceylon is one of those countries where improved productivity has brought no corresponding benefits. Although we have succeeded by improved methods in increasing agricultural productivity in the export sector, and particularly in the yields of tea and rubber, this improvement has been more than neutralized by a sharp decline in prices. For countries to which a progressive increase in their import capacity must make all the difference between stagnation and growth, it is not sufficient for aggregate export earnings to be barely maintained through increased production and improved productivity. In the case of agricultural products, for which the demand is inelastic, improved productivity results in increased total production and might serve to further reduce world market prices by increasing the supply.

74. Ceylon offers a perfect case study of the effect of adverse trends in world market prices on the economy of a developing country which relies preponderantly on agricultural exports as a source of foreign exchange earnings. Our experience, which is by no means unique, should establish an incontrovertible case for the stabilization of commodity prices. This is not the place for details. Those will be given in the Second Committee where they properly belong, but I should like your indulgence in this Assembly to state a few figures in support of the case for urgent action. I took the Development Decade as the period of reference because of the bright hopes and the bright faith that we had in it. The loss that Ceylon has sustained as a result of adverse trends in world market prices since 1959 has amounted to approximately \$340

million over the seven years from 1960 to 1966, which works out at a loss of \$48 million a year. In this figure no account is taken of the additional burden we have had to bear as a result of the higher prices of our imports.

75. During the same period of seven years, Ceylon's foreign exchange reserves fell steadily from a level of \$138 million in 1959 to \$59 million in 1966. Foreign aid can provide only very partial and inadequate relief and does not compensate us for the loss in export earnings. I have referred to the slow rate of growth in developing countries during the seven years of the Development Decade. If we take the per capita real income of the country into consideration—which is the most reliable index of the standard of living of a people—in the first seven years of the Development Decade there has been a drop of 3.2 per cent in per capita real income in Ceylon. This decline has been due to factors beyond our control and despite definite improvements in productivity. I mention these figures to emphasize the importance of some definite and positive measures to be agreed upon at the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, to be held at New Delhi next year.

76. Permit me to make a brief reference to that spectre that haunts most of the poorer countries of the world: the population explosion. This is a real problem, but to lay too much emphasis on the population explosion is to divert attention from what is immediately practicable. It is not the population explosion that depresses the prices of our export products and increases the cost of our imports. It is not the population explosion that inhibits the developed market economies from adopting more liberal policies or from reducing interest rates, extending maturity periods and replenishing the coffers of a now impecunious International Development Association. The population explosion, admittedly, aggravates scarcity and increases privation, but while efforts to check it are being made, there is much more that can be done by the affluent section of the world. Ceylon is paying close attention to this problem and our efforts have already met with some success. In 1966 Ceylon's rate of natural increase fell to 2.3 per cent from the previous year's figure of 2.4 per cent.

77. We have referred to the fact that the United Nations has now come of age. In all these years, however, it has failed to repair its gravest omission: the proper representation of 700 million of the Chinese people. We associate ourselves unequivocally with those delegations which have preceded us in this general debate and which have urged the seating of the People's Republic of China in this Organization as the lawful representatives of the Chinese people. We have maintained in the past, and we still maintain, that this is a simple matter of credentials, that what we are called upon to approve is the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China and that the Government of the People's Republic of China is alone entitled to represent that country and its people. There should be no doubt as to our policy in regard to Taiwan. Ceylon does not subscribe to the theory of two Chinas. The recent events in China have no bearing at all on the right of the People's Republic of China to the seat intended for China in this Assembly

and in the Security Council. They neither strengthen nor weaken that right.

78. We hope this Organization will not defer any longer the seating of the People's Republic of China. With this achievement to its credit, the United Nations would be better equipped to face the future with faith in its mission and with confidence in its ability to discharge its sublime trust.

79. Mr. BINDZI (Cameroon) (translated from French): I am happy to fall in with the admirable tradition of this Assembly and begin by extending to you, Mr. President, my hearty congratulations and those of my delegation on your election to the Presidency of this twenty-second session of the General Assembly. I welcome the event, as previous speakers have done, for what it denotes and it signifies, namely, a welcome development in the attitude of the major forces in the world today in the direction of rather less mistrust and rather more sense of brotherhood in their mutual relations.

80. In my country's view, this is an important juncture. For the first time, after twenty years of stalling, the General Assembly has a representative of a socialist country at its head. Only a few months ago, the Head of State of Cameroon, El Hadj Ahmadou Ahidjo, paid the first official visit of a Cameroonian to the oldest, historically, of the capitals of socialism, Moscow. Both these events represent a great breach in the wall of misunderstanding, a decisive step taken towards the inescapable development of man in the direction of greater confidence, understanding, in short, co-operation.

81. May this happy augury crystallize and grow, so that by the time we end our work, results may be achieved which will give all mankind the incentive to believe, to love and to have faith in their future. This cannot be regarded merely as a pious wish, if we pause for a moment, as we should at the beginning of every session of the General Assembly, to consider the political outlook for the world as a whole.

