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President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAQ
 (Afghanistan).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. TOMEH (Syria):^{1/} Mr. President, it is my pleasant duty to extend to you, on behalf of the delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic, our congratulations on your election to preside over the General Assembly at its twenty-first session. Your election to this high office is an expression of the great esteem that all representatives have for your personal qualities and for your country.

2. As an Asian State, we are especially gratified at the election of a man of your calibre, who is most ably suited to discharge the obligations of this renowned office. Please accept the sincerest congratulations of the people of the Syrian Arab Republic, who wish you well in your illustrious office and bear for the brother people of Afghanistan much good will and lasting friendship.

3. We are also happy about the return of Indonesia to the United Nations, and warmly welcome Guyana, Botswana and Lesotho in our midst. Thus the domain of freedom is expanding and the rule of colonialism receding. And we are confident that the Organization will greatly benefit from the contributions of these newly admitted Members; they bring us a precious experience and a resonant voice, to mingle with the experience and voices of lands, such as mine, that have tasted the bitterness of foreign rule and would strive to make the Organization reflect the hopes and problems of a new world.

4. The Organization cannot achieve universality nor truly reflect the realities of international society when the representatives of one quarter of the people of this earth are denied the right to sit amongst us and participate in finding solutions for the crises that beset the world. The United States is totally responsible for preventing the People's Republic of China from occupying its rightful place among us. The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic, which has taken the

initiative, along with a number of other Asian and African delegations, in requesting a discussion of this question, expresses the hope that the United States will at long last discontinue its opposition to the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

5. It is high time that the United States Government realized that its persistent attempts to ignore China on the international scene have, among other things, led it to its present predicament in South-East Asia. The tragedy of the war in Viet-Nam is but one of the consequences of this aggressive policy which is costing the American people the loss of thousands of their youths and billions of dollars.

6. The fact that the people of Viet-Nam, small in number, have been able to withstand the onslaught against them should represent something meaningful to all large and small countries, and more especially to those of us who belong to the emerging nations in the world. We say so because we think that, had the people of Viet-Nam not believed so profoundly in the justice of their cause and the legitimacy of their fight, and had they not known that the majority of the peoples of the world support their struggle and stand by them, they would not have been able to withstand so valiantly the aggression directed against them.

7. No words are more adequate to illustrate the dangers that threaten our countries and the despair that will settle over the masses of our peoples should this aggressive war continue than the words uttered by our Secretary-General when he announced that he would not offer himself for another term to this eminent post, after he had tried all methods and exhausted all diplomatic means of persuasion.

8. We are convinced that the situation will become even more dangerous, unless the United States is prepared to recognize the right of the people of Viet-Nam to self-determination without any outside interference. It has been proved beyond a shadow of doubt that there can be no other solution to the war than by stopping the bombing of North Viet-Nam, withdrawing United States troops from Viet-Namese soil, recognizing the Viet-Cong as the representative of the people of South Viet-Nam, and returning to the Geneva Agreements.

9. In fact there is no difference between the American contention that the United States has the right to remain in Viet-Nam in order to protect it against alleged communist dangers, and the contention of the colonialist Powers, under the pretext of a civilizing mission, that they have a right to remain in the territories they still occupy.

10. Pretexts are always being used to justify subjugation of the peoples of Asia and Africa. Is not Southern

^{1/} Mr. Tomeh spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

Rhodesian neo-colonialism a case in point? What else is the justification for the presence of a minority in Rhodesia which subjects the country to its will by force of arms while preventing the overwhelming majority of the population from exercising their right to independence and freedom? In addition to all this, the racist white régime in Rhodesia has declared unilaterally its independence, in defiance of world public opinion, moral and human values and the principles of international law.

11. In this connexion, how does Israel differ from the régime established in Southern Rhodesia? Here, too, a foreign minority, brought to Palestine from the four corners of the earth, has been afforded the means—in complicity with the colonialist Powers—to impose its will on the inhabitants of the country. As a result of this colonialist venture, a whole people has been dispossessed and expelled from its homeland.

12. The pretext to justify this unparalleled aggression has been that the Jews lived in Palestine some two thousand years ago. Were we to accept this fallacy, the map of the world would be completely changed. Indeed, the continued presence of Portuguese colonialism in Africa is nothing but a manifestation of colonial rule based on sheer brute force. This lamentable state of affairs continues in defiance of the Declaration of independence adopted by the General Assembly at its fifteenth session calling for the liquidation of colonialism everywhere in the world. A Special Committee was then established whose mandate was to implement the resolution. Syria feels honoured to be a member of this Special Committee, which we think has achieved a notable record and contributed greatly to the cause of liberty in the world.

13. Colonialism, cunning as it is, offers false pretexts to justify its unwillingness to abide by the resolution and grant freedom to its colonies, thus depriving the colonial peoples of the enjoyment of their lawful right to independence and emancipation.

14. What is happening today in Aden, Oman and Southern Arabia, where brave freedom-fighters are massacred simply because they claim their inalienable rights, is in fact an example of colonialist tyranny, which no United Nations resolutions, code of human rights, or considerations of justice or morality restrains. The embittered struggle for independence in the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula bears witness to British colonialism, which has delayed its awaited departure from the area and has thus far violated United Nations resolutions calling for the ending of colonialism there. The establishment of new British military bases in Muscat and other sheikhdoms on the Arabian Gulf proves beyond doubt that the British Government is flouting the resolutions of our Organization. This colonialist obstinacy only strengthens our demand that British troops be evacuated immediately from the region. There is no reason why the people of the area should continue to be deprived of decent life and liberty, and the colonial propaganda attempting to convey to the outside world that the colonialist presence is the forerunner of progress does not deceive anybody in this enlightened age.

15. Emerging nations are threatened today by various types of colonial and neo-colonial forms of economic penetration, where advantage is taken of the need of the developing countries, which have recently achieved independence, to secure assistance or technical help. It is through these channels that neo-colonialism attempts to re-establish its position of power and control.

16. While we express these views on imperialism and colonialism and the various means which they employ to gain control in the developing countries, we find that the Zionist occupation of Palestine constitutes one of the highest peaks attained by both colonialism and imperialism. On the one hand, Zionism employs all the methods of old colonialism through occupation of a land, expulsion of its people and confiscation of its property, while on the other hand Israel plays the role of benevolent provider, when it is in fact an imperialist tool, commissioned by imperialist countries to grant loans and extend assistance in their name.

17. The conspiracy of Israel with the imperialist countries is not limited to economic matters. It has been proved beyond doubt that Israel has co-operated with colonialist Powers and interests in many of the countries struggling to achieve independence. The records of the United Nations abound in instances in which the delegation of Israel has taken a negative stand on the struggle of African countries for emancipation.

18. To these instances we can add recent proof of this persistent attitude on the part of Israel. News coming directly from Israel indicated that General Moshe Dayan, former Israel Chief of Staff, went to South Viet-Nam to assist its Government in its aggressive war against the Army of National Liberation, the FNL. He went there disguised as a war correspondent in order to conceal the real nature of his assignment. It has also been proved beyond doubt that Israel has supplied the Portuguese army in Angola with armaments of Israeli manufacture. This fact came to light when the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] issued a press release in Dar es Salaam on 6 May last, which I quote:

"The Angolan people, fighting against colonial domination and for independence, are going on to an inevitable victory. However, this struggle is made difficult by the imperialist countries and their agents who give enormous assistance to the fascist government of Portugal.

"On 24 March 1966 a detachment of guerrillas of the MPLA, acting in the Angolan region of Cabinda, destroyed a unit of the Portuguese colonial army and captured a lot of war material. Among the material captured were several submachine guns UZ3, made in Israel.

"This fact proves that Israel is furnishing war material to the Portuguese colonialists for the extermination of the Angolan people fighting for their independence. In the same way that the imperialist Governments co-operate with Portugal in NATO, Israel is giving military assistance to the colonialists and thus contributes to the protraction of the

colonial régime in Angola and the slavery of the African people.

"The MPLA denounces this and strongly protests against this co-operation between Israel and the Portuguese colonialists."

19. The Syrian Arab Republic stands squarely on the side of the African majority in Southern Rhodesia against the minority Government, upholds the right to independence of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea and other similar areas, condemns the Zionist occupation of Palestine, strongly maintaining the right of the refugees to return to their usurped land, and condemns the policy of apartheid practised in South Africa. Syria takes these positions because it firmly believes that freedom is indivisible. And we also believe that foreign occupation, wherever it may be in the world, constitutes a serious threat, not only against the still subjugated peoples of the world, but against all nations which have gained their independence in the wake of a long and bloody struggle.

20. It is for these reasons, and because we believe in the oneness of the human struggle to achieve freedom and honor, that we declare from this rostrum our unconditional support for all national liberation movements in the world. We do so because we are of the conviction that no measure of human progress can be attained under the yoke of foreign rule. We also think that the continued denial to some of the peoples of the world of their legitimate right to self-determination is in itself contrary to all moral principles, and fraught with grave dangers which will inevitably jeopardize the peace of the world.

21. We therefore reiterate the absolute necessity of co-operation amongst all peace-loving peoples to put an end to the abuses that men inflict upon their fellowmen. We also insist that the Declaration of independence be implemented in the shortest possible time.

22. Should the resolutions that we adopt here remain unimplemented, and should colonial Governments continue to use their power to defy the will of the majority of human society with impunity, we can be sure that complacency on our part will drive the subjugated peoples of the world to seek other, more forceful, bloodier means of attaining their independence. No one can, for example, direct any blame to the people in the occupied Arab South for resorting to arms in order to achieve independence and freedom.

23. British colonialism has delayed for too long its departure, and the London Government has advanced too many excuses to deceive anyone. The people of Rhodesia will be within their legitimate rights if they rise to overthrow the minority Government there, whatever the results may be. It is precisely for these reasons that those Governments which value the meaning of freedom and support the struggle of national liberation should extend their assistance to the struggling freedom fighters who are bent upon regaining their rights, whether in Oman, Rhodesia, Angola, Aden or in any other place in the world. The winds of liberty are blowing everywhere, and they will sweep whatever stands in their way. The sun set long ago and forever on the era in which one people could subjugate another.

24. In this respect, the attitude of the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic has been to support the resolutions concerning the question of Kashmir which aim at providing the people of Kashmir with an opportunity to exercise their right of self-determination.

25. Foremost among the advantages of having a general debate every year during the opening of an Assembly session is the opportunity it affords to Member delegations to review the various crises in the world and assess improvements or deterioration since the last session. It also provides us with a moment to discover what our Organization has achieved in the area of maintaining peace and security in the world and of protecting the peoples of the world from the ravages of war. We can also ascertain the degree to which resolutions on human rights and equality among the nations of the world have been implemented, whether these nations be large or small. We may also consider whether suitable conditions have been created to establish justice in the world and an atmosphere of co-operation among all peoples on the path of progress in the economic, cultural and social fields.

26. In the light of what has happened during the last year, one may point to the great achievements that have been made in the efforts to reach the moon and to explore outer space, about which we know so little, and to the impressive number of other achievements in the field of science. However, the joy with which humanity has received the news of those great conquests over the forces of nature has not been devoid of disappointment at some of the negative aspects of the present world situation. The aggressive war in Viet-Nam has escalated sharply, and the number of United States troops has been increased. This, of course, has led to an increase in casualties on both sides, and has carried with it the inherent danger of a bigger war.

27. The United States is spending huge amounts of money on the prosecution of its war in Viet-Nam. An American source stated several months ago that the Viet-Nam war is costing the American treasury about \$33 million a day, and this figure is likely to increase.

28. This huge military expenditure indicates to us, on the one hand, how little the imperialist Powers care about people's lives and, on the other, how they squander their money for aggression, even if it deprives their own people of vitally needed social progress. The war in Viet-Nam is costing the American people at present \$1,250 million a month, a fact which has forced the United States Government to curtail its expenditures on a number of projects deemed beneficial to the American people.

29. The sums we have just quoted are but a small fraction of the total sum spent by the rich nations on armaments. One estimate has put the total sum spent last year at \$200,000 million and this was found to equal the national incomes of all the developing countries.

30. How then can there be co-operation and understanding among the rich and the poor nations when the poor nations are literally forced to deprive their own peoples of basic necessities in order to secure the needed foreign exchange to finance some of their

development projects? Most often they are unsuccessful in securing this needed foreign exchange, while the United States spends \$1,250 million a month to finance the war in Viet-Nam.

