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President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAQ
(Afghanistan).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)*

1. Mr. TOUMBAS (Greece) (translated from French):
Mr. President, I am most pleased to extend to you, on behalf of the Greek delegation and on my own behalf, our warmest congratulations on your election to the highest office of our Organization, that of President of this Assembly.

2. My pleasure is all the greater because I am addressing these wishes to the representative of a country whose ties with the Greek nation date back hundreds of years, as attested by Herodotus, the father of history. Our peoples, although separated geographically, have known and esteemed each other for a very long time. And we are certain, Mr. President, that we shall find in you all the qualities of firmness, wisdom, tact and experience that we have learned to appreciate in the Afghan nation.

3. I should also like to ask the Italian delegation to please convey to the outgoing President, Mr. Fanfani, the Greek delegation's gratitude and appreciation for successfully carrying out his difficult duties as President during the twentieth session. Throughout that session, Mr. Fanfani demonstrated the qualities that all of us, and particularly we Greeks, neighbours and friends of his country, have recognized in him for some time.

4. Faced with an agenda of some hundred items, most of them extremely important, one is tempted to wonder whether this multitude of issues is a sign of prosperity and strength or, rather, a symptom of the Organization's weakness and decline.

5. A glance at the past makes us realize that the United Nations has already accomplished a great deal in its various areas of competence, particularly in social, economic and humanitarian matters, and in education, the liberation of peoples, the restoration of human dignity and the protection of human rights. But much remains to be done. There are in particular

crucial problems which cannot be ignored with impunity, such as decolonization, and economic, financial and technical assistance to developing countries.

6. As regards decolonization, we are indeed happy with the results already attained. They redound to the credit of the United Nations, since they have led to the emergence of many new, independent States whose collaboration we truly appreciate.

7. My country is happy today to welcome Guyana, a new State in the Western Hemisphere, on its admission to the United Nations and on its participation in our work. We extend to it our sincere congratulations and our best wishes for progress and prosperity.

8. I should also like to take this opportunity to tell the Indonesian delegation how glad we are to see it resume its rightful role in the work of the United Nations.

9. We have not forgotten, however, that other peoples in other parts of the world are still waiting to be freed. The questions of Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa are foremost among those which must be settled quickly, in conformity with our principles. None of us can have a clear conscience until the principles of the Charter have been fully applied. I need hardly point out that with only three of the eleven Territories placed under trusteeship after the Organization was founded still under trusteeship, it is indeed inconceivable that the Mandate for South West Africa should still be—even nominally—the same as the Mandate the League of Nations established nearly forty-six years ago.

10. Such situations, together with other forms of interventionism and absolutism such as apartheid, belong to the past and must be considered for ever obsolete.

11. Greece, which has a long history of struggle for freedom and human dignity, for national independence and self-determination, will continue to lend whatever support it can to every constructive and reasonable measure designed to ensure universal acceptance of the principles, ideals and high moral values of our civilization.

12. In the economic sector, the Organization has become increasingly more active in conjunction with the United Nations Development Decade. The work of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the imminent establishment of the United Nations Organization for Industrial Development will give, I am sure, new impetus to this collective effort. But we must not forget that in this era of extraordinarily rapid scientific and technological progress, the rate of development in all sectors of human life is much faster than it was thirty, twenty

*Resumed from the 1424th meeting.

or even ten years ago. This is particularly obvious in the economy of developed nations, as precise statistics show. This is another aspect of the gap between the level of living of the developed and that of the developing countries, a gap which, instead of narrowing, grows ever wider and more difficult to close.

13. While I do not underestimate the difficulties inherent in any assistance project forming part of a plan of well-conceived and close co-operation between industrialized countries and those at a less advanced stage of development, I have no hesitation in saying that the possibilities of such assistance and co-operation are far from exhausted. In this context, I should like to recall the Secretary-General's comments during the last session of the Economic and Social Council [1421st meeting]. He spoke of the prevalent disappointment with the aid to developing countries and, while seeking the reasons, he tried to visualize possible solutions to the problem.

14. The industrialized countries and the third world alike must make greater and more intensive efforts in view of the inadequate results of the United Nations Development Decade. It has often been emphasized, and my country's experience has proved, that the main effort, the essential effort—in other words, the will which is the determining factor—must come from the developing countries. But both parties must also act in full awareness of the fact that such co-operation is from the outset, and even more in the long run, in their mutual and reciprocal interest. The application of science and technology to development and multi-lateral economic assistance, particularly in financing, are necessary to reduce the shocking differences between nations. International aid is in short only a manifestation of human solidarity, a means to combat poverty and misery, to eliminate the causes of resentment and bitterness, and to prevent possible outbreaks of revolt and hatred.

15. Each of us has a clear duty towards mankind, towards his own country, towards world order and peace, towards the economic and social progress of the international community to do his best to help improve conditions which might prove harmful to all mankind. The interest of us all, great or small, rich or poor, is in this respect one and indivisible. We must do everything in our power to prevent erosion of the foundations of international peace which—let us never forget—are precarious and unsteady.

16. Although the matter is not on our agenda, we can hardly ignore the threat to world peace created by the Viet-Nameese conflict. This conflict is the main source of the apprehension and anxiety which the present international situation has engendered. It is the most serious obstacle to the efforts made to solve other crucially important questions, such as disarmament. And it has led to the re-emergence of certain features of the cold war we had thought were for ever disposed of and abandoned.

17. I do not intend to go into the details of this issue. Yet I cannot hide the disappointment my Government and the Greek people feel because the repeated efforts of the United States and other Governments, and of persons of international stature, to halt the conflict, have elicited no response from the other party involved.

18. We are convinced in Greece that the Viet-Nameese dispute should be brought to the conference table as soon as possible, on the basis of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, so that a peaceful, just and equitable solution may be reached.

19. Greece, which not long ago experienced a similar type of armed subversion, directed and supported from outside, and which, with the valuable help of the United Nations and the United States, was able to safeguard its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity—Greece, which has had bitter experience of the suffering such intervention causes, cannot but feel deep sympathy for the Viet-Nameese people. That is another reason why we have followed and continue to follow the Secretary-General's efforts with particular concern and appreciation and why we lend him our full support.

20. It is not always easy to stop the detonation and firing of weapons with other weapons; it is much wiser and more humane to stop the use of arms by negotiation. This is what overwhelming world opinion demands, and we sincerely hope that those opposed will soon recognize the disaster into which their continued stubbornness and fanaticism may plunge not only their own people, but the entire international community as well.

21. The Viet-Nameese issue is one of those which force us to admit that the results the Organization has achieved thus far in the political sphere are a far cry from what the peoples on whose behalf the United Nations was established had the right to expect. But this very situation obliges us all, on behalf of mankind, which we are called on to serve, to express frankly and unequivocally our fervent desire for a just peace in keeping with the principles and ideals of our civilization.

22. Even if we were to accept the theory that the Viet-Nameese question cannot easily be dealt with within the United Nations because certain parties to the dispute are not Members, there are several other problems which have been pending before the Organization for years without having been solved. This lack of constructive and effective action is most serious whenever pending problems have an impact or repercussions, direct or indirect, on international peace. I need mention only Southern Rhodesia and the reunification of Korea.

23. We cannot forget that there are nations such as Germany, which, for reasons I prefer not to analyse here, remain divided. The Greek Government sincerely and fervently hopes that these nations will be reunited as soon as possible, by peaceful and democratic means, in application of the sacred and inalienable principle of self-determination. The reunification of these nations would not only be a positive contribution to international peace and to the well-being of the peoples who bear the unfortunate consequences of division; it would also eliminate hotbeds of conflict that might easily lead to war. History has taught us that the division of States is itself a cause of war.

24. The Organization's failure to solve our political problems is closely linked to its inability to devise

and put into operation machinery that would enable it effectively to fulfil its responsibility as guardian of international peace and security. Twenty-one years after its establishment, the United Nations seems to have only temporary, sometimes completely improvised, palliatives at its disposal with which to counter the direct threats to peace.

25. The responsibility of maintaining peace is, under the Charter, the joint responsibility of all Members of the United Nations. It would be a vain exercise, however, to seek a single expression, a single adequate joint demonstration, of this responsibility by practical means or measures. To mention just one aspect, the financial aspect, the Organization has undertaken peace-keeping operations, but those who have borne the burden do not by any means represent its entire membership.

26. I have no intention of going into the history of this problem. We are all aware that this situation nearly shook the United Nations to its foundations. Fortunately, reason finally prevailed and an interim arrangement was agreed upon. But a year has passed since then and the issue still has not been permanently settled. The voluntary contributions which were to be made to cover the United Nations financial deficit have come only from those countries which have regularly borne the costs of peace-keeping operations in the past.

27. A highly qualified Committee of Experts ^{1/} has thoroughly studied the United Nations financial situation. The Assembly will have the opportunity to study its report [A/6343] and the comments and recommendations contained therein. Another Committee, the Committee of Thirty-Three, ^{2/} has deliberated for over two years on the financing of peace-keeping operations. The Assembly will be able to profit from these discussions and from the conclusions which have been drawn from them. We thus have at hand all the necessary tools with which to seek a permanent solution to the problem of financing peace-keeping operations.