82. The outlook is, undoubtedly, one of relative calm. The conflagration in the Middle East has been brought temporarily under control. The fire brigade of the Security Council and the sirens sounded by the great world Powers have been in action. The flames have subsided, but the fire is still alive, latent, intense and explosive. Nothing has really been settled.

83. In Viet-Nam, the sky is still red with murderous, destructive bombings. There, a small country has been suffering martyrdom since 1940. Pain, suffering, desolation and destruction are part and parcel of everyday life, like food and drink. The psychologists and sociologists of the future will study this case and tell us the extent of the unprecedented moral trauma suffered by the Viet-Nameese.

84. Elsewhere, the barometer records neither calm nor set fair. Guerrilla warfare, silent, ruthless, goes on, inexorably gnawing away at the nations which are its victims, like a cancer undermining the patient's health.

85. In Africa, apartheid has gained strength, and is advancing like a steam-roller, not slowly any more, but headlong, in what is called the Republic of South

Africa, crushing the poor, defenceless indigenous Negro population with such ruthlessness as to warrant extreme concern about its future, unless we prefer, sanctimoniously and hypocritically, to wait for the battle to end, as in *Le Cid*, for lack of soldiers—in other words for the Pretoria régime to succeed in its genocide of all the non-whites in the Territory.

86. Colonialism too has made headway. The General Assembly did adopt the historic resolution calling for the immediate granting of independence to all dependent countries and peoples [1514 (XV)]. But what has actually been done? Well, the Territory of South West Africa, which was under the Mandate of the League of Nations and later inherited by the United Nations, has been for practical purposes removed from the jurisdiction of the General Assembly under our very noses and leaving our conscience seemingly untroubled about our common responsibility.

87. In the face of such an admission of impotence, is it any wonder that the Ian Smith clique should feel itself completely at liberty to go on building and consolidating, with Great Britain uttering threats in a Pontius Pilate manner. Selective economic sanctions? They remind one of the washing of hands ritual—which did not prevent Christ from being crucified.

88. At this late stage in the general debate, it would serve no purpose for me to refer to all the items on our agenda, or even those concerning my part of the world. All these problems have already been analysed with the eloquence and the pertinence characteristic of statements made in this forum. My delegation will therefore try very briefly to outline its views and define its position on some items of the debates in which, for various reasons, it was not able to take part.

89. I think it might be useful, indeed necessary, first of all to point out the general impression of disenchantment and lethargy which pervades this whole Assembly. It is vital that this should be analysed if we are to avoid a situation that would be fatal for the Organization, namely apathy and inability to react. "We will not stand for it" should be our password and motto to offset any inclination to let things slide onto the dangerous downward path of the forces of evil, which work relentlessly till the damage is irreparable.

90. Our agenda has of course been dealing with the same problems for the last twenty years. It may be, indeed it is certain, that we have not found final solutions for most of the problems, or in fact solutions of any sort. The memory is only too vivid and depressing of the impasse reached at the last emergency special session of the General Assembly. The efforts of the Secretary-General, forceful and valiant though they were, met with so little understanding that in his Report he stripped away the garb of decency and presented the bare facts in all their most gloomy nakedness.

91. All this may of course be discouraging, but it is not new. As regards the Secretary-General, we anticipated him last year [1412th meeting]. We made it clear that the work of the United Nations was being paralysed by the notion embodied in the Charter that there was a breach of peace only when the danger brought the great Powers into conflict. At the time,

the Secretary-General was threatening to quit us. Recalling the death of Mr. Hammarskjöld and his imminent departure about that time, we gave a word of warning against the wastage of these eminent and highly gifted men. Under pressure from all of us U Thant, in an admirable spirit of self-sacrifice and will to serve, remained at his post. But a year later, we find him more disillusioned than ever and fearing the worst. Yes, like causes will always produce like effects. There was no point in paying this collective tribute to the Secretary-General and asking him to stay on unless we gave him the tools duly sharpened for use. Let me repeat what we said last year: what is needed is a genuine renewal of the Charter. It must be dynamically and intelligently adapted to today's world. This Charter, born in 1945, and now in the full flower of youth—over twenty years old—must not be kept still wearing its first communion dress.

92. Peace will not be safeguarded until it is understood in the minds of all, as defined by Jean Jaurès, i.e. as "integral, total and final" and the definition is applied to every breath of the peace, even if the Powers involved are small or medium-sized.

93. The notion of a sincere agreement between great Powers is fallacious in principle and impossible in practice. It is fallacious because power changes. From the Memphis of ancient times to the Washington of today, the goddess of power has roamed the earth, making her sojourn for varying periods in many other capitals. But while everyone wishes to join the great-Power club, no one willingly leaves it. During the war people spoke of the "Big Two" or the "Big Three"—or more, according to the capital they were in. The Security Council has its permanent members. But as everyone knows, some of them are already being challenged. It is therefore useless to think in terms of the great Powers of 1945.

94. Agreement is impossible in practice, because greatness means having clients and having influence. Among the great Powers, sharing does not mean giving anything away. Nobody gives; nobody concedes; they only take. That is why the great Powers will not agree among themselves and it is useless to hope for world peace based upon "agreement among the great Powers".