31. A close look at the conditions of the developing nations shows that they suffer not only from deterioration in their terms of trade, lack of capital, administrative and technical skills, but also, in many regions of the world, from sudden declines in agricultural production, owing to causes outside their control. This forces them to divert part of their foreign exchange from the importation of capital goods to the purchase of needed food supplies. Consequently, the task of accelerating their own development in order to bridge the widening gap between them and the rich nations becomes more difficult.

32. All the nations of the world, developed and developing, are in dire need of the vast sums which are being spent so generously and so foolishly on armaments. That makes it the paramount duty of the General Assembly to implement its resolution of last year which calls for the convocation of a world conference on disarmament [resolution 2030 (XX)] which would not only include Members of the United Nations, but which would also include, as a basic condition required for its seriousness and success, the presence of the Government of the People's Republic of China. Any attempt directed at discussing total and complete disarmament will prove to be futile and time-wasting unless the Government of the People's Republic of China is invited to take part in it in a manner commensurate with its international position and its human and military capabilities.

33. We feel duty bound to call the attention of the Member States to occurrences in the Middle East entailing international repercussions and exposing the peace of that area to real danger.

34. As a matter of actual fact, the unrest and disturbances to which the Middle East has been exposed for eighteen years has been entirely due to the carving out of a part of the Arab homeland in Palestine, to be presented as a free gift by the Western nations—headed by Britain and the United States of America—for the creation of what today is called Israel. Strangers brought from various parts of the world occupy the place of the Arab people of Palestine, who have been expelled from their homeland in the ugliest and most brutal manner ever resorted to in the twentieth century. In truth, occupation by Jews from foreign countries of the place of a people settled in its homeland, and the setting up of a usurping authority on the lands of this exiled people is an occurrence without parallel in contemporary history. This was coupled with the most shameful implications of domination and colonialism, using the instruments of destruction, oppression and expulsion.

35. The element invading Palestine was not content with occupation, with the help of colonialist countries and the protection of their soldiers, but went on to drive out most of the inhabitants, confiscate their possessions, and deal with the remaining Arab minority in a way comparable to the régimes of racist discrimination in South Africa and Rhodesia in all its rigour and brutality.

36. Ever since the Zionist occupation of Palestine, eighteen years ago, the Israel authorities, in complicity with and having the full support and financial and military co-operation of the colonialist Powers, have persisted in engendering crisis after crisis, and in creating tension by committing one act of aggression after another against the Arab countries along the demarcation lines.

37. Here one may be able to form an idea of the extreme tension created in the area subsequent to the forceful injection of this alien presence in the Arab world. Suffice it to mention that one fifth of all Security Council meetings has been devoted to the discussion of aggressions on the part of Israel against Arab countries, and that various pertinent United Nations organs and the Mixed Armistice Commissions have received over 4,000 complaints involving aggressive acts committed by Israel. All this is happening while the rightful people of occupied Palestine continue to live under tents, exposed to the ravages of hunger and disease, deprived of property and homeland and of opportunity to avail themselves of the right of self-determination, freedom and independence, available to all the peoples of the world.

38. The expelled people of Palestine are scattered all over the four countries bordering their homeland. These are Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and the United Arab Republic. The total number of the Palestinian victims of Israel aggression exceeds one and a half million. Although the United Nations established the United Nations Relief and Works Agency [UNRWA] over seventeen years ago to attend to the needs of the refugees, to feed them and care for their health and education, one is astonished to learn of the meagre budget available to this organization. Yet every year we are informed that one country or another plans to reduce its contribution to the budget of UNRWA.

39. The threats to reduce contributions are but another means of pressure used to liquidate one of the last rights remaining to this oppressed people, and are further proof of the degree of dissipation of the principles of justice in colonialist countries—which so often lecture us in the floweriest terms of the virtues of freedom and democracy, while the sufferings of entire nations and peoples, such as Palestine and other occupied and subjugated areas in Africa and Asia, sit but lightly on their conscience.

40. Imagine that what is allocated to feed the Palestinian refugees does not exceed \$1.21 per person per month. This sadly surprising sum is about to be reduced even further, and half the refugees now do not get even that sum; while children of the refugees, who were born after the tragedy, are not even entitled to receive the benefits of this measly figure.

41. But the Arab people of Palestine are neither poor nor helpless. When they were forced out of their homeland by the terrorist Zionist gangs, supported by international colonialism, they left behind properties worth \$2,000 million, with a yearly income estimated, according to experts, at \$173 million. If we add to that the accumulated interest of this sum for the last eighteen years, we find that the people of Palestine do not need either American or any other

kind of assistance, for they do not wish to live as recipients of international charity.

42. The Palestine Arab expellees have requested that they be granted the income accruing to them from their properties, which totals yearly five times the present expenditure of UNRWA. When the Arab States requested that the United Nations appoint an international custodian for these properties, who would supervise the collection of the income with the assistance of international civil servants, so that it might be disbursed for the benefit of the refugees, the United States was amongst the first countries to oppose this proposal. Had such a custodian been appointed, the United States and other countries would have been spared the necessity of making a contribution to the UNRWA budget.

43. American support for Israel is not confined to this area alone. Rather, the United States takes it upon itself to supply Israel with all the means of committing aggression and inflicting destruction. Israel has received from the United States this year over 200 M-48 Patton tanks, and 90 F-104 jet planes and a number of Hawk missiles of the type used in the United States Army and the armies of its allies in NATO.

44. I wish to assure the representatives here that Israel is in no financial position to pay the cost of these weapons of aggression. They should also not be surprised to learn that these armaments have been supplied to the authorities of Palestine at a nominal cost; so nominal that the American Secretary of Defense did not disclose the price of these armaments when he was testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Divulging the fantastically low price would have no doubt uncovered the scandal and conspiracy involved.

45. What is the inevitable purpose of Israel's possession of this military potential, in addition to the enormous amounts of war materials in its arsenal? It is aggression. In the period that has elapsed since the last session of the General Assembly, Israel has committed two very dangerous aggressions on the Truce demarcation lines which separate the Syrian Arab Republic from the Israel occupied area of Palestine. The first was committed on 14 July 1966, when several squadrons of Israel bombers and fighters attacked and bombed an engineering development project located on one of the tributaries of the River Jordan inside Syrian territory, killing and wounding innocent civilians. The second was when its armed gunboats fired at Syrian positions on the shores of Lake Tiberias on 15 August 1966, an action which necessitated counter action by Syrian forces as a measure of self-defence.

46. While unvelling these details of Israel's aggression before the Assembly, we wish to announce from this international rostrum that the establishment of Israel in the heart of the Arab homeland is intended to divide the Arab world in Asia from the Arab world in Africa, and to use it as a front-line colonial base in this area of the world, where a voluminous amount of armaments and ammunition can be assembled and placed at the disposal of the Imperialist Powers, who

will use it to prevent the unification of the Arab world and hinder its progress and development.

47. The Syrian Arab Republic, along with all the other Arab countries, is constantly directing attention to the inherent dangers emanating from the creation of Israel as a colonial outpost in the Middle East. We do so because we are convinced that world public opinion is gradually realizing the factual objectives for which it was created. The clever concealment of these facts behind the curtain of the tragedies that befell the Jewish people was intended only to camouflage the real plans of the founders of this usurper State and those of the countries which assisted in the fulfilment of these plans. We shall not allow any opportunity to slip by without directing the attention of the whole world to the potential dangers that may engulf the area should this travesty be permitted to continue.

48. When we speak of the dangers which Israel poses to the peace, it is because these dangers do not threaten the Middle East alone, but they are likely to spread to other regions of the world. The basic philosophy which was at the foundation of the establishment of Israel is in actual point of fact a racist, aggressive and expansionist philosophy. The slogans and doctrines laid down, assembled and disseminated in books written and published by an earlier generation of Zionists are to be found in Israel today without discontinuity in the expressions and speeches and party platforms of their leaders. All these doctrines preach expansion, aggression, and the usurpation of additional Arab territories, extending from the Nile to the Euphrates.

49. The Arab States today do not merely confront the 2 million Zionists who live in Israel, but, rather, they confront an organized world-wide Zionist movement entrenched in an overwhelming number of Western States, especially in the United States, where it is supported by the most influential political and governmental leaders. In addition to this, colonial countries have made their support of Israel against the Arab States a cardinal principle in the pursuit of their internal and external policies. This is what draws the lines of the confrontation between us and Zionism, and throws light on the immensity of the obstacles in the way of the achievement of unity and development by the Arab States.

50. The majority of the countries which belong to the emerging nations in the world are heavily handicapped by burdens of poor conditions left behind by colonialism, which during its occupation of our lands pursued the one selfish objective of imposing its authority, draining our natural resources, and restraining by all means at their disposal our efforts to develop and progress. The colonialists embarked on this course out of fear that our development and progress would pose a threat to their controls and interests in our domains. And when movements of national liberation were organized with the admitted purpose of overthrowing foreign rule in the respective countries and forcing it to relinquish its control and depart forever, they were confronted by obstacles of enormous magnitude. But the courage displayed by the colonized peoples and the support that the peoples gave to these movements of national liberation overcame all the

shortcomings and enabled them gradually to go forward and conquer whatever impediments stood in the way.

51. In the Middle East, however, the problems that faced the Arab States were more complicated and infinitely more difficult, for in their struggle to rid themselves of colonialism, they found themselves, on the eve of independence, to be facing the same obstacles which had confronted all developing countries, in addition to the heavy and very bloody burdens which colonialism left behind when it created the alien State of Israel.

52. The Arab countries were plagued and confronted by a disease in their midst which, fortunately, other countries which had emerged from the darkness of colonialism and into the bright light of liberty did not have to face. This unique situation confronts the Arab States which, though they share no responsibility for creating it, have had none the less to devote a great portion of their very limited material potential to strengthening their defences so as to be able to defend their sovereignty from the aggressive and expansionist Zionist dangers threatening the area.

53. The diversion of a large percentage of our national income to the area of defence has deprived our people, who are the source of this income, from the benefits that would have accrued to them had we been able to spend it on much needed development projects. While these great burdens beset our people, we note that Israel continues to receive billions of dollars and unlimited quantities and varieties of arms and ammunition from Western sources at a nominal price.

54. Despite everything, our people have a yearning for progress. We are in an era which features scientific planning and the development of natural resources. We in the Syrian Arab Republic have chosen for ourselves the road of socialism because we are convinced that it provides the best solution to the contradictions that beset our society and other peoples of the world in the economic and social fields. We believe that the road we have chosen is the best suited for eliminating class differences in our social system. It also enables us to restore to the people the ownership of all public utilities and means of production, the income of which is utilized for the best interest of our people.

55. Perhaps one of the most outstanding features of economic independence practised by the Syrian Arab Republic is its decision to exploit its oil reserves by itself without assistance from any foreign interests. This would place Syria in the forefront of developing countries which have excluded foreign influence over their oil and have left it under the complete control of the Government and the people. This has been accomplished despite the not-inconsiderable obstacles that had been placed in the way of achieving this goal.

56. Our sincere belief in co-operation is as great as our belief that civilization pertains to all mankind. But we admit, at the same time, that some nations co-operate with us more than others do in extending unconditional aid and assistance. Our relations with the socialist camp and the emerging nations in the world are at their best. But this does not mean that we are

not ready to co-operate with other States, only provided that such co-operation be based on the respect of our sovereignty and non-interference in our affairs.

57. Considering the existence of various political systems and different governmental set-ups, we believe that this Organization is the best place for the dissemination and exchange of thoughts and ideas. The Syrian Arab Republic declares its full support for our Organization and also calls for its support and strengthening by all nations. It calls at the same time for it to be made universal and granted the ability to provide technical as well as economic assistance to small countries. The Syrian Arab Republic declares that it is in the interest of small nations, who constitute more than three-quarters of this Organization, to stand by the authority of the United Nations to maintain peace and prevent aggression.

58. It is here that the hopes of the struggling peoples meet, and from here they expect assistance to bring about their complete independence by fully emancipating them from their old colonizers and helping them along the lines of progress and self-sufficiency.

59. Finally, I should like to conclude my statement by conveying the thanks of the Syrian delegation to U Thant for the services he has rendered to the cause of peace. We sincerely hope that the situation in the world and the conditions in this Organization will be such as to enable him to continue, as Secretary-General, his valuable work which has always been appreciated by all of us.