28. In so doing, we must always remember that the amounts paid for such operations are actually only an insurance premium for peace, a relatively tiny premium compared to the risk these operations cover, a premium we all have a compelling interest in paying to avoid the terrible slaughter and ruin that would result from war.

29. It is equally essential to set up machinery to serve as an effective peace-keeping instrument. The United Nations should have done this long ago. It is now our duty towards the peoples whom we represent here to finish this work.

30. It is well known that Greece, while faithful to the principle of collective responsibility for keeping the peace, has invariably contributed within its limited means to all United Nations peace-keeping operations. Moreover, we promptly made a voluntary contribution following last year's arrangement for covering the Organization's financial deficit. I need recall merely that Greece contributed \$4,450,000 towards financing

the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus. This amount represents over 8 per cent of the pledges to date and 7.5 per cent of the total expenditure for this Force. This contribution places Greece immediately after the United States and the United Kingdom, and on the same level as the Federal Republic of Germany.

31. In mentioning the need for the United Nations to establish a suitable peace-keeping machinery, we are no less concerned with another imperative duty of the Organization, that of attaining world disarmament.

32. It is becoming established practice for speakers at this rostrum to discuss disarmament and express hopes for its attainment. The General Assembly has been dealing with the problem for over 20 years. The broad scope of the issue and the significant advantages mankind would derive from the conclusion of a comprehensive agreement on disarmament as possible are such that no delay or obstacle whatsoever should discourage us.

33. The recent past has proved that solutions are possible when the political will to find them exists. I am referring to the Moscow partial nuclear test-ban Treaty. This Treaty, which aroused such great hope in mankind, should not remain an isolated case. Although an agreement on general and complete disarmament, including an effective control system, may not yet be imminent, it still seems possible now to make substantial concrete progress on several points under discussion, particularly with regard to collateral measures.

34. That is what the world, what all peoples represented in the Assembly, expect from us. But this top-priority and urgent task devolves primarily upon those States which, because of their great military power, have special and greater responsibility to ensure peace and security. We appeal to the political will of these States and to the determination of their leaders. They may rest assured that we will co-operate with them promptly and constructively.

35. My statement in this general debate would be incomplete without a brief reference to an obligation, in our opinion specific, which is incumbent on the States Members of the United Nations under the Charter and the relevant General Assembly resolutions. This involves fostering as far as possible understanding and co-operation between States, naturally beginning with countries in the same geographic region.

36. Last year [1358th meeting] the Greek delegation reported to the Assembly that considerable progress had been achieved towards improving relations and broadening and strengthening the ties between Greece and its neighbours. I am happy to add today that more headway has since been made in the same direction. Greece and Romania have just concluded a series of agreements which offer new prospects not only for the complete re-establishment of the friendly ties which always joined the two nations, but also for close co-operation in various spheres of international activity.

37. Greece is firmly determined not to let the difference between political and social systems stand in the way of the establishment of normal and progressively closer ties with other States. Greece proved

^{1/} Ad Hoc Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies.

^{2/} Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

this at an early stage, in its relations with its two close neighbours in the Balkans, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.

38. As to relations between Greece and Turkey, I am pleased to inform the Assembly that the serious problems which have arisen during the past few years in Greek-Turkish relations are now the subject of a thorough joint study. I shall not go into the details. But I feel I should elaborate somewhat on one of the issues under discussion with our Turkish neighbours, inasmuch as the Assembly dealt with it at great length during its twentieth session.

39. I am referring to the question of Cyprus, on which, after long discussion, the General Assembly last year adopted a resolution [2077 (XX)] recommending, among other things, the continuation of the mediation work begun by the Security Council. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to resume mediation. New efforts could certainly be made in that direction, as the United Nations Mediator himself, Mr. Galo Plaza, suggested in his report of 26 March 1965,^{3/} and as the Security Council's repeated recommendations to the parties involved have indicated. The Secretary-General made the same suggestion at the end of Section IV of the Introduction to his Annual Report on the Work of the Organization [A/6301/Add.1].

40. With this in mind, my Government established contact with Ankara and, after a preliminary exchange of views, the two Governments—and I quote a communiqué issued simultaneously in the two capitals on 18 May 1966—

"inspired by a sincere desire to facilitate a peaceful and agreed settlement of the problem of Cyprus and to improve their relations, ... have decided to proceed to contacts and an exchange of views on the question of Cyprus and on the Greek-Turkish relations as a whole".

41. Three weeks later, on 9 June 1966, following my two meetings with my Turkish colleague at Brussels, a second communiqué reported that we had agreed to begin a private discussion to help solve the Cyprus question without delay.

42. Those exchanges of views began some time ago with the consent of the Cyprus Government. They are continuing uninterrupted, regularly though somewhat slowly, because of the difficulties inherent in the Cyprus problem and because of other matters affecting the relations between the two countries. We are trying to help settle the Cyprus issue through these exchanges of views. We are convinced that our effort pays all necessary heed to the hopes and desires of the island's entire population—Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots and others. And this effort is determined and defined by the fact that Cyprus is an independent country, a Member of the United Nations. Both Governments must find the basis for a just and equitable solution which is in keeping with the principles of the Charter and with the wishes of the Cypriot people and calculated to guarantee lasting peace in our region of south-east Europe and the eastern Mediterranean.

^{3/} See Official Documents of the Security Council, twentieth year, Supplement for January, February and March 1965, document S/6253.

43. Needless to add, my Government entered these talks with the best of goodwill and good faith. I am confident that I can expect our Turkish colleagues to reciprocate these feelings and intentions. Under these circumstances, we venture to hope that our efforts will yield fruitful results.

44. In conclusion, I wish to stress that, as in the past, Greece, true to the ideals and principles which have inspired and guided it for centuries, will spare no effort in helping to safeguard peace and justice.

45. Mr. SILES (Bolivia) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, the Bolivian delegation is very pleased that you, whose intellectual and moral qualities are acclaimed in international circles, have been given the responsibility of presiding over the twenty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly. In congratulating you, Mr. Pazhwak, I am honoured to wish you every success in carrying out your important duties and to express my certainty that you will be a worthy successor to Mr. Amintore Fanfani, who presided over the twentieth session to the satisfaction of all.

46. I feel in duty bound to express the hope that U Thant will continue at the helm of the Secretariat. His outstanding personality, his untiring efforts to keep the Organization in good working order, his meaningful contribution to peace and understanding among peoples—all demonstrate how desirable it is for the United Nations to continue to benefit from the diplomatic experience and impeccable moral integrity he has shown in fulfilling his duties.

47. My country is highly honoured to have been elected to fill one of the posts of Vice-President of this Assembly. I can assure you that, in keeping with this honour, the Bolivian delegation will actively co-operate with all States seeking to solve international problems and will strive for the success of the Assembly's discussions, just as it did when similarly entrusted with a seat as a non-permanent member of the Security Council.

48. I should like to recall that when my country took its seat on the Security Council it had just emerged from a grave political upheaval. Yet despite the fact that Bolivia was still feeling the effects of this serious crisis, its Permanent Representative solemnly announced to the Security Council [1167th meeting] that the Military Junta then in power would shortly make the difficult transition to a constitutional and democratic government. That promise has been kept, and the Government headed by General René Barrientos wishes to reaffirm, through me, its unswerving devotion to the ideals and purposes of the United Nations proclaimed in the Charter.

49. I must also mention the humanistic and Christian significance of the Holy Father's presence in this hall in October 1965 [1347th meeting], particularly in view of the timeliness his words have acquired with the recent Encyclical appealing for world peace. It is encouraging to note on the vast world scene, where symptoms of crisis and moral decay coexist with the inspiring achievements of science, that mankind seems willing to accept with submission and reverence guidance from the great centres of spirituality and intelligence. Now we have the above-mentioned Ency-

clical, with a new call for peace directed particularly at the South-East Asian problem.

50. In this serious matter, Bolivia wishes to express, echoing the leader of Christianity, its most fervent desire that peace will come to Viet-Nam as soon as possible, a peace based on justice and freedom and which will take into account the right of the individual and the community, a lasting and stable peace.

51. My country also wishes to express its pleasure at the admission of the new South American State, Guyana, and the return of Indonesia to the United Nations. When a nation becomes a State and assumes control over its own destiny as Guyana has done; when a nation decides to join us again, as Indonesia has done, the Members of the United Nations have reason to rejoice, for they feel that one of the main functions of the Organization is to support the sacrifice peoples make to realize their full potential, and to welcome all nations that wish to pool their efforts, fulfil the lofty purposes set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and contribute earnestly to the cause of world unity and peace.

52. In this connexion, I also wish to express my Government's staunch support of the German nation's legitimate desire for reunification.

53. With regard to progress on the road of co-operation and solidarity among nations, the Bolivian Government also wishes to repeat its firm hope that weapons which threaten to destroy mankind, and whose production alone is a cause of backwardness and poverty in vast population sectors, will be banned and placed under effective control.

54. The arms race and wars are, however, only the most striking and spectacular forms of destruction and death. We must realize that there are other factors in the relations and trade between States which, because they involve unfair compensation for a nation's efforts and the labour of its workers, are decisive causes of sickness and death, hunger and anguish, leading to sullen hatred and also to outright violence. I am referring, specifically, to the low prices paid for raw materials and, particularly, for strategic reserves.

