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*President: Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).*

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Sisouk Na Champassak (Laos), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

**Statement by the Secretary-General**

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): This morning we shall continue the general debate, but before calling upon the first speaker on my list I shall recognize the Secretary-General, who wishes to make a statement.
2. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: Yesterday the following bulletin was issued in regard to the condition of President Fanfani:  
"President Fanfani is resting comfortably. His spirits are good, and his general medical condition has been thoroughly evaluated. Surgical repair of the tendon injury is being considered for the first part of next week, dependent upon re-evaluation of his knee injury. Altogether, as previously stated, two to three weeks of hospitalization is anticipated, with resumption of some duties at the end of that period."  
3. I had occasion to discuss the conduct of the work of the General Assembly with the Chairmen of Committees on Wednesday, 13 October, and we agreed that there should be no plenary meetings for next week. This will enable the Committees, and especially the First Committee, to make some progress with their work. Advantage may also be taken by the Committees that have occasion to vote to use the mechanical means of voting in the General Assembly and familiarize themselves with that equipment.  
4. In regard to the future, the position may perhaps be reviewed about this time next week in the light of the circumstances then prevailing.

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (continued)**

5. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): I should like at the outset to express the

satisfaction of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria at seeing the twentieth session of the General Assembly take place in accordance with the normal procedure. That this has been possible is a result of the constructive efforts of the great majority of States Members of the United Nations, which at the crucial moment formed a united front against the attempts which had been made for a long time to undermine the very foundation of the Organization and which last year, as you know, assumed disquieting proportions in the shape of the so-called financial crisis.

6. The first actions of the General Assembly at the beginning of this session—the appointment of the Credentials Committee and the almost unanimous election of the President—confirmed the general determination to return to normal procedure as laid down in the rules of procedure and this augurs well for the normal progress of the session.

7. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria would like to express to President Fanfani its warmest congratulations on his election. We deeply regret the accident which temporarily keeps him away from the work of the Assembly. My delegation is happy that the representative of a country which maintains friendly relations with ours has assumed the direction of our work and we are convinced that his outstanding qualities will enable him to carry the work of the twentieth session to a successful conclusion.

8. I should like once again to express our admiration and gratitude to his predecessor, Mr. Quaison-Sackey, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana, who, despite the difficulties and obstacles which certain Powers created artificially, was able to guide the work of the Organization throughout a very difficult year and to preserve the possibilities for the future.

9. Twenty years ago, the peoples who had united in the struggle against the nazi aggressors created the United Nations, with the firm determination to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. They were imbued with the desire to create an international community founded on equality, liberty and national independence and were profoundly convinced that they were laying the foundations of a lasting institution whose object would be to ensure collective security and wide international co-operation.

10. The principles on which the Charter of the United Nations is based not only reflect the ideas of the period of history which ended with the war, but also serve as a political and legal basis for the regulation of international relations for decades to come. This has enabled the Organization to survive the tests of history and to adapt itself, in large measure, to the profound transformations which characterize our era.

11. Despite the many and persistent attempts to subordinate it to a policy of aggression and even to transform it into a willing tool for the preservation of colonial rule in all its forms and manifestations, as in the case of the Congo and Korea, the United Nations has been able, thanks to the efforts of the forces of progress and under the impetus of new forces, to make headway and contribute to the solution of the crucial problems of our time. It already has to its credit steadfast efforts for the preservation of peace, for general and complete disarmament, for the liberation of peoples from colonial rule and for fruitful co-operation among States.

12. We should like to mention the positive role of the Organization and its Secretary-General, U Thant, in bringing about the cessation of hostilities between India and Pakistan. We must also recognize the contribution of the Organization in restoring calm in Cyprus and we hope that the efforts made by the United Nations will bring about a peaceful, just and equitable solution based on respect for the territorial integrity, the independence and the sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus.

13. As an international institution, the United Nations was created through the free consent of States. The co-ordinated actions of its Members determine the results of its activity.

14. The United Nations already has 117 Members. We wish to congratulate the States that have recently been admitted to membership—the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore. But the question of the Organization's universality remains open, for the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations have not yet been restored. This is not simply a matter of correcting an injustice, but above all of taking a realistic view of the development of international relations. We consider that the States Members of the United Nations must put an end to this situation once and for all and firmly resist those increasingly isolated forces that are still trying to prevent the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

15. The proposal of the non-aligned countries at the Cairo Conference in October 1964<sup>1/</sup> for a world disarmament conference to which all countries would be invited emphasizes anew the necessity for the United Nations to be universal. That proposal, it will be recalled, was welcomed enthusiastically and adopted by an overwhelming majority by the Disarmament Commission.<sup>2/</sup> This is another demonstration in favour of the universality of the United Nations and in particular the restoration of the lawful rights of China in the United Nations. Whether one wishes it or not, other actions of this kind will be taken until that universality is achieved.

16. In the meantime, and apart from any considerations concerning the restoration of the lawful rights of China, which is entitled to be a Member of the United Nations, would it not be appropriate for the General Assembly to take up forthwith the suggestion which the Secretary-General has made on two occa-

sions that the countries which are not yet Members of the United Nations "should be enabled to maintain contact with the world body and listen to its deliberations, and thus be more directly exposed to the views of the rest of mankind" [A/6001/Add.1, sect. XII]? It is not right that the question of permanent observers should be left to the discretion of the host countries of the various agencies of the United Nations. It is high time that the General Assembly dealt with this question and took the necessary action, on the basis of equality and in the interest of co-operation and peace.

17. At a time when there was a relative easing of tension in international affairs following the Moscow Treaty on the partial banning of nuclear tests, and other developments before and after the Treaty, the United States, in violation of obligations solemnly assumed under the Charter of the United Nations, embarked upon a war of aggression against the heroic people of Viet-Nam. It has recently expanded its military strength in that country to more than 140,000 men—there is now talk of 150,000—without counting the detachments of the Seventh Fleet and the naval aviation attached to it. Official circles in the United States foresee a further increase in American strength, which would reach 200,000 men by the end of this year, and there is even a possibility, according to current Press commentaries that their number will rise to a million. Recently the United States has even tried to legalize and get world public opinion to accept the use of gas in Viet-Nam.

18. The Bulgarian people and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria condemn the aggressive actions undertaken against the Viet-Nameese people. In keeping with its policy of full support for the struggle of peoples against imperialism and colonialism, the Bulgarian Government supports the just cause of the Viet-Nameese people for independence and within the limits of its modest resources is giving them effective aid.

19. The general hostility towards this policy of aggression against the people of Viet-Nam and the condemnation of the policy of intervention in the domestic affairs of that country have forced the United States, while it heightens the conflict, to try to drape itself in a flag of peace. A propaganda campaign is being waged to persuade world public opinion that the United States is ready to enter into talks with a view to settling the matter. But one wonders what credit can be given to such declarations after the aggression and ruthless bombings carried out against the people of Viet-Nam and against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. For negotiations to take place it would be necessary to go back to the principles laid down in the 1954 Geneva Agreements and to establish a situation conducive to the solution of the problem.

20. It is difficult indeed to conceive of a solution being found for the Viet-Nameese problem without reverting to the Geneva Agreements and without restoring the previous situation by means of the immediate cessation of aggressive actions against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the withdrawal of United States troops and weapons from South Viet-Nam and the observance of the Viet-Nameese people's right to settle their own domestic affairs without foreign

<sup>1/</sup> See document A/5763, sect. VII.

<sup>2/</sup> See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965, document DC/224.

interference. The statements made by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam on 8 April 1965 and by the National Liberation Front of Viet-Nam on 22 March 1965 offer a sound basis for the settlement of the Viet-Nameese question and for the restoration of peace in that part of the world.

21. Despite all their efforts, the United States and some of its allies have not succeeded in covering their war against the Viet-Nameese people with the United Nations flag. It is in fact difficult for them to do so since, according to the authoritative opinion of the Secretary-General, "the settlement reached at Geneva in 1954 prescribed no role for the Organization in the settlement that was to follow" [A/6001/Add.1, sect. XII].

22. This has not been the case in Korea, where the United Nations flag is still being used for intervention in the domestic affairs of that country. The reports of the Commission for the alleged reunification and alleged rehabilitation of Korea which, under pressure from the United States, appear on the agenda at each session bring to mind the dark pages of the history of the United Nations. Discussion of this question does not help either the reunification or the rehabilitation of Korea; it simply enables the United States to continue to keep its troops on Korean soil under the United Nations flag. The reunification of Korea is strictly a matter for the Korean people themselves. A real contribution to the reunification of that country could be made by action to prevent the United States using the United Nations flag to cover up its intervention in that country and by the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Reunification and Rehabilitation of Korea.

23. Although it is by far the most important factor and has the most profound impact on international problems, the aggression in Viet-Nam is not the only event which disturbs international co-operation. The United States intervention in the domestic affairs of the Dominican Republic, imposed and then carried on under the cover of a regional organization, has been just as much a threat to peace.

24. Despite the opinion of President George Washington that no nation has the right to interfere in the domestic affairs of another country—and an infinite number of variations have been played on that theme in the solemn statements of American leaders who wish to pose as defenders of those established principles of relations between States—the United States Government is intervening at present, in various forms and on various, and often unlikely pretexts, in the domestic affairs of other countries. It is doing so in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations, international law and the international treaties to which it has affixed its signature, thus jeopardizing international peace and security. Cuba, the Congo and a series of other countries are past and quite recent stages in a policy which has latterly become official United States policy. The resolution adopted by the United States Congress on the alleged right of the United States to intervene against the alleged communist threat in other countries has disturbed world public opinion and the parliaments of Latin America.

