

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-FIRST SESSION

Official Records



**1440th
PLENARY MEETING**

Thursday, 13 October 1966,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 9:</i>	
<i>General debate (continued)</i>	
Speech by Mr. Chalmers (Haiti)	1
Speech by Mr. Pachachi (Iraq)	6
Speech by Mr. Gurinovich (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic)	10
Speech by Mr. El Mufti (Sudan)	15

President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAQ
(Afghanistan).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)*

1. Mr. CHALMERS (Haiti) (translated from French): Mr. President, your almost unanimous election to the presidency of the present session of the United Nations General Assembly—a truly rare occurrence in the history of our Organization—has called forth a well-deserved chorus of praise for you from the delegations present here. At the risk of further trying your modesty as a well-known humanist, I should like to associate the people and Government of Haiti, as well as myself, with these congratulations. Our felicitations go to a man whose diplomatic talents, moderation and capacity for conciliation have frequently transcended the debates and raised them above partisan interests to that universality which is the ultimate purpose of the United Nations.

2. I should be remiss, however, if, in this context, I were to fail to pay a tribute to the great skill of the President of the twentieth session of the General Assembly, Mr. Amintore Fanfani, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy: for his departure represents no fall of an idol; the example he set, Mr. President, cannot but help you in your task.

3. Secretary-General U Thant, our practised mentor, has, as always, carried on a living tradition and not spared himself in instilling, on every issue, the spirit of co-operation and of peace so indispensable for human progress. He continues to enjoy the confidence of the peoples of the world, at a time when we are on the threshold of a world-wide failure which could degenerate into a world-wide conflagration.

4. In order to underscore the imminent threat, while stressing also the great value of the work done by the Secretary-General and of his initiatives in the cause of mediation, I should like here to repeat the words of Haiti's Head of State, Dr. François Duvalier, on the occasion of U Thant's decision not to seek a further term of office:

*Resumed from the 1438th meeting.

"On behalf of the Haitian people and on my own behalf I wish to associate myself with the dismay caused in governmental and international circles by U Thant's decision not to serve for another term as Secretary-General of the United Nations.

"His rare qualities as an experienced mediator and champion of peace have inspired in Members of the Organization an indispensable spirit of understanding and, going beyond the letter of the Charter, have strengthened the principle of balance among the communities of today's troubled world.

"The departure of U Thant would bring about the collapse of this great institution; its result, I fear, would be that the United Nations would suffer the same fate as the former League of Nations.

"All human communities have an interest in the maintenance of the United Nations as a world-wide high court. It is the only authority which, because of its universality, can overcome the present problems of peoples and races wooed by opposing ideologies.

"I am still convinced that U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations, will continue to personify this moral guarantee and the unreserved trust of the international community, a trust shared by my Government and supported by the traditions of the Haitian Nation."

5. The Government and people of Haiti offer their best wishes for prosperity and success to our brother people of Guyana, who have just attained political independence and been admitted to membership in the United Nations.

6. The political realities of the world today derive from the desire for domination and from the power politics of the three super-Powers which, over all geographical frontiers, are casting shadows that, at the very least, constitute a disquieting threat to peace.

7. Communist China has suddenly emerged as a giant, upsetting, with its theory of violent revolution, the fragile and laboriously constructed thesis of peaceful coexistence. The race for supremacy makes it difficult, even dangerous, to divide the world into zones of influence, for such division causes exasperation to the opposing sides and the last-comer on the scene further complicates the confrontation of the two existing adversaries. Despite the progress of international organizations, organizations certainly equipped to facilitate negotiation, the threat of a conflict weighs heavily upon the whole of mankind. The other States, which nevertheless share responsibility for the future of our communities, particularly for that of the "third world" are reduced to the role of extras in the "theatre in the round", where the

insensate desires of the world's masters makes them simultaneously spectators and potential actors in the present crisis situation.

8. Just as in the ancient trilogy events converge towards the moral operation of fate, bringing the action to a tragic denouement, despite the clear-sightedness and diversity of the characters, so too do the States represented in this forum find that more noble national choices are perforce suppressed, as they knock upon doors that are always closed. When the play is over and each of us stands before the judgement seat of future generations, shall all of us have the satisfaction of knowing we have played our part well, will our consciences be fully satisfied? For we shall stand shoulder to shoulder when we stand before the judgement seat of history.

9. But the three super-Powers, while maintaining and enlarging their spheres of influence, have never stopped keeping the cold war alive and promoting the balance of terror, thereby making for a new international order which could soon prove fatal to the world. The relations among the antagonists have reached the point where, far from adapting themselves to the conditions of a rapidly changing world, they are dangerously confronting one another. I refer to the conflict in Viet-Nam.

10. Who does not remember the consternation felt in every corner of the world at the news, disseminated by every television and radio network, and first by the international press agencies, of the revival of armed conflict in the Far East?

11. Is there anyone who does not realize that the world has become smaller, as the means of communication surpass the speed of sound, and that the slightest tremor anywhere in the world can bring down the whole structure?

12. Viet-Nam, the word on everyone's lips, is and will continue to be but the expression of the general anxiety; it means the threat of a war that the Governments and the international community can hope only to keep from reaching the scale of a world conflagration.

13. The Viet-Nam war revives memories of the Polish Corridor and makes it possible for us to imagine the terrible scourge and appalling sufferings which a general war would entail. Its outcome, at a time when atomic weapons have reached their stage of perfection, would be the end of our civilization.

14. This problem, acute though it is, could nevertheless look less discouraging for communities more inclined towards constructive enterprises than towards destruction, if the antagonists would start on the path of conciliation and would bring themselves in line with the purposes and principles of the United Nations. Unhappily, efforts at mediation have so far been in vain.

15. The United Nations, whose authority and universality transcend communities, is tirelessly exploring every road towards a solution of the conflict, in the name of international peace and security; but it is in danger—and its prestige is suffering thereby—of becoming an instrument of the struggle among rival blocs, despite its constant effort to narrow the gulf

between the communist and the non-communist nations and between the rich and the poor nations.

16. The Secretary-General has not spared his efforts at mediator. Encouraging in every great capital of the world the mutual understanding for which Pope Paul VI called in this very hall (1347th meeting), U Thant has nevertheless suffered the disappointment of seeing the attitudes of the adversaries harden. I wonder whether the Secretary-General, in whom mankind places its trust and hope, believes that the Viet-Name conflict can be brought to an honourable solution and whether he can go beyond his mandate and effectively help us to preserve peace.

17. As I consider Viet-Nam, I would like to repeat here the profound words of President Duvalier:

"The negro Republic of Haiti, faithful to its great historic traditions, appeals, like the Vicar of Rome, for peace, understanding and brotherly love among men. The Republic of Haiti is deeply convinced that the leader of the free world, which is not trying to subjugate any people or race in the world, will take note of the thought freely expressed by the first negro republic in the world. Let peace prevail, instead of the destruction of mankind, and let the nations, under the Charter, have friendly relations with one another, based on respect for the principle of equality of rights of peoples and the principle of self-determination."

18. Another threat to world peace is the problem of apartheid in South West Africa, a problem now further complicating the situation in Southern Rhodesia. In touching on the question of South West Africa, I should like to repeat what was said by United States Senator Robert F. Kennedy, brother of the late President John F. Kennedy, to the students at the University of Cape Town, in the heartland of apartheid, as recalled by a high dignitary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Dahomey at the United Nations Human Rights Seminar on Apartheid, held at Brasilia from 23 August to 4 September 1966. Mr. Kennedy said that apartheid was one of the evils prevailing in the world, along with racial discrimination in New York, famine in India and the imprisonment of intellectuals in the Soviet Union. Those were different evils, but they were all equally the work of man. They reflected the imperfection of human justice, the inadequacy of human compassion, the lack of feeling for the sufferings of our fellow men. They showed the limits of our ability to use human knowledge for the welfare of our fellow men. Only a narrow-minded man could remain attached to the gloomy and disastrous superstition that his world was bounded by the nearest hill and the banks of some nearby river, that the human community was confined to those who belonged to his town and shared his views and the colour of his skin.

19. Perhaps the repetition of these thoughts, stressing as they do the ugliness of that inhuman policy, will more forcefully bring out the world's disapproval and inspire a healthier application of law and justice.

20. The Haitian nation, loving freedom as it does, cannot but feel the stigma of subjugation inflicted by apartheid on its unhappy brothers in South West Africa.

21. It is to be feared—to repeat an ominous prediction—that, as the passage of time leaves no other choice possible, the people of South West Africa, exploited, scorned, dominated, deceived, strained beyond limit, and in despair, may react by any means open to them and may unleash a conflict to shake the whole world and threaten peace to its very foundations. The example of the peoples which have chosen self-determination and the evils engendered by the Nazi racism during the Second World War bear eloquent testimony to this.

22. After the striking statements we have heard on apartheid and the repeated statements of the permanent delegation of Haiti, both in plenary meeting and in the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa—dealing with a question which is now twenty years old, for it goes back to the inception of the United Nations—my delegation notes that, despite seventy-three resolutions, the Government of South Africa, quite happy with verbal sanctions, is still opposing all United Nations control over the Territory of South West Africa, on the pretext that its obligations as a Mandatory Power ceased with the dissolution of the League of Nations.

23. Pretoria, when accused of instituting its policy of apartheid, of illegally incorporating South West Africa into its territory and of adopting a policy of militarization, replies with the notorious recommendations of the Odendaal Committee on the setting up of so-called "national homelands",^{1/} the unconfessed object of which is to annex South West Africa to South Africa.

24. The International Court of Justice, by dismissing the case of Ethiopia and Liberia, allowing them no right or legal interest in the matter,^{2/} has merely given its blessing to the Pretoria Government and sanctioned, more than ever before, the arrogant exploitation of man by man, of non-whites by whites; and that Government is only too happy to go on drawing considerable profit from an enslaved labour force and a land rich in gold, diamond and copper mines and to strengthen its economic ties with certain Powers.

