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President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHwak
 (Afghanistan).

General debate (concluded)

1. Prince SOUVANNA PHOUMA (Laos) (translated from French): Mr. President, to the unanimous praise which has been addressed to you permit me to add that of Laos and myself. Allow me also to express to you our satisfaction at seeing you preside over the work of this twenty-first session of the General Assembly.
2. In the vast continent of Asia, the Kingdom of Laos, like the Kingdom of Afghanistan, is a country without a coast, entirely dependent on its neighbours for access to the sea. That is why, knowing your qualities as a diplomat, your sense of responsibility and your interest in the problems that beset countries which the accident of geography has rendered land-locked, we rejoice on more than one ground at the honour bestowed on you by this assembly in confiding to you the highest of trusts in an international situation that some have described as grave and difficult.
3. My delegation would also like to pay a tribute to your eminent predecessor, Mr. Amintore Fanfani, for the distinction and competence with which he conducted our proceedings. We are beholden to him for a session in which notable progress was made in spite of a sometimes stormy and often tense atmosphere.
4. This year our Organization has been enriched by the admission of a new member, Guyana, which I am happy to welcome. Two African countries, the Kingdom of Lesotho and Botswana, which have just been admitted, will—I am sure—make an active contribution to the work of the United Nations, the number of

whose Members has now reached the record figure of 121. Nevertheless, the United Nations has not yet completely applied the sacred principles which the authors of the Charter wished to establish as the very foundations of the organization, since certain nations—and not the least important in terms of the influence they have on international affairs—have not yet been able to make their voices heard in our deliberations.

5. We salute, at last, and with joy, the return to our midst of Indonesia, a great Asian country still attached to the principles of Panchashila. We are certain that, by its mission and its active role in the concert of nations, it will make a valuable contribution to the relaxation of international tension and to the cause of peace, especially in South-East Asia.

6. The speakers who have preceded me to this rostrum have rightly expressed their concern and dismay at the crises and convulsions shaking our world. The problems of peace, which are the consequences of colonialism, poverty and ignorance, and those stemming from the cold war, whose persistence continues to breed fear and suspicion between States, are still waiting to be solved. Many of these problems, because they have been concealed or approached indirectly or papered over by temporary compromises, are ready to explode at the least disturbance of the balance of forces by the capriciousness of some or the stubbornness of others.

7. In Africa, an out-of-date reactionary colonialism continues to hold sway obstinately refusing to give up its privileges. Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea remain in subjection, under the reign of force and violence. The shameful practices of racial discrimination, which are official doctrine in South Africa and Rhodesia, constitute a challenge and an insult to human dignity. In these countries all Africa is being most cruelly humiliated. In these countries the authority and prestige of the United Nations are being flouted.

8. In spite of all the disorder, rampant hate and exploding racism, there are still grounds for satisfaction and hope, and even for a measure of optimism. Last year witnessed the emergence in Asia of the spirit of Tashkent after the cease-fire agreed to by India and Pakistan,^{1/} thanks to the personal efforts of the Secretary-General. The confrontation that had poisoned relations between Indonesia and Malaysia has recently ended as a result of the spirit of co-operation and goodwill that inspires the leaders of those brother countries. The boundary dispute between our neighbours, Thailand and Cambodia, appears to

^{1/} Tashkent Declaration (10 January 1966).

be on the way to a settlement. The Asian Development Bank, whose creation has raised great hopes and opens up new prospects for the economic and social development of Asia, is about to take its first steps. Like the other countries of this region, Laos has great hopes of this new institution, which will become an instrument of progress in the service of co-operation and peace.

9. Unfortunately, along with this trend towards the relaxation of tension and peace, there is in Asia a source of grave conflict—one which is localized, to be sure, in the Indo-Chinese peninsula, more particularly in Viet-Nam and to a lesser degree in Laos, but which, tomorrow, could set ablaze all of Asia and perhaps the whole world. I think that world opinion looks at the situation in these areas in the following way: there is every reason to believe that, step by step, through the insidious process of so-called wars of national liberation, the flames of a third world war will flame up and destroy us all, unless this process is halted in good time. Some are accelerating this process with the idea of realizing their dream of hegemony, while others use it to experiment with the principles and practices of future wars. General staffs are giving their theories the trial by fire. Troops are being trained and tested; meanwhile, the way to the process of "de-escalation" has not been found.

10. It is said that a balance of terror makes war impossible, but no one can really believe that. We for our part are sceptical, and we believe that the day the die is finally cast, everything will go up in smoke.

11. In Laos we have been suffering for years the immediate effects of the war in Viet-Nam. Through the so-called Pathet Lao forces and in collusion with them, the North Viet-Nameese have brought the war to Laos. The celebrated "Ho Chi Minh trail", over which foreign weapons and troops are moved, passes through our territory. It is no longer a secret to anyone that entire North Viet-Nameese battalions are operating in our country, attacking our forces, killing our women and children, carrying off our crops and our livestock. A number of North Viet-Nameese prisoners belonging to regular units have been captured in engagements with our troops on various battlefields in Laos. Documents taken from the dead and interrogations of prisoners have enabled the Royal Government to furnish incontestable evidence of the presence of increasingly large numbers of North Viet-Nameese troops on Laotian territory, and of their interference in the domestic affairs of our country—all in spite of the Geneva Agreements of 1962 on the neutrality of Laos. The International Control Commission created by the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962, to which our complaint against the North Viet-Nameese intervention was directed, has recognized in its documents that the facts presented are accurate and our accusations well founded. The Government of the United Kingdom, as Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference, has in a recent statement placed on record repeated violations of the 1962 Agreements by the Hanoi Government. Recently, before this august assembly, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of India spoke of the situation in Laos, which, he said, was closely linked to that in Viet-Nam. He went on to say:

"There could be no perceptible improvement in one without a corresponding improvement in the other. Should the conflict in Viet-Nam escalate, there is bound to be a corresponding escalation in Laos as well. In such an inherently difficult situation, we appreciate the efforts made by the Prime Minister of the Royal Laotian Government, Prince Souvanna Phouma, to steer a middle course."
[1432nd meeting, para. 72.]

12. Of course, some delegations will cry down our evidence as fabricated. But we are used to such denials; they will not be the first, for the world is full of them.

13. The General Assembly itself must certainly still vividly recall other, perhaps more dramatic, instances of such an outcry, too noisy to be sincere, when irrefutable evidence—always challenged, to be sure—was produced against those who violate the principles of the Charter and openly mock repeated condemnations pronounced by the General Assembly. My delegation, which is becoming accustomed to these disavowals, will not dwell on the odious character of such practices. Accusations and counter-accusations do not serve the interests of peace. We know that for some the Agreements of 1954 and those of 1962 are nothing but scraps of paper. For twelve years there have been disputes about those Agreements, about words, in order to conceal ambitions, camouflage expansion, incite rebellion, and supervise subversion.

14. That is why the people of Laos, subjected to various pressures and hard hit by prolonged fighting, ardently desire peace. They want an end of interference in their internal affairs, wherever it comes from. They steadfastly seek the friendship of their neighbours in order to arrive at reconciliation and concord as part of the neutrality which has been recognized and guaranteed by thirteen Powers. The Royal Government, over which I have the honour to preside, will spare no effort to destroy the wall of suspicion and doubt, to overcome the obstinate deafness of certain nations and to induce them to find a solution to the tragedy of Viet-Nam.