25. Founded on the principle of the sovereign equality of all countries, large and small, without distinction

as to social system or geographical situation, the United Nations must not remain passive in the face of interventions in the domestic affairs of other countries. This attitude is even more logical since no provision of the Charter authorizes the United Nations to intervene in affairs which are the domestic concern of any State or obliges its Members to submit their domestic affairs to a settlement procedure under the Charter. At the twentieth session of the General Assembly the great majority of delegations have reaffirmed this basic principle of the Charter in their statements.

26. In the circumstances it is not surprising that the Soviet Union proposal to consider the question of the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty [see A/5977] has been favourably received by delegations. The violence done to international legality, the aggressions and interventions in the domestic affairs of other countries on the pretext of safeguarding the interests and the lives of citizens must cease. Is it necessary to remind some Powers and some circles that *de facto* opposition to progressive ideas or to the formation of Governments that peoples choose for themselves becomes, under the Charter, an international crime when it goes beyond national frontiers? In the circumstances it is certain that the United Nations, guided by the need to protect the independence and sovereignty of States, must find the ways and means for a clear and powerful condemnation of intervention in the domestic affairs of countries, both in the debates and in the decisions of the General Assembly at its twentieth session.

27. At a time when tension, armed conflicts, aggressions and interventions in the domestic affairs of other countries are threatening world peace and security, the process of the liberation of peoples from the colonial yoke is coming up against the violent intransigence of colonialist circles. Although it was speeded up after the victory against fascism and nazism during the Second World War, this "irreversible process" which, under resolution 1514 (XV) adopted by the General Assembly in 1960, was to take place immediately, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with the freely expressed will of peoples, has encountered many obstacles.

28. Only a few days ago, Ian Smith, the representative of the white minority in Southern Rhodesia, stated that he would seek to preserve the privileges and the power of that minority over the immense majority of the black population by establishing a Government which would pursue a policy of racial discrimination. This new potential ally for South Africa, a country in which the white minority has for a long time been practising the policy of segregation and apartheid, creates a new and real danger for peace and security in that region. United under the protection of their Western allies, the forces of Portuguese colonialism, which still hold a huge area of Africa under their sway, and the South African and Southern Rhodesian racists are preparing to establish a large military force for the purpose of opposing the struggle for liberation of the peoples of the African continent. At the same time, they intend to indulge in military ad-



ventures against certain African countries—Zambia, Tanzania and others—which by their example as countries freed from the colonial yoke, seem to threaten the continuation of colonial domination in that region.

29. In other parts of the globe, too, the forces of colonialism are not disarming. They are seeking revenge in Arab lands. Only a few weeks ago, the United Kingdom Government, in defiance of the General Assembly resolutions [1949 (XVIII) and 1972 (XVIII)] on the question of Aden and despite its obligations under the Charter, repealed the Constitution of Aden, declared a state of emergency and subjected the population of that region to an intensified régime of terror and oppression. This is another sudden move by colonialism and an effort, albeit in vain, to stop the irreversible march of history. Such actions increase the suffering of the colonial peoples and create new dangers for peace in that part of the world.

30. In the face of the united political and military front of the colonialists, who are trying to sabotage the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the efforts of the Member States and organs of the United Nations must be mobilized. The establishment of permanent contact between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, which has already been the subject of a General Assembly resolution [2011 (XX)], is certainly necessary and useful. But should not steps be taken also to direct Member States towards a policy of providing more active and effective assistance to colonial peoples which would make it possible to accelerate the process of decolonization and finally liberate those peoples from the inhuman régime which they are still enduring?

31. Our people and its Government are convinced that the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for independence and national sovereignty will triumph. Manœuvres and repressive measures serve only to increase the aspirations of those peoples to liberty and independence, and to fortify them in their struggle to attain those goals. Bulgaria is prepared, within the limits of its capabilities, to make every effort, now and in the future, to assist in the triumph of the struggle of colonial peoples for liberation.

32. Instead of endeavouring to eliminate the last vestiges of colonialism, some Powers are seeking to re-establish their domination over newly liberated countries by exploiting their economic difficulties. It is high time to move towards the complete elimination of colonialism, to assist new States to establish their independence firmly on solid economic and technical foundations, without political or military conditions.

33. While we are referring to the remnants of colonialism, it might be useful to draw the attention of delegations to the necessity of trying to put an end to certain situations which have required United Nations mediation or intervention; but—and I am quoting from the introduction to the Annual Report of the Secretary-General:

"...the very fact that they"—some United Nations peace-keeping operations—"have become an accepted and semi-permanent part of the way of life in the areas has tended to some extent to reduce

the sense of urgency which might stimulate a search by the parties concerned for a basic and peaceful solution of their conflicts" [A/6001/Add.1, sect. VII].

This is true, for example, of the question of Palestine, which is a permanent threat to the peace of the Middle East.

34. One sphere in which the disputes and tensions caused by certain Powers exert a harmful influence is certainly that of disarmament. For a long time the Eighteen-Nation Committee—or rather the Seventeen-Nation Committee, since France does not take part—has been discussing many questions relating to disarmament, without any success or result. The international tension engendered by the war in Viet-Nam, the interventions in the domestic affairs of other countries and the obstructive efforts of certain Powers have for a long time blocked all work on disarmament in the Eighteen-Nation Committee. In the circumstances it is not surprising that the initiative of the non-aligned countries in proposing the convening of a world disarmament conference received an exceptionally favourable welcome. The resolution adopted on this question at the most recent meetings of the Disarmament Commission<sup>3/</sup> opens up new prospects. We must now take steps to convene that conference quickly, so that during 1966 the desire of the peoples may be realized, namely that the question of disarmament should be discussed in a universal forum in which all countries, without distinction, can take part on a basis of equality. In view of the lack of positive results achieved within the artificially restricted framework of the United Nations—and we know the reason for that—and as a result of the subversive activities of some Powers, the eyes of the peoples are turned towards this conference in the hope that their ardent desire for the elimination of war through general and complete disarmament will at last be realized.

35. With the increase in the number of countries possessing nuclear weapons, the question of the non-dissemination of such weapons is of particular importance. Certainly, while working to prevent such weapons from becoming the national weapons of each country, steps should be taken—and this is the particular responsibility of the great Powers possessing nuclear weapons—to halt the arms race, to reverse the flow, to ensure that nuclear weapons will never be used and to bring about their speedy elimination from the arsenals of nations. Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, however, is not so simple a matter. It calls for constructive efforts on the part of all Powers and in all fields of disarmament. Measures such as the withdrawal of foreign troops, the elimination of military bases on foreign soil and banning the use of nuclear weapons would certainly do a great deal to advance the cause of non-proliferation, and vice versa.

36. The banning of nuclear tests could also help considerably towards the solution of the problem of the non-proliferation and the elimination of nuclear weapons. The proposals put forward by the non-aligned countries, more particularly by the United Arab Republic, for the conclusion of an agreement

<sup>3/</sup> Ibid.

on halting underground nuclear tests and the acceptance of a moratorium on all other kinds of tests, are an important step towards a solution to this problem.<sup>4/</sup>

37. The USSR proposal for the conclusion of a treaty, without escape clause, on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons [see A/5976] is of great importance at this stage. This proposal must be given serious consideration; it must be carefully examined at the twentieth session and the appropriate decisions must be taken. Many countries have already indicated that they endorse this proposal. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, for its part, wholeheartedly supports it and will do all in its power to help to put an end to the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

38. The non-dissemination of nuclear weapons cannot, however, be reconciled with the attempts to satisfy the appetites of certain States which wish to obtain control of these weapons through military alliances; that is the aim of the plans for "multilateral forces" or "Atlantic nuclear forces". We know that certain circles in Europe are particularly anxious to obtain control of nuclear weapons and are sparing no effort to obtain them, in order to use them as a means of coercion to settle the situations resulting from the Second World War in their own way. Any attempt to seek a settlement of those situations by sharing the control of nuclear weapons or by threatening to employ them would not only be dangerous, it would be sheer madness, particularly in the present circumstances where a spark would suffice to precipitate a catastrophe.

39. We note with satisfaction that the tendency to seek a solution to the German problem on a realistic basis—acceptance of the existence of two German States in Europe, the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic—is gaining ground. On that basis it will be possible to open the way to a rapprochement between the two German States, which will lead to the reunification of the German people. German unity can be achieved only by peaceful and democratic means and principles; it must consolidate the political and social achievements of the German people.

40. The reunification of the German people must, of course, be accompanied by the establishment of a European collective security system. The victory of this school of thought would have a favourable effect on relations among all European States and would eliminate one of the principal obstacles to the reunification of Germany. This idea is gaining more and more ground in Europe. One indication of this is the increasingly important role being played by the German Democratic Republic on the international scene; its growing authority is due above all to the fact that it is determined to live in peace and friendship with all European countries.