25. The Court thus seems to have written an epilogue, at least on the legal level, to one of the longest trials in the history of international courts, by handing down a judgement that is not only controversial, but is interpreted as indirect approval of racism in the world; and it has done this in disregard—to quote Article 38 of its Statute—of "international conventions, whether general or particular, establishing rules expressly recognized by the contesting States", in disregard of "international custom, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law" and in disregard of "the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations".

26. My delegation wishes to say that it considers the Judgment of the International Court of Justice as a distortion of law, a denial of justice, an insult to the international conscience and to mankind. It declares that the people and Government of Haiti firmly support

all measures taken by the United Nations to abolish apartheid, for the United Nations, if it is to survive, must show itself capable of solving the problems placed before it.

27. The grave crises which are pushing mankind to the brink of despair are closely bound up with the division of the world into rich and poor countries and with the equally disquieting gulf between the communist bloc and the free world. Why then not try our luck at co-operation, why not regard it as a kind of gamble? For what is at stake is the maintenance of peace and the very existence of the human race. The creditor countries could not lose from co-operation with the poor countries which, paradoxically, have been in the past and are today the source of their wealth. The imminent threat of the failure and collapse of the international community in the political, social and economic fields must stimulate the rich countries to make a practical effort and to avert an outcome dangerous to all.

28. Between the western world and the socialist countries there has grown up an intermediate world, the third world, whose collective conscience involves all the nations ranged against a common enemy—under-development—in solidarity with one another and in the ambition to emerge from their under-developed state by resolving their social, economic and political problems, which are more or less the same for them all. Whether those problems result from lack of people to fill responsible posts, or from the inability of those responsible to adapt themselves to the objectives of reforms and programmes awaiting the stimulus of technology and capital, or whether those problems have been inherited from colonialism, the third world, breaking with its dependence on the industrialized countries, wants to make its voice heard among the nations and to present its claims.

29. The third world affirmed its personality in 1955 at the Bandung Conference, of which the final communiqué added the principle of encouraging mutual interests and co-operation to the great principles of peaceful coexistence. As President Léopold Senghor said, Bandung meant a world-wide awareness of the dignity of man and the end of the inferiority complex of the peoples of the third world, who are daily exerting a greater influence on world affairs and, more than ever before, have come to this twenty-first session bringing the world's faith in a better future.

30. Side by side with these political concerns, which have for too long held back the solution of the problem of under-development, the United Nations is rightly concerned with the serious consequences of the growing disparity in living standards and it has pledged the responsibility of the international community by instituting the United Nations Development Decade. The General Assembly, by its resolutions of 19 December 1961 [1710 (XVI) and 1711 (XVI)], laid down two essential objectives: that the industrialized countries were to devote a minimum of 1 per cent of their national income to the assistance of the developing countries; and that the latter were to raise the annual growth rate of their gross national income to 5 per cent in 1970, the final year of the Decade. The six years that have passed bring us halfway towards instituting an international development

^{1/} Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-63, Pretoria, Government Printer, 1964, chap. VIII.

^{2/} South West Africa, Second Phase, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 1966, p. 6.

policy. Looking back, I wonder whether we can see the way to a better future.

31. No one says that the rich countries, on the one hand, and the third world, on the other, should fight a lone fight, for the success of the crusade is a common task; but at this stage of the journey there are disquieting signs that the crusaders are flagging. Last year's report of the Secretary-General^{3/} drew a picture no less sombre than before. Disturbing signs have indeed darkened the picture. The population explosion of the developing countries, more rapid than the growth of their national income, the policy of reducing financial assistance adopted by some industrialized countries in order to overcome their balance-of-payments difficulties, the hardening of the terms on which international organizations are prepared to give credit for poorly defined national objectives—all these disturbing signs could, if they were more thoroughly studied, be interpreted as pointers towards a transition to an era of universal relations with the third world.

32. I should like to put forward an objective testimony which cannot but throw light on the crisis of the United Nations Development Decade. Mr. Philippe de Seynes, Under-Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs, speaking before the Economic Commission for Europe in Geneva last March, drew a striking picture of the attitude of the industrialized countries faced with the development problems of the third world:

"We are bound to note that there was no increase in movements of capital towards the developing countries during a period of exceptionally rapid growth, so we cannot avoid being anxious about what will happen if we enter on a prolonged period of less rapid growth."^{4/}

33. This disquiet is shared by the majority of world leaders and international experts, who for more than a year have been trying to communicate it to the authorities of the wealthy countries. They are alarmed above all to find that not only is it proving difficult to get the economies of the developing countries started on the road to progress, but also that in contrast to the desired result the gap between the national incomes of those countries and the national incomes of the industrialized countries is steadily widening. Moreover, after several years of an extremely favourable economic situation, the industrialized countries with a free economic system are in no position to boast of having appreciably increased their aid to the third world. On the contrary they seem to be marking time in that respect and nothing indicates that things will soon get better.

34. In view of the slowness of this great campaign of international solidarity, it must be recognized that the promises of the International Development Decade are a dead letter and that the third world cannot but turn its eyes towards inaccessible horizons which only accentuate the distance between the far-off peaks and the low levels of their own infra-structures.

^{3/} The United Nations Development Decade at Mid-Point: An Appraisal by the Secretary-General (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 65.I.26).

^{4/} E/ECE/621.

35. The Latin American countries, faced with the same age-old evils of under-development as the communities of Asia and Africa, evils involving the same problems of population explosion, a high infant mortality rate, undernourishment, illiteracy, under-employment, absurdly low per capita income, technical and economic under-development—those countries, separated, moreover, from America by the accident of geography, are becoming increasingly aware of their destiny and demanding better conditions of life, more in accordance with their contribution to the cause of peace, and a more equitable share in the wealth of civilization.

36. Latin America has given evidence to the world of its noble intentions by proposing a denuclearization treaty (A/6328 and Corr.1)—a proposal of profoundly humanist import, when we consider what mankind's enemy, man himself, is designing—and by setting up a Central American Common Market ensuring the regional economic integration of its members, who are pledged to adopt uniform tariffs and by creating, through the Montevideo Treaty signed in February 1960, the Latin American Free Trade Association, which is a genuine Latin American Common Market.

37. The Economic and Social Act of Rio de Janeiro, signed on 30 November 1965, lays down that:

"The economic integration of the developing countries of the hemisphere should be one of the basic objectives of the inter-American system,"

and that

"international trade is a determining factor of economic and social development of the countries of the hemisphere and should evolve in the direction of providing developing countries, especially, with a system of fair prices, increasing earnings and free access to world markets."^{5/}

38. The Republic of Haiti, located in the Caribbean, a region in which it is desirable that States should adopt a form of regional integration, is making every effort to this end, side by side with its partners in Asia, Africa and America.

39. President Duvalier, addressing the Haitian Nation on 16 September 1966, when the budget for 1966-1967 was submitted to the Legislature, said these words:

"This is the time to take bearings on the general economic and financial situation which unquestionably results from general political activities. The financial year about to end on 30 September 1966 will once again prove to have been a test year, in other words, a year during which the national effort has taken the form of a dynamic social, moral economic policy designed to ensure the stability of the State."

40. I think—and I should like to emphasize this—that everyone has been able to see that our efforts have yielded returns—efforts which, when they do not involve subjection, depersonalization and the overthrow of the basic principles of sovereignty and integrity, give a nation the measure of its vitality

^{5/} Organization of American States, Second Special Inter-American Conference (Rio de Janeiro, 17-30 November 1965), Final Act, resolution II.

and, mobilizing its energies, arm it for harder battles.

41. The spiritual leader of the Haitian Nation said:

"If the moving history of Haiti teaches us anything, it is that the people of Haiti can win freedom only through struggle and effort. . . . If our nation is left alone in its fight against poverty and degradation, it will not be the first time in our history that we have found ourselves in that situation, which has become the rule rather than the exception."

42. The Republic of Haiti, led as it is by a man inspired by revolutionary ideas and aware of his historic mission for the benefit of his people and his race, has—even if the results may look poor when judged by the standards of developed economies—set out on the road to economic and social advancement.

43. Sustained by the living forces of the nation, forces which must be mobilized if we are to survive at all, Haitian democracy is no sham democracy based on a so-called balance of the great powers of the State, or on a sham respect for the will of the people when that will is for the most part flouted by strongly organized groups with sordid interests carefully camouflaged under the trappings of democracy; Haitian democracy is determined to ensure that the Haitian people rise towards the light, towards material, social and spiritual well-being.

44. In the field of labour, which is a vital factor in the creation of well-being, the Republic of Haiti, under the wise leadership of one who is a humanist through and through, President François Duvalier, can boast of many accomplishments.

45. A policy designed to free our people from the fetters of degradation, poverty, ignorance and destitution has made it necessary to co-ordinate a series of institutions and programmes which will progressively strengthen social security.

46. Co-operation between labour and management has always been threatened by disputes and, all over the world, attempts are made to settle them, turn and turn about, by the opposing methods of neo-colonialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, often at the cost of disrupting the entire system of production.

47. In order to avoid that disequilibrium which is too often only to the advantage of a dominant minority, because of the nature and effects of under-employment in the under-developed economies, the Government of Haiti has enacted labour legislation, including the François Duvalier Labour Code, inspired by equity, impartiality and justice; that code has served as a model for the ancillary institutions it has engendered.

48. The programme of planned workers' education, which comprises vocational training and the rural handicrafts project—a priority project which is part of the over-all development programme for rural areas and is implemented on a community basis—aims at accelerating economic and social development through the progressive education of the workers, who are called upon to play a distinct and ever more important role.

49. The organization of a national seminar on nutrition at Port-au-Prince, followed by the establishment

of a national committee to combat malnutrition, the institution of compulsory old age insurance—all these are valuable innovations which have not failed to attract the attention of the civilized world and which constitute a demonstration of the courage, force and determination of our people to overcome the trials and tribulations life entails, especially for a Government which must assume all responsibilities and give bread and peace to the whole nation in dignity.