15. To this end it is prepared to open talks with all its adversaries to reach a modus vivendi permitting the gradual establishment of peace and stability throughout South-East Asia. In the same spirit I solemnly appeal to the opposing parties to seek a negotiated settlement of the problem of Viet-Nam. In this era of interdependence, there can be no military victory. The road to peace leads inevitably past the negotiating table. It would be a tragic mistake, sheer folly, for any of the parties to believe that it can emerge with a complete victory by force of arms or destroy a political régime in the hope of changing the status quo. Such a belief is futile and dangerous to peace, for it serves the interests of those who control the forces of war and, at the same time, undermines the principles of peaceful coexistence. Since the war is not producing and will not produce either victors or vanquished, since by its unforeseen consequences and its hidden connexions it poisons international relations and is preventing any progress, both in the negotiations for general and complete disarmament and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons

and in the efforts to achieve understanding and co-operation, why not stop the massacre, the devastation and the chaos? The preconditions and the false pretexts only serve to prolong needlessly the indescribable sufferings of the peoples. Throughout the world voices are being raised with ever-increasing energy and insistence to demand peace by negotiation. Have not His Holiness the Pope, the Secretary-General and many Heads of State made appeals for peace that have impressed the world by their force and sincerity? The people of Laos, who are a direct victim of this raging war, appeal, through me, to the parties to the conflict to negotiate. The sooner they sit down at a conference table, the better.

16. In our opinion the Geneva Agreements of 1954, whatever one may say about them, furnish an honourable basis and a valid framework for negotiating peace in Viet-Nam. It is essential to return to these Agreements, to improve the control and supervision machinery in order to increase their effectiveness and to adapt the Agreements to take account of the interests and the wishes not only of the people of Viet-Nam but also of all the other peoples of Indochina. We believe that a guaranteed neutralization of the entire peninsula would constitute a valid framework for laying the permanent foundations for peace in South-East Asia. The neutrality of the Laos of 1962 would find in such an expanded neutralization a stronger and surer basis, enabling our people to be safe from foreign intervention and to move towards a harmonious development of their relations with neighbouring countries.

17. I have referred in this statement to general and complete disarmament, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, colonialism and many other subjects on which nations are at odds and by which their genuine desire to collaborate in the building of a fraternal world community can be measured. But all the resolutions concerning such problems cannot be given effect unless the main problem, that of peace, is really settled. International co-operation cannot be fruitful unless confidence prevails among States and they are convinced that a general and definitive peace is certain. Alas, we are still far from that goal. The situation in our country is a vivid and deplorable demonstration of that fact. Unless we win this fight against war, both the large and the small nations, and mankind itself, will be sounding their own death-knell.

18. I would not wish to conclude my statement without expressing the keen regrets of my Government and my people at the decision of the Secretary-General not to continue in office for another term. We fully understand the noble and profound reasons for his decision, which reflects a struggle of conscience. We have known his devotion to the cause of peace, his high-mindedness, his personal modesty and his keen sense of responsibility too long not to feel that his departure will be a great loss to the United Nations at a time when the world situation requires the greatest cool-headedness and the greatest wisdom. Because of the crises afflicting the United Nations in recent years, we for our part should have liked to have U Thant continue to serve as the guardian of the world's conscience. But if his wish is otherwise, we can only defer to it. However, we shall take the liberty, although he has recommended extreme moderation in eulogies,

of expressing to him again the regrets, the esteem, and the admiration of the Laotian people for the contribution he has made in his post to the relaxation of tension and the promotion of peace and international co-operation.

19. Sir John CARTER (Guyana): Mr. President, since this is my first intervention, permit me to offer you my congratulations on your election to the post of President of the General Assembly at its twenty-first session. We are confident that, with the wealth of your experience and tact, you will guide the deliberations of this Assembly to fruitful and gratifying achievements.

20. My delegation also desires to pay its tribute to the Vice-Presidents who, with you, will guide the affairs of this Organization during this session. May I also add my high appreciation of the great work of the Secretary-General, His Excellency U Thant.

21. May I also take this opportunity to welcome Botswana and Lesotho which only yesterday took their seats in this Assembly. My Government is happy to see that, with this event, the United Nations is moving nearer to universality. Again, permit me to express my nation's gratitude to all those countries which have welcomed Guyana with such gracious sentiments to this Organization. In a world as harsh as ours, we need all the friendship we can get.

22. The representatives who have come to this rostrum before me have all spoken with passion and concern about the many serious problems facing mankind today. That they have done so underlines the fact that, in this twentieth century, all countries and all peoples are inextricably involved in common issues, and that, as a consequence of the remarkable development of communications between nations and countries, any event affecting any nation or State must be looked upon as one affecting all nations and all States. In his statement to this Assembly on Tuesday, 20 September 1966 [1409th meeting], upon Guyana's admission to membership, my Prime Minister spoke about Guyana's position on the main problems now occupying the thoughts of the representatives of the nations of the world. As he said on that occasion, ours is a small country populated by indigenous Amerindians, descendants of African slaves and indentured Indians—who make up the bulk of the people—and of Chinese, Portuguese and others. The presence of all these, except the first, in our part of the world is due to that economic and political process: imperialism. With such a background it is easy to understand why our aspirations are similar to those of the new nations, determined to make use of every opportunity to improve the life of our people; and this is our constant preoccupation as we play our part, however small, in the affairs of men. To this end we devote much effort to the development and maintenance of regional co-operation and the building of a strong, viable Caribbean community.

23. From our position we see the imbalance between the rich and poor countries as one of the greatest threats to international stability and therefore peace. In this connexion, I wish to bring to the Assembly's attention the introduction to the report of the Economic and Social Council [A/6303] which put in striking

form the nature of the problem we have to face in this area of our activities. In this introduction, the President of the Economic and Social Council said that in the course of its work during the year the Council brought into relief the most disquieting element in the current situation of the "third world" when it spoke of its concern at the slowing down of international aid. Discussions on the problems, he said, threw the harshest and most revealing light on the fact that international aid is stagnating while the already affluent countries continue to grow richer, despite the endeavours of the General Assembly to link these two elements.

24. As the President of the Economic and Social Council said:

"The resolution adopted by the Council shows clearly that we are confronted, not with the irony of fate, but with the will of men. It should provide a stimulus to leaders, both in the countries capable of providing aid and in those requiring it, whose own efforts are still, as has been rightly stressed, the essential condition of progress. The Council's resolution on the financing of development, as well as that adopted on the question of multilateral food aid, should make the countries of the North more sensible of their obligations to intensify their assistance, and the countries of the South more keenly desirous of making the best use both of their own resources and of external aid, and it should make the institutions, organizations and associations of the United Nations more conscious of their responsibility for promoting solidarity between the hemispheres and progress everywhere." [Ibid., p. xi.]

These words speak for themselves.

25. There is a matter to which my delegation feels compelled to make reference. On the occasion of Guyana's admission to this Assembly, the representative of Venezuela made reference to his country's claim to a portion of Guyana. During the course of this general debate, the Foreign Minister of Venezuela, in his statement of 30 September [1424th meeting], referred to this controversy. My delegation also feels it necessary to acquaint representatives in this body with the present position.

26. In 1899, an arbitral award was made by an international tribunal defining the boundary of Venezuela and Guyana. On the eve of our independence, the Venezuelan Government sought to reopen the claim, expressing the view that the tribunal acted fraudulently and basing this allegation on a posthumous document. The terms of reference under which the tribunal was appointed set out that the award should be full, final and perfect. My Government has respected the findings of that tribunal and has always regarded this issue as res judicata.

27. Early this year, my Government agreed to meet in Geneva with the Governments of Venezuela and the United Kingdom to have conversations concerning the controversy between our two territories over the frontier of Guyana. As a result of these conversations, an agreement was entered into with the Governments of Venezuela and the United Kingdom, in consultation with my Government, an agreement to which my Government became a party upon the attainment of

independence. Under this agreement, a mixed commission comprising two representatives of each of our two countries was appointed, with the task of seeking a practical solution to these claims. This commission met on two occasions, once in Caracas, when the Guyanese members of the commission travelled by regular commercial transport; and the second time in Georgetown, when the Venezuelan members arrived in the port of Georgetown on board a Venezuelan warship, Almirante Brion. This meeting was held shortly before Guyana's entry into this Organization. On 30 September, the Foreign Minister of Venezuela said in this Assembly:

"Venezuela trusts that good faith in the fulfilment of the provisions of the Geneva Agreement will lead to a definitive settlement of these differences in conformity with justice and law." [1424th meeting, para. 117.]