60. The PRESIDENT: Before I call on the next speaker I should like to remind Members of the General Assembly of their decision that after the meetings this morning and this afternoon we shall have concluded the general debate. In this connexion, I should like also to inform members that this morning we have three more speakers on our list.

61. Mr. PETER (Hungary): In this general debate we are confronted once again with the tremendous issue of war and peace. Indeed, the question of war and peace is at stake to an ever-growing degree in the crisis of today's world situation. All the topics dealt with during the long weeks of this general debate boil down to four crucial problems. These are: the war in Viet-Nam, the prospects of the "third world", the security of Europe, and the role of the United Nations. These issues are different in nature; they are not on an equal footing as to their impact on the dilemma of war and peace. Nevertheless they are interdependent, and what happens with regard to any one of them may affect the others for good or bad.

62. It is with a combination of great hope and deep despair that we confront the tragic dilemma of war or peace. Hope and despair, both of them, have been reflected in many of the statements made here in the names of the Governments of United Nations Member States. After the liquidation of the traditional colonial system, and at a time when the prevention of a thermonuclear holocaust became an officially proclaimed programme of all Powers, great and small, a bright hope was born for a peaceful settlement of all the burning issues disputed by nations in different regions of the world. But, in contrast, the escalation

of the aggression against Viet-Nam not only endangers the nations of the Far East but also overshadows and weakens the hopeful possibilities and the constructive initiatives coming from other parts of the world. The neo-colonialist infiltrations, intrigues and attacks directed against newly independent nations and the attempts to revive the bygone world of colonial rule are creating incalculable new threats and dangers not only to the "third world" but also to the world at large.

63. There is no peaceful coexistence between hope and despair. Hope must fight against despair. In order for our hopes to materialize we have to do away with the causes of despair.

64. In the present situation, it is the foremost task of all Powers of goodwill in the family of nations to co-operate in stopping the aggression against Viet-Nam and to search for a solution beneficial to the Viet-Nameese people, to the nations of South-East Asia and to the whole world.

65. In full and true knowledge and understanding of the opinion of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam as well as of the National Front for the Liberation of South Viet-Nam, I can state that no real and valid peace offer has so far been made on the part of the United States. I put it this way: the so-called peace proposals, including those we heard in this general debate, miss the main point. They have such basic shortcomings as make them ineffectual.

66. With your kind permission, Mr. President, I take this opportunity to demonstrate by a short but careful analysis what the shortcomings of the so-called peace proposals are and how their essential character invalidates the basic proposals themselves.

67. Firstly, we were told in this general debate that the United States would be ready to stop bombing North Viet-Nam if this measure did not remain a unilateral concession; that is to say, if it were met by corresponding measures on the part of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

68. A continued aggression, unprecedented in the whole history of nations, is being committed against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. An unconditional stopping of this aggression cannot be qualified as a unilateral concession. On the contrary, any offer to abandon the bombing of North Viet-Nam, if it is subject to any conditions whatever, reveals the lack of really peaceful intentions. In the interest of negotiations and peace, the bombing of North Viet-Nam should be stopped without delay and without any threat of possible renewal.

69. Secondly, we were told in this debate that the United States would be ready to agree to withdraw its military bases and personnel—again under certain military and political conditions.

70. The very presence of United States military bases and troops in South Viet-Nam constitutes a flagrant violation of the Geneva Agreements. A correction of this anomalous situation cannot be considered a unilateral concession.

71. It is on the record of history that before and during the Geneva Conference of 1954 the United States

Authorities used all sorts of arguments and means to persuade the French to continue their war in Indo-China and not to enter into a cease-fire agreement. The realities of those days, however, proved more conclusive than warlike arguments, and the Geneva Agreements were signed. But, on the very day those agreements were signed, the so-called South Viet-Nameese emissaries and the representatives of the United States already started to counteract certain provisions of those Agreements, notably those conceived to ensure the right to self-determination of the people of South Viet-Nam. The intervention of the United States in South Viet-Nam goes back to 1954. Since that time, step by step, the involvement of the United States has grown, both in quantity and in quality, from intervention to aggression. This escalation of the United States intervention is the basic factor in the origin of the present situation in South-East Asia.

72. It is in the interest not only of the Viet-Nameese people but also of other nations of South-East Asia and of world peace in general that the escalation of the United States intervention be stopped and the whole tide be reversed. In the interest of negotiations and peace the withdrawal of United States military bases and personnel should be properly guaranteed. Any proposal that makes that withdrawal uncertain reveals the lack of really peaceful intentions. The people of South Viet-Nam must regain freedom to shape their own destiny in strict compliance with the Geneva Agreements.

73. Thirdly, we were told in this debate that, in case of negotiations, the problem of having the representatives of the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam present at the conference table might be solved. Any proposal that does not give due consideration to the programme of the National Liberation Front is directed against the true interests of the people of South Viet-Nam.

74. The Viet-Nameese people have been suffering severe hardships in their struggle for independence and a peaceful life for more than two decades. There is hardly any Government and any people that should long more ardently for a peaceful life than the Government and the people of Viet-Nam. But as long as the aggression and intervention continue, it is the duty of all peace-loving nations to support the heroic struggle of the Viet-Nameese people, and this assistance will certainly enable the people of Viet-Nam to endure, resist, and even overcome the attack, however much it may be escalated. It must be clearly understood that the escalation of military operations and propaganda manoeuvres will never lead to the negotiating table, but it certainly may lead to a major war and add to the harm it has already done to the general international situation. If and when the proposals of the United States approach and meet the proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and those of the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam, peace may be restored and the nations of South-East Asia may resume implementing the provisions of the Geneva Agreements.

75. Just as the war in Viet-Nam endangers international peace in general and overshadows all aspects of international life, it also prevents us in this Organ-

ization and the specialized agencies from developing any real and effective co-operation that would be necessary for the sake of solving the urgent problems of the "third world". The great majority of the present generation of mankind is living in countries of the developing world afflicted with the tragic heritage of the colonial era, with struggles against the remnants of the colonial system, against the penetration of neo-colonialism and for the safeguarding of independence. Even if the dangers of a major war emerging from the situation in South-East Asia can be overcome—and we have to hope so—the destiny of the whole world, not only that of the developing countries, hinges on whether real international co-operation will be able to solve their vital problems by doing away with the vestiges of colonialism, the dangers of neo-colonialism and racial oppression, and by securing their well-established economic and political independence. For years to come this will be a major and pressing issue in international gatherings, mainly in this Organization. If real and effective international co-operation does not come about for this end, the accumulation of the problems of the "third world" will lead to incalculable conflicts and will inflict much harm on the economic life of the whole world, or could even undermine it.

76. In and around South Africa, South West Africa and Southern Rhodesia immeasurable turmoils are likely to follow resulting from the unsolved problems of those countries, if the United Nations proves to be unable in the foreseeable future to find rightful solutions in accord with the principles of human rights and of decolonization. The resoluteness of the African States that we are witnessing at this session of the General Assembly gives us the hope that the goal they are aiming at is not out of their reach.

77. In the process of decolonization, the participation of newly independent nations in international organizations, first of all in the United Nations, has become beneficial in many ways. Awakening to the realities of the urgent needs of their new life, they have thrown out the artificial cold-war issues and are devoting all their energies and attention to the real issues of international co-operation. They have played a considerable role in rescuing the United Nations from its recent crisis that culminated at the nineteenth session. Now, taking into their hands the cause of liquidating the remains of the colonial past, they are contributing to charting a brighter future for all of us. In Latin America, the Bogotá summit conference of five Latin American nations held this summer may mean a considerable step in dealing with the deep-rooted problems of this region of the world inhabited by nations having different economic and social systems.

78. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, according to its modest possibilities and together with the other socialist States, offers the developing countries its co-operation for brighter and for peaceful prospects in their economic, cultural and political relations.

79. In these days, we in Europe are experiencing new moves in a rather peculiar atmosphere. States members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, at their last meeting in Bucharest, offered new initiatives to

the NATO States and to all States of Europe with a view to embarking on the road of creating, step by step, the necessary preconditions for a real and effective European security system. Bilateral and multilateral negotiations are going on to this end. In the Danube valley in central Europe, which for long centuries was a hotbed of international hostilities, new prospects of peace are held out by the community of socialist countries. Relations among European States having different social and economic systems are widening in all fields of inter-State contacts. One might as well say that we are experiencing in Europe a process of easing tensions and growing stability.

80. What many view as indications of positive developments in Europe are perhaps nothing more than superficial and transitory phenomena. The policy of West Germany, with its permanent protestations against the European status quo and with its endeavours to obtain free access to atomic weapons, is a constant menace to several European States. And those allies of West Germany which support this policy, first of all the United States, are endangering the relative stability of Europe. The sources of such dangers may give rise to new tensions and even more serious conflicts in Europe which may prove the present time to have been no more than a period of transitory stability.

81. In order to prevent such unhappy events and for the sake of upholding the actual positive trends, it is necessary for us in Europe to be on the alert and to take appropriate measures against latent dangers by, among other things, strengthening the contacts among Governments representing States of differing social systems. Recently we have heard the United States, also, making positive statements regarding East-West relations in Europe. The best way by which western European countries together with the United States may contribute to lessening the dangers of the situation in Europe and strengthening its present stability is to proceed to establish and develop contacts with the German Democratic Republic. Such contacts are already present in the economic and cultural fields; they only should be developed further towards de facto and de jure recognition. The real problems of European security and the peaceful reunification of Germany cannot be approached without recognition of both German States.

82. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, together with other socialist States of Europe, is ready to take part in any form of bilateral or multilateral co-operation, and even to propose such forms of co-operation as may eliminate the dangers lurking in Europe and prolong the duration of the present stability.

83. Having survived its political crisis, best illustrated by the awkward proceedings of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, the United Nations now can see more clearly the limitations and possibilities of its activities.

84. Whatever the judgement of any delegation may be regarding the findings of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and the ad hoc Committee of Experts on the Finances of the United Nations, there certainly is common ground for hoping that, in the future, the United Nations may function with greater

assurance and with fewer failures for the purpose of bringing Member States, great and small, closer to one another in confronting the actual problems of the world.

85. At the time of the crisis of this Organization, the attitude of Member States made it clear that they wanted to adhere to the covenant embodied in the Charter and to maintain this Organization for the sake of improving international relations and finding solutions to the burning issues of the present generation.

86. Before the beginning of this session of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General made public what problems of the present international situation had prompted him to withdraw his candidacy for the next term. With due respect to his motivation, yet in the interest of the future functioning of the United Nations, I express the hope of my Government that he deems it possible to reconsider his decision. His statements made in this connexion and his appeals contained in his motivations have found response. Enjoying the confidence expressed by the Governments of Member States, he may have even greater possibilities to serve the principles of the Charter than before.

87. A founding Member of the United Nations and permanent member of the Security Council, the People's Republic of China, is still not represented in the United Nations, although it is beyond doubt that this Organization cannot get very far with its tasks until the problem of the representation of China in the United Nations is solved.

88. The majority of the States Members of the United Nations probably do not always realize that the United Nations is still a belligerent party—subject, of course, to the armistice provisions—in relation to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In Panmunjom—which I visited last year—I saw the flag of the United Nations on the table of the armistice commission. Representatives of the United States armed forces stationed in South Korea sit behind the United Nations flag on the occasion of negotiations. Almost fourteen years have elapsed since the conclusion of the armistice agreement, and the United Nations is still considered a belligerent party. The United Nations should rid itself of this shame. The past should be closed. An entirely new start should be made. It is already a good sign that we have included in the agenda of this session the item entitled "Withdrawal of all United States and other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations and dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea". If the Member States represented in that Commission could deem it possible to resign from the Commission, it would be beneficial to this Organization. The reunification of Korea should be left to the Korean people who are able to deal with it effectively if foreign interference is stopped. The United Nations should disentangle itself from this shameful heritage of the past.

89. Upon the initiative of the Soviet Union, the idea of general and complete disarmament as the sole guarantee of a world free from the fear of a thermonuclear holocaust entered into the debates of the past few sessions of the General Assembly. This idea has since

occupied the minds of people all over the world. No doubt any small step in this direction taken by the United Nations represents considerable progress in the implementation of the Charter. At a time, however, when an escalation of aggression is in process and a devastating war is waged, conditions are not favourable for major steps in this regard. Nevertheless, there are, at the present time, good hopes for agreement, at least, on curbing the arms race in certain respects and preventing it from being extended to further dimensions. The possibility of agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and on the peaceful uses of outer space is within reach. And this bids fair prospects for the work of the present session of the General Assembly and for the world as a whole.