55. Year after year the developing countries have brought before this august Assembly the problem of the gradual but steady decrease in the prices for their primary commodities, the price paid for the commodities whose export and sale are the very underpinning of their budget, national economy and their peoples' level of living. But, unfortunately, they are only listened to with polite attention, and the problem—which affects dozens of countries and hundreds of thousands of people—remains unsolved and actually grows worse year after year.

56. Let us hope that this time these pleas will not be futile, that they will not fall on deaf ears. We wish to awaken the world's conscience to one of the most serious and crucial problems mankind faces, a problem which it cannot shirk and must solve with the utmost urgency.

57. The deterioration of the terms of trade affects nothing less than the economic and political stability of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

I do not wish to over-dramatize the situation in which three fourths of the world's people live. To stress this point, I need merely point out that the countries that buy our primary commodities are solely responsible for this constant slump in the prices paid for our products and in the remuneration paid for our work—prices and remuneration which determine our stability and our progress. But they are more anxious to protect their own interests than to give our workers fair compensation to help meet our peoples' urgent needs, or to support our Government's sacrifices and efforts to overcome poverty and stagnation. A former President of Colombia was thus correct in saying that "we are not undeveloped but rather underpaid continents".

58. This applies to coffee, copper, fruit and specifically to Bolivian tin. All the gigantic efforts made by the mining industry to organize its work, all the hopes we have sought to fulfil in a century and a half of upheaval affecting our security, stability, progress and peace are in serious peril.

59. Our peoples still hope, but there are densely populated areas that despair. We can still propose constructive plans as the Bolivian delegation will do during this session for regional development as a major step towards continental integration. But tomorrow it may perhaps be too late, and the patience of seventy-seven nations whose plea for justice and co-operation went unheeded may give out with violent results. This would not be the first case of generalized outbreaks that intelligent and, above all, timely action could and should have forestalled.

60. We must recognize, finally, that the United Nations, in admitting many nations, has given millions of human beings undergoing decolonization a voice in international affairs. We hope that a new process will ensue, in which efforts will be made to ensure equitable compensation for work throughout the world, in which the glaring differences between nations will be eliminated and in which the economic subjugation of some countries to others will be prevented.

61. As it has on all occasions and in all forums, Bolivia feels obliged to draw attention once again to the problem of its situation as a land-locked country. This situation affects relations between nations, particularly between those for which unity and fraternity are most imperative, and makes it excruciatingly difficult for Bolivia to raise its level of living. But there is more to it than that. Bolivia is deprived of an outlet to the sea in a continent where, according to the distinguished President of the Inter-American Development Bank, Mr. Felipe Herrera, 90 per cent of inter-American trade is transported by sea since other means of transport are lacking. This not only delays our progress but also throws the collective economic development of the area out of gear and thus hampers efforts to bring about continental economic integration.

62. Economic integration, which is probably the decisive factor in our efforts to establish peace and well-being in the modern world, finds the nations of the world in obvious, and sometimes dramatic disarray: some have the elements that generate progress and carry it forward; others lack even the most rudimentary means with which to develop their human and material potential.

63. Sociologists, economists, men who look to the future and businessmen all agree that these disparities are an almost insurmountable obstacle to the execution of plans for a more just and stable order in the relations between nations and individuals.

64. My country, Bolivia, is now waging a difficult and decisive fight to reach the take-off stage of vigorous internal development which will enable it to make a valuable contribution to the joint efforts of surrounding nations; but our land-locked position is a major obstacle. Thus, the outcome of a war which deprived my country of its seaboard today hampers fulfilment of great plans for the progress of our region and continent. In other words, while the closing in of Bolivia was never an exclusively Bolivian problem, it is even less so today, for the truncation of its territory prevents my country from attaining a level commensurate with its efforts and sacrifice, hampers smooth development, delays regional balance and impedes progress towards continental economic integration.

65. Someone once said that the countries of Latin America would eventually be united or enslaved; but it is an elementary fact that unity can only be attained with understanding, and can be built up only through economic co-operation and harmonious development. If there has never been a sound and lasting international union among States at substantially different levels of power and development, such a union is even less conceivable now that the industry and wealth of one State can stifle progress in another.

66. In this context, reaffirming the justice of its cause, Bolivia will propose in a plan for co-operation that the problems of economic integration should be studied, placing its faith in the high-mindedness of the rulers and nations around us, so that a fair Latin American solution can be found.

67. In the second part of my address, I wish to bring a regional problem before this world assembly in its historical and geographical aspects. For we feel that a large-scale common economic development policy in this part of the world would not only improve the situation of 200 million inhabitants, but would also enable Latin America—known as the continent of political instability, scientific and technological backwardness, and as a producer of almost nothing but raw materials—to cease being a hindrance to other centres of greater power, to cease being part of what Myrdal called submerged mankind, so that it can make a greater contribution of its own to the culture and progress of all mankind.

68. After the Latin American people's herculean effort in the Fifteen-Year War for freedom, which at times threatened to annihilate them; after substituting autonomous government for Spanish domination and republics for monarchies; after discarding the theocentric concepts which had prevailed for three centuries under the empire's unitarian organization in favour of world outlook engendered by the French Revolution; and after making the transition from the Middle Ages to modern times much faster than Europe, our people were exhausted after their terrible ordeal.

69. This sudden and radical change generated such great effort and tension that for a long time its originality, authenticity and creative potential were reduced to such an extent that our nations, though in the prime of youth, seemed to have exhausted their vital reserves. In fact, for a long period of time—its effects continued until the Second World War—the Latin American people went on living under the confining systems established in 1825, the year the last Spanish garrison in South America surrendered.

70. The old unity disintegrated. The provincial version of the "small motherland" of guerilla fighters supplanted the brilliant and far-sighted concept of Bolívar, the Liberator. And from then on we were dislocated. Although we shared a common language, origin, religion and history, we were an invertebrate society, a disjointed society with no inter-communication.

71. We then bent our efforts to the most urgent task of the day, that of giving our nations a formal structure in keeping with the spirit of the times and with the new status of independent republics they had achieved. But this task was undertaken by small oligarchic cliques and degenerated into mere legalistic, external, imitative action, patterned on foreign constitutional models but lacking the sense of social awareness that had been flourishing in Europe since about the middle of the previous century. In the second place, these efforts were confined within each country's borders and were almost completely devoid of a sense of purpose, enterprise, expansion, unity and a spirit of integration.

72. Subsequently, as an expression of belated Latin American reaction to the European ideologies of the past century, a series of convulsions—preceded by isolated and generally ineffective incidents—shook most of the republics of Central and South America towards the end of the Second World War.

73. Although inspired by the obvious and irritating inequality in the distribution of wealth and the frequent incapacity of those in power, these movements generally had no guiding philosophy. They depended on superficial plans and the intuitive powers of some of their leaders, and in the end they thought that by merely ousting the ruling cliques or destroying old institutions—more specifically, by liquidating local oligarchies and two or three monopolistic companies—they could raise the level of living and put an end to the economic dependence of their States.

74. Some of these movements, when they took over power in our countries, succeeded in destroying the old oligarchies and the structures which supported unjust privilege, nationalized the major sources of wealth and broke up large estates. But, in some cases at least, they were unable to replace the ruling cliques or consolidate the changes made, and thus left ruin and a vacuum which nature abhors.

75. These movements often failed to consider man as the ultimate aim of public action. They often lacked a philosophy and a modern outlook; they did not understand scientific and technological advances or the law of economic development; they were not fully aware of the unity of our nations, nor were they firmly determined to integrate their economies. These movements lacked a forward-looking, pioneering spirit; they did not set a new goal for our collective

efforts, as each generation in the United States had done, from the first thirteen colonies to the present "New Frontier", nor did each in turn bear a message in keeping with the times.

76. That is why our impetus did not carry us much further than the advances of the Incas or the cities founded by the Spaniards. The Andes formed a mighty physical barrier, and the myopia of our leaders a mighty barrier of incomprehension. Both retarded our civilization and settlement, so that only the loneliness of the jungle remained beyond our narrow horizon. In brief, the legacy of strictly legalistic or merely subversive movements was that of a disjointed community, a purely peripheral civilization, which merely bordered on the coasts of the two oceans surrounding the continent, without conquering the Andes or penetrating the depths of the jungle.

77. In fact, the territory stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific has not been crossed, as the North Americans conquered what was once the "Far West". Venezuela has not been linked with Argentina, as the British of the past century linked Egypt with South Africa. No link has been established between Lima and Rio, such as the French created when they advanced from West Africa to the Red Sea after the Fachoda incident. From Panama to Buenaventura, from Buenaventura to Guayaquil, from Guayaquil to Callao, from Callao to Antofagasta, there are thousands of kilometres of jungle, desert and mountains, which one can cross without finding a single town of any size on the way, where there is no highway or railway joining them, so that these ports seem like huge depots. Inland, vast expanses of land such as those between Caracas and Santa Cruz de la Sierra or between the Atlantic and the Pacific, are almost totally uninhabited. And towards the heart of the Andes, we find the vast pampa and the surging Amazon.

78. Nevertheless, the most recent movements—true blind forces of nature which have found their most vivid and desperate expression in the terrorism which has flared in some capitals, in the brigandage which has swept through rural areas, in the guerilla activity in some countries, and in the spirit of revolt which underlay some of our attempts at revolution—are beginning to give way to new concepts that are far from clearly defined.