41. The People's Republic of Bulgaria, guided by its conviction that all States, great and small, can and should contribute to the strengthening of world peace, is persevering in its efforts to transform the Balkans

into an area of peace and co-operation. Disregarding the fact that the Balkan States have different social and political systems, we have acted on the principle that all questions arising among them can and should be settled through negotiations, for we are deeply convinced that this is the only realistic course possible in the present age. This is proved by the fact that the efforts exerted to that end have resulted in a noticeable improvement in the political climate in this region, the conclusion of a series of agreements between our country and neighbouring States, and exchanges of friendly visits with several Balkan countries—results which have already been mentioned at this rostrum.

42. Faithful to its policy of peaceful coexistence and non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, the Bulgarian Government is seeking new ways and means of increasing co-operation with all countries of the world, for it is convinced that the stabilization of the situation in the Balkans can make a great contribution to the relaxation of tension and the safeguarding of peace.

43. The words of the President of the Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Jivkov, are significant in that connexion: on 25 September 1965 he said:

"We are determined to spare no effort in order that the Balkans may become a region of peace, friendship, understanding and mutually profitable co-operation, and that a denuclearized zone may be established in that region and in the region of the Adriatic."

44. In this spirit, and on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence which are the very foundation of its Government's policy, the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is ready to work with the delegations of all countries, great and small, irrespective of their social and political systems, within the framework of the Charter, to solve the problems on the agenda of this session.

45. Mr. BOUTEFLIKA (Algeria) (translated from French): In celebrating its twentieth anniversary, the United Nations feels obliged to take stock of its eventful years of growth. It would be only natural that on emerging from its adolescence this Assembly should glimpse prospects of an era of justice, peace and harmony.

46. This being our task, I cannot conceal the satisfaction of the Algerian delegation, which welcomes the good omens represented by the resumption of normal activities and the brilliant election which has rightly entrusted Mr. Fanfani with the heavy responsibilities of the President of the General Assembly. I should like to take this opportunity to wish him a speedy recovery.

47. It gives us pleasure, in congratulating the President of the twentieth session of the General Assembly on behalf of Algeria and its Government, to point out that our confidence and faith in him attest to the esteem we feel for the intellectual and statesman who, doubtless out of respect for the values of ancient Rome, has closely followed the problems of a troubled world. It would, however, be dangerous to indulge

<sup>4/</sup> Ibid., document DC/227, annex 1, sect. F.



in excessive optimism with regard to the real significance of this return to normality, lest other crises should take us by surprise.

48. The General Assembly is resuming its work in conformity with established procedures. That does not mean that the serious problems of which the recent crisis was but one manifestation have been solved. It is true that after long months of debate and negotiation it has been agreed that the financial crisis should be overcome through voluntary contributions, all pressure being eschewed.

49. The financial crisis itself arose from a confrontation of different concepts concerning the powers of United Nations bodies with regard to peace-keeping and the policy to be followed by the Organization's forces when they were called upon to intervene. These legal and political differences, which have been developing for many years, are in fact the reflection of contradictions which have gradually been revealed by a changing and developing world. The dangers which had to be averted after the Second World War have greatly changed; the basic contradictions which existed twenty years ago have diminished considerably, having been replaced by different contradictions which are even more acute. The unity achieved by the five great conquerors of fascism, who are now only four, for the purpose of safeguarding the principles and positions for which they had fought, is no longer capable of holding them together, since the dangers which forced them to unite no longer represent a potential threat. As soon as any serious threat to international security directly involves the responsibility of a great Power, the pact worked out in the spirit of the Charter becomes inadequate and completely unsuited to the solution of the problems raised. This has led to a paradoxical situation in which a session of the General Assembly did not even take place because the permanent members of the Security Council disagreed on the interpretation of an Article of the Charter. It has also led to another paradoxical situation in which the most serious problems concerning world peace are not even placed on our agenda.

50. On the twentieth anniversary of our Organization, the time has come to reconsider the problems and to seek ways of adapting United Nations bodies to the complex realities of the modern world through structural reorganization.

51. The problem does not consist in contrasting the rule of full equality among States with the special responsibilities which might devolve upon some countries whose political and above all material power is a recognized fact. Although it is an element which cannot be ignored, that fact should in no way constitute the principal fact on which everything is based. It is admitted that these two concepts cannot be contradictory but should be complementary, then solutions may be found which will make it possible to overcome the crises and trace the appropriate path to a speedy solution of the problems.

52. We think that we should devote all our efforts to ensuring that this inevitable period of growing pains through which the United Nations is passing is brought to an end as smoothly as possible, for we remain deeply convinced of the imperative need to safeguard our Organization and give it more strength

and vigour. The failure of the United Nations in its mission would have catastrophic consequences for the cause of international peace and co-operation. Our Government remains firmly attached to the United Nations and its principles. For that reason, it fervently hopes that the Organization will succeed in overcoming its contradictions, so as to respond to the great hopes placed in it by the peoples of the world.

53. One of the steps which the United Nations should take in order to reach that goal is to restore the rights of the People's Republic of China. It is obvious that international problems cannot be properly discussed without the effective participation of a country representing one quarter of the human race, which in addition has become a nuclear Power. If we exclude one of the essential elements of the balance of forces in the world, we cannot seriously hope to perform any work of lasting value and still less to confer upon our decisions the universal character which gives them their force. Deeply convinced of this, the Algerian delegation, together with ten other delegations, has requested the inclusion in our agenda of a separate item entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations" [see A/5971 and Add.1 and 2].

54. A brief analysis of the events of recent months shows clearly that although peaceful coexistence is developing and becoming stronger among forces which were formerly aggressively hostile to each other, hotbeds of tension, and even of hot war, have appeared in the less developed regions. At the present time, the most serious and immediate threats to international peace and security are the aggressiveness of the imperialists, who refuse to accept the logical consequences of decolonization, and the belief that it is possible to apply peaceful coexistence in one area and not in others. The relaxation of tension in the world must inevitably be based on full and complete decolonization and the acceptance of peaceful coexistence in all areas and countries of the world. In this period, when areas of tension are found in the developing countries and when, behind a façade of ideological conflict, efforts are being made to retain material advantages or to seize them by force, the concept of peaceful coexistence must apply not only to relations between countries with different social systems but also to relations between great Powers and small countries.

55. The appearance of nuclear weapons has introduced a new element into the balance of forces in the world. Although the balance of terror which it engenders has ended by imposing peaceful coexistence as an imperative necessity of our era, it is nevertheless true that the threat of nuclear war is widely used in order to intervene with impunity in areas where the balance of forces favours the aggressive Power. In these circumstances, any attempt to tackle the problem of non-dissemination of nuclear weapons without linking it closely to that of prohibiting their manufacture and destroying existing stocks would be tantamount to inviting the world to endorse the maintenance of the existing situation.

56. My country, which signed the Moscow Treaty and adheres firmly to it, and which remains convinced

of the need to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, wishes to draw the attention of delegations to the difficulty of isolating one aspect of the problem from its global context and invites them to make a frontal attack on the very essence of the denuclearization problem.

57. Furthermore, the destruction of nuclear weapons must be accompanied by disarmament in the field of conventional weapons. The interrelation of all these phenomena, the predominance of the political aspect over the technical aspect, the need to set up as soon as possible the machinery leading to general and complete disarmament, are some of the reasons militating in favour of a world disarmament conference. We must admit that the United Nations has achieved no results in this field. This situation is not due to a lack of serious studies on the technical aspects of the question, but to unwillingness and to the fear of embarking upon a course leading to disarmament. Responsibility for disarmament devolves upon all countries, and a meeting of all the Governments of the world is probably the surest way of reaching a common definition of methods that would enable us to begin the disarmament process.

58. The worsening of the situation in Asia is an example of the consequences of the political concepts I have just mentioned. Recent developments in Viet-Nam constitute the most serious element in the present international situation. The intensification of the United States bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam endangers world peace and constitutes an exceptionally serious precedent. The international community must do all it can to halt these acts of aggression and put an end to the war.

59. Whatever the ideological implications of the problem may be, it is none the less true that the Viet-Nameese people have the right to determine their own fate without any foreign interference, that their unity is an undeniable historical fact and that their division is the accidental result of the decolonization process, closely linked to the phenomenon of the conflict between the blocs. The Viet-Nameese problem is essentially a colonial phenomenon and cannot be solved without that factor being taken into account. In our view, the Geneva Agreements of 1954, which defined the process of decolonization and reunification, still constitute a valid basis for the settlement of this conflict.

60. Since the basis for a solution already exists in the form of agreements signed by the great Powers with the assent of the peoples concerned, it would be dangerous to seek another framework for the solution of this problem.

61. We consider the position taken by France to be worthy of interest. That country, which was long a colonial Power in that area, favours the faithful implementation of the Geneva Agreements and a comprehensive settlement in that part of the world.

62. The Viet-Nameese people, who have paid a heavy tribute to the cause of liberation in the world, deserve our admiration and our deep esteem. This heroic people is effectively represented by the organization which it has built up during the struggle, the National Liberation Front. No solution can be found unless

it is negotiated with this organization, which constitutes a valid and very useful interlocutor.

63. In addition to the war in Viet-Nam, South-East Asia has been seriously shaken by the conflict between India and Pakistan. Algeria, which has close links with both these countries, was deeply grieved by this conflict, the seriousness of which almost endangered the solidarity and the common struggle of the peoples of Asia and Africa. It is for that reason that we welcomed with great satisfaction the news of the acceptance of a cease-fire between the two parties. We especially appreciated the important role played by the Secretary-General, U Thant, in order to reach that end. We sincerely hope that peaceful negotiations will lead to a solution of the Kashmir problem, which divides the two sister countries, India and Pakistan, a solution in conformity with the principles of the Charter, which have been endorsed by the two parties and by all of us, and to the relevant United Nations resolutions.