90. States Members of the United Nations, with their individual and common efforts within and outside this Organization, may be powerful factors in doing away with the stubborn obstacles in the way of dealing more effectively with the matters of disarmament and in creating the conditions necessary for real progress in this field where the future of all nations is in the balance.

91. Mr. President, the confidence placed in you by States Members of the United Nations has elevated you to the Chair of this General Assembly at a time of great hopes and sorrowful despair. I extend to you the good wishes of my Government in the hope that the twenty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly with you as its President, may strengthen the prospects of peace against the numerous dangers we have to face at the present time.

92. Mr. ROA (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): Exactly eight years ago, Cuba spoke in this hall for the first time since the founding of the United Nations, clearly and decisively as an independent nation. As a result of the victorious popular uprising of 1 January 1959, our country had ceased to be an obscure follower and had become the protagonist of one of the greatest revolutions of our time. Everyone knows that today Cuba has accomplished a feat of epic dimensions: it has built a socialist and communist society ninety miles from the shore of an empire vainly determined to turn back the inexorable tide of history.

93. The Cuban delegation, the true representative of the people and Government that made that feat a reality, once again is speaking out in this hall without ambiguity, soft-pedal or obsequiousness. Never has there been such a pressing need for clarity of expression and firmness of principle as at this dramatic juncture in international life. However, before expressing Cuba's views on these matters, I should like to convey to Mr. Abdul Rahman Pazhwak, the representative of Afghanistan, my sincere congratulations on his election as President of the General Assembly. I have pleasure in adding that he can count upon the co-operation of the Cuban delegation in carrying out his task.

94. The agenda before this session of the Assembly is a long one, and each item cannot be subjected to an exhaustive examination. Many, of course, are left over from previous Assemblies and some are lacking in urgency or have already been superseded by events. On the other hand, it is the duty of each Government

to state its position in the general debate on all those problems which, because of their importance and urgency, demand special attention.

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

95. It is obvious that the international situation has deteriorated since the last General Assembly. What, fundamentally, is responsible for this deterioration? It is hardly necessary to state it, it is so well-known: Yankee imperialism. Asia, Africa and Latin America are today the prey of a United States policy of violence, barbarism, intervention, subversion and exploitation, and the risk grows larger every day that its regional wars and depredations will be escalated into a conflict of vast dimensions. It would be derisory to protest that this defiant and brutal policy is flouting and undermining the Charter of the United Nations and the most elementary rules of international law. It would be even more derisory to warn that this policy may threaten international peace and security. Manifestly, there is not, nor can there be, peace and security until the claws of Yankee imperialism are clipped at the scene of its crimes, or until its rule is overthrown.

96. World attention is now fixed on South-East Asia. Intervention and aggression by Yankee imperialism has turned that region into the focus of a dirty, criminal and cowardly war, whose rapid escalation holds within it the seeds of a large-scale conflict.

97. The vast majority of delegations have already made their views known on this matter, and many of them will be unable to restrain their anger or astonishment at hearing the false report and the hypocritical peace offer made by the United States delegation. One need not be a clairvoyant to see that this report and this offer are intended to achieve the United States Government's threefold aim of deceiving the gullible, of imposing its conditions on the indomitable Viet-Nameese people, and if it fails, and it will fail, of extending and stepping up its war of aggression by further and more reckless escalation. The Conference called at Manila by the President of the United States is part of this cunning strategy, which is inevitably doomed to failure.

98. All revolutionary and progressive Governments and peoples must remain very alert to this new Yankee imperialist trap, so as to fight it resolutely with words and deeds. It is not by listening to the siren song of the aggressors, nor by shattering the unity of the anti-imperialist counter-offensive on false pretexts, nor by leaving the aggressors a clear field out of fear, that we can safeguard the self-determination, independence and sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and South Viet-Nam, and, in the end, peace itself. Nor can the resolutions calling for peace, formulated in the United Nations or outside it, be expected to be of any use. Peace is being won by the arms of the Viet-Nameese people and will be consolidated to the extent to which we give them all the support possible in their just and necessary revolutionary war.

99. The Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and South Viet-Nam—one nation and one people—typify the two essential elements of the present international situation. On the one hand, victimized Viet-Nam demonstrates in its crudest form the savagery of United

States imperialism. Its bombed cities, its ruined hospitals, schools, pagodas and factories, its slaughtered children and old people, and its violated women are living testimony that the unscrupulous methods of the Nazis have been surpassed.

100. On the other hand, heroic Viet-Nam, standing firm in the face of this attack and fighting heroically for its independence, re-unification and the dignity of the homeland, has been, is, and will be unequivocal proof of the invincibility of peoples fighting for their freedom. This heroic Viet-Nam is the noblest and most luminous demonstration that the most characteristic feature of our present age is at once the irresistible forward surge of national liberation movements and the unconquerable uprising of the peoples hitherto subjected to the yoke of colonialism or neo-colonialism. These two converging tides are chiefly responsible today for the forward march of history.

101. The Yankee imperialists have been forced to resort to every means of conventional warfare against the Viet-Nameese people. They have occupied a part of their territory and, with the connivance of the puppet governments of Saigon, they have launched against the patriotic forces of the National Liberation Front wave after wave of tanks, aircraft, and soldiers equipped with chemical and bacteriological weapons, while at the same time unleashing a savage campaign of oppression against the workers, peasants, students and all other elements of the population which support and assist its emancipating vanguard. But they have not succeeded and they will not succeed in turning back the patriotic forces of the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam, or weakening the resistance of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

102. Among the people of the United States themselves—besieged by the giant machinery of imperialist propaganda with its lies and deceit—there is growing resistance to serving as accomplices in these crimes and as cannon fodder for the monopolies and warmongers. This resistance has reached such a pitch that the Government is earnestly studying the application of drastic measures to those who dissent from its policy. The movement against the imperialist war in Viet-Nam, together with the struggle of the Negro and Latin-American masses against racial discrimination and the fight of the intellectuals, teachers and students for the civil rights of the American people, will undoubtedly grow and contribute effectively to victory in the common struggle for a world without empires or imperialism, without oppressors or oppressed, without war or warriors.

103. Solidly united and inspired by an inexhaustible will to fight, the Viet-Nameese people, with the aid and support of the progressive and revolutionary governments and peoples, will conquer their aggressors and be free to unify their country. If we wish to encourage this victory, however, we must expand and strengthen the world movement of solidarity with Viet-Nam. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba has repeatedly expressed its readiness to send volunteers when requested to do so, and its belief that it is imperative for progressive and revolutionary governments to offer the Viet-Nameese people all the aid they require and to take whatever risks are

necessary to destroy the aggressors and to root out the aggression. Viet-Nam is the first line of defence of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Its sacrifices are our sacrifices. Its victory will be our victory.

104. In this context, I should like to quote some remarks made by the Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro, at the last commemoration of the 26th of July:

"We know that the Viet-Nameese are fighting today for all the peoples of the world. We know that the Viet-Nameese are fighting and dying against the world's chief enemy, rejecting the insolence of Yankee imperialism, and resisting its barbarous, unjustified and unspeakable attacks. In fighting on their own soil, the people of Viet-Nam are defending the right to freedom and independence not only for the Viet-Nameese but for other peoples who are the potential victims of this imperialism. They are fighting for the other peoples of the world. Therefore, no people in the world, no revolutionary people will refuse the help that Viet-Nam needs. There can be no doubt that the imperialists are taking a course with no way out, for the day that the Government of Viet-Nam decides that this aid is necessary, Viet-Nam will become the grave of imperialist aggression.

"The combat troops and conventional weapons which the friends of Viet-Nam can place there will be incomparably superior to any that the imperialists can send. The imperialists will then have no alternative but to withdraw or risk having to assume responsibility for another kind of war."

105. The Cuban delegation is categorically opposed to any kind of United Nations interference or intervention in the question of Viet-Nam. The United Nations has no alternative but to endorse the four points of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the five points of the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam unreservedly and unhesitatingly. This would indeed be an effective contribution by the Organization to the re-establishment of peace and security in South-East Asia.

106. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba fully supports these legitimate demands, and therefore demands the suspension of the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the withdrawal of the armed forces of the United States and its allies from South Viet-Nam and strict compliance with the Geneva Agreements. It also takes this opportunity to reaffirm its militant solidarity with the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam, urges all progressive and revolutionary governments and peoples to give Viet-Nam all the material and technical assistance that it needs and denounces the false and dangerous peace offer made by the United States delegation.

107. It is worth emphasizing once again that any country which goes along with this manoeuvre openly or secretly, maintains a conspiratorial silence or retreats out of fear of the consequences of sticking to its principles, which is precisely what is at stake, will lose its moral authority for ever. You may be

certain that the Revolutionary Government and people of Cuba will honour those principles, whatever the cost.

108. Imperialist aggression extends also to Laos, which has been artificially divided by Yankee interference in its domestic affairs, and it is of course that part of the country which abides by the Geneva Agreements which is the permanent target of the North American bombing, with its tragic sequel of death and destruction. Similarly, the Kingdom of Cambodia is the constant object of threats and provocations by the Yankee imperialists and repeated violations of its frontiers by the armed forces of Thailand, for the ostensible purpose of forcing it to renounce its neutralist policy. But the governments and peoples of these countries under attack have already demonstrated their unshakable determination to defend their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Cuba supports the heroic struggle of Laos and Cambodia for the right to work out their own lives free from bondage or oppression.

109. In the Far East, Yankee imperialism continues to pursue a policy of violence, intervention, oppression and exploitation. It is maintaining its military occupation of South Korea, which it has virtually converted into a colony and a base for aggression against the people of Asia, and continuing to block the peaceful reunification of the arbitrarily divided Korean nation. By taking unfair advantage of its automatic majority, the United States Government has again forced on the General Assembly the consideration of the so-called "Korean question", an item which is not only dead, but reeks of decay. Although it is true that the reunification of Korea is that nation's most ardent aspiration, the methods and forms by which this is to be achieved are a matter for the sole judgement of the Korean people, and the question therefore is wholly outside the competence of the United Nations. The only question relating to Korea which the United Nations is competent to discuss is the immediate withdrawal of the aggressive imperialist forces which are illegally occupying the southern part of Korea under the United Nations flag, thus forcing the United Nations into the dishonourable role of instrument of aggression against a peaceful nation.

110. In accordance with this point of view, the Cuban delegation will sponsor a draft resolution confirming the self-determination, independence and sovereignty of the Korean people, and their inalienable right to reunification of their country and demanding the immediate evacuation of all foreign troops still remaining in South Korea, the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, and an end to interference by the United Nations in the country's internal affairs.

111. The United States Government's aggressive policy in Asia is also reflected in connexion with the so-called question of the representation of China. Its obsessive opposition to the consideration of this item, despite the increasingly large vote in favour of consideration every year, is reflected in the refusal to recognize the People's Republic of China and the foisting upon the Security Council, the General Assembly and all its organs of a handful of puppets,

whose existence and representative nature are the exclusive creation of the firepower of the United States Seventh Fleet. The Cuban delegation will insist, as always, upon the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China and the consequent expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek clique from all the positions which they illegally occupy.

112. The fact that imperialism is the enemy of the people is most sharply illustrated by the colonial drama. In Africa, the Middle East and Latin America, there are still nations subjected to the classic forms of colonialism, despite the principles of the Charter and the resolutions adopted by the United Nations. The Cuban delegation affirms its total support for the peoples of so-called Portuguese Guinea, Angola, Mozambique, Aden, Oman and all others struggling to free themselves from a foreign yoke. Similarly, it wishes to place on record its solidarity with the peoples of Rhodesia and South West Africa, subjugated, oppressed and humiliated by the white minority of fascist colonists, its condemnation of the revolting policy of apartheid, and its support for the Arab States in a just solution to the tragic problem of Palestine.

113. As an unabashed champion of anti-colonialism, the Cuban delegation calls for the support by all independent States of its sister island of Puerto Rico. The United States has used and is using every trick and stratagem to prevent this case from being considered by the General Assembly. It is not enough to clamour for the abolition of the last vestiges of European colonialism in Latin America. To be genuinely and consistently anti-colonialist is to demand first of all the abolition of United States colonial rule over Puerto Rico, whose people share our language, tradition and culture, whose independence, together with that of Cuba, was advocated by José Martí to complete Simón Bolívar's unfinished liberating mission and to build a barrier against the economic and political expansion of the United States into the southern part of the hemisphere.