79. A new Latin American trend has begun to make headway during this decade. It takes different forms in different regions, but its essence remains very much the same. Its characteristics are realism, a revolutionary policy, clear thinking, and a serious, responsible constructive attitude. It is attempting to make a clean break with confusion, the superficiality and imitativeness of past programmes, and unreliable and half-hearted efforts.

80. In all our countries, this new generation demands technological research, such as the Economic Commission for Latin America is carrying out; it calls for regional development such as Colombia and Ecuador are undertaking in their frontier regions; for penetration into the interior, following the example of Brasilia and the roads radiating from Brasilia throughout all of Brazil's vast territory; for economic integration, as promoted by the Latin American Free

Trade Association or as carried out by the Central American Common Market; for a link between the Paraguayan plains and the Peruvian mountains, between the Ecuadorian and Colombian tropics and the Marginal Jungle Highway. It is no mere coincidence that the architect of this latter project is President Belaúnde of Peru.

81. We are thus breaking up the purely nationalistic pattern which has persisted since 1825, for a century and a half, and which has led to a situation in which inter-American trade accounted for only a low 8 per cent of our total exports during the past decade. The statement that no significant creative ideas have come from this part of the world since the Panama Canal was opened is beginning to lose its validity.

82. This change is not a reflection of economic diletantism or some technocratic trend, for industrial revolutions that have led to terrible social inequalities are a matter of historical record. It is a "new broom", but the keynote is realism, for experience has shown that social revolutions have caused terrible economic setbacks. The aim is to change specific social institutions, but it is felt that they are often inadequate or inefficient because they are limited to small centres and neither understand nor venture to make far-reaching changes in the process of continental integration.

83. Of the Latin American Republics, Bolivia has perhaps felt its past most deeply and has pursued its destiny with the greatest intuition.

84. What is today Bolivia was once the Inca Empire, which encompassed five of the present nations of our hemisphere. During the colonial era it was part of the Viceroyalties of Peru and Rio de la Plata. During its republican period it made one of the most serious attempts ever undertaken in our hemisphere to create a confederation. An international war subsequently deprived Bolivia of its access to the sea, thus forcing it to seek refuge in its mountains, to isolate itself and to fall back on its own resources.

85. But Bolivia's geography—which places it in the heart of South America, with five frontiers, with vast territory extending towards three of the southern continent's four great river basins—could hardly fail to exert a great attraction. As a result of this geographical situation and Bolivia's long-standing tradition and staunch Latin Americanism, the new generation does not view our country as a "buffer" State, but rather as a "land of contact", a crossroads that ties Latin America together.

86. Perhaps without knowing it, by necessity and intuition, Bolivia is the only nation which has gone into the Andes mountains and established roots there—a feat not always acknowledged—and is now starting to leave the Andes behind, to conquer the tropics and go down to the plains. A quarter of a century ago, when continental integration was a vague romantic dream in Latin America and development was not yet even talked about, Bolivia linked its plains to Brazil and Argentina with railways and to the highlands with a highway. It moved people from the mining region to the tropics and devoted all its energies to the development of that area.

87. But the keynote of this new effort is resolute realism. Bolivia paid dearly for its innocent idealism

and is today firmly convinced that now that the broad outlines of a policy of continental integration have been drawn, Latin America should build itself up as advocated by Robert Schumann—the man who, with de Gasperi and Adenauer, laid the groundwork for a new Europe—not on purely political declarations, but on common achievements and common efforts.

88. That is why Bolivia proposed regional economic development as a constructive step towards continental integration, and with regard to ourselves, specifically we urge the immediate study of three large-scale and ambitious undertakings: the development of the Amazon Basin, the River Plate Basin and the Pacific Basin, in all their aspects.

89. One writer calls the Amazon Basin the "uninhabited interior". In addition to Brazil, most South American States share this Basin. Until recently there were no roads going through the area; technical and health facilities were not advanced enough for us to try to conquer it; areas adjacent to the cities apparently could supply all the needs of their inhabitants. In short, there was no compelling need for our peoples to attempt its conquest.

90. The situation has changed completely within only a few years. Our peasants need land which our land reform programmes often cannot provide, and our urban populations are growing at a dizzying rate, the fastest in the world.

91. There will be no place for small isolated States in the world of tomorrow, just as the small feudal units of Europe disappeared with the formation of national States, which in turn are heading towards continental integration today. The modern world requires mass production and consumption centres. And there the Amazon Basin lies waiting, with its 7 million square kilometres, the world's largest reserve of natural resources.

92. Once the course of the rivers has been regulated, and once their falls and rapids have been eliminated, we can build dams, control floods, open vast expanses of land for animal husbandry and farming, and develop hydro-electric power throughout the Amazon region.

93. Great civilizations have followed the course of great rivers, such as the Nile. The damming of the Paraguay and Paraná rivers in the River Plate Basin and the opening of a Bolivian port on the Paraguay would provide the entire Basin with a system of waterways for the benefit of five countries.

94. Finally, with regard to the Pacific Basin, the transformation of the forbidding and hostile geography of the highlands and the desert seaboard should be considered and studied.

95. The development of these immense resources would change the geography and economy of South America, for it would bring more than half the area of the hemisphere into productive use.

96. In Latin America, regional plans requiring international co-operation have not yet been launched, in contrast to various projects in other parts of the world being carried out under United Nations auspices. We need cite only the development of the Mekong River Basin in South-East Asia, which benefits Thailand,

Laos, Cambodia, Viet-Nam and Burma. Even war has not held up these projects! We might also mention the studies which are being carried out under United Nations guidance on the Senegal and Niger Rivers in Africa.

97. Turning to Latin America, however, I would stress that what we need is a grand enterprise to unite us, and the creative imagination to choose a goal which we can pursue, which will arouse our enthusiasm and mobilize our youth. Life today in Latin America might be described as sordid in the extreme, a mere and often unsuccessful struggle for one's daily bread. We have moral values and vitality which could do wonders; but proper use cannot be made of these assets amidst the great ignorance and poverty that prevail. Hungry masses easily succumb to demagoguery, resentment and subversion. We are struggling with truly fundamental problems and needs and we cannot create the momentum we need to devise vast projects and plans.

98. Yet despite these drawbacks, great ideas for the future are taking shape. Among other projects, Peru plans to move towns from its plateau to the tropics. The Bolivian road network is continuing to spread from the centre eastwards and northwards, and thousands of people have been moved from the mining regions to these areas. Brazil is completing a magnificent highway which will soon reach its border with Bolivia and Peru, as part of what President Castelo Branco has called "Operation Amazon". The possible mining of iron and manganese in the Bolivia-Brazil border area, the export of Bolivian natural gas for the São Paulo industrial complex and for Argentina, and multilateral industrial projects now being developed, are all schemes that are now under way or that will be studied at forthcoming international meetings.

99. It is to be hoped that ideas such as those I have described will continue to make headway, firstly through the organization and financing of preliminary surveys and the assessment of natural resources which can serve as the basis for drawing up specific regional development or continental integration programmes. This appeal is addressed particularly to the Organization of American States, to the more industrialized countries, to technical and banking organizations such as the Inter-American Development Bank, and particularly to the United States which, through the Alliance for Progress, has begun, although recently, to co-operate in the economic development of Latin America.

100. As to the United Nations, not only is it at present fulfilling its main function of ensuring peace at the legal and political levels, but it is also becoming increasingly involved in the economic, social and cultural development of nations, without which neither domestic nor international peace will be secure.

101. In conclusion, I only wish to add in this context that the ideas I have just outlined—that is, regional development as a constructive and definite step towards continental integration—are intended to contribute to the attainment of the most lofty purposes of the United Nations in our search for a better life for man.

102. Mr. BISTA (Nepal): Mr. President, I should like to take this opportunity to convey to you, and, through

you, to the distinguished representatives, the greetings and good wishes of His Majesty King Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev for the success of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly.

103. On behalf of the delegation of Nepal and on my own behalf, I extend to you our most sincere congratulations on your election to the high office of the Presidency of the General Assembly at its twenty-first session. We greatly rejoice in your election because not only are Afghanistan and Nepal ruled by the most enlightened constitutional monarchs having only the welfare of their peoples at heart, but both of our countries have also common aspirations and common goals in international affairs.

104. Your demonstrated abilities as the representative of your great country, during the past many years, Mr. President, assure the successful outcome of the present session.

105. We were happy to note that, unlike its predecessor, which was paralysed by the no-vote procedure, the twentieth session of the General Assembly could carry on its business smoothly and effectively. Much of the credit for the success of the twentieth session of the General Assembly goes to a distinguished statesman of Europe, His Excellency Amintore Fanfani, under whose wise direction we were privileged to work.

106. The United Nations may not have achieved the desired success in the field of peace-keeping, but in spite of that, the handling of the India-Pakistan conflict by the world Organization last year showed that the United Nations still remains a powerful peace-maker. Had the United Nations not acted in time, the India-Pakistan conflict might have brought untold misery to the millions of people living in the sub-continent, and would have imposed further political and economic strain on both the countries, which are Nepal's immediate neighbours.