28. It is with regret, therefore, that I bring to the attention of the Assembly the fact that a few days ago it came to the attention of my Government that a number of Venezuelan officials have intruded upon Guyana's territory on Ankoko Island in the Cuyuni river as defined on a map in existence since 1904, and are carrying out certain works in our territory without the permission or consent of my Government. My Government feels that this intrusion by Venezuela constitutes a breach of the Geneva agreement entered into by the United Kingdom and Venezuela on 17 February 1966, to which my Government is now a party.

29. My Government views this action with concern, but proposes to abide by the terms of the Geneva agreement, and it is hoped that the Government of Venezuela will do the same. My Government has sent a note to the Foreign Minister of Venezuela and hopes to settle this controversy in a peaceful manner.

30. We adhere to the principles of the Charter of this Organization and will seek only peaceful means in solving all questions.

31. I desire to reaffirm that my Government maintains the friendliest relations with all our neighbours.

32. Mr. Al-dirazak HUSSEIN (Somalia): Mr. President, it is a great pleasure for me and my delegation to join in the warm congratulations expressed to you on your election as President of this Assembly. Your election is a tribute to the years in which you have served your country with high distinction as its representative to the United Nations, and to the wisdom, patience and good judgement which you have always shown in the deliberations of this Organization.

33. I wish to associate my delegation also with the tributes already paid to your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Amintore Fanfani. We recall with admiration his efficiency in handling the heavy agenda of last year's session. We recall, too, the profound understanding of international realities which he brought to bear on his work, and which stamped him as a statesman of the highest order.

34. It is my pleasure to extend to the delegations of Guyana, Botswana and Lesotho our warmest greetings on their countries' admission to this Organization. My delegation was also gratified to learn of the impending independence of Barbados.

35. I do not conceal a sense of emotion in addressing this Assembly. The last time I appeared in these halls, more than two years ago, I was a petitioner in the cause of the independence of my country. Since then Somalia has re-emerged as a nation, consisting not only of the former Trust Territory but also of former British Somaliland. We remember with deep gratitude the constructive and almost unique role which the United Nations played in the emergence to independence of our country and in the development of its institutions. We also recall with the greatest satisfaction the exemplary manner in which Italy faithfully discharged its responsibilities as administering authority of the Trust Territory. Its efforts were admirably assisted by Colombia, the Philippines and the United Arab Republic—the three Member States of the Advisory Council which, by virtue of the Trusteeship Agreement, represented the United Nations in an advisory capacity.

36. The trusteeship period in Somalia truly reflected the United Nations in action, faithfully applying its principles in the interests and for the welfare of my people. It is appropriate that a country such as Somalia—neither wealthy nor strong in arms—should stress the practical value of the United Nations Organization at a time when we hear much criticism about its imperfections. Let us look at merely one of the many types of beneficial influences of our Organization, namely, the decisive role which United Nations machinery and United Nations principles have played in the peaceful transition of Somalia and of other countries to independence; and let us at the same time remember the toll of blood and tears that had to be exacted and is still being exacted in the struggle of other countries, where for reasons which lie beyond the power of the United Nations, its machinery and its principles have not been brought into play.

37. The Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the other great resolves inspired by them show the only path to peace and progress. We say this not tritely, but with justified conviction. We realize that our country stands only at the beginning of its peaceful development and that the task will often be arduous. But we are determined to order our domestic affairs and our relations with all States in the spirit of the United Nations. We have faith in the United Nations Organization and we are ever ready to renew our pledge of loyalty to it. It is in this spirit that the Constitution of my country accepts "limitations on its sovereignty necessary for the establishment of a system to ensure peace among nations".

38. It is a great concern to my Government that no progress has been made even in those partial disarmament measures which were to be a step along the road to complete disarmament. The non-proliferation treaty which the Assembly hoped to receive at this session is still foundered on the rocks of the NATO and Warsaw Pact commitments and of the alleged complexities of providing guarantees to non-nuclear Powers. The hope has proved vain that improved scientific techniques in long-distance detection would permit the extension of the partial test-ban treaty to tests in all environments; proposals for reducing the number of nuclear weapons vehicles have been countered by the inadequate proposal to destroy outdated bombers.

39. It is with a deep sense of frustration and of anxiety that the smaller nations watch and wait while the survival of mankind hangs, perhaps, on the definition of such matters as "access to nuclear weapons". In theory, within these halls all Members possess an equal voice in seeking solutions to the grave problems which affect the world community as a whole.

40. In reality, we find that progress on these critical issues depends on the attitudes of the major Powers. Their professions and sometimes even their votes within the United Nations do not necessarily reflect their conduct and policies outside the walls of this building. The situation is both tragic and paradoxical. The major Powers were the principal architects of this unique Organization and accepted special responsibilities for maintaining world peace and security. Yet, the great unresolved problems of our time, which cast such heavy shadows over all countries, have their basic cause in the rivalries of these Powers.

41. It is to them that I wish to direct my appeal the name of humanity. Let us hope that they will re-dedicate themselves to the tasks entrusted to them and by their actions will create a favourable climate for international understanding and co-operation.

42. The United Nations should not be used only after a situation has developed into a crisis. A positive attitude towards the United Nations demands that we take constructive and preventive action to keep the peace; only in such manner shall we save mankind from ever greater anguish and suffering.

43. It is sometimes argued that as long as the most difficult problems, such as the war in Viet-Nam and the unification of divided nations, remain unsolved, we have to resign ourselves to lack of progress in the field even of nuclear disarmament. My Government does not share this view. It is certainly true that grave problems complicate each other. Yet, the United Nations must proceed on several fronts. Furthermore the non-atomic Powers must take whatever initiatives they can take themselves in order at least to alleviate the dangers that threaten all. African and Latin American States have taken steps towards non-nuclearization of their respective continents. This example could well be followed by other areas, such as the Middle East and South-East Asia. My Government hopes that the United Nations will give encouragement to the creation of non-nuclear zones. But the goodwill of the countries concerned does not suffice to produce the desired end. Until the nuclear Powers agree unconditionally to respect the non-nuclear status of these areas, their achievement will be incomplete.

44. In view of the lack of progress towards disarmament of any sort, my Government is more than ever concerned that progress should be made in finding solutions to the problems of peace-keeping operations and of improving the techniques for the pacific settlement of disputes. Keeping the peace is what the United Nations was created to do, and more positive efforts should be made towards this objective. At last year's session, my delegation co-sponsored the draft resolution, introduced by the Irish delegation,^{2/} that sought

^{2/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes, agenda item 101, document A/SPC/L.121/Rev.1

to establish an interim formula for the financing of peace-keeping operations until a more comprehensive arrangement could be worked out. Unfortunately, the draft resolution was not voted upon but referred to the Committee of Thirty-three,^{3/} together with other proposals. In spite of the Committee's commendable efforts, its Chairman had to report [A/6414] that he was unable to reconcile the different positions of its members. It is urgent that at this session the Assembly reach at least an interim agreement so that peace-keeping will not have to depend on the frail hope of ad hoc improvisations. The very usefulness of peace-keeping operations depends on their reliability. Members should have reasonable certainty that such operations can be instituted swiftly if and when the occasion arises. However, as things stand, the problem of financing them may always form an insuperable obstacle. The point I wish to make is not only that this uncertainty is dangerous if a specific crisis has already occurred, but that States cannot, because of this uncertainty, include reliance on United Nations peace-keeping operations in their own general security calculations.