50. Concerned as it is with these temporal matters, my Government has not neglected spiritual matters. I refer to the agreement of 15 August 1966, re-establishing friendly relations between the Government of Haiti and the Holy See and once again illustrating, by the high-level exchange of Heads of Mission, the earnest desire of the President of the Republic of Haiti and of His Holiness Pope Paul VI, to promote an increasingly harmonious climate of understanding, promote the propagation of the Christian faith, increase the numbers of the country's clergy and bring about the spiritual progress of the people of Haiti.

51. On the economic plane we realize—to repeat what President Duvalier said:

"We shall never be able, in one lifetime, however long it may last, to solve all problems. Nevertheless, we have faced up to them and we will continue to do so with the same energy and the same courage as we have shown in response to the hard blows we have received in the past."

52. The Government of Haiti continues to face up to all its economic difficulties, accentuated by the policy of reducing financial aid on the part of the wealthy countries and by the fall in prices of our principal export commodities in foreign markets and aggravated by no fewer than three hurricanes in two years.

53. The last of these, Hurricane Inez, caused a national catastrophe as it passed over Haiti. The great American daily, The New York Times, wrote that the consequences of the disaster in impoverished Haiti were still unknown, for there were no reports on the matter. Nevertheless travellers arriving from Tiburon Peninsula in the south-west of the country estimated that about one thousand people had been killed and that 80 per cent of the houses in the coastal town of Jacmel had been destroyed. The paper noted that the capital, Port-au-Prince, which had been protected from earlier hurricanes by the high mountains, had this time suffered heavy damage. A United Nations spokesman in Haiti estimated the capital damage at \$45 million.

54. Further, according to reports reaching Port-au-Prince the hurricane raged particularly over the southern part of the country, almost completely destroying the towns of Grand-Goave, Petit-Goave, Léogane and Jacmel, together with the surrounding countryside and striking with special ferocity near Miragoane and Bainet. Roads were put out of commission and communication was rendered impossible by the flooding rivers. It would be a safe estimate to put the number of dead at 5,000 and the casualties at one million, as was the case with Hurricane Flora.

55. It is my pleasure, on behalf of the Government of Haiti, to thank the United States of America, which, as usual, came to the immediate aid of the people

concerned. I should like also to pay a tribute to U Thant, who expressed his sympathy with the Government of Haiti and at the same time offered United Nations assistance. We should like him to realize the deep gratitude of the Government and people of Haiti for the aid so generously offered, which will mitigate the distress of the people of Haiti.

56. Now that this sad event is over, the Government will courageously resume the task of equipping the country, by mobilizing, as before, the efforts of the nation, if the leading Powers of the western economy and the Alliance for Progress, from which Haiti is the only American country to have derived no benefit, steadily refuse to give us any form of co-operation for our development.

57. With our own money and our own technical resources we have constructed the international François Duvalier Airport. Our pride has broken down our isolation. We are also building the hydroelectric dam at Péligre, on which we have already spent \$32 million; thousands of acres of arable land will be irrigated, transforming the Province of Artibonite into a land of milk and honey.

58. Even so, we shall go on knocking at every door, without false pride, in the hope that perhaps at the eleventh hour the walls of Jericho will fall. But if the selfishness of those who hide behind idle political pretexts makes it impossible for them to stretch out a hand to us, then we shall win our own economic independence, just as in 1804 we won our national independence; for we have already started to find the solution to our general problems by ourselves and with our own resources.

59. There we have sufficient reason, along with the under-developed countries, to condemn the lack of co-operation on the part of the industrialized countries, which ought to think in world terms and inaugurate an era of worldwide relations with the third world. Co-operation must not be a cheap means of exerting pressure on the Governments of countries that receive it, or used to serve economic, political, even military interests. I repeat, we do not want the charity or patronizing philanthropy of the wealthy. If development lags and if the present forms of aid and assistance are demonstrably inadequate, if the reluctance of former metropolitan countries to participate is holding back co-operation and if the feelings of inequality of the under-developed countries, which have reconciled themselves to losing everything except their honour, have aroused prejudice in the minds of the "haves" because of the mediocrity of the results and the wastage of primary products, it none the less remains true that co-operation must be the consequence of a free and judicious choice and must be designed to achieve the common aim of mutual enrichment.

60. I shall quote Michel Dembélé, who said:

"Co-operation must be an act of interdependence of peoples and there must be an ethic underlying it. It must mean the desire for mutual aid, so that peoples can develop simultaneously in a symbiosis of civilized values; it must mean putting into practice the doctrine that every people has the right to utilize the resources of its land and the aim must be daily

to strengthen the universal community of interests. It is in this spirit that co-operation must be given. It can then become the ideal opportunity for straightforward give-and-take, the expression of active solidarity among men in their united movement towards the establishment of peace on the basis of genuine peaceful coexistence. That is the way, and the only way, in which the human solution to the problem of under-development must be sought."

61. As in all previous years, the opening of the new session of the General Assembly has aroused the hopes of the world. Through their representatives here the peoples have expressed, despite or perhaps even because of adverse circumstances, their faith in the Organization's destiny and their unreserved adherence to its noble purposes and principles.

62. Ever since our work began this Hall seems to have been echoing with the aspirations of communities of all races and languages for peace, security and universal well-being and the frankness of the speeches and statements made here seem only to have testified to the worldwide anxiety.

63. If this temple were to fall, the whole of mankind would soon be doomed to burial beneath its ruins, from which would emerge, with multitudinous cries of suffering and agony, the broken, mutilated and disfigured bodies of the last survivors.

64. The nations, fully aware of this constant peril, should be able, through fruitful retrospection, to repel the baleful shadows cast by the lust for power and sterile selfishness, which are so contrary to the spirit of conciliation and the brotherhood of man. Let this imaginary picture, always present in our minds, revitalize the purposes and principles of the United Nations and lead to a more stable peace and a more truly human solidarity under the protective shield of international co-operation!

65. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq):^{6/} I am sure you will understand, Mr. President, when I say that, in offering you my congratulations on your election to the Presidency, I will go beyond the customary homage and respect due to a new President. On the personal level, we have had the closest and most intimate co-operation during the decade we have served together in this house.

66. For my country, your election carries special significance. The great spiritual heritage which we share with your people has strengthened our love and admiration of the Afghan nation for the valiant and courageous struggle which it has waged across the centuries to preserve its freedom and national identity.

67. I also wish to express my very high regard and appreciation to Signor Amintore Fanfani, the Foreign Minister of Italy, who guided our work with such distinction and ability during the previous session.

68. This session we meet in an atmosphere filled with anxiety. There are, however, a few rays of hope to lighten an otherwise dark and sombre picture. We are happy to see the irresistible process of national

^{6/} Mr. Pachachi spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

liberation continuing to claim for freedom more and more peoples. During this session, we have admitted a new member to the family of nations, Guyana, and before long two more: Botswana and Lesotho. To those new nations, I offer our sincere congratulations and we look forward to the closest co-operation with their representatives.

69. But of particular satisfaction to us, is the return of Indonesia to its rightful place in this Organization. We have missed its valuable contributions to our work and look forward to hearing once again the voice of that great country resounding in these halls in defence of the causes we all cherish.

70. In reviewing the world situation, we share fully the view expressed by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report, when he said:

"This has been a year in which, to all those looking and working towards larger international co-operation for the peace and well-being of mankind, the disappointments will seem to have outweighed once more the modest gains made in some directions." [A/6301/Add.1, p. 1]

71. A cruel and senseless war continues to inflict untold suffering on the people of Viet-Nam. In Africa, racism and colonialism continue to defy with impunity the rest of the world. In the Arab homeland, our people in Aden and Oman are still fighting to liberate their lands from colonial rule while the unique injustice inflicted on the people of Palestine remains without redress.

72. With regard to the major world problems, no important initiatives have been taken in the field of disarmament; no appreciable advance has been achieved in economic development; and no progress has been made in the vital work of peace-keeping. Regarding this last problem, the differences which have arisen in connexion with the financing of peace-keeping operations have not yet been resolved, and the future of the Organization as an effective instrument for peace is still uncertain.

73. The issues involved are not merely concerned with the practical questions of establishing, organizing, directing and financing peace-keeping operations; nor are they confined to the constitutional problem of interpreting the Charter and defining the respective areas of responsibility of the Security Council and the General Assembly. They touch on the whole concept and philosophy of the United Nations. The Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations has not achieved any significant progress in its work during the past year. Its report [A/6414], as the Secretary-General rightly described it, is a negative one. It is now left to this session of the General Assembly to give new impetus to the activities of the United Nations in this field, which is so vital for the future of our Organization.

74. For reasons which are known to all, the problem of Viet-Nam is not being formally considered at this session of the General Assembly. However, it is a situation fraught with the gravest danger for international peace and security and is inflicting unimaginable suffering and anguish on the people of that unhappy land. It is, therefore, our duty as

members of an organization dedicated to peace to express our concern in the hope that our collective voice will influence those directly involved to bring to an end this serious danger to peace.

75. The first thing to remember about the war in Viet-Nam is that it did not break out suddenly. What started as an internal conflict was gradually expanded and escalated in the mistaken belief that only through greater military effort would the problem be solved. This, inevitably, led to a systematic and massive bombardment on a scale never matched in such a small and limited area.

76. In order to deal effectively with the situation, it is necessary, I think, to identify the real character of the conflict. The first fact to be borne in mind about the Viet-Nameese situation is that it is essentially a civil war. As a civil war fought for political reasons, aiming at the attainment of certain political ends, it must be clear that no military solution is possible, and that the only solution which can be enduring must be based on the freely expressed wishes of the people of Viet-Nam.