107. The efficient handling of the recent India-Pakistan conflict by Secretary-General U Thant has further established his dedication to the cause of the United Nations and to world peace. I would also like to pay tribute to the Soviet Government, through whose good offices normal relations between the two countries could be re-established. Good relations between India and Pakistan are very dear to our hearts, not only because Nepal is a neighbour of both of these countries, but also because we have always espoused the cause of world peace and prosperity.

108. On behalf of His Majesty's Government, I should like to express our profound confidence in the Secretary-General, U Thant. He has not only served the Organization with distinction and devotion, but has also received the respect and confidence of the entire Membership. My Government was one of the many which appealed to him to make himself available for a second term as Secretary-General of the United Nations.

109. My delegation realizes the importance attached to the question of principle and the question of conscience referred to by the Secretary-General in explaining the reasons that were responsible for his decision to terminate his association as Secretary-General after the expiry of his current term. We do

feel that the prospects for the continued peace of the world are not bright, that the Powers that matter are not attempting a solution of the problems referred to by the Secretary-General. This is also why the world Organization stands in need of the continued service of a dedicated servant of peace such as U Thant.

110. I should like to take this opportunity to welcome Guyana as the newest Member of the United Nations. The people of Guyana have achieved their independence after a long period of heroic struggle. The former administering Power also deserves our appreciation, as we have found that, unlike some of the other colonial Powers, Great Britain, realizing the possible impact of popular struggle, has conceded independence to many of its former colonial territories. Guyana emerges as a sovereign State in the Western Hemisphere with the distinctive traditions of Asia and Africa. We are confident that Guyana will provide an example to the world as to how the descendants of peoples migrating from two different continents can establish their merged national identity in a third continent.

111. When delegations assemble here every year, the primary concern that they express is that arising from the problem of war and peace. My delegation thinks that the most agonizing problem facing the world today is that of the unending and most inhuman war in Viet-Nam.

Mr. Gueye (Senegal), Vice-President, took the Chair.

112. The situation in Viet-Nam has been causing us the greatest concern. We fear that this situation may lead the world to a point of no return. Nepal has repeatedly stated that any provocation leading to the escalation of the conflict must be avoided. But contrary to reasonable appeals from all peace-loving countries, there are no indications of any genuine attempt at a peaceful solution of the Viet-Nam question.

113. We cannot but realize the utter futility of the senseless war in Viet-Nam, from whatever point of view we look at the situation in that country. The hardships to which the Viet-Nameese people, through no fault of their own, have been subjected have no parallel. To insist on a military solution of the Viet-Nam question may, in our opinion, turn into the greatest political blunder of our age. The problem of Viet-Nam is larger than a military problem, and indeed larger than a political problem, because at present it is a human problem. Viet-Nam today most vividly and most pathetically symbolizes the difficulties of a small country.

114. The Geneva Agreement of 1954 was certainly a move in the right direction, and it has been made amply clear now that the deliberate and escalated violation of that Agreement in recent times has led only to further miseries for the Viet-Nameese people. The present division of Viet-Nam is artificial, and we know that the people of Viet-Nam want to unite. It is most unfortunate that great-Power politics should have stood in the way of any natural, peaceful solution of the Viet-Nam question.

115. The Secretary-General has made an eminently sensible proposal for the immediate cessation of the Viet-Nam conflict. He suggests the ending of bombing

in North Viet-Nam, a scaling-down of military activities in South Viet-Nam, and the beginning of talks among all parties, including the Viet-Cong.

116. We feel that the first prerequisite for the solution of the Viet-Nam question is an immediate cease-fire. Once a cease-fire is arrived at, peace can be negotiated among the parties concerned and a political settlement made on the basis of the Geneva Agreements. The Viet-Nameese people have inalienable rights to unity, independence and sovereignty, and their wishes should be respected in the event of any kind of settlement of the question.

117. The question of Viet-Nam is essentially one of a nation divided against its will. Unfortunately, there are also other nations in the world, such as Germany and Korea, which are divided against their will. We know that divided peoples, whether in Viet-Nam, Korea or Germany, want to unite. Unification is their natural aspiration. It is our view that no nation has any right to place obstacles in the way of the fulfilment of this aspiration.

118. We are happy that the prolonged state of armed confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia, which had further aggravated the already tense situation in South-East Asia, has come to an end. Indonesia and Malaysia are neighbours, very close both racially and culturally. By ending the state of confrontation, the leaders of both countries not only rendered a service to their peoples but also contributed to the lessening of tension in South-East Asia, in particular, and in the world in general.

119. I wish also to welcome the Indonesian decision to rejoin the United Nations and to take part in its deliberations. Indonesia has been one of the most active members of the Afro-Asian family in fostering and promoting international brotherhood. Whether in Bandung, Belgrade, Cairo or the United Nations, the active participation of Indonesia in international affairs has yielded many positive results, of which the peaceful solution of the West Irian question is an example. It is therefore heartening to note that Indonesia has seen its way clear to resume co-operation with the United Nations.

120. I wish to refer now to the question of the lawful representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. This is a great and urgent question and should therefore receive the priority of our attention. The United Nations will remain disabled in fulfilling its objectives of peace so long as the existence of 700 million Chinese people continues to be ignored. To ignore China is bad enough; to try to perpetuate this situation by advocating a two-China theory is worse. There is only one China, and there is no escaping the fact that the present Government in Peking represents that China in all its totality. China is not only an ancient nation; it is also a mighty nation. Our experience from our relations with China has shown that it pursues a strict policy of non-interference, equality and mutual respect.

121. Nepal attaches great importance to the United Nations. We welcome any move calculated to strengthen the world Organization. We believe that the United Nations will be strengthened when its membership becomes universal. For this reason also we have been

advocating that the People's Republic of China should be accorded its proper representation in the United Nations. It is unfortunate that the people's Republic of China, with all its vast resources and manpower, should be kept forcibly out of the world Organization. In the present conditions of tension, the People's Republic of China has a most important and vital role to play in international affairs. We feel that without the active participation of China in world affairs the great questions of the day cannot be resolved. The United Nations will be a more effective instrument of peace with the People's Republic of China than without it.

122. Disarmament is, undoubtedly, one of the most important problems of war and peace. The sense of urgency which should have been attached to this problem is unfortunately lacking. The arms race is continuing in almost geometric proportions. While the estimate of expenditure on armaments was \$100,000 million a year towards the end of the fifties, by the middle of the sixties it has risen to \$200,000 million annually. This figure is far more than the combined national income of all the developing countries.

123. This situation underlines the need for complete and general disarmament as soon as possible. Complete and general disarmament should apply to both conventional and nuclear weapons. The disastrous consequences of the present armaments race are obvious enough. Considering the huge sum of money that goes into the piling up of armaments with the vast technological and scientific resources involved, developing countries such as Nepal have every reason to suggest saving on armaments and utilizing the money and resources in the worthier and more humane cause of rehabilitating the less fortunate section of mankind.

124. For this reason we have always lent our support to the moves for disarmament, whether within or outside the United Nations. We had placed special hope on the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee and the three-Power negotiations on the banning of nuclear tests. Although the usefulness of the first cannot be denied, nevertheless it has become almost ineffective after endless, inconsequential talks which moved in a circle. The second ended only with the partial nuclear test-ban Treaty.

125. While we believe that nothing short of complete and general disarmament will meet the situation, we have given our support to any limited measure that has been agreed, in the hope that it might lead to some promising lessening of tension in the world. It was in this spirit that we associated ourselves with many countries in signing the partial nuclear test-ban Treaty. In the international situation of today, fraught as it is with the gravest of contradictions, we feel that we cannot reject the slow method of achieving the final objective of complete and general disarmament through a series of steps of limited nature. We say this, although we are aware of the less encouraging developments in the world following the signing of that Treaty.

126. The progress of disarmament negotiations has been slow. Even the partial test-ban Treaty has not been extended in scope to cover underground tests as

well. If the comprehensive test-ban Treaty is not possible only because some Powers feel that a verification system is lacking, then we could very well recommend the acceptance by the parties of the formula put forward by the eight non-aligned members of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee for inspection by invitation, or its Swedish variant.^{4/} We feel that the nuclear Powers could at least undertake an experimental suspension of underground nuclear tests and start negotiations on a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

127. Guided by a sincere desire for peace, my delegation was happy to support the proposal for the convening of a world disarmament conference. But, regrettably, the big Powers have shown very little interest in the initial preparations for convening the conference. We are convinced that a disarmament conference actively participated in by all principal nuclear Powers of the world would be successful in evolving effective machinery for disarmament.

128. Nepal believes that the only wise policy for States to pursue is that of peaceful coexistence. We believe that one of the tenets of peaceful coexistence is non-interference in the domestic affairs of other States. His Majesty King Mahendra has, time and again, laid stress on the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of another country as the cornerstone of Nepal's foreign policy. It is in this spirit that my delegation has supported the United Nations Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty, adopted last year [resolution 2131 (XX)]. We have always had an absolute faith in these principles, which we consider to be of fundamental importance for the growth of peace and friendship among nations. We have witnessed in the recent past that unsolicited armed intervention and other direct or indirect forms of interference in the affairs of other States necessarily bring in their wake complicated international problems, endangering the peace and security of many nations.

129. The delegation of Nepal welcomes the two draft treaties on outer space and celestial bodies proposed, one by the United States [A/6392] and one by the Soviet Union [A/6352]. We are, moreover, happy to note that there is a remarkable agreement between the two drafts on fundamental points. We consider that there should be little difficulty in further coalescing the remaining basic points on which agreement has not yet been reached and presenting the draft treaty to the General Assembly for adoption.