95. Failing a change in the ethical outlook, we must unfortunately fight with the means at our disposal—moderation, tolerance, discussion—in the hope each time of striking a note of pacification and reconciliation. One of the principles of Moral Rearmament, an institution very fashionable some time ago, is that when there is a conflict, one should not seek to establish who is wrong and who is right, but rather what is just.

96. What is just for Viet-Nam, for example, is that the bombings and all acts of war should cease, because that nation has suffered over much. It is a question of humanity. I will not even call it a question of morality; it is a question of fair play. North Viet-Nam is certainly greatly at fault for wanting to lead South Viet-Nam astray against its will. But did it start doing so by bombing? It is not fair play to use a sledge-hammer or a tank against an adversary fighting with bare fists.

97. It is an elementary principle of justice that so far as possible the punishment should fit the crime. Even in politics, when intervention is not proportionate to the initial act, assistance or self-defence rapidly takes on the look of provocation as a pretext for aggression. This is not, I think, the wish or the intention of the United States; nor is it the desire of South Viet-Nam. That the latter should seek and obtain assistance to secure self-determination vis-à-vis or against the North strikes me as normal and legitimate. For just as it is normal for North Viet-Nam to wish to be socialist, so it is for South Viet-Nam to wish not to be. But it must show similar zeal and prove that its convictions are genuine. The fight must be carried on with the same weapons—conviction by both sides.

98. A just solution to the problem does not mean big guns booming, napalm and air squadrons. Experience has already proved that, and all circles at Washington, including the Pentagon, admit it and are still unable to determine when it will all end, even with the colossal forces at present deployed in the operation. The Charter stipulates the settlement of disputes by peaceful means. This is more urgent than ever once conventional weapons have failed. No one need ask why we are in favour of the conference table, official or unofficial: obviously it is because we are faithful to the Charter. Hence what we say is: let the air squadrons return to their bases, and let the talking begin.

99. As far as the Middle East is concerned, there too we shall be guided by our concern for a lasting truce. Who is right and who is wrong? What does it matter? Nobody is ever 100 per cent wrong or 100 per cent right. With regard to the historical background, as far as we know, until the Diaspora in 70 A.D., the land was occupied by the Jews, certainly for several thousand years. Since the Diaspora, it has belonged to the Arabs for almost two thousand years. Actually, they were neither the Jews of today nor the Arabs of today. And that is where racism is stupid and vicious. It was a mistake to establish a so-called Jewish State and equally to turn this into an Arab problem. When the British colonizers left, a single state of Palestine should have been established, multiracial, like those of the rest of us, where all could live together without discrimination as to race or religion, with only one objective: the building of the nation and its economic and social development.

100. What is unjust is that minor frontier incidents with the United Arab Republic or Syria were followed by a violent outbreak over the whole length of the Mediterranean, from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic. What is equally bad is that former inhabitants of this land have been reduced to abject poverty while appeals were being made to Jews scattered over the earth to come and colonize the country. As Mr. Bechin Ben Yamed wrote quite rightly in an editorial in the newspaper *Jeune Afrique*, and Heaven knows I do not always agree with what he writes:

"The Arab leaders have proved themselves incapable of winning a victory in the struggle with Israel; on the other hand, Israel has proved itself incapable of making peace with its neighbours."

101. Thus since both sides are equally to blame, all that remains is compromise. First of all, there must be a return to the situation as it was before the hostilities of 5 June last, which means the withdrawal of Israel troops from the occupied territory and freedom of navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba, and then a general settlement at an international conference convened specifically to deal with the problems of the region. Without the necessity for anyone to recognize anyone else, Arabs and Israelis sit peacefully in this hall. They vote together on resolutions and they initial international treaties. Since the device works here, it could serve in other circumstances.

102. Acute though these two problems are, the international community cannot ignore others arising elsewhere, particularly in Africa. There is Rhodesia, building and consolidating its position. When will Great Britain finally assume its responsibilities? History tells us only too clearly how it has decolonized—leaving behind problems which at times have brought it back; or when it has not come back—a good thing in itself—there has often been conflict and bloodshed. A great Power must not be one-sided. It must be able to accept great sacrifices, not only in Europe, as it has done, but wherever the thirst for power has caused its flag to fly. Great Britain must measure up to its responsibility in this matter.

103. Why should South Africa change its policy towards South West Africa or apartheid? How can Portugal be expected to change its attitude towards Angola and Mozambique, if they see from the example given by Great Britain in Rhodesia that the principles of freedom and justice do not count where Africans are concerned? The meeting on the Tiger will go down as a sad day in history when a Prime Minister had a meeting on a warship—a warship, mark you!—with a rebel who came not to surrender but to re-affirm his rebellious intentions and to bear away the honours.

104. Perhaps people resign themselves to this, because it is not war. But it is not peace either; and such situations, repeated up and down the world, intensify the pervading atmosphere of despondency which already marks the beginning of a general acquiescence in what seems irreparable. Small wars here, there and everywhere will lead to the conviction that a large-scale war is inevitable. That is what is worrying us.