114. The Cuban delegation believes that in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the anti-colonialist resolutions adopted by the United Nations, the General Assembly should take a stand on this matter. Last year, in a letter dated 1 October 1965,^{2/} the Revolutionary Government of Cuba requested that the question of Puerto Rico should be included in the agenda of the Committee of Twenty-four. The document reiterated an identical request by forty-seven Heads of State or Government meeting at the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries^{3/} and echoed the demand of all the patriotic organizations of Puerto Rico. The Committee's working group recommended that a study should be made to ascertain whether Puerto Rico could be included in the list of territories which have not yet attained independence, thus postponing consideration of the matter until the Committee's next session.

115. The Cuban delegation reiterates its request that the General Assembly should take up the case of

^{2/} Document A/AC.109/144.

^{3/} Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Cairo from 5 to 10 October 1964.

Puerto Rico without further delay. It should be emphasized that it does so not merely as a Member of the Organization, but on behalf of and as the representative of a heroic and self-effacing people which has been fighting for complete emancipation for a century. States Members will have to choose between supporting the independence of this people, or tightening its bonds.

116. The items relating to disarmament and the danger of thermo-nuclear war are high among the questions on the agenda of the General Assembly as at previous sessions and as at meetings of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee at Geneva. It is public knowledge that only minor progress has been made on this problem or diversionary manoeuvres which may have a negative impact on the cause of peace and the struggle of peoples for self-determination, independence and sovereignty.

117. For reasons of principle, the Cuban delegation has never been remiss in supporting general and complete disarmament under international inspection, the elimination of all forms of thermonuclear testing, the absolute prohibition of the manufacture and stockpiling of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, and their complete destruction. However, nothing or very little has actually been done in this direction, except for minor agreements more apparent than real.

118. The Cuban delegation wishes to state its position on these matters frankly and clearly. Like all the peoples of the world, the Cuban people loves peace. It wants peace in order to dedicate itself fully to the building of a new society based on the abolition of the exploitation of man by man and to improve the material, technical and educational standard of living of its workers, peasants, intellectuals and students. But the Revolutionary Government of Cuba has repeatedly made it plain that it will only accept peace with dignity, that is to say, genuine peace, a peace which guarantees the self-determination, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, large and small, powerful and weak, based on respect for the rights of peoples and nations to freely develop as they see fit without pressure, impediments, or threats of any kind.

119. Obviously, as matters stand in the world, discussions on disarmament become somewhat Utopian. The dominant note in the international situation, so full of problems, tensions and conflicts, is the increasingly fierce struggle between imperialism and the peoples. Let us eschew words and get down to facts. The Yankee imperialist aggression in Viet-Nam, the provocations and threats of that imperialism to the peoples of South-East Asia, its plots against the independent States of Africa, its policy of interference, subversion, oppression and exploitation in Latin America and its stubborn attempts to destroy the Cuban revolution prove that it neither desires nor is seeking peace, and that, on the contrary, its natural environment is war.

120. In present circumstances, the logical subject for debate is the armed aggression of imperialism against the peoples, the dismantling of bases for aggression such as those being built or enlarged in Viet-Nam right now, or the base maintained at Guantanamo against the will of the Cuban Government and people as

a garrison and bastion of counter-revolutionaries, spies and saboteurs; the abrogation of military pacts concluded in order to threaten the free countries or to intervene in those which plan to liberate themselves, such as the so-called inter-American NATO and the proposed Permanent Inter-American Force, the establishment of which will be discussed, under the auspices of the Pentagon, at the Seventh Conference of Heads of American Armed Forces, to be held at Buenos Aires in November.

121. It is understandable that States should be anxious about conventional or other weapons which are in the hands of the imperialists, but the Cuban delegation believes that a clear distinction should be drawn between those who take up arms to commit aggression and those who take up arms to repel it. At present, there are many parts of the world where men and women carry guns to win their independence or to defend it. In the immediate future, many more will follow in their footsteps. The people and the Revolutionary Government of Cuba regard the armed struggle being waged by these people as sacred and unreservedly support it. The shots fired against imperialism and its satellites are the most important contribution to the struggle for a genuine peace. These weapons are also sacred to the Revolutionary Government and the people of Cuba. If we hope to win a world in which the roar of cannon fire will be no more than an echo from mankind's prehistory, we should bear in mind that weapons have not led to wars; wars produce weapons.

122. In our day, wars have their origin in imperialism's policy of aggression, intervention, oppression, exploitation and cupidity. Imperialism can only be paralysed and conquered by uniting all anti-imperialist, patriotic and progressive forces, by effectively supporting national liberation movements—the battering ram which is breaching the foundations of imperialism and hence of the warmongers—and by resolutely assisting the victims of aggression. One of the most striking features of the international situation is the progressive development of conventional wars in an atmosphere of tacit nuclear truce.

123. With regard to the use, control, limitation, and prohibition of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, the Cuban delegation has made its position known at previous sessions of the General Assembly, especially in connexion with the plan for the denuclearization of Latin America. My Government has stated on several occasions that it would only begin to consider this initiative if it encompassed the denuclearization of the only nuclear Power in the hemisphere, and the abolition of its military bases in Panama and Puerto Rico and the naval base at the enclave of Guantanamo in Cuban soil. This delegation regards it as an inescapable duty to reaffirm that the people and the Revolutionary Government of Cuba reserve the right to possess such arms as they deem appropriate for their own defence, irrespective of their nature. Cuba has not and will not enter into any commitment which might compel it to limit its defensive capabilities, even potentially. The Cuban people are convinced that their decision to defend their country to the last drop of blood of the last fighting man is their most effective contribution to the cause of peace.

124. The General Assembly's resolution on the granting of independence to colonial peoples and dependent territories must be complied with speedily and fully. However, it would be insufficient if we did not at the same time face the dangers that hover over peoples who are starting out on the rocky, tortuous path to national independence and the building of a new life.

125. The experience of the Latin American nations is instructive. Their peoples fought, with varying degrees of courage, for their emancipation from the Spanish metropolitan Power, in very difficult conditions. Since they became independent, the fruit of those sacrifices has been stolen from them. Very early on, United States imperialism, in its dizzying rise, imposed its neo-colonialist hegemony. The territorial and economic expansion of the United States was nurtured specifically by military aggression against the nations of Latin America, plunder of their territory, exploitation of their resources and barefaced intervention in their internal affairs. There has been a century and a half of interference, depredation and abuse, and, parallel with this, of sustained resistance by the peoples to foreign domination.

126. The hour has already struck for Latin America's second and real independence, the necessity and justice of which José Martí envisioned and preached at the First Pan American Conference.^{4/} The guerrillas of Venezuela, Colombia, Peru and Guatemala are the protagonists in this fight for emancipation, which the Cuban revolution initiated. To these fighters sans peur et sans reproche, who have the future on their side, the Cuban delegation extends its heartfelt greetings. At the same time it pays a tribute to Luis Augusto Turcios Lima, commander-in-chief of the Rebel Armed Forces of Guatemala, fallen at his battle station, and to Captain Hely Pérez Silva, head of the permanent delegation of the General Command in Cuba of the National Liberation Front and the National Liberation Forces of Venezuela, who died recently in Cuba after a painful illness, still clinging to his revolutionary ideals. These guerrilla fighters, like the Cuban guerrillas of the Sierra Maestra before them, the true descendants of the liberating hosts of Bolívar, San Martín, O'Higgins and Maceo, will conquer despite all obstacles and reverses, for their struggle is an inseparable part of the world movement which is today shaking the foundations of imperialist domination.

127. The time has come to take stock of the situation. The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, held in Havana, the capital of Cuba, from 3 to 14 January 1966, over which I had the honour to preside, for the first time brought together the representatives of popular movements from these three continents in a meeting which will be remembered in the history of the liberation of mankind. The Tri-Continental Conference gave expression to the solidarity of the national liberation movement in Africa, Asia and Latin America, defined a common policy in the head-on fight with imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and welded a strategical and tactical unity in battle, drawing on the rich experience of the participating countries.

^{4/} Congress of Panama, held at Panama from 22 June to 15 July 1826.

128. Guided by the spirit of the Tri-Continental Conference, the popular movements and organizations of Latin America have forged a suitable regional instrument to strengthen their ties and their mutual support: the Latin American Solidarity Organization.

129. The importance, significance and effect of both of these events was demonstrated in the fury of the imperialists and the hysteria of their strong-arm men and theorists. The most dyed-in-the-wool lackeys and reactionary rulers of Latin America protested against the agreements reached at the Conference, alleging a violation of the principle of non-intervention. But who would give credence to the charges of these so-called champions of Latin American sovereignty, for they are the same men who have been the accomplices of the acts of intervention, plunder, abuse, subversion and aggression committed by the Yankee imperialists? What moral authority can emanate from those who shamelessly accepted the military intervention in the Dominican Republic and have joyfully acquiesced in elections held at the point of foreign bayonets? Who will regard as zealous custodians of the principle of non-intervention those who expelled Cuba from the Organization of American States and allowed their territory to be used as bases for aggression against Cuba? Who but they passively permitted the bloody aggression of the Marines against the people of Panama? Who but they have accepted without a whimper the insolent statements of the United States Executive and Legislative Branches, which threw into their faces the United States intention of disposing of the Latin American Republics as though they were part of President Johnson's ranch? In short, who but these strong-arm men and theoreticians of foreign intervention, aggression, subversion and exploitation in Latin America are the instruments and accomplices of Yankee imperialism in its flagrant and cynical violation of the principle of non-intervention?

130. For this reason, the draft resolution adopted on 2 February 1966 by the Council of the OAS, accusing the Tri-Continental Conference and the Revolutionary Government of Cuba of violating the principle of non-intervention and aiding the Latin American guerrillas will lash back like a boomerang against its own sponsors.

131. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America met at Havana precisely in order to organize concerted action against imperialism and its consequences: exploitation, poverty, hunger, ignorance, disease, lack of education, racial discrimination, national oppression and international serfdom. This was why they met, not to promote, support or justify the political, economic and diplomatic domination of Latin America by Yankee imperialism by means of such broken-down contraptions as the Alliance for Progress, or to facilitate, abet or support imperialist interference, by violently restraining the struggles of the people for their national and social liberation.

132. Who nowadays is unaware that the history of the United States is to a large extent the history of its interventions, aggressions and exploitations in Latin America, and its support, for selfish reasons, of the exploiting oligarchies, military cliques and most reactionary groups in our countries? In case the memory

of those who drafted the resolution is flagging, may I offer them the following summary as an eloquent reminder: the United States robbed Mexico of 2 million square kilometres of its territory; it occupies Puerto Rico; bombed Vera Cruz; intervened in Cuba, Nicaragua, Guatemala and the Dominican Republic; assassinated Madero and Pino Suárez, President and Vice-President of Mexico; waged undeclared war on Cuba; backed and gave the go-ahead signal to Porfirio Díaz, Juan Vicente Gómez, Ubico, Trujillo, Machado, Pérez Jiménez, Batista, Stroessner and Somoza, to mention only its most typical strongmen. Imperialism and intervention are one and the same.

133. The Tri-Continental Conference and the Revolutionary Government of Cuba cannot be held responsible for the terrible state of affairs in Latin America and the growing organization, unity and action of its victims; the responsibility rests solely with Yankee imperialism and its Latin American lackeys. The right to rebel against injustice, oppression, poverty, hunger, ignorance, disease, servitude and foreign domination is an inalienable right of peoples, and it is their ineluctable duty to resort to all methods and forms of struggle capable of breaking the yoke which strangles, oppresses and humiliates them.

134. The armed struggle of peoples for their emancipation cannot be exported or imported. It is the reaction of the oppressed to the challenge of the oppressors and it breaks loose out of the depths of national realities, as was the case in Cuba, and is now the case in Guatemala, Venezuela, Colombia and Peru. It is a right and a duty of enslaved peoples. The peoples of Latin America exercised this right and this duty long before the holding of the Tri-Continental Conference and the triumph of the Cuban revolution, and they will go on exercising it until they win self-determination, independence and sovereignty. The call to armed struggle, when all other ways are closed, is contained already as the seed in the fruit, in the régime of exploitation and oppression imposed by the oligarchies and sustained by imperialism, its principal beneficiary. To be serfs or free men; once again, these are the alternatives before the peoples of Latin America. Now the serfs have roused themselves, they are getting up, and they will not cease from the fight until they are free men. This is the tide of history in the three continents and the emancipated peoples have an obligation to help speed the liberation of the oppressed peoples. Experience shows that in the face of counter-revolutionary violence the only option is revolutionary violence.

135. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba declares its full support for the decisions of the Tri-Continental Conference and reaffirms its revolutionary solidarity with the plundered and embattled peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

136. Since the principle of universality should operate fully in the United Nations, the Cuban delegation requests the admission to the Organization of the German Democratic Republic, hitherto excluded from its ranks. Its participation in the Organization's tasks and responsibilities would constitute an effective contribution to peace and security in Europe, now threatened by the revanchiste policies of the Federal Republic of Germany.

137. It may be relevant to offer a few comments on the central economic theme of our agenda: I refer to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

138. When it opened in Geneva in 1964, the Conference fostered the hope in many under-developed countries that the United Nations would deal effectively with the grave problems that beset international trade and hamper efforts to achieve the rapid economic growth which their hungry peoples are demanding with growing insistence. It was very soon apparent that the policy of most of the developed countries, instead of being directed towards solving these problems, was to cling tenaciously to those conditions which enable them to exploit the less developed countries.

139. Experience has shown that the views which prevented the adoption of specific measures in favour of the under-developed countries in 1964 still persist and that there is no intention of putting into practice the principles and recommendations contained in the Final Act of the Conference on Trade and Development.

140. In the specific case of sugar, a product of vital importance to Cuba's economy, the position is the same as in the general situation I have described. As the Secretary-General rightly pointed out to the Conference on Trade and Development in his speech at the 93rd plenary meeting of the Board of that body, one of the fundamental reasons for the failure of the Sugar Conference^{5/} was the refusal of the developed countries to allow the under-developed exporting countries a greater share in increased consumption. The Cuban Government considers that the principles and recommendations of the Conference barely respond to the minimum demands of the under-developed countries and that it is consequently impossible to establish a fruitful dialogue on the regulation of the world sugar trade as long as the developed countries make a mockery of those principles and recommendations and try to force the developing countries to bear the burden of the crisis provoked by their policies of discrimination and subsidies to domestic production.

141. The under-developed countries should stand firmly by the principles and recommendations agreed on in 1964 and refuse to yield to the pressure being exerted to make them accept a handful of crumbs, in exchange for retaining and consolidating their dependent and backward economic structures. But we should not harbour many illusions. In a world like ours, international co-operation grows more illusory with each day that passes.

142. With the New Year, the Cuban revolution will enter upon its ninth year. By destroying the tyranny of Batista after a lengthy, fierce and arduous armed struggle, organized and directed by Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro; by carrying out the most far-reaching political, economic, social and cultural changes ever recorded in Latin America within a short period of time; by dealing firmly with the threats, provocations, blackmail, aggression and economic blockade of Yankee imperialism; by consolidating the victories won and progressing swiftly in building a socialist and communist society in the most adverse

circumstances, Cuba has proved to the peoples of Latin America that independence, revolution, socialism and communism are possible in our continent. The example of Cuba is a decisive factor in the dynamics of revolution in Latin America.

143. The imperialists are using the most varied means to try to counteract the radiance of this example. In some cases, they have imposed fascist-type régimes which launch the most brutal oppression against the people; in others, they have tried pseudo-reformist manoeuvres as a means of delaying the inevitable popular explosion, which find their greatest support among those who have betrayed the principles of the revolution and are deliberately serving their interests. In essence, these are variants which intermingle and merge with the policy of the iron hand, though they may sometimes be concealed in a velvet glove.

144. The essential aim of United States policy continues to be the same: to destroy the Cuban revolution and to maintain United States hegemony over the continent. In May of this year, the Cuban Government found itself compelled to order the revolutionary armed forces into a state of alert because the Yankee imperialists had created a crisis as a pretext for aggression following the foul murder of the Cuban soldier Luis Ramfrez López by Marines of the Guantanamo naval base. The shameful distortion of the facts and the allegation that Cuban soldiers had invaded the base, used as a clumsy cover-up for the crime committed, clearly indicated that aggression was being planned. The response of the people and the Revolutionary Government of Cuba to this diabolical plot was given by the Prime Minister, Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro, in a warning which foiled the Pentagon's strategem: "If they attack us, we shall fight them as long as one man is left to us and even if we are the only people in the world engaged in armed struggle". Moreover, the ridiculous, false and stupid imperialist version of the facts was verified on the spot by more than thirty correspondents of the foreign Press and news agencies.

145. The last act of piracy committed under the protection of the United States authorities was by an aircraft coming from the United States which recently dropped three bombs in the area of Nuevitas, presumably with the intent of damaging industrial installations being built there, though without causing any injury or material damage. The counter-revolutionary organization, which boasted of the crime, received for its violation of international law and the domestic legislation of the United States nothing more than a quibbling reply from the State Department. What imperialism breeds the Pentagon consolidates.

146. But Cuba still stands, building its new life, expanding its agricultural and livestock plans, laying the foundations for its industrial development, carrying out its schemes for education, public health, housing, water supply, culture and sports, which—despite the blockade and the breaking-off of diplomatic and trade relations, despite sabotage, provocation, aggression and constant threats from the most powerful imperialist Power—have already raised the standard of living of its peoples to levels which for the rest of the countries of Latin America are only a dream.

^{5/} United Nations Sugar Conference held at Geneva from 20 September to 14 October 1965.

147. Cuba is advancing and will continue to advance, overcoming difficulties of every kind, including those imposed by nature. We know that to advance is also a way of fulfilling our duty to our brothers on the continent and all the peoples of the world who suffer from exploitation, oppression, discrimination, poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance. To these peoples we renew our promise to encourage them by our example and to assist them in their fight for emancipation.

148. From this rostrum we repeat the battle cry of the Cuban people: "Our country or death! We shall overcome!"

149. Mr. PONNAMBALM (Ceylon): Speaking last year on my first appearance before this world Assembly [1345th meeting], I must have appeared to seasoned internationalists as striking a note of cheery optimism, and, as I look back, I myself feel how unreal and idealistic I must have sounded then. If my assessment of the situation prevailing at the time and my anticipation for the future had been misconceived, my only excuse, apart from the fact that I am an unrepentant internationalist, is that I was deeply impressed by the constructive statemanship shown by all Member States, particularly by the major Powers, in their determined effort to overcome the deadlock of the nineteenth session—a statesmanship which stemmed from the solemn consciousness and conviction of the urgent and imperative need for a world organization such as ours to function, if only to give expression to the collective will of the international community.

150. I was bold enough at the time to anticipate that the strains and tensions of the international rivalries resulting in what has now passed into our vocabulary as the "Cold War" would cease and that this forum would be utilized by nations large and small not as a mere sounding board for advancing narrow national policies, but as a forum in which to seek measures for reconciling national self-interest with international co-operation and good neighbourliness.

151. My optimism has been almost completely belied by the events of the past year, and I come before you for the second time, on behalf of the Government and people of Ceylon, to make an appeal, if I may do so with humility, particularly to the major Powers, that they may, in the years that lie ahead, come to identify their national interests with those of the international community represented in this Assembly.

152. To us the smaller, the weaker and the economically less-developed countries of the world, this Assembly of the United Nations is and will continue to be the last and only repository of our hopes, ambitions and aspirations for a world in which nations as well as individuals can live and move and have their being as friends and as equals, with emphasis upon those elements which equate man to man and which eliminate those differences which prevent such equation. I am sincerely and strongly convinced that, if the super Powers can in their wisdom and experience realize that there are far more factors of common humanity that should unite the interests of nation States than there are differences that divide them, then they will appreciate that their wider national interests and those of the international community

are far from being in conflict but rather are different facets of the same basic problems that challenge the very existence of man.

153. Although we are meeting in an atmosphere of growing international tension, escalation of local conflicts and a feeling of almost universal uneasiness about the state of the world, we may be allowed to record a sense of gratification that the hostilities that had broken out between India and Pakistan over Kashmir last year, at the time the General Assembly was meeting, were brought to an end at the instance of the United Nations, and that the relief so obtained was subsequently consolidated as a result of the initiative of the Government of the Soviet Union in bringing the leaders of those two States to the conference table at Tashkent. To the disinterested efforts of the Soviet Union in this matter we would like to pay a cordial tribute. May we hope that before we meet next year, the relations between these two great neighbours of ours will be finally and permanently settled on a footing mutually acceptable to both of them and satisfactory to the international community.

154. Another noteworthy and welcome development in our part of the world has been the relaxation of the strained tensions between the two other great Asian countries, Malaysia and Indonesia. May one hope that this area of peace will widen to include the rest of South-East Asia.

155. Speaking last year, I adverted to the necessity of strengthening the representative character of the United Nations in order to enhance its power and prestige as an instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security. In doing so I regretted the absence of Indonesia from our councils and hoped that we would soon have the pleasure of its presence in our midst. It is therefore singularly gratifying to me personally to have been present when the Foreign Minister of Indonesia appeared before this Assembly and addressed it.

156. The welcome decision of Indonesia to resume its active co-operation with us here naturally leads us to give thought once again to the absence from our midst of the representatives of the largest of the Asian countries, namely, the People's Republic of China. By any standard or by any test, this world assembly should not longer be deprived of the benefit of the participation in its deliberations of the representatives of the People's Republic of China. I seriously and sincerely hope that the General Assembly will, this year, by a generous majority, admit them to this Organization.

157. May I in turn address a fervent appeal to the leaders of that great country and ask that they persuade themselves to accept the fact that membership of the United Nations means at least abjuring the use of force as an instrument of international conduct and thereby subscribing to the basic principles of the Charter. This, I venture to think, they should not find difficult since they themselves have accepted the principles enshrined in the Charter by undertaking to observe the concept of peaceful coexistence in what has now come to be known as the Pancha Seela, both at Bandung and subsequently.

158. There is not the slightest doubt that the participation in our deliberations of the representatives of the People's Republic of China would considerably enhance the value of all our efforts towards the maintenance of international peace and security, particularly in this nuclear age.

159. Moreover such action on the part of this Assembly will contribute towards the fulfilment of the objective of universality of its membership. At the commencement of this session, we welcomed the admission of Guyana, and it was only yesterday that two more newly-independent sovereign States, Botswana and Lesotho, became Members of this Organization. On behalf of the Government and people of Ceylon, I should like to extend a warm welcome to all three of them and wish them well in their future in this Organization. In this connexion, may I be permitted to express the hope that, in the not too distant future, the representatives of a reunited Germany will be sitting in our midst and by their presence assisting immeasurably in consolidating the stability of Europe and thus facilitating the achievement of world peace.

160. It seems incredible that, with the universal and collective will for peace manifest throughout the world and reflected clearly and unambiguously in the speeches made here by the representatives of every Member State of this Organization, the efforts of the United Nations, directly as well as through its Committee on Disarmament, have so far not made any significant advance, at any rate during the past year, towards achieving either nuclear or general disarmament. At the time this Assembly last met, there seemed to be some hope that at least the partial test ban Treaty would be made a more comprehensive one. We, the militarily unsophisticated and smaller nations of the world, find it somewhat difficult to understand how, despite the anxiety of the major nuclear Powers themselves to achieve a comprehensive test ban treaty, they have not been able as yet to hammer out agreement, even on this one fundamental question.

161. It is our belief that this failure has not been so much due to scientific or technological reasons connected with detection as to doubts and suspicions still lingering from the days of the "Cold War". It is a matter of the deepest concern, not only to the Governments but also to the peoples of the world that, despite the appeals of this Assembly, both underground as well as atmospheric tests have been carried out since we last met. Are we to allow the world to move inexorably towards a situation of the gravest peril to all mankind merely because of the desire on the part of certain Powers to increase their stature in the international community by insisting on a prominent seat at the nuclear high table, on the mistaken premise that he who has no nuclear arms comes naked to the conference table?

162. Whilst the achievement of a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty is a primary and essential desideratum since it will prevent the evolution of even more sophisticated nuclear weapons, an equally essential objective is the urgent need for a concerted effort to achieve non-proliferation of the existing types of nuclear arms. Proliferation by its very nature gives rise to a chain reaction and, with every nation

that comes into possession of nuclear weapons, one or more of the others will clamour for like possession. If we ask the question "Is it too much to expect of Governments voluntarily to renounce the acquisition and possession of nuclear weapons?", it is because we sincerely feel that the vast majority of the peoples of the world deeply desire an immediate end to the nuclear arms race.