130. Since the signing of the partial test-ban Treaty, relations between the two super Powers have been increasingly cordial. This is an extremely good augury for world peace and security. If the spirit of the two draft treaties on the use of outer space and celestial bodies for scientific and peaceful purposes could be maintained, we are confident of greater progress and material welfare for the people living on this planet. I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate the super Powers again on their exceptional scientific achievements in outer space. The soft landing on the moon has opened up new vistas for man's communion with the celestial bodies.

^{4/} See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1966, document DC/228, annex I, section C.

131. It is a matter of deep regret that, even six years after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, certain colonial Powers, particularly Portugal and South Africa, have refused to recognize the right of colonial peoples to independence and sovereignty. They are continuing their repressive policy of exploiting the colonial peoples to their maximum advantage and to the utter detriment of the hapless peoples groaning under the worst form of colonial domination. His Majesty's Government of Nepal has repeatedly declared in international forums, including this body, its opposition to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

132. I should like to take this opportunity to express the appreciation of His Majesty's Government of the work accomplished so far by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The members of the Special Committee deserve our hearty congratulations on their hard work and fine achievements. The recommendations of the Special Committee made after a series of meetings during this year in Africa, and the reports of its Sub-Committee submitted after on-site study of the problems pertaining to certain colonial territories should receive our maximum attention.

133. My delegation is deeply distressed to note that Portugal and South Africa, the two remnants of colonial Powers, in their deliberate disregard of world public opinion expressed through the resolutions of the General Assembly, have been receiving generous blessings from their major trading partners. We, the people of Nepal, extend our whole-hearted support to the unrelenting struggle waged by the brave peoples of Angola, Mozambique and the so-called Portuguese Guinea against Portuguese colonial aggression. Portuguese colonialism and South African racialism are the twin pillars of the relics of imperialism. Those two colonial Powers have unfortunately failed to realize how weak the foundations of these twin pillars are before the surge of popular movement towards the achievement of independence, sovereignty and equality.

134. Nepal has always made common cause with the African brothers in their fight against racialism. Nepalese representatives to the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa have been privileged to serve as Rapporteurs of that Committee. We have constantly maintained that the end of racialism in South Africa will contribute greatly to world peace; and the establishment of the rule of the majority in South Africa should receive universal encouragement and support.

135. The racial problem of South Africa could have been more easily solved had there been a possibility of dialogue between the States supporting the South African racial régime and those opposed to it. At its twentieth session, the General Assembly decided [resolution 2054 (XX)] to enlarge the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Republic of South Africa. But regrettably, none of the major trading partners of South Africa expressed a willingness to serve on the Special Committee. This refusal on the part of some of the Member States to co-operate in

implementing a resolution adopted by the General Assembly to the extent of joining a Special Committee of the General Assembly, indicates some inherent weakness in the Organization.

136. The illegal régime set up in Southern Rhodesia in defiance of the administering Power and with utter disregard of world opinion is a challenge to our Organization. In spite of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations, no serious attempts have been made by the administering Power and other big countries to bring down the illegal régime. Lack of serious action on the part of the big Powers to end this régime and establish a democratic rule on the basis of one man, one vote in Southern Rhodesia does in fact lend basis to the suspicion as to whether the whole drama was not a shrewd bid to maintain white supremacy through colonial and racial exploitation in the whole southern part of Africa.

137. It is important that this Assembly should reiterate its declarations against the present illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia and for the establishment of a majority rule. The people of Nepal will support any move for assisting the people of Zimbabwe in the attainment of their national independence.

138. My delegation would also like to declare its opposition to the evil designs of the South African racist Government to extend the policy of apartheid to the Territory of South West Africa and ultimately to annex the country. We extend our whole-hearted support to the people of South West Africa in their struggle for independence from the South African racist Government which, by accident of history, has temporarily been administering South West Africa in trust for the world community.

139. Many delegations have shown deep concern and disappointment over the recent decision of the International Court of Justice on South West Africa.^{5/} While my delegation, because of its respect for the International Court of Justice and for the wisdom and discretion of the judges who are elected by the General Assembly itself, would not wish to enter into dispute with the judgement of the Court, it would have welcomed a verdict by the International Court of Justice on the substance of the case, because such verdict would have greatly contributed to the growth of international law.

140. My delegation, as in previous years, strongly supports the cause of freedom and independence of the people of South West Africa and considers that the inalienable right of the South West African people to freedom and sovereignty should be restored through international action. Our fight against South Africa's intransigence over this issue remains unabated; we feel that the time has come to help the people of South West Africa by every means so that they may be able to throw off the yoke of South African colonialism and racialism.

141. The efforts to evolve an effective peace-keeping formula have not yet produced any tangible result. The major point of dispute in evolving the formulae rests squarely on the question of the nature of responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of

international peace and security. May I, in this connexion, quote from the speech of the first President of the Security Council at the first meeting of the Council.

"Our fellow Members of the United Nations have placed in our hands the primary, but not the sole responsibility, for the maintenance of international peace and security. They have given us authority to act on their behalf, and they will expect us to remember these principles at all times."^{6/}

142. My delegation has no intention of entering into a dispute regarding the primary and exclusive responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of world peace and security. Our intention is to see that the United Nations becomes an effective instrument for peace.

143. Looking back into the experience of the United Nations in the field of peace-keeping operations, no one, I am sure, could deny the necessity of strengthening the peace-keeping capabilities of the Organization. Had it not been for the timely intervention of the United Nations, the conflicts in Gaza, Congo, Cyprus and Kashmir probably would have escalated into major wars. That many cease-fire lines are being watched by the United Nations observers is no mean achievement of the United Nations.

144. The deceleration in the rate of progress in the developing countries is a matter of primary concern and should be given the maximum attention. At the commencement of the United Nations Development Decade and again in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the developed countries had, by and large, agreed to transfer 1 per cent of their gross national product for the development of the developing countries. But even in the sixth year of the Development Decade, regrettably, we find failure on the part of the developed countries to fulfil their promise, and consequently the modest growth target set for the Development Decade is far behind. There is little hope that this target can be achieved by the end of the Development Decade. The rich countries are growing richer, but the poorer countries are facing economic stagnation. We must devise ways and means to overcome the economic dilemma of this age. It is high time for the developed countries to respond by means of specific proposals to help the developing countries raise their living standard and attain the minimum growth target.

145. Nepal as a developing country has realized that self-reliance and self-improvement are more important than foreign aid, although in the initial stages of development no developing country could progress without co-operation from others. It is against this background that my delegation suggests that an important point to which this Assembly should devote its serious attention is the acceleration of its efforts towards the promotion of economic co-operation among all Member States. Since the beginning of the Development Decade, developments have taken place in the field of economic co-operation of which the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held in Geneva in 1965 was probably the most signi-

^{5/} South West Africa, Second Phase, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 1966, p. 6.

^{6/} Official Records of the Security Council, First Year, No. 1, 1st meeting, p. 6.

ficant. The recommendations of the Conference were a result of a great deal of compromise. The basic problem of the rate of price rise of industrial goods far out-stripping that of primary goods does not seem to be nearing solution in spite of that Conference.

146. Nepal, being mainly an exporter of primary commodities, is vitally interested in ensuring that the prices of these commodities do maintain a kind of economic relationship with those of industrial goods. Nepal's programme of industrialization is determined basically by a desire to raise the living standard of the people and is, therefore, consumer-oriented. Nevertheless, on account of our great difficulties in transportation, it is not always possible for the new industrial goods produced and being produced in Nepal to reach the people. Nepal, like other developing countries, has found it difficult to compete with the goods of more industrialized countries in the neighbourhood, in the first place, because the cost of production in Nepal at the initial stage of our industrialization tends to be high and, secondly, because the country is handicapped by being landlocked. In these circumstances, we have been compelled to assess the value of the recommendations of the Trade and Development Conference not only in the light of what they mean to the developing countries in relation to the developed nations in matters of trade and development, but also in the light of what they mean to Nepal itself in relation to the more developed countries of the region.

147. We feel that it is high time for progress in this field to be reviewed by the General Assembly, bearing in mind the difficulties of countries like Nepal, and a more purposeful approach made to define economic relations, not only between the developed and developing countries, but also among developing countries themselves at various stages of development. In this respect, we hope that the second Conference on Trade and Development to be held next year will prove to be more fruitful than the first.

148. Nepal being an agricultural country, we have reasonably felt that without bringing institutional change in agriculture and freeing the peasants from economic bondage, the goal of self-reliant economy cannot be achieved. Under the leadership of King Mahendra, Nepal has launched a vigorous land reform programme and has achieved great success in this regard. We are happy that this land reform programme is being carried out in our country at the same time that the United Nations has considered it desirable to convene the World Land Reform Conference as one of the essential steps for the economic progress of the developing countries. While in many countries, land reforms have been achieved with too much bloodshed and human sacrifice, in Nepal, a silent revolution of land reforms is taking place without entailing in its wake social or political upheaval.