105. Like the slowing down of decolonization, the hardening of apartheid and the falling back on regionalism, the deterioration of economic relations between rich and poor countries is the first sign of disenchantment, which is the forerunner of despair and therefore of all that is evil. Political justice and the brotherhood of man are inseparable from economic justice, which must allow every man, every human being in this day and age his fair share of the happiness won through twentieth century progress.

106. What is surprising at first sight is the way in which the world seems to be alive to the urgency and magnitude of the problem; yet there is no sign that it is resolutely taking adequate measures to begin to solve it. There are virtually no political, religious, scientific, let alone technical or industrial figures

any more who fail to stress, from any platform, this problem of the development needs of the backward countries.

107. In its Encyclical Populorum Progressio, the Holy See, which traditionally uses moderate language, saw fit through the lips of Pope Paul VI to use vehement tones to describe the problem:

"Today the principal fact that we must all recognize is that the social question has become worldwide... Today the peoples in hunger are making a dramatic appeal to the peoples blessed with abundance."^{4/}

108. And as if in echo, Mr. Raul Prebisch, the Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), assessing the achievements of the Development Decade at Geneva on 15 August 1967, stated:

"No one is any longer in doubt that the so-called United Nations Development Decade may turn out to be a decade of frustration. Very few developing countries have managed to exceed the minimum growth rate of 5 per cent per annum which was set as an objective of the Decade. Most of them have barely attained extremely modest rates representing a slight increase in per capita income."^{5/}

109. These two quotations alone suffice to depict the plight of the developing countries not only in the face of activities carried on abroad to bring the problem home to the world, and at home, at the cost of heavy sacrifices, with a view to playing their full part in the process, but likewise in the face of the end results, which in the long run leave them little or no hope.

110. I am sure we may venture to make this appeal to the socialist countries, with the anniversary of the great October Revolution only a few days off. We often hear them state—I still hear them saying it at Geneva in 1964 during the First United Nations Conference on Trade and Development—that since they had never had colonies they do not admit any responsibility for the backwardness of developing countries and therefore have no special responsibility to help those countries. They may be correct, historically speaking, but certainly not objectively speaking.

111. Under-development today has become an anachronism, an endemic disease like smallpox or yellow fever, which any doctor in the world will fight against without having to feel that he has any specific responsibility for their eradication. The fight must be automatic, and everybody's business. Each and every one of us is involved in the solidarity of a society which the triumphs of science and technology are driving at a headlong pace towards unification.

112. It could even be argued—I hope the socialist countries will forgive me—if one is really ambitious for socialism, that because its principles are by definition altruistic it ought to intervene in the world market to get rid of its retrograde mercantile aspect and in a novel and enriching gesture, infuse it with an element of aid to development. This has become all

the more essential in that the political liberation of the Third World is already being followed by market tendencies to a sharing of economic dependence. Vertical compartment ideas are already creeping into the multilateral and global system of international trade. For the developing countries that would undoubtedly be the kiss of death.

113. I am from an African country which is associated with the European Common Market. The distinct advantages we enjoy in respect of quantitative or other preferences in no way make us forget the overriding need for general world change. In any event, the association is limited in terms of time and very soon we shall have to negotiate another association agreement. But I must state emphatically that the association is temporary and is justified by the unequal degree of relative under-development among us. In my humble opinion, it would be unfair for the developing countries to engage in wholesale recriminations against the well-to-do countries if, in the process of the efforts to bring about equalization, no account was taken of the inequalities existing at the outset. The medicine must always be prescribed according to the severity of the ailment.

114. Hence in our view, the role of the socialist countries, assuming that socialism is idealistic and is concerned to play a decisive role in the evolution of the world, should today take the form of bold intervention in world trade so as to bring about, with the opening up of its closed markets, a quantitative acceleration of consumption of commodities, accompanied by an organization of the market for those commodities on the basis of prices geared to development.

115. All eyes are now turning towards New Delhi, where the world's conscience will have the opportunity once again to reflect on this problem. For the developing countries, the expression of grievances centres essentially not on aid, which can only be an extra, but on the fundamental issue of support of the prices of raw materials whose fluctuations affect their earnings from exports to the markets of the developed countries.

116. We know the classic law of this machinery: either prices increase nominally and the producing countries sell less in volume, or prices drop and they earn less for a greater volume, while the cost of manufactured goods continues to rise steadily. The principle followed is cleverly and deliberately to maintain structures which will enable the industrialized countries to derive bigger and better advantages.

117. We have calculated that in our own country of Cameroon alone, the loss in revenue between 1960 and 1965 on sales of agricultural exports because of the drop in prices was over CFA francs 20,000 million,^{6/} or nearly \$100 million.

118. The President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon last summer visited the European Economic Community, where he spoke of these same problems, which arise even within the framework of our association, though admittedly in a slightly less acute form. El Hadj Ahmadou Ahidjo, with his characteristic

^{4/} On the Development of Peoples, Encyclical Letter of His Holiness Pope Paul VI (Vatican Polyglot Press, 1967), pp. 3-4.