64. The decolonization process has also led to the division of another Asian country by establishing an artificial State designed to act as a bulwark of imperialism in that area. That too is a colonial problem which will sooner or later be settled by decolonization and the liberation of the peoples from the foreign yoke. I am referring to the problem of Palestine. The Palestine tragedy is the tragedy of a whole people, forcibly exiled from their own country by foreign elements which the imperialists wish to use as a Trojan horse. The problem of the Palestine refugees is not a social problem, but the problem of a whole people who must regain sovereignty over their own country.

65. The Palestine Liberation Organization will be supported in its struggle for national liberation not only by the heads of the League of Arab States but by all the anti-colonialist forces in the world.

66. Not far from there another colonial territory, waiting for the aspirations of its people to be satisfied, is still undergoing an ordeal of violence. The latest repressive measures taken by the United Kingdom in South and South East Arabia clearly show that it still wishes to impose its presence in the region by force. At his session, the General Assembly should do everything possible to induce the United Kingdom to comply with General Assembly resolution 1972 (XVIII) on Aden and to recognize the inalienable right of Oman to self-determination.

67. Unfortunately, the misdeeds of colonialism are not limited to Asia. Africa is a victim of its most extreme manifestations. Since the very beginning of the United Nations, the system of apartheid has been the subject of debates that have resulted in resolutions and condemnations. Those texts have remained a dead letter, since the machinery established was inadequate and the means for taking specific action were not available.

68. To stand helplessly by at a time when racism is becoming more widespread would be to shirk a responsibility which we all assumed when we became Members of the United Nations. That responsibility is equally incumbent upon the founding Members. Those of us, however, who are anxious to give the



United Nations the means to act freely run the risk of being accused of weakness, or even of complicity.

69. The choice is clear: either the United Nations takes on its proper task and assumes all its responsibilities in this question, or we continue to follow the same futile course of protesting and doing nothing. In the latter case, it would be very difficult for all those who proclaim their strict adherence to certain ideals not to refuse to allow themselves to be drawn into activities which go against their principles. It is to be feared that if we do not face the consequences of this state of affairs, which is harmful to the prestige of the United Nations, we shall be confronted with a problem which, as it grows, will threaten the peace of the world and the security of Africa.

70. This security is directly threatened today by the development of events in Southern Rhodesia. We have said that in this new South Africa the administering Power has full responsibility. The behaviour of the Salisbury racists can in no way diminish or call into question the role which must be played by the United Kingdom in the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Southern Rhodesian people to universal suffrage, self-determination and independence. Merely to condemn a régime whose fundamental law is allied to violence and oppression would be to invite grievous disappointment. It is the United Kingdom's duty to mobilize the necessary means available to it to assume all its obligations.

71. It would, however, be a mistake to think that the delay granted by the people of Zimbabwe and all the States members of the Organization of African Unity to enable a just solution of the Rhodesian problem to be reached is a sign of impotence or lack of interest. Our willingness to seek a solution that would put an end to an intolerable situation by peaceful means should not blind anyone to the fact that this waiting period cannot in itself alleviate the situation and that an oppressed people cannot wait indefinitely for justice to be done. We are therefore convinced that if the rights of the African people of Rhodesia are not restored, Africa as a whole will oppose, by every means, a racist régime of foreign domination.

72. From this standpoint, Algeria will spare no political, material or even military effort to further the achievement of African liberation in Southern Rhodesia. Within the framework of the Organization of African Unity, the Algerian people and Government will mobilize all available means for the active support of their African brethren of Zimbabwe.

73. Decolonization has still much to achieve. Several countries are still under foreign domination and are fighting for their freedom and sovereignty. The situation remains the same in Mozambique, Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)] is an expression of their aspirations and yet, violating with unparalleled insolence and persistence the Charter of the United Nations and the principles governing our Organization, Portugal, with the support of certain Powers and the help of the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, is forcibly repressing peoples who are yearning for freedom and independence and is trying

to keep them in a state of intolerable subjugation. The United Nations has recognized the right of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea to independence. It has condemned the policy of general repression and forced assimilation followed by the Government of Portugal. Yet Portugal, like its ultra-colonialist partners, stubbornly refuses to accept solutions that are nevertheless inevitable.

74. Within the framework of an organization which has successfully overcome all obstacles and has faced the problems besetting our continent, Africa presents a united front against these vestiges of foreign and colonial domination. Algeria's commitment to the Organization of African Unity is rooted in geography and history. It is because it believes that solidarity is essential and that, without complete freedom, there can be no consolidation of the peace that Algeria fervently appeals for the establishment of this kind of organization in other continents. To seek more appropriate machinery for the development of international society and the solution of its problems might be the way to strengthen the United Nations.

75. In this context, it is only fair to note the appearance of a determining element in contemporary history: I refer to the solidarity of the countries of Africa and Asia. The importance of this factor in international relations lies not only in the ability of the States of these two continents to work out a common programme of action, but above all in their determination to approach specific problems from the practical point of view and seek appropriate solutions. This is one of the major reasons for the need to develop Afro-Asian solidarity. The fact that the third world, especially the Afro-Asian world, is the arena of the most bitter conflicts strengthens our conviction that this solidarity is not only useful but essential. The need for this solidarity has been brought home to us all, particularly when conflicts have arisen between Powers of the Afro-Asian family.

76. Regional and inter-regional conferences have clearly shown their effectiveness in settling bilateral problems that have arisen between Member States and their ability to find general solutions for the many painful problems confronting certain continents of the third world. They have outlined prospects for the future, thus proving a useful adjunct to United Nations action to overcome certain difficulties that have so far been considered only local, or at the most continental, in character.

77. That is why my country, which is a member of both the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States, will spare no effort to make the activities of those two organizations more probing, more positive and more in conformity with the aspirations of the peoples to whom we are specifically and indissolubly linked, and indeed with the aspirations of the whole of mankind. The close interrelationship between the African and Arab regions, in addition to the fact that it destroys all the myths of colonial division, is an important element in the strengthening of Afro-Asian solidarity, in our historic common struggle for the political, economic and social advancement of the disinherited peoples of the world and in our merciless fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism throughout the world.



We therefore consider that a closer, more extensive and better organized co-operation would help to establish a more favourable international atmosphere for the settlement of certain problems. This co-operation in common action has fortunately extended to the Latin American continent, which shares the most serious of our present problems: the parallel increase in the wealth of some and the poverty of others.

78. Halfway through the United Nations Development Decade, the results achieved are disappointing and it will be impossible to attain the objective we have set if the present conditions in trade and assistance to the developing countries continue to prevail. This stage of development is in fact characterized, first of all, by a reduction in the developing countries' share of world exports; secondly, by a slowing down in the transfer of capital, the level of which is still far below that advocated by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development; and lastly, by an accentuation of the downward trend of primary commodity prices.

79. The gap separating the prosperous from the poor countries, whose peoples represent two thirds of mankind, cannot continue to widen without being liable at any moment to threaten the maintenance of peace in the world.

80. Considering that this year is the year in which the machinery of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development is being established, it should be possible at the second Conference, in 1967, to draw up the first positive balance-sheet of the efforts undertaken by the international community as a whole in order to justify and encourage future action. For the developing countries, the first Conference was an expression of their firm hope that a more equitable basis for economic relations between them and their industrialized partners would be sought and established. It was also an opportunity for the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to become more precisely aware of the similarity of their respective situations and of the need for their solidarity.

81. The results achieved during this first half of the United Nations Development Decade are, unfortunately, not consonant with the hopes engendered by the first Conference. Thus, despite the modest nature of the objectives set for it, the expected rate of growth has not so far been achieved.

82. It is true that it is within themselves that the countries concerned must find—and they are striving to do so—the necessary substance for the economic and social advancement of their peoples; but their sacrifices must be made within the framework of collective responsibility for seeking a balance, or more precisely a more just distribution, of wealth in the world.

83. In a world where peaceful coexistence has not put an end to the struggle between the opposing camps, where ideological oppositions are put forward as a pretext for neo-colonialist infiltration and intervention in internal affairs, the concept of non-alignment is more valid than ever. Algeria clings faithfully to this inviolable basis of its foreign policy, since it is the only way in which a small country can both consoli-

date its independence and further the cause of co-operation and peace in the world.

84. These objectives are closely linked. My Government is therefore of the view that it is essential to organize the co-operation of all Governments and all forces working to eliminate sources of conflict, to extend the international détente and to further the cause of peace.

85. To strive for the total elimination of colonialism and policies of force and interference, to work towards denuclearization, general and complete disarmament and peaceful and active coexistence between States with different political and social systems, that is the task we must accomplish so that the community of nations can give practical expression to the concepts of independence, justice and peace. It would be a mistake to ignore the seriousness of the dangers which constantly threaten such a path. It is necessary, however, to find in those realities the essential resources for intensifying the only action that can lead our world to transcend its state of perpetual crisis.

86. Mr. ROA GARCIA (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba speaks once again with an independent, anti-imperialist and socialist voice in the General Assembly of the United Nations.