163. In this regard one welcomes the action taken by the African States, and earlier by certain Latin American States as well, in entering into a solemn undertaking to keep their continents free of nuclear weapons, decisions which, we are sure, will be respected by everyone. It is our earnest hope that similar arrangements will be made in regard to the other continents. We would here like to recall the resolution passed last year by the General Assembly on the question of non-proliferation. We regret that the initiatives towards this end have so far been few and far between.

164. At a time when mankind is manifesting a deep desire for peace in the world, when every representative from this rostrum has unreservedly expressed the view that hostilities in Viet-Nam must not merely be made to abate but to terminate, it is a depressing commentary on our times, committed as we are under the Charter to take effective, collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace, that over the course of one whole year the international community as represented by this Assembly has had to look on helplessly and allow a situation to develop which may easily lead to a third world conflagration. Apart from the consideration that the untold human suffering that is taking place in that unfortunate country should be brought to a speedy end, is there not a duty cast upon even those of us not immediately concerned in the conflict to direct our untiring energies and bend our wills to devise some means by which the apparently conflicting claims and the relatively contradictory positions taken up by the warring parties can be reconciled?

165. Already the international community is in some degree committed to the observation and supervision of events taking place in that area. The International Commission for Supervision and Control has over the years forcefully brought to the notice of the world the dangerous situation that was developing in Viet-Nam, and yet no effective steps have been taken by those directly concerned to halt these alarming trends. It is therefore not surprising that the conflict has developed into one of unparalleled gravity, where the armed forces of several Member States are locked in combat on foreign territory. For us small nations who are forced to view the situation from afar, this inaction on the part of the great Powers seems difficult to understand or appreciate. Is the international community to sit by and await the passing of another year, during the course of which the struggle may well erupt into a global conflict? I can think of no situation more pregnant with explosive possibilities and danger to international peace than the present situation in Viet-Nam, and it therefore behoves us to explore every possibility that would result in at least a progressive reduction of the scale of active hostilities until they are eventually terminated and a rapprochement is

reached leading to the early stabilization of the situation in the whole of that unhappy land.

166. I feel that one should examine very seriously, realistically and constructively the proposals that have been put forward in this Assembly by the representative of the United States of America in what appears to us to be a genuine desire on its part to reach a settlement in Viet-Nam. To attribute motives or to suspect the professions of intention of Governments may be an easy intellectual or political exercise, but I feel a more constructive approach to the situation would be to accept the offer of the United States as a challenge and examine its possibilities, particularly since it is our view that the intervention of the United States in Viet-Nam has not been motivated by the classic colonial objectives of territorial expansion or the establishment of strategic bases. Whilst those of us in the wings have taken up varying attitudes ranging from the critical and the supercilious to the noncommittal and the laudatory, there are some not unhelpful signs that the time is not too distant when the parties most directly concerned may well be persuaded of the imperative necessity of coming to the conference table. We understand that the leader of the National Front for the Liberation of South Viet-Nam is prepared to join in the formation of a broad-based democratic government. This offer is one that is deserving of scrutiny with a view to exploring the possibilities of its acceptance. In this context it will be recalled that one of the major obstacles to the commencement of negotiations has been the position of some of the contending Governments that they would not accept the National Liberation Front as a party to the negotiations. However, Ambassador Goldberg in his address appears to have eliminated this obstacle as far as the Government of the United States is concerned when he said that this matter would not be "an insurmountable difficulty".

167. The condition precedent to the initiation of negotiations suggested by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, namely, cessation of the bombing of North Viet-Nam by United States and South Viet-Nameese aircraft, appears to one to be acceptable to the Government of the United States, provided there is some response from Hanoi. There is no question but that no fruitful talks or purposeful negotiations can be commenced or carried on in an atmosphere of active hostilities including heavy aerial bombardment. I pose a question: Should not the representatives of a small group of non-aligned nations make it their endeavour, under the auspices of the United Nations, to visit Viet-Nam and the capitals of the countries directly interested, with a view to persuading these Governments of the urgent necessity of overcoming their mutual suspicions and mistrust, thereby promoting an atmosphere in which they can better appreciate the narrowness of the gap that still divides them?

168. This Assembly will recall that one of the principal objectives of the Geneva Conference of 1954 was to ensure the neutralization of Viet-Nam and the complete dissociation of both North and South Viet-Nam from any military alliance or entanglement with any foreign Power. This seems to be the one matter on which there appears to be unanimity of opinion among all of us. This was adverted to by

the President of France in a recent speech in Cambodia, and emphasized by his Foreign Minister in his speech here. It is to be hoped that even countries not yet represented in the United Nations will accept this as a most important objective in the achievement of international stability in that area. We have a good example in the experience of one of our fellow Member States whose neutrality has been guaranteed by the great Powers and who has solemnly pledged itself to a policy of strict neutrality, and, what is more important, has scrupulously observed it—I refer to Austria. A condition precedent to the establishment of such a neutralized Viet-Nam would be the complete and absolute withdrawal of all foreign troops, wherever they may be found in that country, as specifically laid down in the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

169. The people of Viet-Nam have manifestly shown a desire to be masters in their own land and to manage their own affairs, without the assistance or the interference of any foreign Power. It would be more than salutary for us to acknowledge and accept this fact and for the Viet-Nameese to decide upon the form of government which best suits them. If any of us were to be too concerned about the particular ideology which should appeal to the Viet-Nameese people as a whole, we might unwittingly push them into accepting the very ideology which we do not want them to accept. The coexistence of nations with differing ideologies is today too elementary to be emphasized, and it may well be that, as it happened in Yugoslavia, there could evolve in Viet-Nam a strong national structure and government which, whatever its ideology, may choose to remain both independent and neutral. The serious offer made on behalf of the Government of the United States of its readiness actively to participate in a phased and planned withdrawal of all foreign troops is a matter that needs to be pursued. I feel that prompt and purposeful action must be taken here and now by the international community to explore the implications of this offer in order to make it a practical reality.

170. It may well be that there were reasons, both psychological and otherwise, for certain of the major Powers to have resisted the inclusion of the question of Viet-Nam as an item in the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly. This is all the more reason for every effort to be made and every nerve to be strained by Member States, both individually and collectively, to bring about the beginning of negotiations as a prelude to an agreement and to the final establishment of peace in that part of Asia and thereby in the world.

171. The hour is too late and the consequences are too grave for us to indulge now in the luxury of entering into any research as to who is responsible, and to what extent, for the present tragic situation in Viet-Nam. Rather would I earnestly suggest that a better atmosphere would be created and a more realistic approach made by our facing up to the realities of the situation as they exist today and by our attempting to seek a solution that would lead to an immediate détente.

172. Another instance of a situation that is a threat to international peace and is likely to develop into a major conflict involving the continent of Africa is the situation that has been prevalent in Rhodesia for the

last twelve months, consequent upon the illegal and unilateral declaration of independence by a racist minority régime determined to entrench its supremacy over the vast majority of the people of that country. This Assembly will recall its resolution 2012 (XX) of 12 October 1965 in which the international community, without a dissentient voice, expressed its deep concern and apprehension at the probability of a unilateral declaration of independence by that régime, called upon the United Kingdom to take all measures necessary to prevent it and, in the event of such a declaration, to take all steps necessary to put an immediate end to the rebellion and to transfer power to a representative government.

173. Immediately after independence was unilaterally declared on 11 November 1965, the Government of the United Kingdom summoned an urgent meeting of the Security Council, at which the British Foreign Secretary made a personal appearance and solicited the support of the United Nations in working out a scheme of voluntary sanctions against Southern Rhodesia which it was hoped would make the Government of Mr. Smith non-viable and thus compel the return of Rhodesia to constitutionalism. It is well known that a very large number of the Member States of this Organization considered that an immediate recourse to a minimum degree of force could have brought the illegal régime to an end. The United Kingdom Government declared at the time in the firm belief, misguided as subsequent events have proved, that voluntary economic sanctions alone would be sufficient to achieve our common objective. At this stage we are not concerned to question the motives that animated the United Kingdom Government in its decision, but perhaps we may be allowed now to say with conviction that since the United Kingdom is legally the administering Power, the unilateral declaration of independence was an act of rebellion which could most speedily and effectively have been brought to an end by the use of force by the United Kingdom in much the same way as it has dealt with rebellions in various other parts of its once far-flung empire.

174. Events of the last twelve months, however, have shown that the Smith régime has survived and even if, as Prime Minister Wilson claimed at the recent Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London, the economy of Rhodesia has been adversely affected—and this, I may add, is not borne out by the report of the Sanctions Committee of the Heads of Commonwealth Governments—yet the policy of voluntary sanctions is unlikely, in the foreseeable future, to bring the régime to an end or even to render the Head of the régime unpopular enough to compel him to resile. The net result has been a serious deterioration in the relationship that existed amongst the various members of the international community as regards African affairs. May I add, speaking for the Government of Ceylon, a member of the Commonwealth, that Member States of the United Nations should not passively look on without adopting more effective measures to bring about a speedy end to what is an explosive and an intolerable situation.

175. The then British Foreign Secretary, I believe, undertook last year in the Security Council to come

before that body again and ask for mandatory sanctions in order to achieve its objective, should this become necessary. At the recent Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom himself undertook that, if before the end of this year this rebel régime is not brought to an end and constitutional government restored in Rhodesia, he would come before the Security Council to invoke the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter for effective and selective mandatory economic sanctions against Rhodesia. Ceylon, for its part, would be prepared to give its unqualified support to such a step. The use of a necessary degree of force might yet be the shortest and the quickest way to end this rebellion. If such a step were to be taken by the United Kingdom, we are convinced that it would have the support and co-operation of the vast majority of the Member States of the United Nations.

176. However, let me here express the hope that, should the United Kingdom Government succeed in ending the rebellion, on no account should the provisional and constitutional government that is intended to be set up thereafter be headed or dominated by the very perpetrators of the rebellion. This would be unacceptable not only to the majority of the people of Rhodesia itself, but to us in the international community. Britain's primary responsibility would be to restore direct constitutional administration by Whitehall for a period, however short, during which appropriate arrangements could be made for the majority of the population to choose a representative and responsible government of its own choice, on the basis of one man, one vote. I venture to think that the United Kingdom, which has assisted in the achievement of independence by over 700 million people throughout the world on the basis of self-determination and majority rule should now not find it difficult and beyond its power and ingenuity to do likewise in regard to the people of Rhodesia, thus making yet another notable contribution to peaceful decolonization, in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. No ties of so-called kinship or sentiment will, I hope, deter the United Kingdom from fulfilling its obligations both to the Rhodesian people and to the international community. We are convinced, from its past record, that the present Rhodesian challenge is one which the United Kingdom can meet and overcome with honour to itself and satisfaction to all of us.

177. While I am on the subject of the problems of southern Africa may I be permitted to state here once again our firm opposition to and condemnation of the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Union of South Africa. The minimum requirements of civilized existence in an international community necessitate that an organization such as the United Nations under extreme circumstances, intervene in matters occurring within the national boundaries of a State. We have in mind here situations where majority populations in multiracial States have been and are still being subjected, by reason of colour or race, to barbarous and sub-human treatment by potent and powerful minorities. In such circumstances it will become necessary for the world body to treat such cases as a challenge to the international community

as a whole and to take such action as will bring home to the Governments of the countries concerned that they cannot conduct even their so-called internal affairs in complete and flagrant defiance of the basic norms of civilized government.

