

United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

TWENTY-FIRST SESSION

Official Records



1445th
PLENARY MEETING

Monday, 17 October 1966,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 9:</i>	
<i>General debate (continued)</i>	
<i>Speech by Mr. Rakotomalala (Madagascar) .</i>	1
<i>Speech by Mr. Sallam (Yemen)</i>	3
<i>Speech by Mr. Hilmy Didi (Maldives Islands). .</i>	6
<i>Speech by Mr. Bomboko (Democratic Republic of the Congo)</i>	8

President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAK
(Afghanistan).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. RAKOTOMALALA (Madagascar) (translated from French): Mr. President, as I speak from this rostrum for the first time, to express my own and my Government's warm congratulations to you on your election to the Presidency, a post in which your cool-headedness, wisdom and diplomacy, as well as your long experience in international problems, will be invaluable to our Organization in these difficult times.

2. I had the privilege of meeting you in 1960, when my country was admitted to the United Nations. Your eloquence, so precise and at the same time vigorous, and your very complete knowledge of United Nations affairs were for me, a newcomer, an object of admiration and inspiration.

3. You are the next in line in a series of distinguished Presidents. I shall mention today only your immediate predecessor, Mr. Fanfani, who evinced outstanding qualities and whose wisdom greatly contributed to the smooth functioning of a particularly difficult session.

4. To the Secretary-General, U Thant, I bring on behalf of our Head of State, President Philibert Tsiranana, and on behalf of the Government and people of Madagascar, the tribute of our admiration and gratitude for the great work he has accomplished since he has held the office to which the General Assembly, in tragic circumstances, unanimously called him. He has devoted himself body and soul to his lofty mission of keeping the peace, seeing that the Charter is implemented and seeking a solution for the agonizing problems which have developed in various parts of the world during the last four years, threatening mankind with a conflagration which, because of the existence of terrible means of mass destruction, could mean the end of our civilization and perhaps destroy all chance of survival on our planet.

5. A few day ago my Head of State publicly declared that the whole people of Madagascar hoped that the Secretary-General would agree to continue to serve in his difficult post and that, for their part, all the Powers, great and small, would do everything in their power to facilitate his task. We all understand that the Secretary-General is at times discouraged; but, knowing his high sense of duty, perhaps we can hope that the number and gravity of the problems to be solved will, on the contrary, encourage him to remain at his post, for he will realize from the unanimous emotion generated by the announcement of his departure that the world sees in him the man in whom it can place its hopes.

6. The first of these problems is the search for peace. No one has forgotten the moving appeal for peace made in this very hall a year ago by His Holiness Pope Paul VI [1347th meeting]. His Holiness appealed to the conscience of the world to banish forever war, with its attendant violence, wretchedness and death. Alas, a year has gone by since that historic moment and, despite that resounding appeal, the guns are still firing and blood is still flowing. When will the peoples understand that force settles nothing and that every leader has the duty to seek, in good faith, without unacceptable conditions, a way to save his people from the ruin, suffering and destruction which will weigh down on generations to come? This appeal for a sincere search for peace, in other words, for negotiation, constitutes, in my candid opinion, the only way to end the present troubles, by the very fact that the United Nations Charter prohibits all Member States from resorting to war.

7. Wherever peace is threatened, wherever the aftermath of past disputes keeps trouble spots in existence, only loyal application of the principles of the Charter can bring back order and calm. Peoples artificially divided—in Korea, Germany, Viet-Nam—aspire to reunification. They should be free, without constraint or external interference, to choose their own destiny. To that end, since war is to be excluded, is not negotiation the only possible way out? The same applies in other parts of the world; in Africa, where dangerous border conflicts arise here and there between neighbouring sister-States; in the Middle East, where serious problems, the consequence of the last two wars, obviously cannot be settled except by negotiation; in Asia and, lastly, in the Far East.

8. What admirable examples of political realism India and Pakistan gave the world at their historic meeting in Tashkent in January 1966, and Indonesia, when it decided to put an end to its confrontation with Malaysia. Are not negotiation and self-determination the only possible solutions also for the tragic problems

which are today arising in Africa? Let us pause for a moment to consider those problems, which are now foremost among the concerns not only of the African States, but also of all the very many States represented in this Assembly which are determined to see that throughout the great continent of Africa the principles of liberty contained in the Charter are not empty words.

9. Portugal stubbornly refuses to recognize the right of the African populations it administers to self-determination. Portugal takes no notice whatsoever of the numerous resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. Portugal should understand that we cannot stand by indefinitely, helpless and disarmed, as witnesses to this deliberate refusal to permit millions of Africans to escape from the domination of a colonial Power.

10. In South Africa, a pitiless policy of racial discrimination depriving African peoples of their most elementary rights, although condemned by the universal conscience and denounced by numerous resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, is nevertheless being pursued and is even hardening.

11. In South West Africa, that same Government is introducing segregation laws which have already been rejected by the universal conscience and is claiming that the Mandate which it holds from the League of Nations puts it beyond all United Nations control, despite the decisions handed down in 1950^{1/} and 1962^{2/} by the International Court of Justice, whose scandalous recent Judgment has not altered the substance of the operative part of those decisions: namely, that the United Nations is the successor of the League of Nations. The only way out in this matter is to revoke the Mandate.

12. Portugal and South Africa should look around them and not stubbornly pursue a policy so contrary to the evolution of peoples and to the commitments they undertook when they signed the Charter and accepted its provisions, without reservation, including those contained in Chapter XI. Further, those countries should understand that they are preparing a terrible awakening for their children and grandchildren, for they must not have the illusion they can indefinitely keep under their domination tens of millions of Africans who aspire to freedom and who, with the moral support of the rest of the world and the determined solidarity of their African brothers, will succeed, one of these days, in breaking their chains. When that happens, would they be able to count on the understanding, the co-operation and, I would even say, thinking of Madagascar, the friendship which exists in numerous African countries between the former colonial masters and those whom they had colonized, but who have now achieved independence? I say to them sincerely that today it is still not too late to prepare for that future; but perhaps tomorrow it will be too late.

^{1/} International Status of South West Africa, Advisory Opinion: I.C.J. Reports 1950, p. 128.

^{2/} South West Africa Cases (Ethiopia v. South Africa; Liberia v. South Africa), Preliminary Objections, Judgment of 21 December 1962: I.C.J. Reports 1962, p. 319.