87. For seven years the most powerful, rapacious and aggressive empire of our day has been trying to stifle that voice and in doing so it has spared neither means nor resources, however ignoble. It does not lack accomplices and accessories to cover up its criminal activities. These people, betraying their fellow-country-men, undertake to play whatever anti-Cuban tune the State Department, the Pentagon or the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States may call for in any given circumstances.

88. Cuba continues to be there and it is here too. Without stepping back an inch from the socialist path of development which it freely chose, without ever failing the revolutionary cause of the peoples, and without renouncing a single one of the principles which inspire its foreign policy, Cuba is still there seven years after the revolutionary dawn which transformed its life and destiny, and it is here too.

89. On behalf of Cuba, I welcome the election of Mr. Amintore Fanfani, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy, as President of this General Assembly in which he can count on my delegation's support in the performance of his duties. It is fitting also that we should express our gratitude to Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana, for his efforts in the post which he so worthily held. We also take this opportunity to extend our special greetings to U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations.

90. In performing their duties, the leaders of the United Nations will encounter numerous obstacles, just as their predecessors also had to face great difficulties. Events are showing every day more clearly the reason for these difficulties and obstacles.

91. In the last few years the foreign policy of successive United States Governments has shown itself, with increasing clarity, to be contrary to the princi-

ples and aspirations which brought the United Nations into existence. The conflict is vividly and amply demonstrated not only by words or simple interpretations of facts but by the evidence of the facts themselves.

92. Examples which illustrate this are to be found in the military intervention in Santo Domingo, in the bombing of towns and villages of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and in statements by the United States President and House of Representatives asserting the right of the United States to intervene unilaterally in any country of Latin America.

93. No one can claim to have been deceived, for there is no possible argument one could use to defend United States foreign policy. The imperialists themselves are proclaiming that policy, which is in open violation of the principles of the Charter and seriously hampers the United Nations in its efforts to preserve international peace and security.

94. It is necessary to fix the responsibility firmly on the shoulders of those who are to blame, to guarantee respect for the self-determination, independence and sovereignty of peoples, to promote the development—without servitude or interference—of countries emerging from colonial backwardness, to eliminate the inequality of trade relations between the developed and the under-developed nations and to lay the foundation for peaceful coexistence among all States, large and small whatever their social system; and in doing so we must denounce those who are responsible for preventing the United Nations from achieving those objectives.

95. The agenda submitted for consideration by the Assembly contains many different items. It would be impossible to comment, even briefly, on each one. Moreover, they will be fully discussed in the various Committees to which they have been referred. In the general debate, what really matters is that each State should declare its position in regard to the problems which arise indirectly and to the development and prospects of the international situation, which is fraught with pitfalls, tensions and conflicts. We shall state the position of Cuba, using the same clear, firm and specific language as on previous occasions.

96. The theme of peace and war dominates this Assembly. The renewed appeals for peace which we have heard and which have culminated in the message of Pope Paul VI are an unmistakable indication of the gravity of the international situation.

97. But such appeals are not new to this forum. The echoes of each year's appeals merge with those of the next. The reason for this is that the only people who are interested in afflicting mankind once again with the dreadful scourge of war are the arms dealers and the beneficiaries of what the Prime Minister of Cuba, Commander Fidel Castro, in his historic speech in this Assembly [872nd meeting, para. 188], called the "philosophy of despoilment".

98. Peace has been an aspiration of people everywhere ever since they became aware of their role as cannon fodder in wars of conquest. Today the enemies of peace are essentially the same as before: they are those who exploit the people's labour, plunder

their wealth, prevent their independence or fetter their sovereignty in order to increase their own political power, their own economic privileges and their own control of culture, science and technology. They invade and cynically intervene in the Congo in order to take possession of its natural resources; they wage a vile war against the Viet-Nameese people in the southern part of their country which has been arbitrarily divided; they brutally attack the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam which exercises full jurisdiction over the northern part; they supply arms and money to prevent the emancipation of the subjugated and oppressed peoples of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea; they indiscriminantly bomb Laos; they threaten the independence of Cambodia, they impair the sovereignty of Cyprus; they oppose the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations; they organize indirectly or directly, individual or collective invasions of Cuba; they refuse to evacuate the military bases which have been imposed on small countries; they contrive to supply nuclear weapons to the West German revanchists; they land their marines in Santo Domingo to suppress the Dominican people's right of self-determination; they manipulate the Organization of American States as if it were a ministry of colonies; they support the policies of apartheid in South Africa; they engage in whatever criminal activities they consider necessary to maintain the semi-colonial system in Latin America, Africa and Asia; and they violate the independence of the emancipated peoples of those continents by sometimes subtle and at other times clumsy methods of neo-colonialism, the peculiar form taken by imperialism in its final stages. In short, they are those who oppress and attack the developing peoples.

99. The sworn enemies of peace today are the imperialists. Appeals for peace, however timely and just, are not enough. Peace is not a gift of the gods nor is it a boon granted by the imperialists. As long as imperialism exists the spectre of war will hang, like a deadly mushroom cloud, over mankind. Imperialism and war are two faces of the same coin. Since the imperialists are the sworn enemies of peace and if peace is truly desired by all, there is no alternative to concerted action by the peoples and Governments of the socialist countries, the non-aligned countries and the peace-loving countries to sever the hands of imperialism wherever it is found perpetrating its crimes. It is true that the correlation of forces in the world has altered to the disadvantage of the imperialists and, if only as a reflection of that fact, their deceitful manoeuvres and pressures are being resisted in the United Nations over which in the past was inexorably subject to the dictates of their mechanical majority. It is also true, however, that the only language which the imperialists understand is that of harsh facts.

100. The most effective way to create conditions for the strengthening of peace in the present period of transition is to remove imperialism's claws. We have extremely eloquent examples of this. Every defeat inflicted on Yankee imperialism and its accomplices by the Viet-Nameese people is an effective step towards peace. The emancipation of every people from the imperialist yoke is an effective step towards



peace. The evacuation of every foreign military base is an effective step towards peace. The most effective step taken towards peace in the Western hemisphere was the lightning defeat inflicted on the mercenary brigade of Yankee imperialism at Playa Girón. Every time imperialism is forced to yield ground which it usurped and its positions of strength are weakened, a further step is taken along the road to peace. Imperialism respects only those who can impose respect. The fruit of such respect is peace with dignity. The conquest of such a peace naturally involves serious risks but it is the only worth-while and lasting peace.

101. If international peace and security are today gravely compromised, that is due to the United States Government's policy of armed intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries. The centres of tension and the conflicts created by this policy are only a prelude to tensions and conflicts of greater breadth and scope. The escalating war waged by Yankee imperialism against the heroic and self-sacrificing people of Viet-Nam is likely to culminate in a conflict of world-wide dimensions.

102. That war reveals, on the one hand, the aggressive and blood-thirsty character of imperialism and, on the other, the unshakable determination of the Viet-Nameese people to resist the aggressors to the last drop of blood of their men, women and children. Thousands of United States marines and troops are today trampling the soil of South Viet-Nam in a desperate effort by imperialism to bend the indomitable will of the patriots. The invading army has resorted to the criminal use of napalm and poison gas and, imitating the Nazi hordes, it goes about murdering, torturing, plundering, and raping with barbarous enjoyment. Wave upon wave of bombers attack the towns, villages and countryside of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. They respect neither hospitals, schools, factories nor homes. But popular resistance in the South has strengthened a hundredfold and three-quarters of the territory remain in the hands of the patriots, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, with the invaluable co-operation of the socialist countries and the solidarity of all the peoples of the world, is daily increasing its defensive power and becoming a graveyard for American aircraft.

103. From this rostrum Cuba salutes the brave people of Viet-Nam and assures them once again of its solidarity and assistance.

104. The United States Government has violated international law, the Charter of the United Nations and the Geneva Agreements of 1954 which guaranteed to Viet-Nam its independence, neutrality and the restoration of its unity of which it had been artificially deprived. Under those Agreements, as everyone knows, there should have been a single State today in the territory of Viet-Nam. Geographically, politically, historically and culturally there is only one Viet-Nam, not two. The United States Government with its military power has created this *de facto* situation which is contrary to treaty provisions, the rules of the United Nations and the decision of the Viet-Nameese people. By bombing the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam the United States Government is also endangering world peace.

105. All States which defend the right of self-determination of peoples and the principle of national sovereignty have a moral duty to condemn the aggressor of the Viet-Nameese nation and people and also to demand the withdrawal of the armed forces of the United States and its allies from South Viet-Nam, a halt to bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, and strict compliance with the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

106. Cuba once again fulfils this duty. In addition, Cuba supports the four-point demands of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the declaration of 6 April 1965 of the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba considers that these problems should be discussed here in this Assembly and that the United Nations can contribute to the restoration of peace and security in South-East Asia if it throws all its weight behind the legitimate demands of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the South Viet-Nam Liberation Front.

107. But its action should not stop there. The United Nations must, as a matter of urgency, adopt measures to prevent a State or group of States from intervening in any form, whether on a world or regional basis, in the domestic affairs of another State. The Cuban delegation will give its warmest support to the declaration on this subject proposed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [A/5977]. Its adoption by the Assembly would clearly be an effective step towards peace.

108. The main centres of tension and conflict in Africa are in the Congo (Leopoldville), in the Portuguese colonies, in Southern Rhodesia, Basutoland, Swaziland, South Africa, Aden and Oman. So long as these tragic manifestations of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism persist, peace and security will continue to be threatened.