178. In an otherwise rather sombre and somewhat gloomy picture of the international situation, the one field of operations where over the years the United Nations can be proud of its achievement, is that of peace-keeping operations. History will record that, in given situations of breaches of or threats to international peace and security, the United Nations has, by hasty compromise or reluctant goodwill, been able to intervene and interpose its forces effectively to the general satisfaction of the world community. Whilst this may be a source of gratification to this Assembly and a manifestation that the human will for peace has been able to successfully override ideological and other differences, nevertheless it is not a comforting situation for this Organization to find itself in. The financing of these operations is today in such a parlous and perilous state as to lead to the Secretary-General's grave concern for the very future of this Organization—a matter which can no longer be ignored by any Member State, large or small, without grievous consequences to the fabric of world peace. While sturdy common sense and an abundant goodwill have helped temporarily to tide over the financial difficulties that arose over the operations in the Congo, it is a source of great disappointment and disquiet to us, the smaller States, to find that the Special Committee of Thirty-Three, which has been engaged in a comprehensive survey of the subject of the authorization and financing of peace-keeping operations, has, in spite of its unremitting labours for over two years, been unable to make any positive recommendations or even indicate any acceptable guidelines for the future. I should have thought it not beyond human ingenuity to find a solution which is equitable as well as acceptable. To be able to do so one would have to reach out for the genesis of the problem without any inhibitions. In the view of my delegation, the core of the matter is a political one, in the sense that the difficulties which confront us on the questions of the authorization and of the financing of peace-keeping operations stem from a built-in structural weakness of the Organization itself. Conscious of their role in the united and combined effort which brought them victory in the last world conflict, the five major Allied Powers assumed—wrongly, as time has proved—that this unanimity in the pursuit of victory over a common enemy would endure as the basis for the fashioning of a world order. This view was reflected in the provisions of the Charter, the overriding feature of which was the assumption of the unanimity of the five great Powers. Subsequent events have shown clearly that the friends of one day may well emerge as the cold war antagonists of another, thus rendering nugatory the very basis of some of the important provisions of the Charter.

179. What is more, the membership of the United Nations has grown beyond all expectations and is now more than double its original number. Having regard to the changes that have overtaken us in the last twenty years in the relationship of the great Powers inter se and in the rise to nationhood of half a hundred more countries, we seem as yet to be working on

too narrow a canvas. The truth of the matter is that what is required is a close and fearless re-examination of the provisions of the Charter itself. If, for instance, a situation arises where the collective will of the international community is expressed by a near-unanimous resolution of the General Assembly calling for the mounting of a peace-keeping operation, with only one permanent member of the Security Council alone dissenting, is such a decision to be frustrated or even completely defeated by the lack of appropriate financial support resulting from a juridical interpretation of a provision of the Charter as it stands? This, as I have observed above, is in keeping with neither the immediate needs nor the enduring interests of the Organization. While we fully recognize and concede that the Charter is a solemn international treaty, we think the time is ripe for a significant and helpful study to be made with a view to making the basic provisions of the Charter reflect the realities with which we are confronted. This could be achieved by discussion and negotiation in a spirit of give-and-take and in a manner acceptable both to the major Powers and to the smaller States. Indeed, the founding fathers of this Organization seem to have contemplated the necessity for such a review of the Charter within ten years of its coming into force and included the mandatory provision in Article 109 that, if no conference for the review of the Charter has been held before the 10th annual session of the General Assembly following the coming into force of the Charter, a "proposal to call such a conference shall be placed on the agenda of that session of the General Assembly".

180. Ten more years have passed and we have not seriously addressed ourselves to the consideration of this question. I need hardly assure you that my delegation would not have ventured to make a suggestion of this nature if it felt that its acceptance would, even remotely, tend to undermine the stability or reduce the strength of this Organization. But we make the suggestion because we are sincerely convinced that a stage has been reached in the growth of this Organization where a peace-keeping operation required by the general will of the international community should no longer be dependent on the uncertain or shifting interests of individual Member States or on the continuing generosity of a few, but that it should be financed by a mandatory levy based on a scale which takes into consideration the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council, the degree to which particular States are involved in the events or actions leading to such a peace-keeping operation, and the economic capacity of Member States, particularly of the developing countries.

181. It is true that the interposition of peace-keeping forces after there have been breaches of international peace has been a significant achievement of the United Nations. My delegation nevertheless feels, as it has always felt, that this Organization, as the final repository of the hopes and aspirations, particularly of the smaller and weaker nations of the world, cannot allow itself to rest content with intervention only after a breach has actually occurred.

182. A much more significant contribution to international understanding and peace and security can be

achieved only when the United Nations engages in peace-building operations calculated to eliminate the underlying causes creating the tensions which eventually lead to breaches of the peace. Speaking before this Assembly last year, I referred to the fact that there should be available to the United Nations, for the furtherance of peace-building activities, a forceful and representative political task force which can step in and mediate even before a dispute has had time to deteriorate into a disruptive one. This, in the view of my delegation, would contribute immeasurably towards strengthening the peace-building capacity of this Organization. It is therefore gratifying to me to note that the Secretary-General himself has recently stressed the need for the United Nations to continue the long-term task of building the peace if it is to equip itself for helping countries to keep the peace. My delegation whole-heartedly endorses this observation of his and pledges itself to work towards the achievement of this end.

183. No peace-keeping operation or peace-building effort can have secure foundations unless, in the final analysis, it leads to a recognition that the stability of international society is as much dependent on recourse to legal institutions as is the stability of any municipal society. That learned disquisitions about the ultimate responsibility for establishing and preserving world peace can never bring into being the required identity of interests between individual States and the international community is a truism. The most profound concept that the development of human institutions in an erring world has produced is the concept of the rule of law. All civilized societies have come to accept this as a categorical imperative for organized existence. While I am of course aware that we are far from having reached the ideal of world government, I think it within the ken and grasp of civilized man to transmute the municipal concept of the rule of law into a framework of international coexistence. I had cherished the hope that the quintessence of the world's juristic talent, which one assumed to be embodied in the International Court of Justice, would make of that body not merely an important organ of the United Nations but the faithful mirror of the international social conscience, not only compelling the obedience of Governments but also commanding the respect and admiration of the peoples of the world. It is a matter of deep regret that the recent diversion of the International Court of Justice should have very nearly shattered the hopes of the international community that the Court would progressively become the instrument to bring into conformity any errant member of that community. I sincerely hope that any aberration on the part of any one or more members of the Court will not make any of us abandon our hopes of refashioning that institution as the ultimate civilized means of settling disputes without recourse to force and thus moving towards the final evolution of the rule of international law.

184. I should like now to turn shortly to the economic and social aspects of the activities of the United Nations. We have understood and appreciated over the years that one of the primary means of lowering international tension, removing suspicions and jealousies and creating better understanding among the peoples of the world would be through an organized

and planned scheme of accelerated development of the economies of the developing countries. I should like to state that the specialized agencies of the United Nations and its various regional economic commissions have done useful work, and I venture to think that, if the financial resources available to them had been greater, more significant advances in various spheres might have been achieved.

185. But I regret, and my regret must be shared by practically all the developing countries of the world, that no concerted effort has yet been effectively mounted to prevent the increasing disparity between the standards of living of the peoples of the industrialized and those of the developing countries of the world. Herein lies the grave danger of a pronounced polarization between the "haves" and the "have-nots". It was the apprehension of this danger that led the General Assembly to designate the 1960's as the United Nations Development Decade, by the end of which the rate of economic growth of the developing nations was to be accelerated to reach a minimum of 5 per cent per annum. We are more than half-way through the decade and I regret to state that the mid-term appraisal of the programme shows that the prospects of achieving the target remain bleak. Indeed it is doubtful whether there can be an improvement even on the record of the second half of the 1950s. Unless some radical changes in the policies and practices governing the flow of capital to the developing countries take place, the term "Development Decade" will, I fear, remain an empty slogan without giving even the mild psychological satisfaction that slogans sometimes bring. International efforts for the promotion of the economic development of the developing countries remain ill-co-ordinated and incoherent, and fall short of the requirements of the prospective recipients of economic aid. While Ceylon welcomes the institutional advances made by the setting-up of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and the establishment of the Asian Development Bank, I am constrained to state that the progress made by UNCTAD in the two years of its existence is, in practical and concrete terms, not very encouraging. There was a time when two years was regarded as a moment in the life of a nation; but in the fast-moving world of this nuclear and space age, two years can be of great importance in the economic development of a nation.

186. May I be permitted to focus the attention of this Assembly on the broad features of the problems that affect developing countries. They are: first, inadequate capital inflow; second, terms of credit which are tending increasingly to become onerous despite isolated attempts at granting relief by way of interest-free loans, extended periods of maturity, and, in some cases, by repayment in local currencies; third, deteriorating terms of trade which in the context of chronic balance-of-payment difficulties upset all development plans by reducing the import capacity of countries; fourth, growing uncertainties in regard to, and for fear of interruption in, the matter of aid; and fifth, the growing burden of debt-servicing which tends to absorb an increasing proportion of the income capital and of export earnings.

187. To strike an individual note, may I say that my country is harassed by balance-of-payments diffi-

culties rendered even more complex by deteriorating terms of trade. We are at present experiencing one of the most serious slumps in our export prices. Forms of relief available in such situations are inadequate and unrealistic and, I would submit, require immediate reappraisal. Urgent and adequate measures of compensatory financing to combat both a decline in export earnings and an increase in import prices of manufactured articles should, I feel, be devised in order to grant relief for any deterioration in a country's terms of trade as a whole. I should also like to commend for general and agreed acceptance a policy of periodical review and rephasing of debt-servicing obligations that would take into account the ability of the debtor to meet his obligations.

188. While I would like to acknowledge with deep appreciation the assistance that Ceylon has received from many friendly countries and from international institutions, I should like, however, to add on a broader canvas that it has been estimated that the developing countries have the capacity to absorb productively about \$3 billion more annually than they now receive. The actual picture shows that the flow of economic assistance to developing countries has remained unchanged since 1961, although the commitment undertaken at the Conference of Trade and Development by each of the developed nations was to transfer annually 1 per cent of its gross national income to the developing countries.

189. I should also like to add the hope that the problem of international liquidity will find an early solution which will provide the developing nations with a fair share in the increased reserves that are created so that it will correspondingly enhance their purchasing power for development purposes.

190. The public sector in the newly independent countries, for reasons historical, political and economic, finds it imperative to undertake the major burden of the responsibility for economic development. This is due to the very low capital formation in their private sectors, for which reason their Governments have consciously assumed the responsibility for controlling "the commanding heights of the economy". We sincerely trust that this compelling necessity will be adequately appreciated by the capital-exporting countries, thereby inducing them to modify their present policies and to provide economic aid to the public sectors.

191. If the theory of aid as being a temporary expedient designed to carry the recipient country to the take-off stage or the stage of self-sustained growth is seriously meant, then I would venture to suggest that the practices of the past have been at sharp variance with the theory. Such a theory would require not the financing of individual projects selected at will for their bankability, but the financing of an integrated programme of economic development calculated to transform the economy as a single and indivisible whole.

192. I should like to commend for the consideration of this Assembly certain measures which can be adopted on a regional basis and which so far have not received the attention they deserve. I would particularly press the need for the organization of regional payments unions among the developing countries. While it would stimulate trade among the countries of a region, it would not subject them to the harsh dictates of the world's payments situation or the individual balance-of-payments problems of the members of the group.

193. May I conclude these observations by saying that we must boldly face the stark truth that the widening chasm between the standards of living of the developed and the developing countries constitutes a greater menace to international peace and security than the traditional conflicts of interests or the clash of ideologies. For, between conflicting ideologies some accommodation might be possible, prompted by the necessity of avoiding mutual co-extinction; but between plenty and penury there can be no peaceful co-existence. I do not in any way wish to imply that the security of the affluent is threatened by the needy, but it must be realized by all of us that illiteracy, malnutrition and disease pose as great if not a greater threat to international understanding and amity as the manufacture and proliferation of highly sophisticated and lethal weapons on which the major Powers seem to be anxious to spend billions of dollars in the fond but receding hope that they are thereby ensuring security and peace in the world.

194. You will forgive me if, in the course of my survey of the international scene, I happen to have struck a somewhat unorthodox note. My only excuse, if excuses are necessary, is our growing impatience with the delays and impediments that are obstructing the early fulfilment of our expectations of the United Nations as the ultimate palladium of our liberties. We meet and move here in these precincts with genuine feelings of friendship, equality and oneness. If these sentiments are carried back and made to influence, if not govern, national perspectives and policies, then one feels sure that with every succeeding year that we foregather here, the distinct and discernible gaps separating Member States will tend to narrow and disappear. It is this ideal of oneness that I believe has inspired and sustained man throughout the ages.

195. As I leave this rostrum, may I share with you, Mr. President, and with my fellow representatives, some memorable lines from an ancient Tamil Hindu classic, the Purananuru:

To us all towns are one, all men our kin.
Life's good comes not from others' gift, nor ill;
Man's pains and pain's relief are from within ...
We marvel not at greatness of the great,
Still less despise we men of low estate.

The meeting rose at 1.45 p.m.