77. But, in order to achieve this, the war must be prevented from further expansion. This can be achieved by the complete cessation of bombing, and the scaling down of military operations, the stopping of all reinforcements and military build up. The ultimate political solution must be based on the 1954 Geneva Agreements envisaging the independence, unity and neutralization of Viet-Nam. As the distinguished Foreign Minister of France said:

"[To return to the Geneva Agreements] means agreeing to evacuate all foreign troops and to prohibit their return and forbidding any outside interference whatsoever in the affairs of Viet-Nam, which will undertake to maintain in future a policy of strict neutrality. These directives would be embodied in an international treaty which would be signed by—and hence would be binding upon—all the great Powers and other countries directly involved." [1420th meeting, para. 76.]

78. Another important problem which has a direct bearing on peace in South-East Asia is the continued exclusion of the People's Republic of China from its rightful place in the United Nations.

79. The position of my country is very clear and has been stated, year after year since 1958. The restoration to China of her seat as a founding Member of the United Nations is a matter which cannot be delayed in view of the dangerous situation in South East Asia and the critical stage which the problems of disarmament, and particularly that of the proliferation of nuclear weapons have reached.

80. The problem of Viet-Nam brings to mind two items inscribed in the agenda of the present session. They are, the question of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, and the question of military bases.

81. My country, like many other Arab countries, has long suffered from foreign interference in its internal affairs. Moreover, as is well known, there are few

areas in the world which have been afflicted as much by foreign military bases. These bases have been, and are still being, used to prevent parts of our Arab homeland from attaining freedom and independence. These bases are primarily used to maintain unequal relationships and to protect positions of influence. It is our hope, therefore, that a resolution be adopted at this session, re-affirming and following up the implementation of the declaration on non-interference, as well as a resolution on military bases along the lines suggested by the distinguished Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union.

82. Turning to our area of the Middle East, we find that the grave injustice inflicted on the people of Palestine by the creation of Israel continues to be the main source of tension in the area.

83. A question which has often been asked is why the Arabs refuse to be reconciled to the loss of Palestine and the acceptance of Israel as a fact of international life. There are, among those who ask such a question, some who readily concede the injustice of creating a State of alien immigrants through the dispossession of an entire people from its homeland. While fully conscious of the tragedy that has befallen the people of Palestine, they advise the Arabs to try to learn to live with this injustice, and to accept it as an inevitable fact of life.

84. But the fact is that the Arab people cannot accept such a dangerous concept, which implies that once an injustice has been done, once an illegal situation has been established and maintained by the use of force, the sufferers have to accept their fate, and the aggressors are sustained in their aggression. If we were to accept this theory, which gives sanctity and permanence to situations brought about by force and aggression, then we will be tearing to shreds our Charter and making a mockery of all the high principles and ideals enshrined in it.

85. The tragedy of the people of Palestine stands out, unique and unparalleled in the annals of this or any other century in modern times. The Zionist aggression in Palestine was not merely an armed invasion of a country and the imposition of alien rule on its inhabitants. Its aim was to destroy the Arab community of Palestine and permanently detach from the rest of the Arab world a country which had been an integral part of it for more than fourteen centuries. In no other occupied territory in the world has the physical removal of the inhabitants, through mass expulsion, been the avowed objective of the alien usurpers, not even in South Africa, not even in Rhodesia. For this reason, the problem of Palestine must be viewed as a conflict between the people of Palestine, who are determined to regain their homeland under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the Zionist invaders, who wish to legalize and consolidate their aggression.

86. The Arab refugees of Palestine are a living reminder of one of the gravest crimes committed against any people. They continue to demand to go back to their ancestral homeland. Their right to do so is not negotiable. It is an absolute and unconditional right that has been solemnly proclaimed and re-affirmed in every resolution adopted by the General Assembly on

the refugee problem since 1948, but consistently flouted and violated by Israel.

87. There are those who say that all this is now water under the bridge, that what we should concern ourselves with is established facts. But how can the United Nations accept this theory without violating every principle in its Charter? How can the United Nations survive if it surrenders to expediency and allows itself to become an instrument for the consolidation of aggression? As far as the Palestine Arab refugee problem is concerned, we shall not only insist on the full and unconditional implementation of paragraph 11 of resolution 194 (III), granting the right of the refugees to repatriation or compensation, but will urge the Assembly to take effective measures to guarantee the inviolable right of free choice that was given to the refugees and has been re-affirmed annually since 1948.

88. Regarding assistance to the refugees, we are happy to say that, although Iraq has taken full responsibility for the 10,000 Palestinian refugees in our country, my Government has this year decided, in addition to its direct assistance to the Palestine refugees in Iraq, to contribute \$100,000 to UNRWA. We did this because we feel that, as Members of the United Nations, we must bear our share of the responsibility of this Organization for the welfare of the refugees pending their return to their homeland.

89. On the question of Aden and the occupied South, the United Nations has played an active and useful role in finding the best ways and means whereby the people of the Territory would achieve their freedom and independence under the best conditions, by peaceful and orderly methods, in accordance with the Charter. A resolution adopted in 1963 [1949 (XVIII)] and reaffirmed in 1965 [2023 (XX)] by the General Assembly, has formulated a clear programme of action for the guidance of the administering Power, with a view to leading the Territory—in co-operation with the United Nations—towards independence, and laying down certain conditions and concrete steps that should be taken prior to the attainment of independence.

90. Last June, in Cairo, the Committee of Twenty-four adopted a resolution [A/6300/Rev.1, chap. VI, para. 382] by which the Secretary-General was requested to appoint a mission to go to the Territory and consult with the people concerned, and with the administering Power, on ways of implementing the resolution and extending United Nations involvement during the period immediately preceding independence. It had been our hope that this mission would be dispatched immediately to the Territory. But this could not be done, mainly because the administering Power—which had been asked repeatedly to declare its acceptance of the resolutions of the General Assembly—had finally done so, subject to certain unacceptable reservations. The British Government stated last August [*ibid.*, chap. VI, annex V, para. 6] that, while they accepted the resolutions in principle, they drew attention to their so-called commitments to the Federal Government of South Arabia and to the various rulers of the area, stating that such commitments could not be altered or modified without the agreement of those concerned.

91. The impression given by this statement, which the British Government called a reservation, was that it would not be possible for the British Government unilaterally to put into effect the constitutional changes called for in the General Assembly resolutions, prior to the holding of general elections under United Nations supervision and control.

92. It is the view of my delegation that, if this reservation were accepted, then the resolutions would lose meaning. For it is precisely these interim constitutional measures, which the resolutions called for, that make the United Nations presence in the Territory necessary, and without which no adequate preparation could be envisaged for the attainment by the Territory of its freedom. It is our fervent hope that the British Government will reconsider their position, and indicate their willingness to co-operate with the United Nations in the implementation of these measures.

93. We were gratified, therefore, to hear the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom state, from this rostrum, the other day, his Government's readiness to co-operate. He said:

"More recently we have announced our acceptance of the 1963 and 1965 General Assembly resolutions on Aden [resolutions 1949 (XVIII) and 2023 (XX)]—which inter alia called for our withdrawal from the base—and we have told the Secretary-General that we shall be glad to co-operate with a special mission from the United Nations to recommend practical steps for the full implementation of those resolutions." [1436th meeting, para. 60.]

There is no mention of any reservations, and it is our hope that this will be formally and clearly indicated to the Secretary-General before the mission starts out on its important and historic task.

94. The question of Oman continues to be a matter of grave concern and anxiety to my Government. The struggle of the people of Oman for freedom and independence has been going on for over ten years. The question was referred to the Committee of Twenty-four, as a colonial problem involving the use of force by the colonial Power to maintain its position of influence and privilege. My Government expresses the hope that, at this present session of the General Assembly, action will be taken to put the problem in its proper perspective and set in motion the process of national liberation in Oman through collective international action, as has been the case with other former colonial Territories.

95. Turning to the continent of Africa, we have, in the past, deplored the unwillingness of the British Government to take resolute action to put an end to the rebellious and illegal régime of the racist minority in Rhodesia. It is quite clear that the half-hearted measures so far taken have not and are not likely to create any impression on that régime and afford no real hope for the oppressed African majority. It is far from certain whether selective mandatory sanctions are sufficient to deal with the problem. My delegation fully supports the African States in their demand that force be used to put an end to racist minority rule.

96. Portugal's desperate efforts to maintain a foothold in Africa will no doubt crumble before the mighty tide of African nationalism. All Members of the United Nations—particularly those with special relations with Portugal—must shoulder their responsibilities in helping to bring about the speedy liquidation of the Portuguese colonial empire in Africa. South Africa continues to defy the United Nations and world opinion by its illegal occupation of South West Africa, and by its apartheid policies. My Government will do everything in its power to alleviate the suffering of the victims of apartheid, and will support any action taken by the United Nations to ensure the compliance of the South African Government with the numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly in this regard.

97. The question of South West Africa is still being discussed here in the General Assembly. My delegation has already had an opportunity to express its views, and I shall therefore confine my comments to an expression of regret for the failure of the International Court of Justice to deal with the substance of this question. It shirked its duty and responsibility by invoking a legal technicality which should never have been allowed to influence its judgement on a case with such important political and legal implications. It is now the duty of the General Assembly to take effective measures to save the people of South West Africa from the rule of the South African racists.

98. This past year has been a disappointing one in respect of disarmament and economic development. The Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee has not been able to make any real progress towards the solution of some of the outstanding problems, which must be solved before there can be general and complete disarmament.

99. A particularly urgent question is the necessity of concluding an international treaty to control the proliferation of nuclear weapons. This is a problem that cannot be delayed much longer. If nothing is done within the coming months, then it may be too late to control the spread of nuclear weapons, with all the fearful consequences that this entails for the human race. We were most heartened by recent indications of an impending understanding between the two major nuclear Powers on a treaty for non-proliferation and on the peaceful uses of outer space.

100. The General Assembly is called upon at this session to make a determined effort to find the widest measure of agreement on the principles which should guide the Eighteen-Nation Committee in its deliberations next year. It is also our hope that the efforts to hold a world disarmament conference will bear fruit and that such a conference, in which all the major military Powers—including the People's Republic of China—will participate will be held during the coming year.