109. The Congo (Leopoldville), which has scarcely been able to savour the fruits of independence, is today a country where intervention and exploitation by a few European Powers covetous of its mineral resources are taking place with the connivance of Yankee imperialism, the largest shareholder in that dirty business. The nature of the situation is in no way altered by Kasa-Vubu's dismissal of Tshombé. That imperialist plot had been hatching for a long time.

110. Thousands of Congolese have been murdered by mercenaries and adventurers in the service of imperialism, including Cuban counter-revolutionaries. The struggle for the reconquest of their homeland and the expulsion of the invaders is becoming daily more intense and the light of final victory is already shining on the horizon. The memory of Patrice Lumumba is the standard borne by the vanguard of the Congolese patriots. The Cuban delegation pays a tribute to those patriots and reaffirms the support of the Government and people of Cuba for their cause.

111. The policy of apartheid imposed by a minority of white settlers in South Africa is one of the most abominable manifestations of colonialism. It has been denounced and strongly condemned by the United Nations on a number of occasions, but the South African racists have so far scoffed at the United



Nations Charter and the disapproval of world public opinion. The delegation of Cuba, a country in which the socialist revolution has eliminated all traces of racial discrimination, extends a brotherly hand to the black men and women who are suffering and fighting for their rights in South Africa.

112. The Cuban delegation supports the people of Southern Rhodesia in their opposition to any transfer of sovereignty or usurpation of power and it shares the African States' rejection of any unilateral declaration of independence by the white minority which is oppressing and exploiting the country's black majority.

113. Lastly, the Cuban delegation advocates the immediate granting of independence to the colonial countries and peoples of Africa, Asia and Oceania and supports the Arab States' position with regard to the sad case of Palestine.

114. It is necessary to emphasize that the agenda items relating to alleged violations of human rights in Tibet and the imperialist reunification of Korea and typical manifestations of the cold war, as morally unsound as they are senseless.

115. Some delegations deplore the close attention which is paid in General Assembly debates to the vestiges and methods of colonialism in Latin America. What is most significant, however, is that those delegations forget that in addition to European colonies there are colonial dependencies of the United States in the Western Hemisphere; they also try to ignore the new forms of neo-colonialism which Yankee imperialism has established on this continent.

116. There is the specific case of Puerto Rico, which possesses all the qualities of a mature nation and whose people have on many occasions expressed their unshakable determination to be masters of their own fate, and which nevertheless remains a United States colony. Puerto Rico did not wish to remain a Spanish colony and it does not wish to remain a United States colony with the euphemistic title of "Commonwealth". The voice of the United States and the voice of its remote control Government is not the real voice of Puerto Rico, but since that country is not directly represented in the United Nations, Cuba, its sister in history and in aspirations, will speak for it. It should not be forgotten that, when he organized the Cuban war of independence in 1895, José Martí insisted that his aim was to free not only our country but also its sister island. We are united by history and it is therefore the Cuban delegation's duty to speak in this Assembly on behalf of the Puerto Rican people.

117. We demand that the Assembly recognize the Puerto Rican people's right to set up a free, independent and sovereign State. The Cuban delegation, interpreting that people's legitimate aspirations and echoing the demands of the independence organizations of that dauntless island, requests the Special Committee on decolonization to include the case of Puerto Rico in its agenda, in conformity with the Declaration approved by the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Cairo in October 1964. We appeal to the members of that Committee for their support,

so that this heroic Caribbean people may realize that they are supported by the other peoples of the world and are not alone in their struggle for the independence that has been achieved in recent years by so many other countries such as the Gambia, Singapore and the Maldives Islands, which we welcome today.

118. In Latin America, imperialist policy is determined by the triumph of the Cuban revolution and its significance for the peoples of this hemisphere. The victory of the Cuban revolution, its subsequent consolidation and the development of the revolutionary movement on this continent have shown with increasing clarity that political, economic and pseudo-legal measures will no longer suffice to ensure the attainment of the imperialists' objectives.

119. In the past, the United States Government hid behind the mantle of the Organization of American States and behind the pseudo-legal, political and economic measures it used to wield its influence and power over the oppressed peoples of the Americas. For the past twenty years, those measures have sufficed to guarantee the hegemony of its policies on this continent. The Organization of American States, which lost its regional character when it excluded Cuba, has now entered its final crisis, and already the whole world knows it to be nothing more than a Yankee dependency.

120. The imperialists tried to oppose the expansion of the democratic and revolutionary forces through the so-called "Alliance for Progress". From the very first, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba predicted that it would be a resounding failure. Today that failure is admitted by the imperialists themselves. The only people deceived by it were its sponsors and a few puppet Governments.

121. On the other hand, the Government of the United States pursued a policy of threats, military aggression and economic blockade against our country. That policy has been a consistent failure. Today the Cuban revolution is stronger than ever. Its political, economic and cultural victories and above all the strength of its example are making themselves increasingly felt on this continent.

122. The most obvious proof of its increasing strength is the fact that the imperialists have been obliged to resort to direct armed intervention in the internal affairs of Latin American States in an attempt to impose their policy.

123. The case of Santo Domingo is an obvious example. For many weeks, the Dominican situation occupied the attention of the Security Council and world public opinion. At the present time, United States armed forces are still stationed in that country.

124. As in previous decades, the United States was obliged to send in its marines in order to ensure that its views prevailed. For thirty years it had proclaimed that history would not repeat itself and yet history is repeating itself today. The Dominican people now know that such intervention can be ended only by the liquidation of imperialism.

125. The last word will be spoken, and is being spoken now, by the Dominican people. They have emerged from their experience with a clear knowledge of their

rights and their strength. In their duel with the imperial Power which has profaned their soil and ignored their will, covering itself once again with mire and blood, the Dominican people will not be alone or defenceless. They have been supported and will continue to be supported by all the peoples of the world.

126. The revolutionary movement has been growing in other countries of the continent. Guerrilla warfare is developing in Venezuela, Guatemala, Colombia and Peru. Brazil is being shaken by a tremendous economic crisis which is making social inequalities more acute. The conditions for the revolutionary explosion are being created in that South American country.

127. Confronted by these facts, United States policy, caught at the crossroads, had no alternative but to contradict some of its own statements.

128. The House of Representatives of the United States has just proclaimed the alleged right of that country to intervene in any country of the continent when there is a danger of a socialist revolution. A number of Latin American parliaments have protested against that declaration, which demonstrates the clumsiness and cynicism of many United States leaders.

129. Those leaders have placed certain Latin American Governments in a difficult position. The Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba made some very pertinent comments in that connexion, when he said:

"When the representatives of the monopolies administered a slap in the face to all the Republics of the Americas by issuing the declaration of non-independence, some people, or rather many people, blushed with shame; many were scandalized when the United States declared it had the right to intervene unilaterally.

"It is fitting to remind them of the anti-Cuban agreements to which they were parties. It is fitting to remind them of their complicity in the crimes against our country committed by imperialism. At that time we were the only one to arise, determined to die; we said that we were defending not only Cuba's rights, but the independence of the other peoples of Latin America.

"Those who sow the wind reap the whirlwind, and those who sowed intervention against Cuba, collective severing of relations with Cuba, and the blockade of Cuba are reaping the whirlwinds of interventionism and threats against themselves. Yet they are surprised and panic-stricken; the Parliaments meet and the bourgeois parties scream to high heaven. Now they are reaping the fruits of complicity with the imperialists; now they realize the true nature of imperialism.

"Thus with every passing day the peoples will see more clearly who is right, who in those historic years defended true independence, true freedom, true sovereignty with their blood against imperialism and all its accomplices. They are learning this from the imperialists themselves."

These words of our Prime Minister are instructive for those who sowed the whirlwind, who sowed interventionism and encouraged imperialism.

130. In these circumstances, created by this unilateral, provocative and despicable decision of the United States Government, the only free territory in the Americas is Cuba. Cuba is the only country where Yankee imperialism will be unable to use an alleged danger of communist revolution as a pretext for invasion or enslavement. In Cuba the revolutionary power is already definitively and irreversibly established.

131. The words spoken by Commander Ernesto Guevara at the United Nations in his memorable statement to the nineteenth session of the General Assembly now have more force than ever:

"Cuba, a free and sovereign country with no chains binding it to anyone, with no foreign investments in its territory, with no pro-consuls to 'direct' its policy, can hold its head high in this Assembly and prove its title to the name 'Free Territory of America' with which it will be baptized." [1299th meeting, para. 137.]

132. No delegation which respects itself or the people it represents can fail to recognize that all these facts confirm the thesis of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba and prove incontestably that the United States Government is violating international law.

133. What can the United Nations do? The only way in which the Organization can play a role in the modern world is by courageously opposing this United States policy.

134. The situation would be quite different if it were to accept a subservient position or watch impassively while the principles which gave it life were trampled underfoot. Cuba will not remain impassive when confronted by the violators of international law, and we know that many countries will do the same. The hope all peoples place in the United Nations is based on the authority which should be exercised by those countries which defend the principle of self-determination of States. The unity and authority achieved by the independent nations and by the Governments which defend that principle will be the most effective guarantee that the United Nations will be able to fulfil its role. That is the only policy which can triumph and force the imperialists to refrain from criminal aggression.