13. Recently a threat to peace has been created in Southern Rhodesia through the blindness of a minority anxious at all costs to maintain its supremacy over an African population twenty times more numerous. The great African family has unequivocally spoken out, through the voice of the Organization of African Unity, against the unilateral declaration of independence and the United Nations has solemnly manifested its categorical disagreement with that action. The authority of the international Organization must not be indefinitely flouted and the rebel régime of Ian Smith must agree to hand over sovereignty to the people of Southern Rhodesia. Otherwise, it must be constrained to do so by all the means provided by the Charter and all Member States must firmly and resolutely use those means.

14. The Development Decade, in which so many hopes had been placed, has already proved a partial failure. The total amount of aid granted by the industrialized countries is decreasing, whereas their national income is steadily increasing. We are far from the goal we enthusiastically set ourselves four years ago; namely, of obtaining a contribution to international assistance from the industrialized countries equal to 1 per cent of their gross national income [resolution 1711 (XVI)]. It is, of course, only fair to say that some industrialized countries have greatly increased their total aid; but what is at issue here is an effort of international co-operation, and the burden should not be left to three or four countries alone.

15. One of the solutions to the problem of under-development would be the effective organization of primary commodity markets. Many speakers have stressed that the origin, the real cause of the imbalance, lies in the constant deterioration of the terms of trade and the inadequate prices for raw materials. Everyone seems to agree on this diagnosis. Why then, my delegation wonders, should we not consider minimum prices for the principal products and set up an international system of compensation which would operate automatically if prices fell and would give the producing country the difference? Is it not extraordinary to find that, when the industrialized countries establish their cost prices, the cost of raw materials seems to be a variable and reducible element? If, for example wages have to rise, we often find that, in order not to raise the selling price and thereby prejudice turnover and expansion, it is the cost price of raw materials that is reduced.

16. Previous speakers have all expressed the deep anxiety of their peoples at the accumulation and dissemination of weapons of mass destruction, while the volume of conventional armaments is also increasing. Only general, controlled disarmament would produce a realistic solution. It is greatly to be desired that outer space will in no case be used for murderous ends.

17. The sovereignty of all States must be respected. International differences must be settled by negotiation. Every form of internal subversion or interference in the affairs of other States must be absolutely prohibited among Member States. These principles are the ones that guide the foreign policy of my Government. A special item [94] was included in the agenda of the twentieth session of the General

Assembly^{3/} at my Government's request and consideration of that item has been referred to the Sixth Committee. The resolution [2103 B (XX)] adopted on the recommendation of that Committee takes our suggestions substantially into account and my Government greatly hopes that these principles, already implicit in the Charter, will be formally incorporated therein.

18. My delegation hopes that all Member States will observe these great principles and that those who apply for membership will undertake to comply with them. It is with this hope in mind that my delegation, for its part, will not vote for the admission of any State, even Continental China, if, by its statements and, still more, by its actions, it follows a non-peaceful policy contrary to the spirit of the Charter. The delegation of the Republic of Madagascar will not dwell at greater length on the great questions which we have on the agenda.

19. My delegation hopes that, as in Madagascar, democratic principles will be applied everywhere and individual freedom fully respected. In Madagascar eighteen tribes coexist in peace, without any racial discrimination. There is not a single political prisoner. We have no territorial ambitions outside our own frontiers and we threaten no one. The President of my country recently said that, opposed to any form of armed intervention, he intends to observe on every occasion Gandhi's doctrine of non-violence.

20. My country will continue to be a loyal and active partner in the Organization of African Unity, because it is convinced that union is possible and desirable in Africa, on the basis of respect for the sovereignty and integrity of each State. It considers that the Common Afro-Malagasy Organization is an association of countries united by certain special bonds, certain forms of culture and certain economic interests. It is freely open to all and represents that "union in diversity" which the representative of Cameroon so eloquently defined from this rostrum [1412th meeting]. That organization has set out on the road of economic co-operation, setting up, among other things, a kind of common market for sugar. With that outlook it cannot but strengthen the Organization of African Unity.

21. The union of Africa is, as I have already stressed, more necessary than ever and the special interests of some States should never overshadow it. The fight against under-development must be waged shoulder to shoulder, in brotherhood, and it is together that we must pursue our efforts to see that all the African countries can sit here in this hall and make their voices heard in the concert of nations.

22. If the political horizon is dark and disquieting, there have nevertheless been some causes for satisfaction since the last session of the General Assembly. Among these I shall mention the admission of Guyana, to which my delegation expresses its warmest greetings and wishes for success.

23. Indonesia has resumed its place among us. My people, among whom certain tribes have ethnic bonds with the Indonesian people, are sincerely glad of that.

24. Two new African States, Botswana and Lesotho, have come to swell our ranks this very morning. To them I address the warm congratulations of my country and my delegation and our hopes for their full success. I am also very glad that the United Kingdom has brought two more African States to independence in good order and in peace. We hope it may, in the near future, crown its work by settling the grievous problem of Rhodesia.

25. France, faithful to its traditions, has announced that French Somaliland will be called upon to choose its own destiny by referendum. My country is very happy that this should be so and hopes that, whatever its choice, Djibouti will enjoy peace and will pursue, in friendship with all the African countries and also with France, its material and moral progress.

26. The process of liberation of peoples is under way. Our Organization is moving closer and closer towards that universality which is its highest goal. The duty of us all is to work with courage, farsightedness and loyalty to make the Organization an effective instrument for the safeguarding of peace and the prevention of war and the evils attendant thereon, just as its founders conceived the noble and ambitious dream of this Organization twenty-one years ago in San Francisco. It depends on all of us to bring that dream to pass.

27. Mr. SALLAM (Yemen):^{4/} It gives me great pleasure to congratulate you, Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic and its Government on your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its twenty-first session. This is evidence of the confidence that this international Organization has placed in you, and the appreciation and respect that you enjoy from all; it is also an indication of the significant position that your country has among the nations of the world.

28. The spiritual bonds, whose roots extend far deeper into the history of our two countries, and the strong ties of friendship and brotherhood between our two peoples, which go back many centuries, make me and my country, as well as the whole continent of Asia, very proud of your Presidency of this session. I am fully confident that the twenty-first session, under your Presidency, will yield fruitful results that will bring prosperity and peace to the whole world. At the same time, I cannot fail to praise the efforts that Mr. Amintore Fanfani deployed for the success of the twentieth session of this Assembly.

29. It is a source of great pleasure for us to see the membership of this Organization increasing year after year, particularly when we see that some countries have been freed from the yoke of slavery and colonialism.