149. As I said earlier, Nepal believes in peaceful coexistence among States and consequently follows a policy of non-alignment. Ours is a policy of positive neutrality. We express our views on international affairs without fear or favour from any quarter. Nepal has been able to cultivate friendship with all nations of the world having different shades of economic and political systems. We sincerely believe that a small

country can live in peace and harmony with big countries, although they may be ideologically far apart. That is why we have put our absolute faith in the principles of peaceful coexistence and in the United Nations, as we have always regarded the world Organization not only as an instrument of peace but also as the protector of the rights of small countries and the moral conscience of mankind.

150. Mr. MAJID (Afghanistan): I should like to convey our felicitations to the President of the General Assembly at its twenty-first session on his election to the Chair. I should like to express what a pleasure it is for me to sit under his chairmanship. I say that for two reasons: first, because I am confident that, under his wise guidance and in the light of the experience which he possesses in the working of this Organization, our deliberations will be most fruitful; second, due to our long and close personal association over a number of years, and in view of my personal knowledge of his qualifications as an eminent scholar, an able statesman and diplomat, and a great poet, I take particular pride and pleasure in being associated with him in this session. I wish him every success in his high office.

151. As the President has done so eloquently already in his statement, I should like to convey to all delegations our gratitude and the gratitude of our country, Afghanistan, for the confidence which the entire Assembly has placed in the President and for the token of esteem which they have bestowed upon him.

152. I should like to take this opportunity also to express our profound appreciation to Mr. Amintore Fanfani of Italy for the distinction with which he carried out his responsible functions as the President of the General Assembly at its twentieth session.

153. May I take this opportunity, at the outset, to welcome the new Member of the United Nations, the State of Guyana. The Government and people of Afghanistan view with great admiration such auspicious occasions of admission of young, vigorous and progressive newly independent States—States which have thrown off the last remnants and shackles of colonialism and gained their rightful place among the free nations of the world. We are confident that the membership of the State of Guyana will further contribute towards the noble aims and objectives of this Organization.

154. The return of Indonesia to the United Nations will be remembered as one of the most significant achievements of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly. In welcoming Indonesia to the United Nations, we are confident that the presence of that great and peace-loving country will contribute to the strengthening of this Organization and to the cause of peace.

155. For the past five years U Thant, our distinguished Secretary-General, has carried out his duties and responsibilities with great distinction and effectiveness. He has dedicated his time and energy to the services of humankind. He has rendered his services to the United Nations with zeal and integrity and served the cause of peace and well-being of peoples of the world. We have confidence in him and we all appreciate what he has done for us. Members of the

United Nations may have discord and diversities but they all are united in their confidence in the person of the Secretary-General. We earnestly hope that he may reconsider his decision and permit his tenure of office to be extended. It will be a serious loss to the United Nations if he gives effect to his decision not to continue. We sincerely hope that the circumstances which caused the Secretary-General to come to that decision will be so ameliorated as to make it possible for him to remain with us for another term.

156. We are living today in a constantly changing world, and so each year, each month and even each day brings evidence of fresh events which affect anew the minds of statesmen and responsible personalities all over the world, and consequently engaged their attention in a search for ways and means to cope with them. The events of the period since this Assembly met last year do not strike notes of harmony and optimism, and consequently promise no favourable political situation in the world and, in particular, in Asia.

157. In this age of unprecedented technological development, the human interrelations due to fast-moving means of conveyance, travel and communication, have acquired a new trend and perspective. Peoples and nations of different parts of the world are no longer apart from each other in their thoughts and aspirations. Today, unlike in the past, a nation may not be able to live alone and determine its course of action separately. A change in a particular region on our planet may affect, to a great extent, the trend of thought and action in other parts of the world. Hence, in due recognition of that universal interdependence, we in Afghanistan believe more than ever that human societies are in need of better understanding and closer co-operation with each other. We believe that unrest and lack of stability in any part of the world constitute a great danger to the peace and security of the nations at large.

158. Afghanistan, during the past year, has continued further with its progressive social, economic and cultural development in order to vitalize the Afghan society and enrich the life of the people in its material, social and cultural dimensions. In the process of development of the country a certain amount of ground work had been laid and work towards the establishment of the economic infra-structure is well under way.

159. I am pleased to report that the primary objective of the social and cultural reform programme of the new Government of Afghanistan, as was announced recently, is to promote a free, progressive and prosperous society in which respect for human dignity, the rule of law, equality, social co-operation, and a balanced development in all walks of life will prevail.

160. In its foreign relations, Afghanistan has continued to follow, without change, its traditional positive non-alignment, taking into consideration the principles contained in the declarations of the Bandung, Belgrade and Cairo Conferences, maintaining and expanding its friendly relations and co-operation with all the nations of the world, irrespective of their social systems or

economic and political philosophies, and promoting sincere good-neighbourliness with all its neighbours.

161. That policy, a natural outgrowth of the people's judgement, is based upon mutual respect, mutual understanding and confidence. Furthermore, as has perhaps been mentioned many times and as I should like to reiterate and emphasize once again, adherence to this Organization's Charter, respect for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, support of the right to self-determination, abolition of colonialism in all its forms, support of the principle of coexistence, general, complete and universal disarmament, and the promotion of international co-operation constitute the basis of Afghanistan's policy. That policy honours the cherished aspirations of the Afghan people and is consonant with the task of national development. We firmly believe that, in the light of present-day world affairs, that policy will enable us on the one hand to serve with intelligence the cause of world peace and, on the other, to carry out our enormous task of social and economic development; for we believe that the social and economic development of nations will be best accomplished and their aspirations fully realized when there prevails a state of peace and tranquillity among nations and a spirit of co-operation among the peoples of the world.

162. The Government of Afghanistan has always held the conviction that disputes, of whatever origin, should be settled at the conference table. For experience has shown that wars and armed confrontation cannot and will not settle any existing differences.

163. It was a source of great satisfaction to Afghanistan when the peace efforts of the United Nations and the invaluable intermediary efforts of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics played an effective role in promoting a cease-fire and, subsequently, the meeting of the leaders of the two nations—two great Asian countries—involved in the Indo-Pakistan conflict. We are pleased to see harmony and concord again prevailing in the relations between Indonesia and Malaysia, two neighbouring countries. That, I am certain, will contribute greatly to the maintenance of peace in Asia and the world.

164. We hope that the United Nations and its Member States will, for the purpose of safeguarding world peace and security, demonstrate constantly their determination to fulfil their responsibilities, no matter how intractable the problems involved.

165. The chronic conflict in Viet-Nam and the serious deterioration of the situation there is a cause of concern to all and is widely considered as a factor of serious danger to Asia and the world. The conflict in that part of the world has brought untold suffering to men and women on both sides. Afghanistan has on many occasions expressed its grave concern, for we believe that this situation creates an ever-growing threat not only to peace in Asia but to world peace as well. Afghanistan believes that the Geneva Agreements of 1954 could form a reasonable basis for a peaceful settlement of the present conflict in Viet-Nam.

166. It is the hope of the Afghan delegation that all those directly concerned will earnestly search for ways

and means to create a climate in which the problem of Viet-Nam may be brought from the battlefield to the conference table and the people of Viet-Nam will be guaranteed the possibility of determining their future and their political destiny, of their own free will and without any interference from outside. We are confident that in that way the lives of a great number of young men and women on both sides will be spared and the people of Viet-Nam will regain their peace and prosperity and will enjoy a socially healthier life.

167. Twenty-one years ago, a group of nations—fifty-one of them—assembled together and contemplated the foundation of a United Nations. They drew up a Charter whereby peace and justice might prevail all over the world and war may be banished once and for all.

168. During the ensuing period of time, in which man has attained unprecedented achievements in science and technology, he has, alas, been unable to attain a parallel growth in moral and spiritual values. The scientific advance of recent years has placed before him the means to create for himself a better, healthier and fuller life. However, man has been and still is unable to rise above himself and to discover his weaknesses, failures and shortcomings. The fear by man of man and his suspicions about his fellow human beings have never been conquered.

169. As time passed, in an atmosphere of fear and suspicion, man began to fortify himself in order to maintain peace on earth. Nations, therefore, directed their thoughts and actions not so much towards fostering peace and prosperity as towards strengthening and fortifying themselves for a possible future of war and confrontation. Even today, in spite of the fact that the General Assembly has since its very inception given its most earnest consideration to the problem of disarmament, the deteriorating situation in the world has caused an intensification of the arms race. General and complete disarmament constitutes one of the important items on the General Assembly's agenda. As we have said on many occasions, the Government and people of Afghanistan fully support, for the above-mentioned reasons, the principle of general and complete disarmament. For it is in general and complete disarmament that lies the hope of mankind for lasting peace and security. It is indeed a cause for concern to find that the meetings of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee have not produced the desired result and that the positions of the parties on the main issues remain unchanged.

170. The Afghan delegation earnestly hopes that the world disarmament conferences—an idea initiated at the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Cairo and endorsed by the General Assembly, by its resolution 2030 (XX)—will be given due consideration during the present session.

171. The Government of Afghanistan views with deep concern the continuance of nuclear tests. We were gratified when the partial test-ban Treaty was concluded. We hope that that Treaty will receive universal adherence and will be followed by a ban covering all environments. We believe that efforts should be exerted to continue to seek solutions to the questions connected with nuclear and thermonuclear armaments and the prevention of the wider dissemination of such weapons.