101. The developing countries, including my own, are engaged in the gigantic task of rebuilding their societies on progressive and modern foundations. The nature and dimension of this problem are only now being understood and appreciated by the international community.

102. The problem of closing the gap between the developing and developed countries has not yet been seriously met. The United Nations Development Programme has made valuable contributions, but its resources are limited and woefully inadequate. Conscious of this, my country, as a token of its appreciation and confidence in the Programme, has raised its contribution by 33 per cent of the Special Fund and by 25 per cent to the Expanded Programme for Technical Assistance. The United Nations is still not permitted to deal effectively with the crucial question of financing development. While we fully agree that the key to the problem of financing is trade, rather than aid, we feel that action is now overdue to divert a much greater proportion of financial assistance through multilateral channels.

103. The first six years of the United Nations Development Decade have been disappointing. The rate of growth still falls short of the 5 per cent envisaged in the resolution adopted by the General Assembly in 1961. The General Assembly and, under its authority, the Economic and Social Council, are required to take vigorous action to reverse this trend during the remaining years of the Decade. This can be achieved only if there is a greater willingness on the part of the developed countries to bring their trade and economic policies into closer harmony with the objectives of the Decade. The developing countries, in their turn, must exert greater efforts and adopt sounder and more progressive economic and financial policies and planning to help them traverse the long and difficult road that lies ahead.

104. I have left to the end of my statement what I consider to be the most important question facing this session of the General Assembly, namely, the decision of U Thant not to offer himself for re-election as Secretary-General. He has rendered great services to this Organization and he has earned universal confidence and esteem. No one can really disagree with the reasons which prompted him to take this decision, which we hope is not irrevocable. I add my voice to the numerous distinguished representatives who preceded me in expressing the hope that he will find it possible to reconsider his decision, especially as there seems to be such a strong response to his appeal to us all to deal seriously with the problems and the difficulties which led to his decision. We ask him to stay on because he is needed at this critical juncture in the life of the Organization for the ideals of which he has dedicated himself with such single-minded devotion.

105. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translation from Russian): Mr. President, first may I congratulate you on your election to the responsible post of President of the twenty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly, wish you every success in guiding the work of this session and confirm our favourable attitude to the suggestion that the Secretary-General, U Thant, continue his efforts as Secretary-General for another term.

106. The present session of the Assembly has before it numerous questions of vital importance for the fate of the world and affecting the interests of every people on the globe. Relying on the initiative and experience of the peace-loving countries, the General Assembly

can and ought to find the right solution to these problems in conformity with the purposes of the United Nations Charter, to work out effective measures for the maintenance and strengthening of peace and cooperation among peoples and to develop and strengthen those good principles laid down in a series of resolutions adopted on previous occasions.

107. At its last session the General Assembly took a number of positive decisions, which had the support and approval of peace-loving peoples. The Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty [resolution 2131 (XX)] was proclaimed. The Eighteen-nation Committee on Disarmament was charged with the preparation of a treaty closing all loopholes which might lead to the dissemination of nuclear weapons. Also of great significance was the General Assembly resolution containing an appeal to the colonial Powers to dismantle the military bases installed in colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones [resolution 2105 (XX)]. The implementation of these resolutions would unquestionably contribute to the strengthening of peace.

108. Unfortunately, this has not happened. On the contrary, the world is to-day witnessing a further exacerbation in international affairs, brought about by the expansion of United States aggression in Viet-Nam and United States aggressive actions against the peoples of Laos and Cambodia. The United States is continuing its provocations against Cuba. The imperialists and colonialists, using both old and new methods, are carrying out a policy of ruthless oppression against national liberation movements, democratic freedoms and the sovereignty of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Dangerous to the cause of peace are the growing revanchist aspirations of the West German militarists, who enjoy the support of ruling circles in the United States of America.

109. Less than a year ago the United Nations Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty was adopted unanimously. But the resounding applause with which that Declaration was greeted in the General Assembly Hall was drowned by the explosions of American bombs and the salvos of American artillery sowing death and destroying the fruits of the peaceful labour of the freedom-loving Viet-Nameese people. The American militarists have ignored the solemn obligations contained in the Declaration, obligations accepted in the name of their country by its representative in the United Nations.

110. Does this not indicate that certain States Members of the United Nations, while paying lip service to the will of the majority, are in fact continuing crudely to violate the United Nations Charter and pursue a policy fraught with serious danger to the cause of peace? How worthless, for example, are the hypocritical statements, spread about by United States politicians, concerning "peaceful ways" of settling the "Viet-Nameese problem" which they themselves have created. "Peace talks" can hardly be reconciled with the American bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the constant expansion

by the United States of its armed forces in South Viet-Nam and the extension of its military and punitive operations. Consider once again, gentlemen, the scale of the aggressive war waged by the United States of America against the Viet-Nameese people. At present there is one American interventionist in South Viet-Nam to roughly every forty local inhabitants, including old people, women and infants. No sooner had the United States representative finished his statement at this session of the General Assembly (1412th meeting), a statement which included a so-called new "peace initiative", than the United States increased the number of its troops in Viet-Nam by 7,000. The tonnage of American bombs dropped in Viet-Nam in 1966 will, according to a report in the United States journal Foreign Affairs of October 1966, exceed the total tonnage dropped by American aircraft throughout the entire Pacific campaign in the Second World War. Even so, the United States Government does not conceal its intention of further greatly increasing the number of its troops in Viet-Nam and continuing the escalation of the war.

111. The Government of the United States of America is flagrantly trampling on the Geneva Agreements on Indochina. Moreover, using every lever of political and economic pressure, it has involved in its criminal adventure the South Korean puppets, Australia, New Zealand and the Philippines, which have already sent troops to South Viet-Nam, as well as certain other Asian countries which are continuing to use the American military bases located on their territories for the intensification of aggression in South East Asia.

112. Having found themselves powerless to bring the freedom-loving Viet-Nameese people to their knees, the American interventionists have set themselves the aim of paralyzing life in the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and in those regions controlled by the South Viet-Nameese patriots in South Viet-Nam. They are systematically destroying industry, irrigation and reservoirs, crops, hospitals and dwellings, nor do they stop at the killing of innocent and peaceful inhabitants. In doing this they are using such barbarous means of destruction as napalm and poison gases, the use of which was condemned and prohibited by the Geneva Agreement of 1954.^{2/}

113. If the United States of America really wanted to stop the war in Viet-Nam it would have to accept the proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam, since those proposals for settling the Viet-Nameese problem are fully in accord with the Geneva Agreements. But the United States of America is not taking this path. It wants to confirm for itself the perfidious right of the aggressor to dictate the conditions of settlement. The statement by the United States representative, Mr. Goldberg, at this session of the General Assembly is particular proof of this. His proposal amounts to this: that the United States is allegedly prepared to stop bombing the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, but on con-

dition that the patriotic forces of South Viet-Nam capitulate to the aggressor. Mr. Goldberg went on to announce that the United States was prepared to withdraw American troops from South Viet-Nam in proportion as the troops of other countries were withdrawn. But the whole world knows that in South Viet-Nam, in addition to the United States troops, there are units belonging to their collaborators in aggression and that withdrawal of those troops from South Viet-Nam depends entirely upon the United States.

114. We note with satisfaction that many representatives, reflecting the will of their peoples, are taking up the position of censuring the United States aggression in Viet-Nam and are calling for its speedy cessation.

115. We note with regret, however, that some who have spoken in the general debate have not been consistent in their evaluation of the events in Viet-Nam. The representative of Thailand showed himself in an invidious light when he tried to defend the American aggressors, whitewash the hostile actions of his own country in the Indonesian Peninsula and justify the utilization of his country's territory by the United States for aggression in Viet-Nam.

116. The Government and people of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic add their voice to the demands of all peoples in the world for the immediate and unconditional cessation of the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam by the United States Air Force and for the withdrawal of all troops of the United States and its allies from South Viet-Nam, so that the necessary conditions can be created for the Viet-Nameese people to be able to settle its own internal affairs as it sees fit.

117. The complex international situation brought about by the constant interference of imperialist Powers in the affairs of other peoples calls for the adoption of measures which would bar the way to anyone who does not want to abide by international law, the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the positive resolutions of the General Assembly.

118. In our view the proposals of the Soviet Union, contained in the draft resolution on the status of the implementation of the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty [A/6397] fully answers this purpose. The General Assembly must warn those States which, in violation of the United Nations Charter and the aforementioned Declaration, are carrying out armed interference in the domestic affairs of other States and peoples that they are thereby assuming responsibility before all peoples for the consequences which may result from their action, including consequences for those States themselves.

119. Also important and urgent is the Soviet Union's proposals for renunciation by States of actions hampering the conclusion of an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons (A/6398). The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic is a co-sponsor of this proposal. Despite the resolution adopted at the last session of the United Nations General Assembly [resolution 2028 (XX)], the Committee on Disarma-

^{2/} Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, 17 June 1925. League of Nations Treaty Series, vol. XCIV (No. 2138), 1929, p. 65.

ment has been unable to prepare and draft an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. This is due primarily to the attempts of United States leaders to include in an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons provisions which would in fact leave loopholes for the West German revanchists to have access to nuclear armament. This is sometimes admitted in the United States itself. Indicative in this respect was the speech made by Senator Joseph Clark, who on 15 July 1966 said he was sure that, if the State Department were to permit the American representatives in Geneva to accept the Russian condition that the West Germans should not have access to nuclear armament, there would be a real possibility of signing a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

120. The importunings of Bonn for nuclear weapons are directly connected with its territorial pretensions. The Federal Republic of Germany is increasingly becoming a focus of war danger, for it is the only State in Europe which openly calls for revision of the results of the Second World War and proclaims its pretensions to the territories of other States. The spirit of revanchism permeates the whole foreign and domestic policy of the Federal Republic of Germany.