30. We believe in the right of peoples to freedom and self-determination. We also believe in the universality of the United Nations. We therefore bid welcome to

^{3/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes, agenda items 90 and 94, A/5937.

^{4/} Mr. Sallam spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

Guyana, Lesotho and Botswana to this Organization. We also welcome the independence of Barbados, and hail the return of Indonesia to this international Organization. At the same time, it is to our regret and concern that we do not see the People's Republic of China taking its proper and legitimate seat amongst us.

31. This session convenes at a time when an atmosphere of international tension and anxiety prevails. The international problems that face our world today require us to face them with patience, wisdom and goodwill, because some of these problems have reached such limits that they are heavy burdens on the world conscience and threaten humanity with imminent annihilation. Despite the clarity of the Charter of the United Nations, which laid down the rules and principles that regulate relations between members of the international community, there are still some countries which use force as a means of achieving their goals and completely disregard those principles.

32. We note with great concern that some of the countries principally responsible in this Organization for the preservation of peace according to the United Nations Charter are those who use force instead of following the path of peace. The savage war taking place in Viet-Nam, and the escalating military operations there, are acts of aggression against the security, integrity and independence of Viet-Nam and are a violation of its freedom.

33. We demand the cessation of the air raids and military operations being carried out against the people of Viet-Nam and the evacuation of foreign troops from its soil, so that the Viet-nameese people, who have suffered the pangs of war for so long throughout these years may determine their own destiny and build their own future. The efforts exerted for the continuation of the military operations in Viet-Nam might be of greater benefit for world peace and for the prosperity of the Viet-nameese people if they were instead being exerted towards finding a peaceful solution to the problem and the creation of a suitable atmosphere to honour and implement the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

34. To grant freedom and independence to the people that are still groaning under the yoke of colonialist rule is the only way of achieving permanent peace and developing co-operation among the international community. The use of force against peoples struggling for their independence is also one of the main sources of disturbances of international peace and security.

35. In speaking of the use of force, we find a contradiction in the actions of these countries. Britain, for instance, refused to use force against the illegal régime of Ian Smith, whereas she exercises intimidation and suppression to silence the voices of the nationalists who demand freedom and independence in the occupied south of Yemen. We also find that since the beginning of the revolution of the Yemeni people, who rose to destroy imperialism and reaction, Britain has been working for the destruction of the revolution of the Yemeni people—because Britain is aware that the success of the Yemeni revolution is a supporting factor for the independence of the Occupied South of Yemen

and a menace to her colonial interests and her influence in the whole Arab region.

36. Britain has persisted in using all kinds of pressure and terror, as well as other inhuman means that violate every principle of the United Nations Charter, in order to destroy the Yemeni revolution. The annals of the United Nations, as all Members know, are filled with records of British aggression against the frontiers of the Yemen Arab Republic. During the period 23 May–30 September 1966 alone, more than nine acts of aggression occurred in which all kinds of modern and destructive weapons were used against the peace-loving people of Yemen.

37. Among other methods of pressure which Britain uses against the Yemen Arab Republic is the closing of the so-called borders between the south and the north of Yemen, thinking that by so doing it would isolate the people of the south from those in the north, as well as weaken the Yemeni economy.

38. Britain, which every day repeats hymns of peace and freedom, and respect for the human rights and principles of the United Nations Charter, is the same Britain that is opening wide the doors of prisons to receive the freedom fighters of the occupied south of Yemen, whose only sin is their demand that their rights as human beings to express their own wishes, their own will and their just demands for freedom, independence and self-determination be respected.

39. The military rule practised by Britain in the occupied south of Yemen and the denial to the people of liberty to express their own wishes, together with the use of savage methods against civilians and freedom fighters, including the exile of some of them, have become Britain's daily routine for the liquidation of the liberation movement in the region.

40. Britain, as always, has the habit of manoeuvring in order to deceive world opinion as far as the independence of the occupied south of Yemen is concerned. Her objective is to maintain her influence in the area, to safeguard her military and economic interests in the whole region. Despite the clarity of the various resolutions of the General Assembly concerning the occupied south of Yemen, Britain still deceives world opinion by offering her own home-made interpretation in such a way as to suit her own interests. In my delegation's view, the British interpretations are contrary to the spirit and objectives of the pertinent General Assembly resolutions.

41. While Britain has already declared its acceptance of the two resolutions, 1949 (XVIII) and 2023 (XX), passed by the General Assembly in 1963 and 1965, she has made certain reservations to her acceptance which make it clear that she has, in fact, refused to implement these Assembly resolutions.

42. The only possible interpretation of the reservation with respect to the security of the region is that Britain refuses to grant freedom, to abolish martial law, to cease military operations and to release all prisoners and detainees. On the other hand, Britain's claim that she has no power to impose constitutional changes and her insistence on maintaining illegal agreements is very clear testimony that she refuses to hold general elections on the basis of direct

universal suffrage according to the provisions of United Nations resolutions, Britain also refuses to liquidate the present federal institutions which in the resolutions, were considered not truly representative of the people. We are therefore happy to note that the Special Committee on decolonization rejected these reservations.

43. The only solution to the problem of the occupied south of Yemen is the unconditional acceptance of the United Nations resolutions by Britain and their immediate implementation. Peace will not prevail unless the British colonial forces evacuate the area. Whether in the occupied south of Yemen, the Trucial Imamat or Oman, British presence is the actual source of tension and instability.

44. Speaking of peace, I should like to emphasize that peace will never be secured in the Middle East while a million Palestinian refugees live in tents in the desert, deprived of their own homeland, possessions and human rights. How can we ask this people to be patient when they are within arm's reach of their usurped home, Palestine? We still place great hope in the ability of this international Organization to put an end to the Zionist acts of conspiracy and aggression against the Arab people.

45. The arms race and the danger of a nuclear war give rise to great anxiety among the peoples of the whole world. This is not only a danger to world peace and security, but also a threat to world civilization, as well as an impediment to international co-operation. The Yemen Arab Republic, therefore, fully supports the efforts deployed for reaching an agreement on complete disarmament under effective international control.

46. The ever-increasing discrepancies in the standard of living between the developed and the developing nations are, in our belief, another source of tension in the world. The insistence of the countries which have the experience and own the capital to impose unfair political and economic conditions upon developing countries, as well as the monopoly and control of international trade, impedes the economic development of the developing countries and increases the affluence of the wealthy and the poverty of the poor. We hope, therefore, that the basis of the economic and commercial relations among nations will be reconsidered with a view to achieving international co-operation on the basis of justice and mutual benefit. The principles on which international economic relations between developed and developing countries rest do not suit the needs of our era.