^{5/} See document TD/B/146, p. 1.

^{6/} CFA = Communauté financière africaine (African Financial Community).

love of the truth, especially in talking to his friends, said:

"Three points in this connexion cause us the utmost concern: stagnation in the volume of our exports to your Community, deterioration in the terms of trade, and difficulties in marketing goods derived from the processing of agricultural products.

"We are greatly worried because in the present situation we sell comparatively less to you; we earn less from the sale of our products, while we pay more each year for the manufactured goods we buy from you; and when we try to place on your market goods processed from our agricultural products we come up against an unexpected customs barrier. We sell you relatively less.

"In more specific terms, at the present time we hardly sell you any more vegetable oil and coffee than in 1962. We sell you less rice, oil seeds, and cotton; and while we are glad to see that you are consuming more cocoa and bananas from our country, we cannot help noting that the increase in cocoa imports coincides with the catastrophic drop in prices in 1965, and that the additional tonnage of bananas sold on your markets have in many instances been sold by dint of incredible difficulties and at rock bottom prices."

119. These friendly criticisms on our part, let me repeat, do not detract from the advantages we derive from our association with the European Economic Community, nor lessen the gratitude, repeatedly expressed, of the African and Associated Malagasy States. They merely show that there is basically a structural weakness in the mechanism of economic international relations which to a large extent cancels out all the efforts made to aid the developing countries.

120. Thus it is this crucial problem of price supports for commodities that the New Delhi Conference must tackle as a matter of top priority. It is reassuring to know that the Ministers of the franc zone who met recently at Dakar considered the problem and that at Rio de Janeiro the question was placed on the agenda, and a decision was taken to study the matter, in the following resolution, which was duly adopted:

"Whereas Governors of the Bank and the Fund for Cameroon, Central African Republic, Congo (Brazzaville), Ivory Coast, Dahomey, France, Gabon, Upper Volta, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Chad and Togo have transmitted to the President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development the following request:

"Considering the decisive importance of the stabilization of prices of primary products at a remunerative level for the economic advancement of the developing countries and the improvement of the standard of living of their populations, the Governors meeting in Dakar request that in Rio study be made of the conditions in which IMF, IBRD, and IDA could participate in the elaboration of suitable mechanisms involving balanced commitments on the part both of the producing and of the consuming countries, and devote the necessary resources thereto.

"And whereas the Board of Governors recognize the importance of this subject in relation to the purposes of the Bank,

"Now therefore, the Board of Governors resolves that the President is hereby invited to have the staff, in consultation with the Fund staff, prepare a study of the problem, its possible solutions, and their economic feasibility, in the light of the foregoing, to be submitted to the Executive Directors who are requested to transmit it with such comments or recommendations as they may have to the Board of Governors for consideration and appropriate decision by the Board, if possible at its next Annual Meeting."

121. In my delegation's view, this is definitely the right course if, as a first emergency measure, both at Algiers^{7/} and at New Delhi, a solution could be found to the problem of stabilization of commodity prices. If this first step were taken, the rest would follow automatically. Is the world not yet ready for such a task?

122. In conclusion, let me quote what the Head of State of Cameroon also said at Brussels when addressing the European Economic Community:

"Gentlemen, what is true of men is true of States. They must excel themselves, surpass themselves the better to fulfil their role, their mission; and I believe that civilizations begin to decline as soon as they cease to be convinced of this truth.

"The great lesson of our time is this collective, world-wide awareness of our responsibilities, this need felt by us all to get outside ourselves and interest ourselves in others, precisely because they are others, because they are different, because we can give them something and undoubtedly receive something which enriches us in return. As citizens of one and the same world, everything that happens here is our concern. That is why I believe that we would be betraying our century and ourselves if we did not seek to pursue and develop co-operation in the spirit of mutual honesty and confidence which has enabled our association from the outset to proceed in a highly efficient manner."

123. Like my President, I hope we shall refuse to betray ourselves and instead, direct our energies towards saving ourselves and saving our civilization.

124. Mr. CRAW (New Zealand): Mr. President, I am happy to offer you the congratulations of the New Zealand delegation on your election as President of this Assembly. We know that you bring to your high office a mature judgement and a wealth of experience in international counsels, as did your able and distinguished predecessor, Ambassador Pazhwak of Afghanistan.

125. There is much that this Assembly and the other organs of the United Nations can do in a positive way to further the cause of international co-operation. We address ourselves again this year to an agenda which raises many challenging issues. On most of these, New Zealand's position has been fully stated in previous sessions of the Assembly. Accordingly, I shall confine myself here to referring to a few in which New Zealand has a particular interest and to reviewing New Zealand's attitude to one issue—Viet-Nam—which is

^{7/} Ministerial Meeting of the Group of Seventy-Seven, held from 10 to 25 October 1967.

not on our agenda but which is also of special concern to New Zealand, as a small country of the Pacific, seeking its security through collective defence, and deeply committed to the cause of freedom in its own part of the world.