45. Peaceful settlement of international disputes is a major concern of the United Nations and amply provided for in the Charter. Procedures for peaceful settlement are not lacking; what is lacking is rather the willingness of States or of United Nations organs to use them. My delegation considers that greater use should be made of the political organs of the Organization for purposes of conciliation and good offices.

46. However, possession of the full facts is an absolutely essential prerequisite for such constructive tasks. Very logically, Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter starts its provisions about the active role of the Security Council in the pacific settlement of disputes by granting the Council the power to make investigations. It is also generally recognized that the broad powers granted by the Charter to the General Assembly include fact-finding powers for the Assembly.

47. Indeed, once the full facts are known, the merits of a dispute often become apparent, and possible lines of reasonable agreement become discernible. To be sure, impartial investigation can be obstructed, for example, by refusing entry to the investigators. I can say only that other States will be able to draw their own conclusions from such an attitude, and a negative result of a fact-finding exercise may therefore have a certain positive value. The Somali delegation is prepared to endorse a general study of the problem of improving the techniques of peaceful settlement. At the very least, such a study should examine the possibilities of some more permanent machinery for fact-finding to be used in conjunction with the conciliation and good offices processes of the Security Council and the Assembly.

48. The unresolved question of China's place in the community of nations is one of those grave political problems that cause international tension. It would be a great contribution towards the lessening of that tension if this session of the General Assembly were to restore the right of the People's Republic of China to take its seat in the United Nations.

49. The darkest cloud now hanging over the world is of course the war in Viet-Nam. The suffering of all the people of this divided nation and the dangers which the escalation of the war poses to international peace both demand that all peace-loving countries continue their efforts to have the hostilities ended and to bring the parties concerned to the conference table.

50. The Somali Government has consistently urged that military force cannot solve the problems of Viet-Nam, that the reunification of Viet-Nam can be achieved only by the peaceful procedures of self-determination, and that all parties to the conflict must unconditionally accept a return to the Geneva Agreements of 1954. We regret that our proposal to establish a committee of good offices composed of Afro-Asian States to bring about a cease-fire and to arrange for a conference, and the attempts of other non-aligned countries to achieve a settlement, have not met with success.

51. Humanity demands that a speedy end be brought to the terrible suffering of the Viet-Nameese people, and to a war which, if continued, may lead to nuclear disaster.

52. The continued existence of remnants of colonialism in Africa and elsewhere is of deepest concern to the Somali people, and my Government is always prepared to support the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. For this reason, we were particularly happy to welcome the Committee of Twenty-four to Mogadiscio in June this year.

53. It was only in 1965 that the decolonization committee inaugurated its practice of making actual visits to Africa and of holding investigations there. We consider this practice very valuable, even though the Committee has been prevented from entering some of the very Territories on which it has been mandated to obtain impartial information. This is a sad commentary on the state of affairs. Yet, such obstructionist policies do not achieve their own ends. The fact that the Committee had travelled as close to the Territories concerned as possible could not be concealed from their peoples; and the fact that the Committee was, as it were, stopped at their borders did not discourage them. On the contrary, where hope had withered there is now a great resurgence of the spirit of freedom. This is manifest, for example, in the Portuguese-occupied Territories of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, where liberation forces have intensified their struggle.

54. In Aden and South Arabia, prospects for independence appear much brighter than in the past. We hope the United Kingdom's decision to co-operate with the United Nations Mission appointed by the Secretary-General to participate in the preparation and supervision of elections in that Territory will be in strict accord with the letter and spirit of the various resolutions passed by the General Assembly on this question. It is unfortunate that the British decision was so long in coming. An earlier one would have precluded unnecessary violence and bloodshed.

55. Across the gulf from Aden lies another Non-Self-Governing Territory where recent events have underscored the need for speedy action. That Territory is

^{3/} Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

French Somaliland. Its people have clearly demonstrated their desire for independence. Strong proof of their sentiments was given during the visit of President de Gaulle to the Territory in August this year. Reports from its capital, Djibouti, clearly indicated that those demonstrations were not directed against the person of that great general and statesman nor his country as such. But they unmistakably revealed the people's pent-up dissatisfaction with their colonial status. As if to prove their point, the local colonial administration used brutal police methods against them which resulted, unfortunately, in the death of a number of people and injuries to scores of others. Hundreds have been gaoled and many more deported from the Territory.

56. My Government has understandably been perturbed by these events, but our anxieties have been somewhat allayed by the French Government's announcement that the people of the Territory will be allowed to decide their own political future through a referendum to be held before July 1967. However, in view of the unsettled political conditions in the Territory, certain basic measures must be implemented if the referendum is to have any meaning at all. Steps must be taken to ensure that the vote in the referendum is confined to the indigenous people of French Somaliland on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

57. Prior to the referendum, conditions must be created for the people to make full use of their political rights. These should include, for example, their right to form and adhere to political organizations of their own choosing, the release of all political detainees, and the right of all citizens who have been exiled from the Territory to return without fear of retribution.

58. The referendum itself must be conducted with absolute fairness. Should the people of the Territory decide by a majority vote to become independent, arrangements should be made to guarantee the territorial integrity and sovereignty of their State. France, because of its century-old association, has a special role in this respect.

59. I do not want the representations which my country is making on behalf of the Territory to be misunderstood. My Government has made it perfectly clear that, however old and close may be the ties between Somalia and French Somaliland, the wishes of the people of French Somaliland regarding their future must remain paramount. Our policy in this respect is based on the principles which underlie the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

60. The people of French Somaliland are united by ties of blood and religion, by culture and history. The recent demonstrations have shown that they are united also in their desire for independence. Efforts are continually being made in certain quarters to divide the population by attempting to create differences which in reality do not exist. We are certain that all such outside endeavours to sow discord among them are destined to fail. The Somali Government, on its part, is neither desirous of, nor is it interested in, dividing them. We want them to gain freedom in unity under one flag of their own choice.

61. Our concern about the future of French Somaliland stems from the fact that its people is bound by the closest possible relationship with our people. This relationship manifests itself in common ties of kinship, cultural heritage, religion, and history. In addition, both our peoples have been victims of colonial policies and machinations. We in the Somali Republic have been fortunate enough to regain our independence; but having gained that independence it is natural that we should advocate the same for all colonial people in the Horn of Africa and elsewhere. Our interest in this matter, therefore, is plain: We wish to see French Somaliland emerge as an independent State through the freely expressed wishes of its inhabitants. The statement made by the French Government indicates that this is also the aim of its policy towards the Territory. We trust that we can take this as a firm commitment on the part of France.

62. In this context I must refer to certain statements made in this general debate by the representative of Ethiopia on 29 September [1423rd meeting]. He expressed Ethiopia's support for self-determination of the people of French Somaliland. My delegation welcomes that statement because it acknowledges the right of the people of the Horn of Africa to self-determination. However, we regret that, almost in the same breath, Ethiopia contradicts its own position. In the same speech of 29 September, its representative claimed that the Territory was, until the second half of the nineteenth century, "an integral part of Ethiopia"; that its people are the kith and kin of the Ethiopians; or, in short, that they are Ethiopians. Does all this add up to the position that Ethiopia favours self-determination for French Somaliland provided that it becomes part of Ethiopia, or that French Somaliland should exchange its dependence on a European Power for some sort of dependence on Ethiopia?

63. The arguments advanced by Ethiopia are not only factually incorrect but irrelevant. They resemble embarrassingly the shopworn arguments against independence of colonial people which, we thought, had been discarded for ever. There is no need for me to dwell on those arguments here, as they were dealt with in detail by the Somali representative in the meeting of the Special Committee on decolonization on 10 October.

64. The assertions made by the representative of Ethiopia can be easily refuted. If my Government feels apprehensive about these statements, it is because of the motives behind them. The question which this Organization must ask is: To what end are these claims made? What, in short, have Ethiopia's claims to do with the right of the people of French Somaliland to self-determination and independence?