47. The Yemeni people, who suffered for almost 1,000 years from individualistic and despotic rule, were isolated from civilization and were deprived of all human rights, of free and decent life throughout those years, succeeded at last, at dawn on 26 September 1962, in throwing off that individualistic, despotic and backward rule and in shattering the fetters of hunger, ignorance, disease and isolation. After 1,000 years of isolation, the Yemeni people have been able, once again, to see the light of civilization and decent life. The Yemeni people, who revolted four years ago against injustice and backwardness, are determined to pursue a policy of reconstruction and development in order to catch up with the world of today.

48. I do not need to burden the members of the Assembly with a detailed account of the situation in Yemen before the revolution. It is indicative to state, in this respect, that there were only three schools throughout the country, and that nothing was taught in these schools except religion, history of the various Imams and how to give allegiance to them. Yemen knew nothing of the modern means of transportation throughout its history; it has never had even one single paved road. The Yemen Arab Republic, in order to catch up with the rest of the peoples of the world in uprooting the germs of backwardness, is exerting maximum efforts to build schools, hospitals, roads and public services for the first time. We are embarking on productive projects that will bring prosperity, welfare and happiness to the people of Yemen.

49. Medical care in the Yemen Arab Republic has, for the first time, become a sacred right of the people, whereas previously it was the exclusive right of the royal family. Due to the fact that new roads have been built and modern means of transportation have been employed, distances between neighbouring cities that were covered in weeks are now, for the first time, covered in a few hours.

50. In the economic field, everything was owned by the Imam. The Yemeni people knew nothing more than paying taxes and *zakat*, without knowing how these funds were spent. We are doing our best to reorganize the Yemeni economy, to pursue modern methods of planning and budgetary procedures adopted by the modern, civilized world. Various projects, which will bring prosperity and well-being to the people, have become the main objective of my Government.

51. In the political field, the Yemeni people were forbidden to think, deal with, or even discuss, political issues. The Imam ruled as a god on earth. The people had no right to know anything about the political affairs of their country. During the rule of the Imam, a mere mention of terms such as freedom, rights and constitution was considered a crime meriting capital punishment or life imprisonment. The revolution destroyed the myth of the "divine right". The rule of the people, by the people and for the people became the law of the Yemen Arab Republic.

52. The Yemen Arab Republic believes very strongly in Arab unity and has reaffirmed in its Constitution the belief that it is an integral part of the Arab nation. The Yemen Arab Republic, in exercising its foreign policy, emphasizes the following.

53. Firstly, the consolidation of its political, economic, cultural and other relations with its greater sister, the United Arab Republic, and the other sister Arab countries. The relationship between the Yemen Arab Republic and the United Arab Republic is based on common heritage, namely: language, religion, origin, customs and traditions, as well as unity of principles, unity of objectives and unity of destiny. The Yemeni people work with full force to achieve complete unity with the United Arab Republic as a first step towards a total Arab unity which is cherished by the millions in the Arab world. Within this framework, the co-operation existing between the Yemen Arab Republic and the United Arab Republic is a co-operation

between one people. The revolutionary people of Yemen will never forget the sacrifices of the people of the United Arab Republic for the Yemen revolutionary gains.

54. Secondly, the Yemen Arab Republic pursues the line of Arab solidarity within the framework of the Arab League.

55. Thirdly, we believe in providing material and moral support for the struggle of the people of the occupied south of Yemen for their legitimate right to freedom, independence and self-determination.

56. Fourthly, the Yemen Arab Republic supports the struggle of the Arab people of Oman, the Trucial Imamat of the Arabian Gulf and the Arab people of Palestine to achieve freedom and independence.

57. So far as concerns international relations, the policy of Yemen is based on upholding the policy of non-alignment, adhering to the principles of the United Nations Charter and supporting the efforts of this great Organization to establish peace and security in the world and to strengthen its efforts for the economic development of under-developed countries.

58. May I be allowed to express the gratitude of my Government for the valuable economic assistance which the United Nations has extended to Yemen. The Yemen Arab Republic endeavours to further political, economic and cultural relations with all countries, particularly the friendly countries which extended assistance to the people of Yemen in achieving the programme for the revolutionary development of the Yemeni community. The Yemen Arab Republic, in her endeavour to build her economy, accepts any economic and technical assistance, free from any conditions which might jeopardize her sovereignty and independence.

59. The Yemen Arab Republic, which believes in the right of people to self-determination and freedom for all, will always struggle against colonialism and apartheid.

60. The Yemen Arab Republic supports very strongly the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa, as well as those regions which are still under Spanish colonialism, in their struggle to achieve freedom and independence. We condemn the racist régimes in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa.

61. The Yemen Arab Republic emphasizes its desire for peace. Preservation of international peace and security has become the sacred demand of the developing nations, so that they might devote their efforts to developing their own countries, safeguarding their gains, and taking their rightful place in the world of the twentieth century, so as to contribute to world peace, civilization and humanity.

62. In conclusion, I should like to repeat the appeal of my Government to U Thant, the Secretary-General, to renew his term as Secretary-General, so that he can make the hopes of millions come true, especially at a time when his wisdom, sincerity, efficiency and devotion to world peace and security are very much needed.

63. Mr. HILMY DIDI (Maldives Islands): I am indeed happy to be able on behalf of my delegation, to associate myself with the other representatives, in extending our warm congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your being unanimously elected as the President of this Assembly at its twenty-first session.

64. We trust that your experience and wisdom will greatly facilitate the fulfilment of your heavy responsibilities in the conduct of the meetings and also in maintaining the high prestige and reputation of the United Nations.

65. Although we are meeting at a time when there are manifestations of dissatisfaction throughout the world, my delegation confidently hopes that you will be in a position to steer us through to a successful conclusion of this session. We wish you every success.

66. We offer our sincere congratulations to the outgoing President, Mr. Amintore Fanfani, the Foreign Minister of Italy, for the excellent manner in which he conducted the proceedings of the twentieth session.

67. My delegation regrets Secretary-General U Thant's decision not to make himself available for re-election particularly in view of the fact that his term of office expires at a time when his impartial services are most needed to continue to demonstrate to the world the usefulness of this great world Organization. During his term of office as the Secretary-General, U Thant has proved his exceptional wisdom and ability in handling delicate international problems and that has brought confidence and credit not only to the great Organization which he has the privilege and honour to serve but also to himself. We are, indeed, conscious of the untiring and exhausting services being rendered by U Thant for the cause of world peace and the preservation of the ideals of the Charter of the United Nations.