172. It is common knowledge that the arms race endangers, and indeed imperils, sincere understanding and widens the gap between nations. Armaments and wars will not settle problems but, rather, will create international misunderstanding and consequently add to the misery and misfortune of the human race. Conversely, peace and tranquillity will bring economic abundance and a higher standard of life.

173. Afghanistan welcomes the processes and means whereby peace will prevail. For it is only under such conditions that we can fulfil our national aims and aspirations. Moreover, it is only under such conditions that humanity will be saved from annihilation and total destruction.

174. As I mentioned above, the admission of the State of Guyana was a source of great joy for all of us. First, because we welcome a vigorous, young and independent State among us which will contribute enormously to the cause of the United Nations. Secondly, because the admission of the new Member State takes the Organization another step forward towards the attainment of the principles of universality which we believe can usefully add to the authority and influence of the United Nations. We are still far from attaining a state of universality in our Organization, for still the voice of nearly a quarter of the population of the world is not heard. Today, more than ever before, in view of recent developments in the field of atomic weapons in mainland China and its inherent relation to general and complete disarmament, and the impact and repercussions of mainland China's absence from the international conferences held for the purposes of maintaining peace and security all over the world, make the presence of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations imperative.

175. We therefore view with regret the absence of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations. We are confident that the presence of that country can contribute enormously to the work of this Organization.

176. With due regard to the painstaking deliberations and the enormous and earnest labour of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, little progress has been made in the direction of finding a way out of this impasse.

177. It is hoped that this session will consider this all-important item with fresh and vigorous determination. To maintain peace and security in the world is the main objective of the United Nations. Let us not lose our noble aims and objectives in a political mist covered within a financial and constitutional halo. For, as the Secretary-General mentioned in the introduction to his annual report.

"The present situation, certainly, has most serious implications for the United Nations and for its effectiveness as an instrument for peace in the world."
[A/6301/Add.1, p. 5.]

178. Every one of us in this Assembly, I am certain, desires that the United Nations should have a peace-keeping operation. It is up to this body to re-examine the situation and to endeavour to find and to offer new directives either to the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations or, if you will, to an altered and reconstructed body, or any other method which will

be deemed advisable in the present circumstances by the entire membership.

179. But whatever the decision may be, the General Assembly should bear in mind that peace-keeping operations of the United Nations have played and will continue to play an important role in the process of creating an atmosphere of calm, as the Secretary-General put it,

"in which alone efforts to resolve the issues giving rise to the conflict may be hopefully pursued" [*ibid.*].

180. We are cognizant of the fact that political freedom without economic abundance, better living conditions and spiritual attainments will not fulfil the basic requirements of national security and national freedom. Therefore, in the course of resolving accumulated political problems for the purpose of enhancing international solidarity and friendship as a means for world order, we hope that economic problems will, in like measure, receive the proper attention of the United Nations.

181. It is a well-known fact that economic growth, living standards and financial progress are so closely and directly associated with the social set-up of communities that improvement in one area will result in progress in another. Therefore, in order to avoid social conflict, it is imperative to ensure a balance between the economic and social development of the people. Herein lies, to my mind, one of the important factors in the process of evolution of a developed and balanced society.

182. The preamble of the United Nations Charter speaks of promoting "social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom". It was for the fulfilment of this objective and high purpose that the General Assembly designated the current decade the United Nations Development Decade. As has been mentioned many times, we are already in the second half of this memorable decade, and yet the pace of economic development of the developing countries is painfully slow. The struggle of the under-developed countries in order to advance and bridge the gap between the developing and developed nations is, of course, tedious and hard.

183. The establishment by the General Assembly on 30 December 1964 [resolution 1995 (XIX)] of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was a new and fruitful development. Through this important measure, the United Nations intended to accelerate the economic development of developing countries. These countries, which are struggling hard for their economic amelioration, placed high hopes and attached great importance to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

184. This, as you all know, was established as a permanent machinery for co-operation in trade and development and was intended to solve some of the most urgent problems faced by the developing countries. However, there exists a widespread concern over the lack of more rapid progress in the implementation of the recommendations adopted in Geneva. The Afghan delegation earnestly hopes that more fruitful results may be obtained from the second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development which will be convened next year. As far as the work of the Conference

is concerned, we favour those measures that help to create facilities for trade exchange among the developed and developing nations and that would help promote free trade and consequently a higher standard of life for the peoples of those nations.

185. Human rights has been one of the basic and important aspects of United Nations programmes. As you all know, efforts are being exerted to extend the international protection of basic individual liberties by means of new methods and institutions. Though the effectiveness of recommendations on human rights is affected by the reactions of the Governments at which recommendations are directed, nevertheless, it is heartening to note that the political organs of the United Nations rarely refrain from discussing any human rights issue which is put on the agenda. We welcome further measures to promote and intensify efforts in the area of human rights. In this context we highly esteem and appreciate the proposal [resolution 1961 (XVIII)] that the General Assembly should designate the year 1968 as the International Year for Human Rights. The establishment of the office of High Commissioner for Human Rights [resolution 2062 (XX)] is an indication that more attention will be paid to measures of implementation. Afghanistan attaches great importance to and looks favourably on both the appointment and its implications.

186. The views of our Secretary-General, U Thant, on the mechanism of maintaining and securing peace are worthy of esteem and admiration and should be given serious thought and consideration by this Assembly. In the introduction to his annual report he advises:

"It is not enough, in my opinion, for the United Nations to deal where it can, and as the case arises, with each specific problem that threatens world peace. The causes of tension in the world have to be attacked at all of their many roots." [A/6301/Add.1, p. 14.]

187. The Afghan delegation agrees with the view that the activities of the United Nations and its specialized agencies in the fields of economic and social development and human rights, implemented diligently and properly, can play an effective role in the reduction of the causes of tension, and in this way will serve effectively the cause of peace and tranquillity in the world.

188. The efforts of the United Nations to promote peace and prosperity through economic and social progress are worthy of esteem and appreciation. Afghanistan is actively moving forward, helped by the co-operation of friendly nations and assisted by the United Nations and its specialized agencies and we are grateful for this.

189. We are alive to the impressive achievements of United Nations organs and agencies that are working to improve the international economy and the lot of man. They endeavour, through science and technology, to improve the standards of life and to create a better social and spiritual atmosphere. Nevertheless, as the Secretary-General described in the introduction to his report:

"... the stark fact which emerges intact from all the studies, reports and discussions devoted to the

subject in the course of 1966 is that international aid is stagnating while the capacity of developed countries to provide such aid ... has become greater." [Ibid., p. 6.]

190. The economic picture of the past five years painfully indicates the continuing inadequacy of growth in the developing world. The per capita gross domestic product of developed nations is more than twelve times that of developing States. This indicates an even greater divergence than existed at the beginning of the United Nations Development Decade.

191. We hope that these stark facts regarding the economic stagnation in the developing countries will not lead us into despair and inactivity; on the contrary, they should stimulate and prompt our Governments and the United Nations toward more intensified efforts to meet this challenge, remove the poverty and misery from amongst ourselves, and make this world of ours a better place in which to live.

192. Aside from the tensions and unrest which are due to poverty and less developed economies, there are instabilities, differences, diversities and grave tensions which are the direct outcome of colonialism and the outcry of the subject peoples. There is no doubt that, in recent years, the number of territories under colonial rule has decreased; nevertheless, the process has by no means been completed. As I have asserted earlier, Afghanistan is opposed to colonialism in all its forms and shades. We are gravely concerned, therefore, at the slow rate of progress in the application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

193. It is indeed alarming that in spite of the United Nations resolutions and international peaceful but firm efforts, the white minority refuses to relinquish its control over Angola, Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia. It resists the efforts of the Organization to establish self-government and majority rule in these territories or to supervise the advancement of the inhabitants of South West Africa.

194. The decision of the International Court of Justice regarding the case of South West Africa, presented to it by Ethiopia and Liberia, was indeed regrettable and alarming. After nearly twenty years of discussion on the South West African problem in the United Nations, no progress has been made. South Africa has not taken a single step to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly, and has refused to co-operate with the United Nations. The United Nations has a special responsibility in the matter, and it is essential that it should find rapid means of ending the Mandate and of helping the people of the Territory to attain independence and freedom. It is with these considerations that Afghanistan has co-sponsored a draft resolution [A/L.483 and Add.1] which was introduced so brilliantly by the representative of Ghana and several other colleagues. We earnestly hope that the General Assembly will give this draft due consideration and will approve it with an overwhelming majority, so that people who are living under a colonial system in any form may determine their destiny for themselves.

195. The problem of the Palestine refugees, which constitutes a cause of grave concern and distress, should be considered conscientiously and urgently. The Afghan delegation has, in the past, consistently brought the matter to the attention of the General Assembly. The solution of this problem would not only enhance an atmosphere of calm and peace in this region of the world, but it would also alleviate the untold sufferings and miseries of the Arab refugees, who were deprived of their land and property through no fault of their own. The Afghan delegation earnestly hopes that, honouring the principles of human rights and fundamental freedoms, the case of the Palestine refugees will be given its just and proper consideration.

196. I hope that in the course of the fulfilment of our responsibilities and service to the cause of the United Nations and the world, we shall all move forward in the direction of creating a climate that will bring about prosperity to the human race and a lasting peace and tranquillity to the world.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.