Mr. Zinsou (Dahomey), Vice-President, took the Chair.

126. Now pre-eminent among the great issues confronting us is that of disarmament. The arms race, whether nuclear or non-nuclear, whether between the super-Powers or between the smaller countries, is of universal concern. New Zealand has welcomed what has been done in recent years to check that race. In 1963 there was the Moscow partial nuclear test-ban Treaty and early this year the outer space Treaty [resolution 2222 (XXI)] was opened for signature. A large measure of agreement has been reached on a non-proliferation treaty. We believe that the speedy completion of this treaty and its acceptance—including, preferably, all the nuclear weapon States but, if needs must, only the major nuclear States—would in itself contribute to the security of the non-nuclear weapon States. We must all hope that the outstanding issues, notably the safeguards article, will soon be resolved. Important questions and doubts have been raised in the course of the negotiations, such as guarantees for the security of non-aligned States and an undertaking by the nuclear weapon States to move on to the reduction of their nuclear capability. The treaty is of such importance as the next step towards disarmament that we feel that these questions and doubts should not be permitted to obstruct its completion.

127. We would also hope that the way would then be clear to seek agreement on a comprehensive test-ban treaty and measures to limit the arsenals of the nuclear weapon States. New Zealand is strongly opposed to continued nuclear testing in the atmosphere and would once again stress the need for general observance of the partial test-ban Treaty, pending completion of a comprehensive treaty. We have deplored the tests conducted by Communist China; and we have continued to protest against those undertaken again this year in the South Pacific by France, even though there has been no apparent cause for concern on grounds of hazard to the health of the peoples of New Zealand and the Pacific Islands generally. It remains our hope that there will be an early end to all nuclear testing, particularly in the atmosphere.

128. We have seen again in the Middle East the tragic results of failure over the years to solve in equity the political problems of the area. That failure has had profound consequences for this Organization and for the countries of the Middle East. It has deprived neighbours of the opportunity to co-operate in the joint measures which the welfare of their region so urgently demands. Instead, it has carried them far along the road of sterile enmity and conflict. For years the situation has been one of armed vigilance, of open and covert violence, of blockade and boycott, of raid and reprisal. It has meant a constant threat of war and a disastrous competition in armaments. It has condemned the Arab refugees to a generation of wretchedness and misery.

129. New Zealand is not directly involved in the situation in the Middle East except in the sense that all United Nations Members, great or small, are involved in the conflict there. We all have an obligation—and the Permanent Members of the Security Council have a special obligation—to do what can be done to find an enduring settlement. Above all, the Governments most directly concerned have an obligation to seek a solution. Peace is a debt that they owe to themselves and to the world. They cannot risk, the world cannot risk, a fourth round in this contest. The security of Middle Eastern countries within their national frontiers must be firmly established, and it is important that early international action be initiated to ensure that the immediate territorial consequences of the June hostilities do not, through lack of discussion of meaningful alternatives, assume a degree of permanence for which they are not appropriate. To this end, a number of related problems must be tackled: a permanent basis must be found to assure the refugees a normal life; there must be arrangements acknowledging the international interest in the status of the Holy Places in Jerusalem; the rights of navigation in international waterways must be confirmed.

130. A withdrawal of Israeli forces and an end to belligerency are essential elements in a solution. The United Nations can play a helpful role in bringing about agreed arrangements to which the countries concerned are directly committed, and in supervising them: it should not accept a role which, in effect, insulates the parties concerned from the need to seek, and commit themselves to, such undertakings.

131. The war in Viet-Nam should give us all concern, whatever our geographical region, for all would stand to lose if aggression in any form were to be allowed to succeed. New Zealand, for its part, has treaty obligations extending to South Viet-Nam and it has a direct interest in the security of South-East Asia as a whole. We have therefore joined in the effort to defend South Viet-Nam and in the search for a durable peace. Our concern for Viet-Nam has been shown, not just in recent years, but for over a decade, and not just in military action but in economic assistance. We feel that the principles at stake are of the gravest importance for regions far removed from East and South-East Asia.

132. A year ago, the New Zealand representative to this Assembly indicated [1447th meeting] New Zealand's belief that the people of South Viet-Nam did not want a communist or a communist front government. Events of the past year have confirmed that assessment. In the midst of great difficulties imposed by the war, a number of positive tendencies are at work within South Viet-Nam itself. It has frequently been said from this rostrum that there can or should be no military solution to this conflict. Nevertheless, military means are necessary to make a political settlement possible. It is not only the political progress that has been made in South Viet-Nam during the past year, but also the hard fighting sustained throughout that period, which have together confirmed that North Viet-Nam will not be permitted to impose its own solution by military means.

133. It is widely accepted in this Assembly that a political solution to this conflict must be found through negotiations. Unfortunately, that fact—and I say fact,

not hope—has not yet been acknowledged by North Viet-Nam. Many channels are open to North Viet-Nam to make known any reasonable response which would lead to talks. New Zealand is satisfied that no substantive proposition by North Viet-Nam has ever failed to receive the attention that it merited. Again and again, the conciliatory and flexible approach of those who are engaged in the defence of South Viet-Nam has been demonstrated. What is needed is some constructive response from the other side. When that comes, the process of negotiation can begin.