68. My delegation has full confidence in him and I am, indeed, happy to take this opportunity to join the world chorus in appealing to U Thant to reconsider his decision and to make his services available for a further term. It is, indeed, my special privilege and pleasure to convey to the Secretary-General the warm felicitations of my Government for his excellent achievements over the past years and our best wishes for his continued success.

69. This year again marks the happy addition of new Members to this great Organization. On behalf of my delegation, I extend our sincere congratulations to the Governments and peoples of Guyana, Botswana and Lesotho on their admission to the United Nations.

70. We hope that, as free and independent young nations, but fully matured in their experience, Guyana, Botswana and Lesotho can now be free to devote all their time and resources to the important tasks of the economic and technical development of their country.

71. It is, indeed, a matter of great satisfaction to my delegation to note the reconciliation and resumption of friendly relations between the two great Asian countries, Malaysia and Indonesia. On behalf of my delegation, I convey our sincere congratulations to the Governments of Malaysia and Indonesia on their remarkable achievements. These two countries have

clearly demonstrated to the world the true spirit in which the settlement of disputes can be achieved through co-operation and understanding.

72. The cessation of hostilities between the two great sister countries, India and Pakistan, has given my delegation special satisfaction. Although the long-outstanding problems between them remain unsolved, my delegation earnestly hopes and trusts that these two countries will never again have occasion to resort to arms. We pray for their continued friendship, happiness and prosperity.

73. May I be permitted to make a brief reference to the untold human sufferings in Viet-Nam. It is, indeed, the strong belief of my delegation that this conflict can not easily be brought to an end by the supremacy of arms. An amicable solution to this most grave and urgent problem, in our opinion, can be found only by the immediate application of the most effective weapon, yes, the weapon of negotiation. We believe negotiation is the best instrument for settling disputes. My delegation therefore appeals to the Members of this Organization to explore every possible avenue to persuade the nations involved in this conflict to come to the conference table. This, we believe, can be the only solution to this most urgent problem.

74. The urgent question of South West Africa demands the immediate attention of the Members, for the very ideals enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations are being violated by the Government of South Africa. Utter disregard, by that Government, of the continued appeals and numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly over the past years is indeed surprising. What is more surprising is the series of inhuman and oppressive acts being committed by the South African Government towards the people of South West Africa in the face of all these genuine appeals. This should indeed be a matter of grave concern to all Members.

75. My delegation is in complete agreement with Members who have expressed the view that the time has come for practical action, if we are to honour the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. South Africa cannot, and must not, be allowed to continue its inhuman activities directed against the people of South West Africa. It is our strong belief that South Africa will ultimately have to yield to the united efforts of the Members of the United Nations, and give way to the emergence of a new nation. We whole-heartedly support all the delegations which have expressed the view that this question should be effectively dealt with as quickly as possible.

76. With regard to the situation in Rhodesia, my delegation would support the early removal of the illegal Smith régime and the granting of independence with majority rule on the basis of one man, one vote. Any resolution to this effect would receive our full support.

77. My delegation regrets that, despite the considerable efforts being made by the United Nations for the maintenance of peace, disputes among nations continue to cloud the atmosphere and are a serious menace to world peace. It is, indeed, of paramount

importance that, at this critical juncture, the efforts of the United Nations to settle disputes by peaceful means be redoubled.

78. We have already witnessed the bitter experience of a major conflagration within our lifetime, which engulfed practically the whole world and involved enormous expenditure and, more especially, the loss of millions of human lives. We must remember that that great war was fought before science and technology, advancing with tremendous and uninterrupted speed, had reached today's level of perfection.

79. Today, we all know that modern science and technology have done wonders, enabling almost incredible technical advancement in all practical fields of human life, but at the same time, dragging with them inexpressible danger to the very existence of the world. We hear of relentless research work being carried out in space, underground, and in the ocean, in quest of valuable information—happily, for the continued progress of mankind in general and, at the same time, pitifully, for the destruction of the world.

80. Humanity is in desperate need of protection and security if it is to survive; and the world looks to the United Nations as the only flickering light of hope to pave the way to sparing the world from complete destruction. The danger of war must be checked in time—from whichever direction it may come—checked, not by force, but by every peaceful means. We believe that it is only through the concerted efforts of this great world Organization that we can hope to gain any substantial measure of success in achieving this aim. We therefore humbly appeal to every individual Member to extend every possible co-operation in achieving this noble aim. We humbly appeal to the United Nations for timely intervention in all national disputes threatening world peace, and for peaceful settlement.

81. The guiding principle of our external policy is based on non-alignment and peaceful coexistence. The Maldives, perhaps the only country in the world with a hundred per cent Muslim population, takes pride in strict adherence to the principles of Islam. The religion of Islam calls for brotherhood, unity, discipline and co-operation. The Holy Koran, the Sacred Book of Islam, says: "Oh mankind, verily we have created you out of a male and a female, and made you into tribes, communities and nations so that you may know one another and live in peace, understanding and harmony". These are the noble words of God. No human endeavours could excel these words in illustrating a better example of brotherhood and unity. These words, indeed, reflect the high degree of social structure which dominates the religion of Islam. In complete conformity with the principles and teachings of Islam, we want to make contact with the nations of the world and establish friendly relations based on a solid foundation of mutual understanding, in due conformity with the Constitutions of the respective countries. We would welcome all those who respect our independence and integrity, for we believe in universality and peaceful coexistence.

82. It is our firm conviction that, with careful handling of the delicate world problems which are in

the balance, the United Nations could, as has been proved on more than one occasion in the past, calm and control the tense world situation through international understanding and co-operation. May peace and security prevail throughout the world, and may God bless us all with perpetual happiness and prosperity.

83. Mr. BOMBOKO (Democratic Republic of the Congo) (translated from French): Mr. President, it is a particular pleasure for me and for my delegation to convey to you the very warm congratulations of the people and Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo on your election to the Presidency of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly.

84. Your remarkable human and diplomatic qualities, your broad understanding of international problems, your profound humanity, which makes you sensitive to the troubles and aspirations of all the nations represented here, mark you out as particularly fitted for this heavy task. I am sure that your great experience in this Organization, enriched as it is by your talents and your knowledge, will help you to overcome the innumerable difficulties of that task. Permit me to tell you, Sir, how certain my delegation feels that the twenty-first session of this Assembly will, under your guidance, be one of the most, if not the most, fruitful in the history of the United Nations.