65. The answer, I regret to say, is on record. On 16 September the Emperor of Ethiopia spoke at a Press conference in Addis Ababa about the strategic importance of the territory for Ethiopia, and asserted that such an area could not be separated from Ethiopia. In the present Assembly, the representative of Ethiopia also referred to the exigencies of his country's security with regard to the territory.

66. This attitude is fundamentally incompatible with the whole principle of self-determination and with the efforts of the United Nations to liberate peoples which,

with their territory, were subjected to alien rule for precisely such reasons as the national security of outside countries. I cannot believe this Organization will tolerate such an attitude. For what shall we have struggled in Angola, Cyprus, Suez, Aden, Malta and elsewhere if we allow one Member State to deny a people's right to independence under the pretext of its own security?

67. The basic point is that there is no reason to assume that French Somaliland, once independent, would be unfriendly to Ethiopia. As my delegation pointed out a few days ago in the Committee of Twenty-four, there is every reason for the people of French Somaliland to establish close and reciprocal ties of friendship, after independence, with all African countries.

68. The issue of French Somaliland must not be viewed as a dispute between Somalia and Ethiopia. The issue is, purely and plainly, decolonization and self-determination for French Somaliland. We wish to impress upon this Assembly that French Somaliland must not become a new danger-spot in a world already beset with all too many explosive issues. It would be a parody if the promise of liberation for that Territory were to become the signal for discord and for new claims of annexation. It is essential that France carry out its pledge to enable the people of the territory to exercise their right to determine their political future in a climate of complete freedom.

69. In the colonial territories just mentioned, the peoples, we hope, will be able to fulfil their national aspirations. In South Africa no hope for self-determination exists at present. The evil practices of apartheid continue to be ruthlessly applied. The African inhabitants have not only to contend with the racist régime, but also with a number of powerful States of the Western world which collaborate with that régime. What moral or humanitarian standards can we attribute to some of those States which refuse to enforce the arms embargo, which steadily increase their trade with South Africa and refuse to join in collective action aimed at compelling the régime to alter its racist policies? The fact is that the Nazi system of oppression is continuously being perfected in South Africa—with the knowledge, collusion and support of Members of this Organization. The indigenous people are now so thoroughly oppressed that their condition can be improved only by concerted international action. Yet, several States which profess abhorrence for the shame of apartheid have only recently refused to join in the economic boycott of South Africa, and even declined to serve on the Special Committee on Apartheid. These attitudes constitute blatant evasions of their moral responsibilities.

70. Another disturbing situation faces the nations of the world in Rhodesia. It is now almost a year since the Ian Smith clique was allowed to seize power. During the first three months or so, hardly a day passed without Britain's declaring that the act was treasonable, that the régime was illegal and that Britain would have no truck with it.

71. But Britain has permitted Smith to consolidate his position; Britain has not kept its promises to the African inhabitants, and has frustrated all attempts to act against the régime at the international level.

In short, Britain's reluctance to deal effectively with the white rebellion has confirmed our worst fears. Any calculation that with the passing of time popular opposition to the régime will subside underestimates the depth of African sentiment on this question. My Government, along with other African Governments, will continue to demand and to work for the abolition of the minority régime and for the establishment of majority rule in Rhodesia. To this end, we shall continue to advocate mandatory sanctions of appropriate gravity under Chapter VII of the Charter, and the use of force if other means fail.

72. The views of my delegation have already been expounded on the question of South West Africa in the statement made on 3 October 1966 [1427th meeting]. This is a question which the United Nations had been talking about since the creation of this great Organization. What is needed now is action, immediate and effective. By its action, the International Court of Justice has remitted the problem of South West Africa to the General Assembly and the challenge must be taken up. The question that arises now is not whether the General Assembly should exercise its right to supervise the Mandate in view of South Africa's refusal to comply with its terms, but how the General Assembly should perform its obligations. The draft resolution before the Assembly [A/L.483 and Add.1-3] provides the proper mechanisms for the carrying out of the obligations of the Mandatory and sets forth the basic principles upon which the United Nations should exercise its supervisory authority.

73. Here is a situation where the whole weight of world opinion supports us, and I do not believe that, in the face of determined action to take over and administer South West Africa, the South African Government will defy this entire Organization.

74. In considering the problem of South West Africa I cannot help thinking of the plight of the people of a former Mandated Territory of the League of Nations. The Territory I have in mind is Palestine, where the indigenous Arab population have been robbed of their rights through the illegal occupation of their homeland by outside forces. In this problem Members of the United Nations should not believe that they have discharged their responsibilities by granting food or shelter to the hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees who have been stranded on the frontiers of their homeland for the past eighteen years. The real solution to the problem lies in political action. This has been recognized by the General Assembly in its resolution 194 (III) which states in clear terms that the refugees must be given the choice of returning to their homes or of being compensated for the loss of their property. As in the case of South West Africa, the United Nations has a special responsibility in this respect.

75. Oman is another Territory in the Arab world where colonialism is still strongly entrenched, and where the people continue their struggle to achieve freedom. In this respect, my country fully associates itself with General Assembly resolution 2073 (XX), which, among other measures, affirms the right of the people of the Territory to self-determination and independence in accordance with their freely expressed wishes.

76. The general debate has underscored the seriousness and complexity of this period of history. A special responsibility rests, therefore, upon the non-aligned Members of the United Nations to search for common ground on which parties to international disputes can settle their differences.

77. As a non-aligned State, the Somali Republic interprets its role as calling for positive, constructive action and not merely for negative neutralism. The President of my country has defined a non-aligned State as one which so conducts its internal and external policies that it actively promotes the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and which, in particular, is opposed to arrangements whereby States organize themselves into military blocs designed to further national aims or political ideologies by the threat or use of force. It is in the light of this definition that Somalia will approach the issues before this Assembly.

78. Mr. CORNER (New Zealand): The task of ensuring full expression of the diverse views of 121 Member States, while still bringing our deliberations to a constructive outcome, is no sinecure. Our gratitude and appreciation are due to the retiring President, Mr. Fanfani, for his notable contribution to the work of the preceding session.

79. In congratulating you, Sir, on your elevation to the Presidency of this Assembly, the New Zealand delegation pledges its co-operation with you in your demanding duty of attempting to channel in a positive direction the authority which the Assembly possesses. At a time when the problems of Asia are of such primary concern, it is altogether appropriate, as many have remarked before me, that it should be a distinguished son of Asia who presides over our deliberations.

80. We meet at a time when even the most optimistic among us must confess to a deep and growing sense of concern at the tide of events on almost every international front. The Secretary-General himself has in a number of recent statements given voice to his mounting anxiety; it is not, I believe, an exaggeration to describe his statements as expressing foreboding and despondency. I propose to describe first some aspects of the world scene and of the work of the United Nations as they seem to us; and then to look especially at the most immediately dangerous situation which confronts the international community: the war in Viet-Nam.

Mr. Tinoco (Costa Rica), Vice-President, took the Chair.

81. The United Nations, like its predecessor, the League of Nations, was created in order to preserve international peace. That was the prime intention of the representatives who met at San Francisco in 1945. The result was not quite what all of them had hoped for; as the then Prime Minister of New Zealand, leader of our delegation observed to the New Zealand Parliament on his return:

"Not security itself but the way to security lies in the Charter ... it will by no means resolve in advance all the problems that lie in the way of the nations of the world. It can do no more than set up the rules and procedures by which those problems may be approached."

82. The rules and procedures, the principles, the purposes and the machinery were established. But clearly the real test of their effectiveness would be the way the machinery was used and developed. In its other aspects, notably in its intensified concern with matters of economic and social development and with the right of dependent peoples to self-determination, the Charter went considerably further than the Covenant of the League had done. These were two fields in which New Zealand was able to make some positive contribution at San Francisco, a fact in which we take pride. The Charter, therefore, set the Organization on a course designed to preserve peace and to facilitate peaceful change. Peace and peaceful change—these were the twin roads by which world security was to be approached.