121. In the ten years following the entry of the Federal Republic of Germany into NATO, between 1955 and 1965, the West German Government spent more than DM 150,000 million on the creation and perfecting of its military machine and increased the numerical strength of the Bundeswehr tenfold. The budget of the Federal Republic of Germany for the current year makes provision for military expenditure almost five times in excess of the Bonn Government's allocations for social security and health. The equipment of that State's armed forces with rockets and aircraft capable of delivering atomic bombs is in full swing. The Bundeswehr, according to a statement by its former Inspector-General, Trettner, has now attained the striking force of Hitler's Wehrmacht.

122. In the Federal Republic of Germany hundreds of leagues, organizations and societies of openly Nazi, militaristic and revanchist stamp are busily at work. They enjoy the demonstrated support, in the political, moral and material sense, of Government organs and highly placed personalities in the Federal Republic of Germany. The poison of militaristic and revanchist ideas in the Federal Republic of Germany permeates school curricula, literature, the Press, the cinema and television. The officers and generals are nurturing the Bundeswehr troops on the diseased ideas of revanchism.

123. All these facts cause well-founded anxiety among the European peoples, who well understand how dangerous are the aspirations and revanchist pretensions of the West German militarists. Twice in the lifetime of one generation has German aggression been unleashed upon many countries of Europe, causing them monstrous destruction and irreplaceable human losses. Our people can never forget that, upon the territory of Byelorussia, the fascist invaders during the last war massacred more than 2,200,000 people and that 380,000 sons and daughters of the Byelorussian people were herded into concentration camps in fascist Germany. In the three years of their occupa-

tion the fascists pillaged and destroyed over half the national wealth of the Republic.

124. The Byelorussian people, along with other peace-loving peoples, warmly supports the broad programme for the solution of European problems—a programme corresponding to the interests of all peoples—formulated by the countries signatory to the Warsaw Treaty and set out in the Declaration on the Strengthening of Peace and Security in Europe, adopted at their Bucharest Conference this year. It is essential to do everything possible for the implementation of the measures set forth in that Declaration.

125. Knowing as we do the wolf-like habits of German militarism, we firmly call for an end to the creeping aggressive designs of the Bonn revanchists, and demand that all ways to their acquisition of nuclear weapons be barred. In order to achieve this we must urgently adopt the draft resolution on the "Renunciation by States of actions hampering the conclusion of an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons" and do everything necessary for the rapid conclusion of an agreement on the non-proliferation of such weapons.

126. One of the sources of international tension lies in foreign military bases, those strongpoints for the aggressive probings of imperialist States. They are used to put down national liberation movements, for direct or indirect interference in the affairs of other States and for the maintenance of colonialism. Not only are these bases a constant threat to neighbouring countries, but even now some of them are being used for aggressive purposes.

127. Nor can the States on whose territory foreign military bases are situated feel themselves secure, for the peoples of those countries may well be drawn into military conflict on the decision of a foreign Government.

128. The abolition of foreign bases on the territories of other countries would not only bring to the people of those countries security for their future, but would also guarantee that no accidentally lost American hydrogen bomb would fall upon their territory. Further, the populations of those countries would have at their disposal the vast tracts of fertile land now occupied by military bases, launching pads and other military facilities.

129. The abolition of military bases would be of immense importance also for those countries which own them. It would release considerable sums, which could be used for the welfare of their own peoples and for giving aid to developing countries.

130. In view of what I have said, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR supports and calls upon all other States to support the proposal of the USSR on the elimination of foreign military bases in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America [A/6399]. The first, important step towards the solution of the problem of the complete abolition of all foreign military bases on foreign territories would thus be taken and this in turn would unquestionably constitute an important landmark on the road towards general and complete disarmament.

131. The General Assembly must also pay attention to the question of the prohibition of underground nuclear tests. This problem should be solved on the basis of utilizing national means of detecting such explosions.

132. At the present session of the General Assembly the nuclear Powers should be called upon to accept the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. This would create an important prerequisite for the adoption of a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons.

133. Of great importance are the proposals of the socialist countries regarding the creation of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world; the initiative of the German Democratic Republic on the repudiation of nuclear weapons by both German States and the refusal to have them on their territories; the proposal of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic regarding strict compliance with the prohibition of the use or threat of force in international relations and the right of peoples to self-determination [A/6303 and Corr.1], the proposal of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the prohibition of flights by aircraft carrying nuclear weapons beyond their own frontiers (1436th meeting) and other proposals on these matters.

134. If these partial measures in the field of disarmament were taken, if the question of calling a world conference on disarmament at a specified time were no longer shelved, then the peoples of the world would be convinced that the United Nations was going over from words to deeds and genuinely showing concern for the peace and security of peoples.

135. This is the sixth year since the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In that time our Organization has substantially increased its membership through the admission of countries that have obtained their independence. We are happy to greet a new Member of the United Nations this year: Guyana.

136. In the course of these years the United Nations had adopted a good many new resolutions, in which colonialism, the apartheid policy and all forms of racial discrimination have been declared a threat to international peace and security and a crime against humanity; the legality of the struggle waged by a people under colonial domination has been recognized, together with the right to extend material and moral help to national liberation movements in colonial Territories; the colonialists have been called upon to dismantle military bases in their colonies and to refrain from establishing new ones; they have been forbidden to extend help to the colonialists of Portugal and South Africa.

137. Despite all this, however, colonialist and racist régimes are being maintained in various parts of the world. The peoples of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, South West Africa, Aden, Oman and other Territories are still under colonial domination. Their national liberation movements are being cruelly suppressed. The racists of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, enjoying the support of the colonialists, are quite at ease. The Western Powers and even the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development—one of the specialized agencies of the United Nations—continue to provide assistance

to Portugal and the Republic of South Africa. In United Nations bodies the colonial Powers hypocritically expatiate upon their alleged preparation of the peoples in the colonial Territories for independence, while at the same time the western monopolies intensify their pillaging and exploitation of the dependent peoples and plant their own puppets at various points in the local administration.

138. We consider that the General Assembly should use upon the colonialists all forms and methods of persuasion at its disposal, strictly censure them for their failure to carry out United Nations decisions and require them immediately to implement the recommendations expressing the will of the majority of United Nations Members.

139. In this connexion special attention should be paid to setting specific dates for the abolition of colonial domination in each particular Territory, so that 1967 may be the year of the total and final end of colonialism.

140. It has also become necessary that the General Assembly should propose to the Security Council that it take under its control the implementation of United Nations decisions on these matters. The Security Council must apply to colonial Powers and régimes which fail to implement United Nations decisions on colonial matters all the measures provided for in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

141. The importance of the economic and social questions under consideration by the United Nations and its organs increases with every year. In our opinion, however, not all these questions are solved in the interests of developing economic, trading, scientific and technological co-operation among States. The greatest shortcoming is that positive decisions—for example, decisions concerning the principles of international trade—are not put into effect. Such important matters as the inalienable sovereignty of States over their natural resources, land reform, the conversion of the Special Fund into a capital development fund and the solution of many other problems connected with co-operation in the development of the national economies of Asian, African and Latin American countries—these questions are left to stagnate and are shifted from one organ to another.

142. Certain questions are considered, and sometimes even settled, without due allowance for all aspects of the problem. We may take as an example the transformation undergone by the assistance programmes. The Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance was originally established as a means whereby, on the basis of voluntary contributions, technical assistance could be provided to developing countries.

143. The Byelorussian SSR has participated in this Programme every year and has twice increased the amount of its voluntary contribution. But at the same time the regular budget of the United Nations, under the so-called regular programme of technical assistance, has rapidly increased. The lion's share of this expenditure, however, has gone not to assistance, but to the maintenance of a bureaucratic machinery and, in part, to activity incompatible with

respect for the sovereign rights of developing countries.

144. In 1951 the idea of creating a capital development fund, known at the time by the name SUNFED, was advanced by the developing countries. The purpose of the fund would be to provide assistance for industrial and other economically important projects in the developing countries. We supported this proposal of the developing countries, but a few years later the Western Powers, as a result of the inconsistent position adopted by a number of the developing countries, substituted a spurious version of this idea and the United Nations Special Fund was created—although, admittedly, with the stipulation, in a United Nations resolution, that the Special Fund was to be converted into SUNFED.

145. On the assumption that the Special Fund would be converted into SUNFED and would deal with investment activity, we contributed to it and then increased our annual contributions to it. But what in fact has happened? The Special Fund has not turned into SUNFED, but has been merged with the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance under the United Nations Development Programme. Since the merger, as before, all activity has been mainly concentrated on pre-investment, on compiling surveys and carrying out studies and on establishing a so-called infrastructure.

146. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers that the General Assembly should, as provided under many resolutions of the United Nations and the Conference on Trade and Development, take a decision to start investment activity within the framework of the Development Programme—especially as unused and free resources are available.

147. We do not want to say there is no need for studies or surveys; but this work must be really subordinated to concrete plans for the development of national economies in the interests of the developing countries themselves, and not left as a means of providing a sort of guide to private foreign capital in its search for profitable spheres and ways of investing its funds. We are also in favour of infrastructure; but only the kind of infrastructure that is geared to the national industry and other national purposes, not the kind of infrastructure that would roll out the carpet for foreign interests and caprices.

148. The rightness of our approach to these questions has been put to the practical test. Despite the immense sacrifices and destruction suffered by our Republic at the hands of the Hitlerite invaders, who pushed our economy back to the impoverished pre-revolutionary level, the Byelorussian people, relying on the co-operation of its sister peoples in the Soviet Union and developing economic ties with the countries of the socialist community, has not only restored its national economy, but has also increased the volume of its industrial production more than thirty-fold in the twenty years since the war. During the past seven years alone the volume of industrial production in the Byelorussian SSR has increased by a factor of 2.1 and the mean annual growth rate is 11.4 per cent. We plan to increase the volume of industrial production by a factor of 1.7 during the current five-year period

and to achieve a balanced development of all branches of our national economy.