85. I should like, at the same time, with your permission, to thank from this rostrum the members of this distinguished Assembly, whose friendship and understanding have made it possible for the Democratic Republic of the Congo to assume, at your side, the office of Vice-President. I do not need to emphasize that this is the first time such an honour has fallen to my country here in this Organization; so you will understand my delegation's interest in the work of this session.

86. Permit me also to convey my delegation's congratulations and good wishes to the new Member State which has just joined us, Guyana. For a young State it is always a felicitous and promising event to attain independence and join the United Nations. We are certain that this young State will make a valuable contribution to our endeavours here to build a peaceful international community, freed from fear and need.

87. Lastly, I should like to express my own and my Government's pleasure at seeing the distinguished representative of the great people of Indonesia among us. His presence here, after a temporary absence, is an additional pledge of the universality towards which the United Nations strives and of the hope that we should hold for it.

88. The twenty-first session of the General Assembly is meeting at a time when the term of office of our Secretary-General is expiring. For honourable reasons, all of them concerned with the survival of our Organization and the maintenance of international peace, he has announced that he is unwilling to contemplate another term of office. Need I say how distressing that decision is to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In recent years U Thant has personified the United Nations and also everything that, in suffering humanity, makes for a better world, freed from the spectre of war and the tragedy of hunger.

89. The Democratic Republic of the Congo is particularly grateful to him, because, worthily continuing the work of Dag Hammarskjöld, he has assured the primacy of law in our country and has contributed to the restoration of law and order and of our country's unity and territorial integrity. That is why the Democratic Republic of the Congo perhaps feels, even more than other nations, the distress felt by the whole world at the thought that the Organization is going to lose such a guide and the international community such a shepherd.

90. The Secretary-General will, I am sure, permit me to express my country's joy on learning that he has agreed to bear his heavy responsibilities until the end of this session. My delegation, in associating itself with this strong feeling, begs all Powers to be sincere and not hypocritical in their appeal to the Secretary-General. We earnestly appeal to all nations to give him the grounds for hope that would encourage him to meet our request that he remain at the head of the United Nations.

91. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo would like, first of all, to proclaim its faith in the United Nations. This faith is not based solely on the aspirations shared by all peoples; in our case it is based on specific facts. The Congo cannot forget that when, on its emergence from the dark night of colonialism, foreign interests and monopolies whose conduct was dictated by the vilest and most sordid rapacity joined together to bring about secession and civil war in the very heart of our country, it was this Organization which came to our aid.

92. Our country had just achieved independence. It was young, full of hope and promise. It lacked experience and still had much to learn. The most disgraceful interests, in coalition with one another, were trying to sow and maintain discord in our country. It was then that the United Nations, of which the Congo was a new Member, responding to our appeal, took an historic step: it chose, for the first time in its history, to intervene in order to safeguard the unity and territorial integrity of one of its Members.

93. If I speak today of the ordeals through which the Congo has passed, it is to throw into sharp relief the positive contribution this Organization brought to the solution achieved. Thanks to that assistance my country has made a new start which, even if at times we are still troubled by growing pains, will in the end bring it up to full, calm maturity.

94. The régime in power at present is, for its part, extremely concerned about the misfortunes which have plunged our country into mourning in the six years of its independence and is therefore firmly resolved to bring about first of all domestic peace and security for the whole people; otherwise it will be impossible to get down to any economic development.

95. We have simultaneously launched another crusade: its aim is to liberate our country completely from the sordid and shameful exploitation in which it is still being kept, on the economic level, by foreign monopolies. We are well aware that the resources and wealth of our soil should first of all serve the interests of the Congolese themselves. We have never

forgotten, however, to take into account the foreign interests established in our country; the Democratic Republic of the Congo unquestionably derives benefit from them. Our concern is to reconcile and harmonize those interests with our own aspirations, our dignity and fundamental interests. Unfortunately, this is no easy matter, for the financial powers which exploit us, feeling their privileges threatened, have undertaken against us a systematic campaign of denigration and subversion. Their hostility takes forms ranging from press campaigns to attempts at subversion that could cause Congolese blood to flow. What has recently happened in my country, particularly in the martyred town of Kisangani, where our troops have had to put down a mutiny, was merely a demonstration of this attempt at destruction; but, whatever ambushes and traps our enemies place in our path, the Congolese Government is still smiling and in the midst of its misfortunes has never closed its doors to bilateral or multilateral co-operation. We cherish the firm hope that the United Nations will always lend an attentive ear to our problems and our worries; and it is just this faith in the nations that makes it possible for the Congo, more than any other country, to concern itself with the development of the world situation in certain fields.

96. In the economic field, first of all, we cannot but note that, despite the efforts made during the United Nations Development Decade, the gulf between poor nations and rich nations has steadily widened. Therein lies a serious cause of instability in world relations. Admittedly, an effort is being made, particularly in regard to my country, within the framework of the United Nations itself.

97. In this connexion I should like to say how much we have appreciated, ever since our independence, the assistance received from the United Nations Development Programme. With good reason, the effort of the United Nations Development Programme was from the outset focused on the crucial problem of lack of technical personnel; but the assistance furnished to most of the training institutes is to end in the course of 1969 and we should like to know at the beginning of 1968 how future development is being contemplated. However that may be, this phase of training constitutes a first stage in the assistance given to the Congo and we are grateful to the United Nations for it; but it is now time to think about and plan a second stage, which ought to be concerned principally with development assistance.

98. In the context of this general statement, I should like to mention the Congo's own specific problems, for they seem to me to reflect those of the Third World as a whole. The request for training assistance, taking its place within the framework of a more general development assistance, raises a problem which concerns all the less developed countries and which must be solved if we want to bring about in the world the economic equilibrium which is the guarantee of political stability and peace.

99. It is paradoxical indeed that, at a time when men are trying to conquer outer space and the moon, no thought is being given to eliminating hunger and poverty from our own planet. How can we explain that in certain parts of the world men are still dying of

hunger, while others live in abundance and affluence? How can we explain the destitution and poverty of peoples, when fantastic sums are being spent every day solely for prestige purposes or, what is worse, to sow destruction?

100. This poverty is creating all the more tension because sometimes it exists side by side with wealth in the same place. Would it not be possible, before thinking of lunar enterprises, to allay our poverty on this poor earth, before we carry it to other planets? Would not that be a positive contribution to the work of peace with which each of us is so concerned? But peace requires other efforts and I am here wondering whether it is really useful for a country like mine to discuss a question on which apparently only the great Powers have a say. I sincerely believe that, at a time when the means of destruction are exceeding our imagination, peace is of interest to each of us and that it is up to us all to co-operate in preserving it.