83. The objectives of the international community which are contained in the Charter are now taken for granted. It is, therefore, salutary to look back to the time, not too distant, when assumptions were different. Today, for example, no one would question that problems of development are international in scale and must find their place on the agenda of the world community and its various institutions. What an advance this is. Only a generation ago it was not even generally accepted that Governments should actively concern themselves with the state of their own nation's economy, let alone with the economic health of their neighbours or of the whole family of man. Similarly, as the concurrent debate on South West Africa has reminded us, it is less than fifty years ago that the concept of the "sacred trust" was laid down in the Mandates System of the League of Nations. But that decision contributed to the process of decolonization which the United Nations has assisted so vigorously and to which its membership today bears witness. In fact, it may be held that in some ways the most effective aspect of the work of this Organization has been in the field of colonial and Trust Territories, generally in co-operation with the metropolitan Powers concerned. New Zealand has played a part in that process, in both its colonial and its trusteeship aspects, and as an administering Power we welcomed the contribution of the United Nations to our task of bringing to self-determination the dependent peoples for whose progress we had assumed responsibility.

84. Another and related aspect of the work of the United Nations which has recently been given a new impetus is that of promoting and protecting fundamental human rights and freedoms. The adoption at the twentieth session of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [resolution 2106 A (XX)] was, we believe, an achievement of very considerable significance. This Convention can be expected to do much to help combat the denial of human dignity which, in various shapes and forms, is both widespread and peculiarly persistent. I am glad to be able to announce that my Government has now authorized its signature.

85. The international community, however, is now faced with certain intractable colonial problems, intertwined with dangerous divisions based on race, which exist especially in southern Africa. I shall not speak at this stage in specific terms, since on one such issue—that of South West Africa—New Zealand's position has already been made clear and, on others,

more appropriate opportunities will soon be furnished. Rather, I wish to make some general observations on the nature of these issues as they affect this Organization. I make them because, as a small country, New Zealand has valued the United Nations: support of the United Nations has been one of the main pillars of our foreign policy.

86. That the persistence of colonialism and of racial discrimination in Africa is felt as an affront to all independent African States of the continent we fully appreciate. That the aid of the international community should be sought as a means of expressing disapproval of this colonial condition and of bringing weight to bear to help to change it is also entirely understandable. We may soon face another and fateful question: whether this weight ought to be fully mobilized immediately at undefined, but virtually limitless, cost. The Charter has provisions which make it possible to bring to bear, if ultimately necessary, an unlimited degree of force to defeat a major breach of peace. The question now looming is whether these provisions are to be interpreted as authority for the institution to make similar sacrifices for the righting of wrongs.

87. There is a protective as well as a positive element in the original doctrines of this Organization. Protection from aggression was provided for; standards for political evolution were set. There was no provision for punitive crusades. The range of activities of this Organization and of the specialized agencies can, and should, be expanded by broad agreement and within the terms of the Charter to meet new needs or old needs as they come to be more keenly felt. They have in fact been so expanded. The Charter has been constantly interpreted and developed. But, in respect of the ultimate weapon in our armoury, mandatory enforcement measures and especially the mandatory use of force, we should be well advised to think very carefully before we distort or relax the limitations imposed in the Charter; for these represent today, as heretofore, the maximum that Governments are prepared to accept. Confronted with objectionable behaviour or seemingly intransigent situations, it may be tempting to enlarge the scope of the definition of a threat to peace and thus to commit the international community to the use of force in a widening circle of international problems. It may be tempting; but it would represent a distortion of the Charter and a transformation of the United Nations, not only far beyond what we believe was ever intended or even conceived by the countries which drafted and signed the Charter at San Francisco, but far beyond what we believe would be acceptable if a new Charter were being negotiated at some fresh conference at this time. Even apart from that consideration, the practical consequences of the courses of action sometimes proposed must always be thought through and their potential cost—not only in terms of money but also in terms of lives—reflected upon. We can understand the pressure some Members feel to designate situations that are repugnant to them as threats to the peace. We can understand, but we cannot necessarily accept; for to enlarge the scope of the Charter provisions designed to meet a threat to the peace may also be to dilute them. We should all then be the poorer and the less secure.

88. At this point I should like to dwell for a moment on a general trend which is, I believe, causing concern in many quarters: that is, the increasing tendency of Assembly resolutions to be declamatory rather than considered statements, crammed with sweeping and often unsubstantiated assertions, loaded with emotion-charged and often questionable judgements—and sometimes obscure or even meaningless language—and containing virtually no serious regard for the means, the cost or the consequences of their implementation. Already the significance of General Assembly pronouncements has been eroded. This process of devaluation diminishes the standing of the Assembly and diminishes us, its Members, too.

89. We have indeed come some distance in the twenty-one years since San Francisco in developing genuinely international attitudes and in devising international responses to the challenges which face all peoples. It would, I know, be unjust to underestimate the extent of that achievement. We have taken many strides forward; but the substance and even the shape of some of the most crucial problems of our time, it must be admitted, still elude us and in fact dance on even faster ahead of us. Nowhere is that sense of frustration, of grappling with phantoms, greater than in the principal questions of peace and security and of disarmament.

90. True, the fabric of world peace, while torn, has so far held together. Why? Largely, it must be said, because of the restraint of the great Powers, in sober awareness of the nature of the weapons available in their own and in each other's nuclear armouries. The role which the United Nations has been able or has been permitted to play in their conflicts of interest, although on occasion useful, has necessarily been limited. In one recent and major instance, that of the fighting last year between India and Pakistan, the Security Council was able to act as its founders intended, because the great Powers discovered a common interest in peace higher than any of their otherwise divergent national interests. In many other circumstances, however, even relatively minor ones, the powers of the Council have been frustrated and its standing diminished. Early this year there was resistance even to the proposal to place the question of Viet-Nam on the Council's agenda for discussion; and in recent days we have been treated to the spectacle of an obstructive filibuster to delay consideration of an urgent complaint. Moreover, the expanded Council this year, widely accepted as being in its structure more truly representative of the United Nations membership than its recent predecessors, has not been able to do better than they: and it has, indeed, on occasion done worse and often been unable to reach even simple practical decisions in circumstances in which they were plainly warranted. That is not a reassuring phenomenon in the world of today.

91. The armaments of the contemporary world are, in fact, a measure of the extent of present international distrust. Admittedly, it is a two-way process—armaments in turn feed the fires in which they are forged. But until political relationships ease, major steps of real disarmament are not likely to be taken. What we must try to do, therefore, is to prevent the situation from becoming more dangerous and more complicated, perhaps beyond remedy, and to take the limited

measures of progress that are possible, in the hope that by so doing we enlarge the realm of what is possible.

92. Already, there has been some success in this limited field in the shape of the partial test-ban Treaty of 1963. My Government welcomed that Treaty. We believe that it has been vindicated, despite the difficulties which have attended all efforts to extend its scope; and despite the fact that two Powers which possess some nuclear weapons have chosen to ignore it.

93. New Zealand has repeatedly made clear its opposition to continued nuclear testing in the atmosphere. We have objected to the tests conducted by Communist China; and we have protested, so far unavailingly, against the series of tests in the South Pacific which France has now begun to conduct, albeit with as much care for the interests of those situated in the area as the present state of this terrible art permits. We object to continued atmospheric testing, both because of the potential hazards, however slight, to the natural environment and because of the graver dangers to the political environment.

94. I do not intend to dwell on these issues, since there are appropriate items on our agenda under which they should be discussed. At this point it is sufficient to say that New Zealand fully shares the widely endorsed view that a nonproliferation treaty and a comprehensive test ban are the urgent problems in this field—the first, and perhaps the easiest, hurdles which we should seek to clear.