134. New Zealand, for its part, would hope that, even in the present situation, talks could be initiated. If that is not possible, then we would hope that an understanding between the two sides on a number of matching steps, in which, for example, a cessation of the bombing would be balanced by evidence of de-escalation on the other side, might, by reducing military activity without disadvantage to either side, lead to the kind of political climate in which negotiations become possible. But experience makes one doubt the effectiveness of appeals for a unilateral cessation of military action by one side alone.

135. The way to peace in Viet-Nam lies open. Sooner or later, when North Viet-Nam so decides, that way will be taken. We fervently hope that this will happen sooner rather than later. But if the allied policy of firmness and restraint needs to be sustained over a long period, then that must, and it will, be done. The peace to be found will be a negotiated settlement that will secure, not sacrifice, the rights of the people of South Viet-Nam. That peace will be found.

136. The continuation of the war in Viet-Nam is all the more tragic and senseless in that elsewhere in the area we have seen how stubborn problems that had brought tension and fighting can be settled peacefully once the will is evident. New Zealand, which wants not only to strengthen its good relations with all the States of South-east Asia but also to see the closest co-operation among them, welcomed the end of the policy of confrontation that had divided Indonesia from Malaysia and Singapore. We were gratified to see full diplomatic relations restored between them and the re-establishment of partnership among the three countries. We have been greatly heartened also by the moves towards closer co-operation in the area, notably the formation of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the continued progress of the Asian and Pacific Council, of which New Zealand is a member.

137. I turn now to the South-west Pacific, which is our immediate neighbourhood. We are a Pacific island people ourselves, deeply interested in the welfare of the other island peoples of our area. There are direct ethnic and cultural links between the Maori people of New Zealand and other Polynesian islanders. As in the past, Polynesians still migrate from their crowded islands to the wider opportunities of New Zealand. Trade is also an important link. We want to see in that area orderly decolonization in accordance with the wishes and interests of the Pacific Island peoples themselves. Economic, political and social arrangements must be workable over the long term. We have helped bring Western Samoa to independence and the Cook Islands to self-government, in complete accord-

ance with the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and we are assisting in the advancement of our remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories, Niue and the Tokelau Islands, just as rapidly as conditions and the wishes of their peoples permit. An imaginative search for solutions related to the particular circumstances will be needed to meet the requirements of Niue and the Tokelau Islands and, indeed, the other isolated groups of the Pacific, few of which have a significant population or substantial resources. In my delegation's view, the Committees of this Assembly might do well, in looking at the Pacific, to show less concern for dogma and more concern for the practical problems involved. We should not attempt to fit the pattern and the pace of development of the Pacific Territories into a rigid mould. One would hope for a wider willingness to understand the particular problems of the smaller Territories and, I may add, of the comparatively large ones like Fiji and Papua and New Guinea.

138. In this context the New Zealand delegation has read with very great interest the conclusions of the Secretary-General's report drawing attention to the need to consider the future status of micro-States, which the Secretary-General has described as "entities which are exceptionally small in area, population and human and economic resources and which are now emerging as independent States" [A/6701/Add.1, para. 163]. It is not necessarily true that the interests and objectives of the people concerned, or of this Organization, are always met by the unlimited expansion of sovereign independence and full United Nations membership. Independence without United Nations membership, or independence within the framework of free association with an existing State, may be appropriate in some cases.

139. Even the brief review I have offered of some of the issues of the day can leave no doubt that peace is under violent threat in many parts of the world. Our first concern must be with what this Organization can do to reduce that threat. But that cannot be our exclusive concern. As you yourself remarked in your opening address, Mr. President:

"... the problem of peace and security is indissolubly linked to the fulfilment of most people's legitimate wish for well-being and progress."* [1560th meeting, para. 71.]

140. Without physical security, national and international welfare is in danger. Without economic progress, national and international security is in danger. There is a direct link between national economic well-being and capacity to meet the obligations of United Nations membership. The material circumstances of each country set the limits within which it is able to play its part in the economic and social programmes of this Organization and in the larger United Nations design for strengthening the peace.

141. For many countries—but for none, perhaps, more than for New Zealand—economic health depends on an ability to export a small number of primary products at fair prices. Countries highly dependent on exports of primary products—and that includes virtually all developing countries as well as

*Provisional English version taken from interpretation.

my own—face great problems in getting reasonable access to international markets. Restrictive conditions of access, which are now all too prevalent, severely limit marketing opportunities, and for many primary products result in unduly low prices in those markets that remain open. About one quarter of New Zealand's national income and almost all our export earnings come from the sale abroad of only three commodities—all primary commodities—wool, meat and dairy products. Since the beginning of 1966, falling prices have resulted in a worsening of about 10 per cent in New Zealand's terms of trade. That has, of course, gravely affected our economy and especially our balance of payments.