101. I should like to mention here the will displayed both by Africa and by the United Nations to take a considerable step towards peace by achieving one of its essential conditions, denuclearization. The Assembly will recall two resolutions on the denuclearization of Africa [resolutions 1652 (XVI) and 2033 (XX)]. It is high time those resolutions were implemented and that would be an important step towards what we all hope for—the ending of the atomic terror.

102. It seems to us pointless to talk about disarmament so long as the Powers go on building up their arsenals of destruction. A valid attempt at disarmament would therefore begin by halting the manufacture of new weapons; the second stage would be the reduction of existing stocks, under international control. Unfortunately, with our minds clouded by the power of atomic and nuclear weapons, our attention has been diverted from conventional weapons of no less devastating effect. We believe that the disarmament should be aimed at both atomic and conventional weapons. The marvellous technology which is bringing about miracles must be in the service of man. It must never contribute to his enslavement. All that is today being wasted for military purposes in this field would serve humanity so much better if it were devoted to development, particularly the development of poor nations.

103. After referring to the joint effort of our Organization and Africa to consolidate peace, I should like to deplore the relative deadlock reached in the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, despite the remarkable talents and tireless efforts of its President, Mr. Cuevas Cancino. Yet the United Nations today has such need of powers in this essential field of peace-keeping.

104. Admittedly, in Europe the way seems open to certain attempts at the creation of a system of peaceful relations based on growing understanding between the two existing blocs. But there again our hopes can be only very limited, for the German problem remains untouched and, as long as it does remain, will always constitute an encumbrance and a threat hindering the efforts made for peace in that part of the world. The solution to this problem cannot, in our opinion, be shirked. It must be based on a principle dear to

the United Nations and to each of us: namely, self-determination and the freedom of peoples to decide on their own fate.

105. Africa, too—and I shall come back to the woes of that continent later—is trying to create through the Organization of African Unity an organization aimed at peace and development.

106. In Asia foci of tension still exist in the Near East. It is to be hoped that the parties involved will be patient and, trusting this Organization, will succeed in settling their differences by peaceful means, without recourse to arms.

107. Viet-Nam, the centre of our interest, is being torn apart by a war which is at once civil and international. The Congo is particularly concerned with the sufferings of the Viet-Nameese people and with the threat to world peace implicit in that conflict. In this respect very interesting proposals have been made in this Assembly. My delegation believes that the 1954 Geneva Agreements must be taken into account in choosing solutions. But the proper implementation of solutions will nevertheless be possible only with the co-operation of all States involved, particularly that of all the Asian States.

108. This inevitably raises the Chinese question. It is no longer possible to ignore here the most populous country in the world and I am happy to echo, on this occasion, President Johnson, who has courageously recognized this fact. My delegation feels that the People's Republic of China must take part in the work of the United Nations. It is our duty to see that it does so. But it is self-evident that the possible admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations could in no case have as its corollary or consequence the eviction of Nationalist China from membership in the United Nations. In advocating the participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations I must nevertheless say and stress that China itself should help us towards this end. Unfortunately, certain of its actions in various parts of the world, particularly in Africa, can give rise only to concern and hostility.

109. During the years 1964-1965, as everyone knows, a rebellion caused particularly terrible bloodshed in our country. It cost thousands of Congolese lives and reduced part of our infrastructure to rubble. Those events betrayed unequivocal and direct intervention on the part of the People's Republic of China. Yet one of the sacred principles of international relations is non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. The Democratic Republic of the Congo has the legitimate right to live in tranquillity, protected from foreign intervention. Hence, if the People's Republic of China does not respect that right, we shall, in self-defence, not be able to respond favourably this year to that country's right, if right there be, to membership in the United Nations.

110. No one will be surprised if, after speaking of Europe and Asia, I now turn to the problems of my own continent, Africa. I should like to start off on a pleasant note and convey our fraternal greetings to our two sister countries of Lesotho and Botswana on their accession to independence. These two countries have succeeded in escaping from the colonialist

tentacles of South Africa and joining the independent countries of Africa as States. Our happiness when, as we soon shall, we see them here among us as Members of the United Nations, will nevertheless, I must admit, be clouded by the threats with which their freedom is menaced by the underhand intrigues of South Africa. I should like these two young nations to know that in their fight for territorial integrity and independence the Democratic Republic of the Congo and all the countries of Africa stand at their side.

111. Having expressed our pleasure at seeing our two sister countries achieve their freedom, I must now express more than the concern, rather the pain of Africa at finding that the last bastions of slavery remain on its soil. While Belgium, France and the United Kingdom have voluntarily renounced their African empires, we must note that Portugal has not changed its position by one iota. Despite the numerous resolutions and declarations of this Assembly, Portugal maintains full domination over the Territories which it has enslaved, arguing that they are an integral part of the metropolitan country. The conscience of certain nations seems to have become so blunted that they cannot react to the ruthless, inhuman and bloody repression Portugal is inflicting on the patriots in their struggle for emancipation and independence. Every day hundreds of Africans are forced to flee their burning villages and seek refuge in neighbouring countries.

112. Our Organization must pay more attention to this veritable genocide which certain consciences no longer seem even to consider as particularly serious. Yet there has only to be a riot or a popular demonstration in which a white person suffers, and we hear cries of alarm, protests and condemnations reverberating on all sides. Emboldened by this conspiracy, Portugal does not restrict itself to repressions in the Territories under its administration: it is now going on to subversion throughout Africa, particularly in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

113. Portugal has long been playing the sordid role of broker in a vast operation for the recruitment and training of mercenaries for the purpose of troubling our peace and destroying our country. I should here like to thank the Security Council for its unanimous vote on 14 October 1966 [resolution 226 (1966)] to protect peace on our continent. My delegation sees in that vote additional reasons to hope that our Organization may yet react and find an effective remedy to the problem of decolonization.

114. If I may be permitted, I should like to acquit myself, before this Assembly, of the enormous debt of gratitude my country owes to France. It is indeed thanks to the firmness, friendship and realistic policy of France that it has been possible to break up the huge network of mercenary recruitment which was designed to plunge our country again into ruin and destitution. My delegation earnestly hopes that the other countries will be able to follow in the footsteps of France.