135. The most obvious proof that the Achilles' heel of imperialism is the irrevocable decision of the peoples of the world to stand up to its threats and aggression is provided by the 7 million Cubans who today are building a new society ninety miles away from an implacable enemy.

136. This has already been proved to the imperialists in Cuba, but it is also being proved to them again in Viet-Nam, in the Congo, in Mozambique, in Angola, in so-called Portuguese Guinea, in Aden and in Oman, just as it was proved to them in Algeria and will no doubt be proved to them wherever the people resist their domination in Latin America, Africa and Asia. The struggle for national liberation, which has already made a promising beginning in Latin America, is the *Iliad* of modern times in the making. Some day, if the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has not previously



been fully implemented, the United Nations will be obliged to pay a tribute to those who with courage, self-sacrifice and integrity are revindicating the partly dead letter of its purposes and principles.

137. What action will the peoples of the world take when confronted with imperialist aggression? The action they are already taking: guerrilla action, agitation by workers, peasants and students, expansion of the popular movement, protest demonstrations, strikes, slowdowns and revolutions.

138. Nobody is deceived, nobody is under any illusion: Asia, Africa and Latin America are at boiling-point and Yankee imperialism is powerless to stay their inevitable liberation.

139. Imperialist strategy in Latin America, Africa and Asia calls for the closest solidarity and unity of action among the peoples of the three continents in their struggle for national liberation, both within and outside the United Nations. A major step forward in the co-ordination of the methods, forms and objectives of that struggle will undoubtedly be taken at the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which will open at Havana, the capital of Cuba, on 3 January 1966. The Tricontinental Conference will also be the point of departure for wider, deeper and more dynamic joint action against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, which will hasten their end. The intensification of the revolutionary struggle on those three continents, with the support of all progressive forces, will undoubtedly constitute a decisive step in the history of the oppressed peoples of the world.

140. The problem of European security continues to depend on the signing of a peace treaty with Germany and the recognition of the objective existence of two independent German States—the Democratic Republic of Germany and the Federal Republic of Germany—which have different social systems and completely opposite political objectives, one being socialist and peace-loving, whereas the other is capitalist, the heir of nazi aggressiveness, and a direct ally of Yankee imperialism. The revanchiste policy of the Federal Republic of Germany and its declared desire to participate in the NATO multilateral nuclear force endanger not only European security, but also world peace.

141. The Cuban delegation proposes that the Democratic Republic of Germany be admitted to the United Nations, of which it has a full right to be a Member State.

142. The problem of general and complete disarmament is still stalled and the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Commission continues to drift. As a signatory of the Declaration approved at the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Cairo in October 1964, Cuba supports the calling of a world disarmament conference which would include all countries and peoples and particularly the People's Republic of China. Unless that country participates in the discussion of problems relating to international peace and security, all efforts in this direction will be unrealistic. Furthermore, we feel that the immediate restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Re-

public of China in the United Nations and the consequent expulsion of the ventriloquist's dummies of Yankee imperialism who illegally occupy its seats can no longer be delayed.

143. Cuba supports general and complete disarmament, the banning of all atomic tests, the total destruction of all nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, the establishment of denuclearized areas in Central Europe and Africa, and all measures which may help to reduce international tension, including respect for the territorial integrity of nations, the halting of imperialist aggression and the abandonment of all military bases on foreign soil.

144. On the other hand, Cuba has not participated, and cannot participate, in the plans for the denuclearization of Latin America. We consider it a laudable enterprise, but an incomplete one. The only nuclear Power in the hemisphere is the United States. Consequently, when this idea was put forward at the seventeenth session of the General Assembly, the Cuban delegation proposed that the draft resolution should include the United States and its military bases in Panama and Puerto Rico, and also the withdrawal of the naval base at Guantánamo in our territory. The only fair and effective way in which the denuclearization of Latin America can be achieved without leaving its peoples at the mercy of their traditional aggressor is by simultaneously denuclearizing the only nuclear Power in this part of the world.

145. As long as the United States Government retains the privilege of keeping and using its nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, Cuba reserves the right to insist on prior conditions which will guarantee its security, and to acquire the type of weapons needed for its defence.

146. If there was more than sufficient motive and reason to assume that attitude before the armed invasion of the Dominican Republic, how could we fail to reaffirm it after that predatory act by the United States Government and the recent interventionist declaration by the United States House of Representatives?

147. The items on economic development, international trade and technical assistance constitute one of the heaviest sections of the agenda. One of the gravest problems caused by colonialism is the backwardness and distortion of the economies of the developing countries. The gap between those countries and the developed countries has continued to widen. One of the central objectives of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Geneva in 1964, was the adoption of agreements and measures aimed at progressively closing that gap. It must be recognized that the hopes placed in that Conference have almost vanished. Thus far, the initiatives taken and the resolutions adopted have not gone beyond the nebulous sphere of good intentions. The meeting of the Trade and Development Board held recently at Geneva was a complete fiasco.

148. There is, however, something even more disquieting. The trade relations between the developing countries and the developed capitalist countries are becoming progressively more unfavourable to the former. But the developing countries have now realized



that the real keys to their political freedom and the improvement of their living conditions are to be found in the effective exercise of their sovereignty over their natural resources, on the independent development of their economies, and on unconditional international co-operation and free trade, carried on with mutual benefit and without discrimination. The close connexion between this and the struggle to eliminate the vestiges and ties of colonialism is obvious.

149. This, in broad outline, is Cuba's position with regard to the problems affecting the present and the future of the world.

150. The building of a socialist society in our country is proceeding rapidly. With the New Year, Cuba will celebrate another year of complete and final triumph over the interests, privileges and forces that subjugated its political will, deformed its national personality and stifled its economic development. The enemies of the self-determination, independence, sovereignty and progress of the Cuban people have not abandoned their vain aim of restoring the old society, based on the exploitation of one human being by another.

151. Imperialism persists in its attempts to defeat the Cuban revolution. The subversion planned in imperialist territory continues, as do harassments, conspiracy, provocation and the economic blockade, which the Cuban people have overcome through their own strength and the fraternal aid of the socialist countries. The imperialists, in their arrogant pretension, continue to violate our air space and territorial waters as they please, and maintain a military base against the will of our people.

152. All these facts have been repeatedly denounced by the Cuban Government and we shall not abandon our demand that the sovereign rights of our people be respected. In the face of this imperialist policy, Cuba maintains diplomatic and friendly relations with all Governments which respect the principle of self-determination of peoples and stands by its irreversible decision to retain its independence and build a socialist and communist society.

153. Cuba will attack no one; but let it be known also that if it is attacked, directly or indirectly, individually or collectively, it will know how to defend its integrity with all the heroism and dignity of which it is capable. Our motto, both there and here, is still the one which echoed through this hall for the first time during the memorable debate on the imperialist invasion which was abandoned in such cowardly fashion at Playa Girón: Fatherland or Death! We Shall Conquer!

154. Mr. SAKKAF (Saudi Arabia): In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate:

155. The appointment of Mr. Fanfani to the high office of the Presidency of the General Assembly at its twentieth session has heartened all of us; first, because he hails from a great country, Italy, which has contributed immensely to modern civilization, quite apart from the glory achieved by ancient Rome; and secondly, and not less important, because of the role that he himself has played not only in his service to his country but also in his noble endeavours for world peace.

156. Inasmuch as under Mr. Fanfani's guidance this Assembly has been functioning smoothly, my delegation does not lose sight of the skilful role played by Mr. Quaison-Sackey, the President of the Assembly at its nineteenth session, who applied himself most earnestly to devising a plan that made it possible for the Assembly to survive one of its most difficult periods.

157. In this instance, we are very mindful of the dedication of our Secretary-General to the well-being of this Organization in his continuous quest for peace, whether by his personal initiative or by applying the various mandates of the United Nations. His devotion has indeed become exemplary all over the world.

158. My delegation is gratified by the calm atmosphere prevailing during this session and takes this opportunity to extend its congratulations to the three new States, namely the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore, which were recently admitted as Members of our Organization, thus extending its universal character.

159. Those who have spoken before me in the general debate have already covered each and every issue on our agenda. If, however, I speak at this late hour, it is to present briefly those issues which my Government deems to be of paramount importance.

160. Unfortunately, in spite of the fact that this Organization is twenty years old, we find ourselves still confronted by various issues, some of which are almost as old as the United Nations itself. On the other hand, new issues seem to be cropping up. However, we are thankful that the solution of most of them has been sought in the United Nations through peaceful means. We do hope that, sooner or later, no single problem that may arise will, unless the two contending parties so desire, be settled other than on the principles of the United Nations Charter. In other words, peace should always be coupled with justice.

161. As a small Power, Saudi Arabia does not pretend to expertise on how nuclear and conventional disarmament should be achieved. None the less, we have a few ideas that may be worth considering by the major Powers. To begin with, we submit that there should be a greater measure of goodwill based on the principle of give and take, instead of adherence to rigid positions. Secondly, we believe that no world conference on disarmament should be held before an opportunity is given to the big nuclear Powers to meet formally or informally in order to exchange views and decide amongst themselves on possible areas of agreement. All this would serve as a prelude to holding a world conference, lest without preparation such a conference become only a platform for propaganda which could lead to the revival of the cold war.