149. We see that many representatives of developing countries have started their acquaintance with our Republic in their own countries, where they see tractors called "Byelorusse", lorries produced by Byelorussian industry on their roads and in their fields, Byelorussian lathes in their factories. Sometimes they ask how we have managed to make such progress in the economic and social fields in such a remarkably short time. The answer is simple: our success is above all due to the advantages of the socialist system, to the inspired and dedicated labour of our workers and peasants and to fraternal co-operation among the peoples of the great socialist family.

150. We did not wait for favours from foreign capital and monopolies, which, under the guise of "assistance" are pumping vast wealth out of the developing countries. According to United Nations data, the developing countries are losing more than \$20,000 million annually as a result of plunder and exploitation by these foreign monopolies. Our delegation considers that it is the duty of the United Nations to protect the developing countries from such plundering and to formulate measures for improving the terms of international trade and developing national economies in the interests of raising the people's standards of living. It is essential to help the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to free themselves from the bondage of unequal agreements and to eliminate the opportunities for these countries to be plundered by foreign monopolies under the guise of assistance.

151. In this connexion, in our opinion, the United Nations Secretariat should be instructed to prepare a comprehensive report which would show up the methods and disclose the sums which have been used and are still being used by western countries to pump out the wealth from the developing countries, through distorted prices in international trade, super-profits reaped from capital invested, usurious interest rates on loans and credits, high freight and insurance rates and other means. A study should be made also of the brain drain from developing countries into the developed capitalist countries.

152. Such information would confirm the picture we already have of the serious economic position prevailing in the developing countries. It would help the United Nations to find the proper and just solution to the problem of repaying developing countries for the damage and losses inflicted upon them by the colonialists and to work out measures which would favourably alter the trend of economic interrelationships in the world.

153. Our country, together with the other socialist countries, has helped, is helping and will continue to help the developing countries. We do this out of goodwill, guided by the principles of internationalism, equality and mutually profitable co-operation. We bear no responsibility whatsoever for the economic backwardness of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, but we are helping them to solve the problems of economic development with our experience and resources—resources created by the labour of our

people and not obtained as the result of plundering and exploiting other peoples.

154. The Byelorussian SSR is consistently in favour of implementing the principle of universality of the United Nations. It therefore supports the Declaration of the German Democratic Republic concerning its application for membership in the United Nations (A/6283 and A/6443). Our Organization would only stand to gain by admitting to its ranks the first workers' and peasants' State in the history of Germany, a State which is conducting a peace-loving policy and is adhering strictly to the principles of the United Nations Charter in its international relations.

155. It is high time to expel from the United Nations and all its organs the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which does not represent the Chinese people, and to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China.

156. It would be of great importance for the strengthening of peace and for the prestige of the United Nations if the proposal, of which Byelorussia is a co-sponsor, on the withdrawal of the United States and all foreign troops occupying South Korea under the United Nations flag and the dissolution of the United Nations Commission on the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea [A/6394] were adopted.

157. The Byelorussian people, like the peoples of the other socialist countries, are profoundly interested in enhancing the rôle of the United Nations in the struggle for world peace and security. Our delegation will make every effort to see that the twenty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly will contribute, by its decisions, to the relaxation of international tension and the strengthening of co-operation among the peoples of all countries and continents.

158. Mr. EL MUFTI (Sudan):^{8/} Mr. President, allow me to repeat my congratulations to you on your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its twenty-first session. This election, Mr. President, shows the esteem in which your great country and people are held. It is a measure of your country's contribution to the maintenance of world peace.

159. It is also a tribute to yourself, to your long and varied experience which will, no doubt, make the term of your Presidency a memorable and significant chapter in the history of this Organization in its endeavours to perform the responsibilities entrusted to it. May you have every success in your task for the good of all humanity.

Mr. Csatorday (Hungary), Vice-President, took the Chair.

160. I also pay tribute to Signor Amintore Fanfani, who performed his task as President of the Assembly at its twentieth session with the zeal and devotion worthy of his great talents and experience as a statesman.

161. It is with great joy that I see amongst us the delegation of Guyana, representing the independent and free people of Guyana. On behalf of the Government

of the Sudan, I greet the Government of Guyana and its people and wish them all prosperity.

162. The 30th of September and the 4th of October of this year were freedom days in Africa, when Botswana and Lesotho attained their independence; and I ask the indulgence of this Assembly to speak yet again of the joy we feel at the expansion of the domain of freedom on the African continent which has, for too long, been restricted and fettered by colonialism.

163. I welcome Botswana and Lesotho and hope that they will not be retarded in their endeavour for freedom and progress by the difficulties that stand in their way. The people of the Sudan, who share with them the objectives of a united and prosperous Africa, need not alert this Organization to its responsibility and undertaking in fulfilment of its historic resolution to prevent any encroachment on their independence. They are outposts of freedom in the wilderness of racial oppression.

164. This session of the Assembly has started in confidence and hope. Such hope and confidence must be our constant companions on the long road ahead of us. It is only with confidence in the joint efforts of all peace-loving people and hopeful optimism in the ultimate victory of peace that we are sustained in our endeavour to assert our will for living in a world without war.

165. But, there is no denying the fact that we have felt some misgivings, since the Organization has failed to meet the challenge of the ever-present threat to peace. Such misgivings are truly reflected in the Secretary-General's decision to relinquish his post in spite of the fact that States Members of this Organization are unanimous in the opinion that it is necessary for him to remain.

166. The failure of this Organization to explore new avenues for the maintenance of peace has led the Secretary-General to take this decision. In his letter to the Security Council on 1 September he expressed, in no uncertain terms, the nature of the crisis that threatens the very existence of the United Nations. The crisis of the United Nations stems from its hesitancy to take new initiatives for peace and co-operation in a world where the pressure of events may, at any moment, plunge the whole of humanity into its doom.

167. While this Assembly proceeds with debates, the world is at war. For, although the war in South Viet-Nam is localized in its most brutal aspects at the actual scene of battle, it is nevertheless a war whose repercussions are not confined to Viet-Nam, but extend across the seas and continents to the whole world.

168. The people of Viet-Nam, who are crushed by the intolerable burden of this war on its land, have an inalienable right, like all people of the world, to determine their own future without any foreign interference. Certainly, the Charter of the United Nations and the provisions of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 should, and do, provide the principles for resolving

^{8/} Mr. El Mufti spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

^{9/} Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-first year, Supplement for July, August and September 1966, document S/7481.

this conflict and the means to rescue the people of Viet-Nam from their fate, and perhaps save the peace of the world.

169. The United States of America, as a great Power with special responsibilities for world peace, owes it to itself and to the world to take the first giant step with courage and promptitude. The first step towards peace is to stop the bombing of North Viet-Nam. The first move in the effort for peace and a political solution is to give up trying to impose a military solution whose failure is now patently apparent.

170. Let us not be unmindful of the dangers of the escalation of the war in Viet-Nam, but let us be fully aware that confining the conflict in Viet-Nam is not our desired goal, nor can the peace of the world be maintained by offering up the people of Viet-Nam on a sacrificial altar. Its maintenance should be based on the principles of justice, with the United Nations as its universal guardian.

171. The universality of the United Nations is a necessary condition for its effectiveness; hence our belief in the absolute necessity of the admission to the United Nations of the Government of the People's Republic of China, the effective Government and the legitimate representative of the people of that country. The people of China have great potential strength and a definite role in helping this Organization to be worthy of its great task in the maintenance of peace and the realization of progress and prosperity for humanity. We are denying this Organization the advantages of the immense fund of intellectual experience and the backing of a great nation while China remains beyond the pale. We are restricting and hampering the United Nations by this denial from soaring into wider horizons and more meaningful and fruitful endeavours.

172. Our present century has witnessed a great awakening, a great extension in the territories of the free; but we have yet to see the end of colonialism. The liberation struggle of the people has compelled colonialism to recede until now it is left only in some pockets here and there throughout the world. What is left of colonialism, however, is still enough to fan the flames of national liberation movements and to urge the colonial peoples to undertake their last supreme efforts. For the remaining bastions of colonialism are most unyielding. Hence, the relentlessness of the peoples' heroic struggle and the magnificence of their certain triumph.

173. In the southern part of Africa, where the struggle for freedom from foreign domination is inextricably bound up with the battle against racial oppression, there is an imminent threat to world peace, because an oppressive minority—rejected by the world—persists in its misguided way to impose its will on the majority. But its days of domination in the African continent will soon come to an end—perhaps a violent end.

174. The defiance of the will of the people and the violation of the principles of justice and morality, which was exemplified in unilateral declaration of independence by the minority régime in Rhodesia, on 11 November 1965, will find retribution in the

assertion of the peoples' will and their ultimate victory. We of the United Nations could have anticipated and assisted this triumph had we not been diverted by the false promise of a peaceful solution. From the start of the rebellion in Rhodesia, African Members maintained that any measures, short of the use of force, would be worse than useless. We have now seen how all these measures have failed, as they were bound to do. Economic sanctions have failed, the embargo on oil has been ineffective; while the Smith régime remains entrenched.

175. The Government of the United Kingdom is largely responsible for this failure, because it was this Government which by declaring that it would not use force to end his régime, made it possible for Ian Smith and his clique to defy the world. It was the Government of the United Kingdom that denied the right of the United Nations to intervene in support of the rights of the Zimbabwe people, claiming that an economic boycott would be enough to dislodge the Smith Government. When all failed, the Government of the United Kingdom, while seeking the support of the United Nations for enforcing limited sanctions, did not refrain from embarking on negotiations with the "rebel" and the "traitor". The African people of Zimbabwe were left to their fate.

176. But the people of the Sudan, in their unshaken belief in the inalienable right of the African people of Zimbabwe to freedom and independence, have not abandoned them. We declare, before this Assembly of the nations of the world, that we will not deny them any means available to us to restore their rights.

177. Not long after the Rhodesian setback, the African people—and indeed, the conscience of mankind—had to suffer another shock. The barriers against the South African usurpation of power and the extension of apartheid to South West Africa were removed by the most recent Judgment of the International Court of Justice. We have rejected this Judgment of the Court because it is an abdication of a United Nations responsibility towards the people of South West Africa.