142. At this point I should like to refer to the situation confronting Western Samoa. The Assembly will be fully aware that, under a treaty of friendship between New Zealand and the independent State of Western Samoa, New Zealand has from time to time, at the request of Western Samoa, represented that country's views in international bodies. On this occasion the Western Samoan Government has asked us to express its growing concern at the continuing lack of progress in attempts to achieve some stability in world commodity trade.

143. Eighteen months ago the Samoans experienced a devastating hurricane, and as a result their exports have suffered a severe set-back; they have not yet recovered even to pre-hurricane levels. Quite fortuitously, the price of cocoa, one of Samoa's three main export crops, has been at a satisfactory level for the past two years or so and this has been of considerable assistance to them in their battle to rehabilitate their agriculture after the hurricane. Copra prices have unfortunately not been nearly as satisfactory. The history of Samoa's trade in these two commodities has been characterized by violent price fluctuations. There are now indications that the cocoa producers and consumers are prepared to renew their efforts to negotiate a cocoa agreement, and this news has been welcomed. But Western Samoa, a small developing country with considerable financial problems, has suffered as much as any country from the instability of world commodity trade. It looks to the larger countries, which are able to exert a greater influence on the course of world trade, to work towards the price stability which the developing agricultural producers so sorely need.

144. My own Government has long believed that a co-ordinated international approach to commodity problems is essential. We also hold that the needs of a hungry world can be met only through such an approach, since we have to work together for the most rational use of food production resources. New Zealand therefore attempted to secure the conclusion of a general arrangement in the field of dairy products during the GATT Kennedy Round negotiations. The problems of agriculture were, however, largely set aside in the final stages of the Geneva talks, and New Zealand, like other agricultural exporters, had to register profound disappointment at the outcome. The challenge is nevertheless still there, and New Zealand is actively seeking the basis for a negotiated arrangement on dairy products which takes into account the need for joint action by the developed countries in the field of food aid.

145. We should regret it exceedingly in New Zealand if the decline in our terms of trade were to limit our capacity to contribute as we should like to valuable international programmes. We should regret it all the more because we believe that there has to be more, not less, international co-operation in all fields of action. Small countries, New Zealand among them, have special reason to know this. This knowledge is at the heart of our Charter, which points us on the road we should all try to follow. Most of our international activity takes place, of course, outside the United Nations. What is important is that our actions, wherever they may be taken, should be in conformity with the Charter and should further its aims. Clearly, there is room for a more deliberate effort to achieve this.

146. If United Nations Members have a duty to ensure that their policies outside the Organization meet the aims of the Charter, equally there is an obligation on them to ensure that what they do collectively inside the Organization is constructive, practical and realistic. The United Nations should not merely interpose itself between the parties to a conflict and their duty under the Charter to seek an agreed solution through their own actions. The United Nations should not merely mobilize majorities behind unenforceable proposals that appear to take no account of the realities with which we have to live. The United Nations should not merely content itself with adopting declamatory resolutions that pay scant regard to the means, the costs and the consequences of their implementation.

147. I have presented in outline the major factors that influence my Government's approach to some of the important issues of the present day. The basic principles underlying New Zealand's policies and actions are: support for the purposes of the United Nations Charter, resistance to aggression, defence of the rights of small States, participation in collective security arrangements, and assistance to other countries in their economic and social development. We shall continue to be guided by those principles in the future, as we have been guided by them in the past.

148. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of Denmark, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

149. Mr. BORCH (Denmark): During the meeting of this Assembly yesterday afternoon [1487th meeting], the Secretary of State of Liberia said that exports to Rhodesia by the European Free Trade Association, excluding the United Kingdom, had increased substantially during the first part of 1967. In continuation of the statement already made by the representative of Sweden [1587th meeting] and for the sake of clarity, I wish to state, on behalf of the delegation of Finland, Norway and Denmark, that not only have those three countries loyally implemented the Security Council resolution of 16 December 1966 [232 (1966)], imposing mandatory sanctions on Southern Rhodesia, but they have also, right from the outset, complied with the non-mandatory Security Council resolution of November 1965 [217 (1965)].

150. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I now call upon the representative of Thailand, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

151. Mr. TONGYAI (Thailand): My delegation has asked to speak in order to make an observation with reference to an unwarranted statement made by the Cambodian representative yesterday [1587th meeting]. His unworthy remarks, which are pure fabrications, represent a rehash of Cambodia's traditional campaign of false and unsubstantiated allegations against Thailand.

152. It is a pity that the Cambodian representative has not been able to keep up with the new trends of his master, who has begun to be more keenly aware of the threats and danger stemming from too close co-operation with the big brother from the north and

the invading North Viet-Nameese neighbours. The Cambodian representative would indeed be doing infinitely better if, before repeating the old, worn-out accusations, he cared to seek fresh instructions from Prince Sihanouk in Phnom Penh, and caught the new spirit which now seems to prevail in that country.

153. In the circumstances, my delegation will give him the benefit of the doubt and will pass over Cambodia's collusion with the North Viet-Nameese aggressors, and other illegal and hostile activities against peace-loving Asian neighbours, for which Cambodia is clearly responsible.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.