162. The question of Cyprus has been of concern to my Government for no reason other than the friendly ties we have with all the contending parties. At the same time, we cannot lose sight of the fact that Cyprus lies in close proximity to the Arab East. We should like to see this country maintain its full independence on the basis agreed upon by the two communities. We are against either a merger of Cyprus with any other State or its partition between the two communi-

ties, as we wish to see them both living as one nation under the same flag.

163. It is indeed most disappointing still to find in this world a minority in colonial territories which thinks that it can impose its will on a majority which outnumbers it tenfold or more such as in the case of Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies. By the same token, it is deplorable to find in the self-same continent of Africa a Government still justifying its apartheid policies as if the white man had been given a title deed from God Almighty to rule over those he considers his inferiors.

164. Repugnant as racial discrimination is, we unfortunately still find certain States Members of this Organization, if not supporting it, at least not taking effective steps to eliminate it. We sincerely hope that the white man in Africa, who still rules in certain enclaves, will come to his senses and accept the irrefutable fact that, in spite of all colours, we are brothers under the skin belonging to the same human family.

165. One of the major issues confronting the United Nations today, because of the break-out of hostilities in the Asian sub-continent, is the question of Kashmir. This is not a new issue since it goes back to 1947, the year which saw the emergence of two great Asian States, none other than India and Pakistan. With both these countries, Saudi Arabia has had the best of cordial and brotherly relations. Hence, it is painful for us to witness actual war between these two States.

166. In giving our views on this issue we should like to be most objective. Even before the founding of the United Nations, self-determination was proclaimed as a principle at the Versailles Peace Conference in the wake of the First World War when many subjugated peoples clamoured for liberation and independence. The same principle has been enshrined in the Charter of our Organization, and later on was elaborated and accepted as a fundamental human right by the whole world community.

167. When Kashmir became a bone of contention between India and Pakistan and fighting broke out between those two States, the dispute was brought before the Security Council which, after many meetings, passed resolutions reaffirming the right of the Kashmir people to self-determination. Both India and Pakistan agreed to the terms of these Council resolutions. The Maharajah of Kashmir, however, acceded his state to India without ascertaining the wishes of the people of Kashmir. We submit that events have shown that it is dangerous for any State to take action on its own without the consent of the other party to the dispute. It is no wonder that war broke out.

168. On the other hand, it appears to us that the Security Council is to blame for not following up its resolutions on Kashmir. Instead, it resorted to evasive action without due regard to the just course it should have pursued.

169. Either the people of Kashmir have the right to speak for themselves through a United Nations plebiscite, or they are kept muzzled by the unwillingness of the Council to deal effectively with this issue. But the people of Kashmir, or any other people for

that matter, cannot be muzzled for long when they become ever more conscious of their right to determine their future.

170. In the present circumstances, my Government ventures to make a few suggestions in our endeavour to seek a way out of this impasse. First, let all Indian and Pakistani troops be withdrawn from Kashmir. Secondly, whilst Kashmir is being policed by the United Nations, the Security Council resolutions should be respected as agreed upon by both parties over fifteen years ago. Thirdly, during a transitional period, the territorial integrity of Kashmir should be guaranteed by both India and Pakistan.

171. After this period, it is hoped that emotions will have cooled down and the people of Kashmir will then have the choice of merging with either India or Pakistan. In essence, what we are suggesting is prompted by our earnest desire to see lasting peace with justice prevail between these two sister States without whose co-operation there can be no stability in Asia.

172. The next issue pre-occupying my Government stems from the vestiges of colonialism in the Arabian Peninsula. The Constitution of Aden has been suspended on the grounds that the patriots have manifested the desire of attaining full independence before the target date set by the United Kingdom. The year 1968 is indeed not too far off. However, the patriots in Aden and the South Arabia region are sincerely afraid that some strings will be tied to the terms of independence. To be more explicit, the patriots contend that by a sort of an imposed treaty of alliance the British will wish to maintain a naval base and a military foothold in that part of the peninsula. This is really the core of the whole question.

173. My Government submits that independence should not be contingent upon military arrangements made prior to achieving independence, and we hope that the British will do all within their power to dispel the fears of the patriots so as not to jeopardize their vital economic interest in the Arab East.

174. Aden and South Arabia do not constitute the only region where instability is rife on account of some antiquated policies in the Arabian Peninsula. The question of Oman remains a sore point which, unfortunately, is straining the good relations we would like to have with the British. Here again, we are faced with the suppression of the Omani people to exercise their right to determine whether they should be independent or form a part of an old British Protectorate. We do not believe that the British, hailing from an island several thousand miles away from the Arabian Peninsula, should arrogate to themselves to be the arbiters or the judges as to whether Oman should be ruled by a protégé of theirs in our part of the world.

175. The British claim that they have taken their stand by virtue of a treaty signed many decades ago, which upon scrutiny, we find was concluded to serve their own interests. But conditions have changed since the time of the East India Company and, wise as we deem the British to be in safeguarding their interests, we hope that they will prevail on their protégé to refrain from violating the right of the Omanis to self-determination.



176. There happen to be other differences and disputes between us and the British Government in the peninsula. But again, we hope that these differences and disputes may be resolved amicably and within the shortest period of time, lest we be compelled to take drastic action for protection of our rights.

177. We may well wonder whether the Palestine question should, so to speak, remain a perennial issue on the books of the United Nations, since the wanton and unjust resolutions of partitioning the Holy Land were passed. These resolutions ultimately led to the expulsion of 80 per cent of the population of Palestine from their own country. If Members of the United Nations which contributed to this tragedy have not become callous, let them today search their conscience to find out whether they should not concert their efforts in order to redress the wrong they have done unto the Palestinian people, a wrong which has no parallel in the history of the United Nations.

178. What is the use of the big Powers paying lip service to the high and lofty ideals of the Charter when they often seem to consider the Palestine question as a hopeless chronic issue for which they apply only weak palliatives instead of righting the wrong done to a whole nation? We have, time and again, listened to statements from this rostrum proclaiming that any peace without justice would be no peace at all, for sooner or later any oppressed people will finally rise with all the bitterness and rancour developed within their hearts in rebellion against those who have contributed to their misery.

179. Such is the problem of the Palestine refugees cooped up in tents, many of them living within sight of their homes across the artificial borders imposed upon them by those primarily responsible for their expulsion. Until that black spot is wiped, as it should be, from the annals of the United Nations, we submit that, in the meantime, the United Nations should appoint a custodian with high integrity over the assets which the Palestinian refugees were compelled to leave behind, so that the income therefrom may be used towards improving the sad lot of the refugees living in camps and also to aid those refugees who have hitherto been denied any assistance.

180. In spite of the necessity for appointing such a custodian, we should continue to bear in mind that the United Nations must remain the sole responsible body for maintaining the annual budget, and possibly increasing the funds, to meet the growth in the refugee population until such a time when these refugees are repatriated. Although the item I have mentioned revolves around the annual report of the Commissioner-General of UNRWA, let us not lose sight of the fact that this is only one aspect of the whole Palestine problem.

181. In conclusion, I may repeat that all we are asking for regarding this problem is that the original natives of Palestine, whether they live inside or outside the boundaries of the Holy Land, should be given the opportunity once and for all to exercise their right of self-determination, a right which was denied them throughout the period of the Mandate as well as during the consideration of the Palestine problem in the United Nations in 1947. Let there be peace with justice in Palestine.

182. Quite often, this Organization of ours is considered mainly an international forum endeavouring to solve intricate political questions. Despite the fact that political disputes and conflicts provide the world Press with dramatic and sensational news, the media of information sometimes do not equate the importance of social progress and economic development with momentous political events. Many seem to forget that political conflicts and disputes are rooted in the nature of economic and social development. Saudi Arabia has greatly benefited from the United Nations Technical Assistance Programme and the Special Fund, as well as from the resolutions and objectives of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

183. While I am on this subject of social progress and economic development, it behoves me to disclose to this Assembly some of the significant achievements so far realized by my Government under the wise guidance of His Majesty King Faisal. My country is enjoying a high rate of economic growth without resorting to deficit spending. In other words, we have been able to maintain a well-balanced national budget, which, by the grace of God, our natural resources and the efforts of our people, is increasing from year to year. We have neither a national nor an external debt. Our social welfare services are being extended in the fields of health and education, and we are maintaining an open-door policy for all kinds of development projects by encouraging foreign investments for the exploitation of natural resources other than oil. In the field of agriculture and irrigation we have been making long strides, especially in studies that are being made on the use of desalinated water.

184. The happiness and prosperity of the Saudi Arabian people is the concern of His Majesty. But we do realize that man does not live by bread alone. Our deep faith in God has always sustained us and made us content with our lot for many, many centuries before the natural resources of the land yielded their bounty and paved the way for the happy state in which we find ourselves today.

185. It is a great privilege that my Government is the custodian of the two holiest cities of Islam, a religion which, as is known, has about 600 million adherents. Every year, my Government welcomes several hundred thousand pilgrims who flock to Mecca and Medina from the four corners of the earth, but mostly from the two continents of Asia and Africa. As an Islamic nation, and due to our special position as custodian of the said two cities, we have indeed been privileged and honoured to keep in touch with the faithful followers of our religion.

186. Before concluding, may I be allowed to invoke God, the Merciful and Compassionate, to bring peace amongst us all.

187. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We have just heard the last speaker in the general debate. A number of representatives have asked to exercise their right of reply. We shall hear them at this afternoon's meeting.

*The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.*