115. Portugal, moreover, does not disguise the support it is giving simultaneously to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia—that Southern Rhodesia which is only the prey in the grasp of rebels in conflict at

once with the international conscience and with their own motherland. I have three reasons for reserving a special section of my statement to the problem of Southern Rhodesia. First, there can be no question but that the situation in that part of African territory causes us grave concern, for everything affecting Africa, whether near at hand or far away, is necessarily a subject of concern to us. Moreover, we are facing a repugnant situation which must shock every human heart that loves equity, liberty and justice. Lastly, a sister country with which my country maintains fruitful relations, Zambia, is profoundly affected. For all these reasons the Congo is inevitably interested in a rapid and effective solution of this problem. For a long time we considered that the Rhodesian affair fell solely within the competence of the British Government, and, from the legal point of view, my delegation considers that it still does. It is therefore the business of the United Kingdom to remove this problem without further disastrous delay for the African populations of Rhodesia and Zambia. I should like to say, however, that the Democratic Republic of the Congo has from the very beginning been frankly sceptical in regard to the effectiveness of the economic sanctions adopted by the United Kingdom. Those sanctions might still have had some chance of success if they had been mandatory and rigorously applied by all the States of the international community.

116. For that to happen it would have been necessary for Rhodesia to be surrounded by progressive countries, such as Zambia and Malawi. Unfortunately, the world knows only too well the kind of neighbours which, apart from the countries I have just mentioned, are adjacent to Rhodesia. Is it necessary for me to list them? I refer to the fascist masters in Pretoria and Lisbon. They, for reasons easy to guess, cannot but support and aid the abhorrent and execrable régime of Ian Smith. These reasons were summarized in a fascist journal in Brussels, in which the following passage occurred:

"To what extent does President Salazar realize that he has two excellent reasons for being firmer in Africa and never renouncing his colonial possessions? Angola, fourteen times larger than the metropolitan country, has 4,600,000 black inhabitants, whereas the white population amounts to only 200,000. Very large phosphate deposits have recently been discovered there and the prospectors are explicit: apart from diamonds and oil, there are bauxite, tin and tungsten. Lisbon has therefore good reasons for keeping Angola. Mozambique is equally important, for its river, the Zambesi, can alone provide a power potential of 5 million kW. Mining has hitherto been confined to coal; but as a recent report by OECD experts notes: 'Numerous strategic ores are to be found in Mozambique—iron, manganese, copper, uranium—which, thanks to the immense hydro-electric resources of the Zambesi, could be used to create a zone of heavy industry'.

"In the light of these facts and prospects we can understand the tenacity with which Salazar has held on to his African provinces. Nevertheless, their existing wealth and their future possibilities are extremely tempting prey for the great Powers which are influencing, manipulating and using the

politicians of the new small republics of the black continent."

117. The sympathy of Lisbon and Pretoria, moreover, is part of a vast plot to preserve the solid bastions of reactionary imperialism and colonialism, bastions which could be used as a strong-point from which to reconquer the former colonial empires only lately abandoned by the other nations.

118. We are happy to note that the United Kingdom was itself the first to state that the attitude of the so-called Government of Salisbury constituted an open rebellion against the British Crown. Nor is it the first time that Her Majesty's Government has had to face rebellion. Each time the rebels have refused negotiation, the solution has been the same: they have been crushed and forced to yield. But, instead of a handful of black men who could be ruthlessly crushed, the rebels of Southern Rhodesia are white-skinned brothers whose white blood is too precious to spill, even through the blood of black men may flow copiously.

119. Despite our scepticism we resigned ourselves, wanting to test the good faith of the United Kingdom Government. Unfortunately we have been forced to realize only too well the ineffectiveness of these economic sanctions. The United Kingdom Government has itself recognized the shortcomings of its system, for in his statement before this august Assembly the British Foreign Secretary revealed that his country was thinking of applying new, more drastic measures. We await with impatience and great interest the result of this new sanction machinery. We hope, however, that the poverty of 4 million Africans enslaved by a minority of white adventurers can be very quickly relieved.

120. In any case, the United Nations cannot allow another South Africa to flourish long in the heart of our continent. It would be a denial of justice and a challenge to history and the conscience of the world; it would be the betrayal of the Republic of Zambia and of the African people of Rhodesia. The United Kingdom must realize the enormous responsibility it bears to the world and history. It is therefore up to the United Kingdom Government to take more radical and more effective measures without delay, or to put the matter into the hands of our Organization.

121. As for South Africa, it stands before us indicted on two counts: that of apartheid and that of its failures in respect of its Mandate over South West Africa. Apartheid is one of the greatest scandals in the world today. This violent expression of racial discrimination is equivalent to the violence that Hitler inflicted on the Jews, against which the whole civilized world rose up in 1940. The civilized world cannot accept it today any more than it did yesterday. Sanctions are demanded; they must be unanimously adopted and applied. In regard to South West Africa the scandal is even worse. A sacred Mandate entrusted to South Africa has been travestied and betrayed in the most abominable fashion and turned into a colonialist instrument for the vilest and most contemptible servitude, the most shameful bondage that the world has ever known. I regret to have to note that the International Court of Justice, the sanctuary of international law, has made itself accomplice in this

unprecedented scandal, so that we can say of it, as Racine did of Nero:

*Among men as yet unborn thy name will be
Foul insult to the foulest tyranny.*

122. A draft resolution on South West Africa is now before the Assembly [A/L.483 and Add 1-3]. This draft resolution strips South Africa of its Mandate, of which it has proved unworthy, and entrusts our Organization with the task of assuring the independence of that martyred Territory. Who would dare to vote against and oppose the implementation of so just a text, after seventy-three resolutions have in vain been addressed to the criminal Government of Pretoria?

123. Portugal and South Africa must be made to understand that they cannot indefinitely go against the irreversible current of history or continue with impunity to ignore the feelings and conscience of all mankind. They must understand that their effrontery

in enslaving the African populations can only postpone their death-throes. The time is at hand when the whole of Africa, acting in unison, will in a single motion and with irresistible force put an end to their antiquated and monstrous domination.

124. The United Nations was born on the morrow of the implacable struggle waged by the champions of freedom against one of the most appalling attempts at domination that the world has ever known. It was created in order that never again could such an attempt be made. Today a similar attempt is again being made by Portugal, Southern Rhodesia and, above all, South Africa. It is the duty of all free peoples represented here to oppose them and to free the slaves subjugated by these three evil Powers. The Democratic Republic of the Congo solemnly appeals to the Organization to perform that duty.

The meeting rose at 4.45 p.m.