178. We now declare that the time has come for a more equitable and adequate representation of the emergent nations on this Court, in consonance with their representation in other organs of the United Nations. And again we declare, before this Assembly, our irreversible commitment to shoulder our share of all United Nations efforts towards the restoration of freedom to the people of South West Africa.

179. This Assembly, in adopting the resolution on South West Africa sponsored by the Afro-Asian countries, will demonstrate in no uncertain manner its awareness of the extent of its responsibility and its determination to discharge it in support of the will of the overwhelming majority of its Members.

180. The Sudan Government reiterates its condemnation of the Government of apartheid in South Africa, which has allied itself with the other forces of oppression—with Portuguese colonialism and with the Smith régime in Rhodesia—in order to keep the African peoples in a state of subjection. The Sudan Government renounces all forms of friendly dealings with South Africa, and only acknowledges the existence of that Government inasmuch as it is an obstacle in

the way of African progress, which it will endeavour to remove.

181. The struggle of the African peoples against Portuguese colonialism in Angola and Mozambique gains momentum day by day. We support this struggle, and we condemn the Government of Portugal for its insistence on maintaining its colonial régime in Africa.

182. President de Gaulle's recent visit to the territory known as French Somaliland was an occasion for the people of that country to demonstrate to the world that they have chosen freedom and independence. The people of so-called French Somaliland are not French, nor do they want to be. They are of Africa, and will remain African.

183. We in the Sudan have been shocked to see the United Nations historic declaration of freedom—its resolution 1514 (XV)—constantly flouted by the colonial Powers in Africa. We, on our part, have taken this declaration seriously and are endeavouring to implement it, as all Member States are in duty bound obliged to do. Furthermore, the Sudan, as a member of the Organization of African Unity, supports, materially and morally, all the movements for national liberation in Africa.

184. The Middle East has long been an area where the peace of the world remains in a precarious position. This land, which gave of its heart and soul all the values that humanity holds most sacred, has been violated by colonialism. But the people of this area have suffered the oppression of conquerors many times. Their history is a record of their heroic struggle against foreign domination and a testament of their victory.

185. The problem of Palestine is an example of the struggle for national liberation and human dignity such as that in which the people of Asia and Africa have engaged. Israel, the foster-child of colonialism, is kept alive only by ministrations from the colonial Powers that have constantly supplied it with offensive weapons and financial support to enable it to stem the tide of liberation in that area. This has not been easy for the colonialists, who have been meeting this with ever-increasing resistance. The Liberation Army of Palestine, which we hail from this rostrum, is in the vanguard of this resistance; it is the embodiment of the will and determination of the people of Palestine to be masters of their destiny.

186. What of the United Nations? The United Nations is primarily responsible for the plight of the people of Palestine. This legal and moral responsibility must be discharged adequately and fully.

187. The Palestinian refugees, living in camps only a few yards away from their former homeland, deserve not only assistance and commiseration from the United Nations: the United Nations should be even more actively engaged in their welfare and repatriation. The refugees cannot be left for the host countries to keep and sustain indefinitely; attempts to precipitate such a situation through restricting relief contributions must be discouraged by all means.

188. The whole wide world will not hold the Palestinians, whose only aim is to return to their usurped homeland.

189. In the Arab South the struggle against British colonialists continues unabated. The British design in that area seems to envisage the installation of unrepresentative Governments owing allegiance to them, while they suppress the legitimate aspirations of the people. The Sudan, in condemnation of the British colonial schemes, calls upon the United Nations to uphold the right of the people to self-determination. There should be a constitutional conference, representing all interested parties and under the auspices of the United Nations, to determine the people's wishes and establish a constitution. There should be popular elections, conducted under United Nations supervision, for the establishment of a democratic government in an independent country, free from British influence. The British colonial and military presence in the area extending from Bab el Mandeb to the Arabian Gulf has been the main threat to peace in the region and to the peace of the world.

190. The Sudan Government, however, regrets that the United Kingdom has almost succeeded in diverting the issue of its colonial presence in the Arab South from its true colonial context, thus making it appear in a false light—through its recent complaint to the Security Council^{10/}—and implying a denial of the right of the people of the Arab South to rid themselves of colonialism and to determine their own future in freedom.

191. The entire Arab world speaks with one voice on these three Arab issues: Palestine, Aden and Oman. The Arab world, moreover, is unwavering in its determination to free Arab soil from foreign domination. If the peace of the world should be jeopardized as a result, the responsibility must be borne not by the Arabs but by the usurpers of their rights.

192. Our world of today is divided by economic disparity into two parts: the countries of the northern hemisphere possessing all the means of power, directing the international economy according to their interests and exploiting all the economic potentialities in an armaments race; while the countries of the southern hemisphere are facing the ever-present problems of food and shelter. The industrial nations seem to lack the broad outlook to see the advantage to themselves of bridging the everwidening gap.

193. At the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held in Geneva, the developed countries chose to withhold their support for the recommendations concerning the establishment of equitable prices for primary commodities, the provision of grants and soft loans, and the strengthening of international economic co-operation by providing the resources necessary for economic development—such as funds and technical assistance.

194. It is clear that the developing countries cannot disentangle themselves from the vicious circle of under-development, except by adequate parallel efforts in the different fields of economic development such as agriculture, industry, transportation, and so forth. The economic structure of these countries depends upon agriculture and mining, that is to say, the primary commodities which suffer from a continuous

^{10/} Ibid., document S/7442.

drop in prices on world markets, while prices of manufactured products continue to rise.

195. In addition to this, the developing countries continue to struggle to carry out their economic development, which becomes, in the circumstances, burdensome and insupportable without adequate funds in foreign exchange and without technical know-how. This, in our opinion, makes it imperative for the various international organizations to exert every possible effort to make available the assistance necessary for industrial development.

196. We maintain that the Sudan was reflecting the general desire of the developing countries when it called for the establishment of a United Nations Organization for Industrial Development, a specialized agency to assist the developing countries in this important field. It is equally essential to create an international fund to finance development, especially in its industrial aspect. The United Nations has kept on debating this issue year after year without any palpable results because of the negative attitude of the developed countries. This is a sorry state of affairs, since the disparity between the developed and the developing countries increases day by day.

197. The element of time acquires an additional importance. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development tried to take a step in this direction when it recommended^{11/} the transformation of the United Nations Development Programme by setting aside some of its resources for economic development, provided it is gradually transformed completely to development purposes. The developed countries of the West continued to oppose this recommendation, until they succeeded in deleting the whole idea of transformation from the scheme of the merger. Surely the persistence of the developed countries in this direction will lead to most serious consequences.

198. The problem posed by the adverse balance of payments of the developing countries, on account of the deficit resulting from payments for imports over income accruing from exports, emphasizes the urgent need for financial liquidity.

199. The United Nations Development Decade was the subject of many recommendations and resolutions passed by the General Assembly. Half the Decade has now passed and these resolutions and recommendations are far from realization. If we are not to fail completely, we must redefine the role of every organ and agency of the United Nations in relation to the development programme of the Decade. Every organ and agency concerned with economic development must further check its effort and effectiveness and present a periodic progress report on the fulfilment of the targets set for it.

200. Any success that the United Nations can achieve in disarmament would lead, of necessity, to a lessening of international tension, but it would also lead to the provision of bountiful resources for economic development. In spite of all the efforts which were exerted, we still anticipate and look forward to the day when humanity will realize its hope in complete and total disarmament. The accord achieved by the great

Powers in prohibiting nuclear tests in outer space makes us hope that the area of agreement will be extended to include all other nuclear tests.

201. We must not overlook the fact that the problem of economic development is connected with the establishment of the effective sovereignty of the developing countries over their natural resources. If foreign capital demands every means of security for its flow into the developing countries, it is only fair for the developing countries to strive to protect their natural resources from unprincipled exploitation. They must confirm and emphasize their sovereignty over their resources to avoid a recurrence of the type of exploitation by foreign capital which was the favoured and current practice throughout the last two centuries.

202. We believe that in relations between individuals and in international relations, our actions should derive from the supreme principle of respect for the dignity and worth of the human person. This principle is the basis for the democratic system of government in our own country and our rejection of all forms of despotism and dictatorship. This principle is the basis for our struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination, those twin scourges and constant companions. We in Africa have suffered from colonialism and racial discrimination for too long and we shall not rest until we are free of them—free all over the continent of Africa.

203. We have chosen in our country to be the masters of our own destiny and hence our support and defence of the right of all peoples to self-determination, and our rejection of foreign interference that detracts from the full and unfettered exercise of national sovereignty. We consequently believe in maintaining neutrality in our relations with the Eastern and Western blocs. Our neutrality, in its positive aspect, is based on the supremacy of our independence and sovereignty, so that we do not adopt any policy or line of action unless it has, as its main objective, the good of our people. The good of our people, which we desire for ourselves, we desire also for all those who have suffered from colonial domination. Our own sovereignty, which we guard most jealously, will be threatened if our neighbours are not also their own masters. Our own freedom will be jeopardized if we do not accept the right of all peoples to be free—in South West Africa as well as in Viet-Nam, or the Arab South, or French Somaliland.

204. We have often, from this rostrum, appealed to the great Powers to uphold the fundamental rights of all peoples to be free because, in so doing, they will better serve their own ends and replace our condemnation with gratitude and approbation. The great Powers have great responsibilities arising from their immense potential for the service of humanity, or its destruction. It is time that they faced these responsibilities with determination and courage. Disarmament is certainly a step in the right direction, but it is only a step. We have to realize—and to act as if we realized—that in this Organization we have the best system yet devised for the fulfilment of man's dream of brotherhood and universal co-operation.

205. Let us all strive towards this end and perhaps our efforts for a peaceful and prosperous world will one day be rewarded by our attainment of this goal.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

^{11/} Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, vol. I, Final Act and Report (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 64.II.B.11), p. 47.