95. Some maintain that progress is impossible unless and until every militarily significant State is both a participant and a party. We do not share this view. Such universality is a desirable goal—one for which we were prepared to support the proposal to convene a world disarmament conference—but it cannot be conceded to be an absolute prerequisite. Otherwise, in all realism, defeat must be conceded. At least, therefore, we must search for agreements of limited scope and possibly even of defined duration.

96. We are also attracted by the Secretary-General's suggestion [A/6301/Add.1, p. 4] that an authoritative study might be undertaken of all that is involved, in effort and cost, in a decision to make nuclear weapons; it seems reasonable to assume that the publication of such an analysis would be a salutary discouragement to potential proliferators.

97. If the United Nations has so often been handicapped in the major issues affecting peace and security and in the negotiations on disarmament, it has, as we all know, had some success in the secondary role of interposition: that is, of peace-keeping. Yet even here we face serious difficulties. It would, however, be well not to exaggerate the difficulties or to press prematurely for abstract remedies; failure to achieve theoretical agreement may do concrete damage. The Organization can still undertake peace-keeping functions in an emergency by the ad hoc methods to which it is obliged to resort. There has been proof of that, most recently in the case of the fighting between India and Pakistan last year.

98. We are only too well aware, from practical experience, of the difficulties inherent in the present situation which make the financing of peace-keeping

operations uncertain and unfair, and which prevent or inhibit the proper planning of their logistics and common services. We deplore this unsatisfactory situation. Nevertheless, it is a situation we may have to live with, the facts of international life being what they are. In the meantime we, for our part, shall preserve the hope that continuing differences on issues of principle and continuing uncertainty as to financial backing will be overcome should a specific situation arise.

99. A related question, that of peaceful settlement of disputes, also deserves exploration but, again, has been set back, this time with aid from an unexpected quarter. In many ways it is a more important question than the mechanics of peace-keeping, for here we come to the core of peaceful change.

100. A domestic political and legal system, by analogy, preserves and enforces law and order the more effectively because it is buttressed by provision for redress of grievances through either the courts or the legislature. There is a need for some alternative to the all too common contemporary sequence: cease-fire, then political stalemate. Should we not at least be seeking to give greater practical reality to the principles which are contained in the Charter? Would it, as one great Power so speciously maintains, be superfluous or involve a violation of the Charter to fill out in more detail the means of peaceful settlement which are sketched in summary form in the Charter? Surely not. Even the conduct of this Assembly, an organ established by the Charter with prescribed powers, needs rules of procedure to permit it to function effectively. Why then should we not at least consider what scope there is for providing agreed procedures to carry out in practice the principles of political behaviour to which our signature of the Charter committed us?

101. In fact, the question of the peaceful settlement of disputes is, in New Zealand's view, an essential part of the whole structure for international co-operation built at San Francisco. No one, so it seems to us, who genuinely subscribes to the ideals of the Charter could object to it. Yet there is objection, on the one hand from those who claim that for us to get to grips with procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes would circumvent the Charter; and on the other hand from those who conceive it to be a manoeuvre to divert attention from one specific need for a non-peaceful settlement of a dispute. We cannot but be concerned at the implications of both objections.

102. This whole question of the preservation of peace and security, of interposition by international peace-keeping missions, and of the development of peaceful settlement procedures is vital to this Organization and to the world community. Let us not delude ourselves. In this respect the Organization is not working as it should. We shall all have to live, or try to live, with the consequences.

103. Increasingly, it must be noted, a practice of injury by stealth is being followed. This tendency is not confined either to one continent or region or to one kind of power struggle or ideological conflict. Those so injured, if they cannot get redress here, will tend to reply as best they can. It must be said frankly, too, that this tendency favours the clandestine,

the attack launched but publicly denied; and those nations whose systems of government do not easily lend themselves to such surreptitious implementation of policy may find themselves condemned if they frankly acknowledge their own inevitable response. This sort of dual standard, of which there are signs already, is scarcely a prescription for international peace; it is, rather, a prescription for the comity of nations to become, in practice, the comity of hard knocks, a comity of reprisals.

104. The authority of international law is being steadily eroded as national policies are pressed in defiance of its slowly developed rules. We have gone several steps back to the jungle, despite the existence of the United Nations. Let us not disguise it: it would be too great an irony if the United Nations itself were to be used to pioneer a return to the anarchy of what we believed was a by-gone age.

105. The lesson is clear: either we are going to develop our procedures and practices to apply the principles of the Charter to new forms of aggression which have been proclaimed and practised in recent years; or this Organization, and international law, will become less and less relevant to the realities of international life. Those realities, unless we are more successful, may well see a world with many more nuclear States adding to regional insecurity in many areas, in circumstances in which political stability may continue to be undermined—shaken by the stresses of inadequate responses to real needs. Need I mention, for example, the losing battle between population growth and the expansion of food production.

106. These reflections bring me directly to the question of the conflict in Viet-Nam. Great as may be the other issues that confront the world, and this Assembly, the situation in Viet-Nam carries the most immediate threat to peace and the gravest implications for us all. This Organization—and more especially this body—may not be the forum in which the problem can be resolved. But this Organization and this Assembly are certainly a fitting place, indeed the only place, for all of us to voice our concern at the situation and our common desire to see negotiations begin for a just settlement.

107. The situation in Viet-Nam is not simple, though some of the issues it raises are. Some features of the situation are particular to Viet-Nam; others are shared with other countries which, in the post-war years, became divided into communist and non-communist zones. The fact of such division is regrettable. But it exists: in Germany, in Korea, in Viet-Nam. The people of all these divided States will, we hope, be able to achieve reunification, if they so wish, by their own decision, through a democratic process, through self-determination. But, pending these decisions, an attempt by one part of such a State to impose reunification under its own political system by force—whether by direct invasion, as in Korea in 1950, or by a war of terror and subversion, a so-called war of national liberation, as in Viet-Nam today—is not an act of self-determination: it is an act of aggression. There are those who deny that an attempt by North Viet-Nam to impose a government and political system on South Viet-Nam by force can be an act of aggression. To their eyes it can be only

a civil war. One must ask whether this Organization should have stood aside when North Korea attacked South Korea in 1950; on the grounds that to assist would have been to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Korean people. One must ask whether some of those who put forward this notion would have stood aside had the Federal Republic of Germany attacked East Germany. Would they then have argued that an attempt to achieve the unity and independence of the German people by force could not be regarded as aggression because the Germany people could not possibly commit aggression against themselves?

108. Others have said that this war is, in essence, or was, in origin, a civil war within South Viet-Nam. There is no doubt that political and social weaknesses in the Republic of Viet-Nam have contributed to the success of communist military tactics. But we believe the evidence of the direction and support of the Viet-Cong forces from North Viet-Nam to be undeniable. We believe further that the extent of this direction and support is such that the war cannot be regarded simply as a civil war within the South: there is also clear aggression from the North. Countries such as New Zealand do not seek to become involved in a civil war, but we cannot disregard an act of aggression.

109. My country lies remote from Viet-Nam, more than five thousand miles distant from that unhappy country. In the 1930's we were farther still from Manchuria; from Ethiopia; and from Czechoslovakia and Poland. Yet we found then that developments in those places carried implications for our own safety and for the world's safety. We were further still from Korea in 1950 than from Viet-Nam today; but we recognized then that armed attack, even though it might be across the demarcation line of a politically divided country, was nonetheless aggression, and a threat to us along with others. Whether the seeds of conflict appear in Europe, as in Berlin in 1948, or in Africa, as in the Congo in 1960, or in Latin America, as in Cuba in 1962, we have seen that our fate can be involved in the outcome of events in many places, places more distant from us than Viet-Nam. That is why the Charter is founded on the notion that a threat to the peace anywhere is a matter of general concern. That is why this Organization exists. That is why none of us here in this Assembly can stand aloof from what is happening in Viet-Nam today, whether or not the matter appears formally on our agenda. That is why New Zealand has responded to the request for military assistance from the Republic of Viet-Nam.

110. The effort in which New Zealand has joined is not designed to impose a government or a régime upon the people of Viet-Nam, whether North or South. We do not believe that the people of South Viet-Nam want a communist government or a communist front government. Through all the difficulties and vicissitudes of recent years we have seen no major group or political figure rally to the National Front; but we have seen many struggle against it at great cost and risk. We do not believe that victory for a so-called National Liberation Front would be a victory for national liberation or for the future of the nation. We have seen, in the north of Viet-Nam and elsewhere, by what means and at what price such a

régime would impose its will and deal with those who oppose it. If the people of South Viet-Nam were to choose a National Liberation Front government, we would accept that decision, however great our regret and our concern for them and for ourselves. But when an attempt is made to impose a National Liberation Front government by force, and our assistance has been asked, the principles that have long governed our policy demand that we give it.

111. None of us can fail to be moved by the material and human tragedy of this war. It is a war not fought upon a narrow and defined front, but in the midst of the people themselves, day by day, month by month, year by year. The grenade thrown into the restaurant, the airstrike from the sky, the mortar attack upon a village, the operation to clear a road, the assassination of local officials and their families: all take their toll, and the toll, we know, is heavy. It is horrifying. It must be stopped. The only question that can divide us can be: how to stop it.

112. Unfortunately not everyone regards such a war with horror. Mao Tse-tung says that:

"The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries."

Mao Tse-tung lays down: "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun". Lin Piao, his prophet, proclaims that "fighting is the pivot of all our strategy and tactics" and that "war of annihilation is the fundamental guiding principle of our military operations". This, we are told, is the inevitable future course of events for Asia, Africa and Latin America. "Protracted war" in these areas will come, must come, and must be promoted and supported. Viet-Nam, we are clearly and expressly told, is the example before the world of what will occur—of what will be promoted—elsewhere.

113. The countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America already know from experience what this means. Guerrilla wars were seen in several countries of Asia in the forties and fifties. In South-East Asia the people of the Philippines, Malaysia, Laos, Indonesia and Burma do not need to look at Viet-Nam today to see what such a war would mean, as the Prime Minister of Laos pointed out from this rostrum a few minutes ago. The newly independent States of Africa have been told that they are ripe for revolution. The nations of Latin America have been similarly advised by a recent conference held in their region.

114. Those who urge this "cause" as a necessity of some supposed "objective laws" know too what it involves: "The sacrifice of a small number of people in revolutionary wars", says Lin Piao reassuringly, "is repaid by security for whole nations, whole countries and even the whole of mankind; temporary suffering is repaid by lasting or even perpetual peace and happiness".

115. Do any of us here, we who accept the Charter, support this doctrine? New Zealand opposes it, not simply because we reject the ideology that has given birth to it, but because it is a menace to the security of us all. We are not committed to an ideological war. But we are committed to defence against aggression.

Certainly, it would be quite wrong for us to let any ideological concern excuse anyone from seeking to bring the war to an end. But wars of this kind will not be stopped by making them profitable. The world community must make known its desire for a settlement; it cannot ask for a unilateral capitulation.

116. What can such a settlement be? It is not perhaps here that its terms can be formulated. This can be done by negotiation among those most directly concerned, as soon as the will to seek a solution is evident on both sides. But such a settlement will surely be one that seeks its modalities and its justification in the wishes of the people most directly concerned. The people of South Viet-Nam should be able to choose their own government and their own political and social system, including the question of relations with the North, free of pressure from any quarter, free from the threat of terror and reprisals. Self-determination for the people of Viet-Nam as a whole can hardly be advanced by allowing South Viet-Nam to have imposed upon it the same lack of choice that marks elections in North Viet-Nam and other communist States. If the people of South Viet-Nam were to choose communism, we should be surprised, even concerned, for nowhere, not even in North Viet-Nam, has a people freely shown by an election or referendum offering a genuine choice, that it wants communism. But if the people of Viet-Nam, North or South, were freely to choose communism, this is their right. If they freely choose to reject communism, this is equally their right.

117. The question now is how to bring the war to an end in a manner which will safeguard this right. We have heard constructive proposals made from this forum. We have heard readiness expressed to consider other proposals also. What is now needed is a constructive response from the other side, a response which Members of the Assembly have a right to expect.

118. It is too much to hope that an additional benefit of a successful negotiation bringing peace to Viet-Nam might be an easing of tension in the whole of Asia—a process which might, in turn, open up possibilities for gradual accommodations between Communist China and the non-communist States of Asia and the West? Such a trend, a softening of hostile attitudes, might then aid the important task of bringing the Government of Peking into a wider and more constructive relationship with the international community at large and with this Organization.

119. At this point, I should like to express our pleasure at the recent admission to membership of that international community and this Organization of three new Commonwealth States: first Guyana, and now Botswana and Lesotho, admissions which my delegation has had the privilege of co-sponsoring. I should like also to welcome the return of Indonesia to active membership. It may perhaps be questioned in some quarters whether the entire episode constitutes a good precedent for the Organization. Whatever we may think of the principle, we can at least draw the lesson that even a nation as large and as richly endowed as Indonesia saw greater advantage in full participation in the work of the United Nations than in being outside it. At a time when the United Nations is in faltering health, we believe that this is a good augury for the Organization. For this reason and because, too, of

our own friendly ties with Indonesia, a great nation straddling the regions of Asia and the Pacific, New Zealand received news of Indonesia's decision with much pleasure.

120. In conclusion, I wish to express our deep appreciation for the devoted work of the Secretary-General. Throughout his term of appointment he has worthily maintained the high standards of impartiality and integrity which the Charter demands of his office. He has never spared himself in his search for means to promote and to maintain peace. In this aim, he has had the warm support of the Government and people of New Zealand. It is our hope that U Thant will agree to continue to serve the United Nations and the world community as Secretary-General of this Organization.

121. Mr. BOUTEFLIKA (Algeria) (translated from French): Mr. President, I am especially happy to convey to you the warmest congratulations of Algeria, and of its delegation to the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, and also my own personal congratulations, upon your election to the post of President of the General Assembly for this session. We are all the happier to see you entrusted with this high office since the country you represent, Afghanistan, has had close and long-standing links with Algeria. Your philosophers profoundly influenced the movement for renaissance in our country, thus undeniably demonstrating the common destiny of our two peoples.

122. Knowing your eminent qualities as a diplomat, your profound attachment to the principles of the Charter, your integrity and your keen sense of equity, we are convinced that the Assembly will find in you an enlightened and devoted guide for the duration of its work.

123. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to say how greatly we appreciated the manner in which Mr. Fanfani conducted the work of the twentieth session of the General Assembly. He fulfilled his task with the competence and devotion which we all associate with him, and spared no effort to create an atmosphere favourable to the success of our work.

124. I should like, finally, to express our joy at seeing Guyana, Lesotho and Botswana join us, thus making even more concrete their new independence acquired at such great cost. This enrichment of the United Nations by the addition of three young States is for us a source of comfort and a reason for hope. It cannot make us forget, however, that for many years past we have been witnessing a continuous aggravation of international tension, and the development of a phenomenon of political and military escalation which threatens the security of young States and jeopardizes the precarious peaceful co-existence on which mankind had founded so many hopes. This deterioration of the situation is now reaching such alarming proportions that the Secretary-General has considered it his duty solemnly to declare that "the pressure of events is remorselessly leading towards a major war, while efforts to reverse that trend are lagging disastrously behind" [A/6400].

125. In dealing with this state of affairs, the United Nations, paralysed by its contradictions, is acquiring more and more the aspect of a forum in which academic exchanges of views have less and less to do

with reality. The Organization's inability to find suitable solutions to the crises besetting the world, its difficulties in securing the implementation of its decisions, the paralysis of the General Assembly for a whole session because of a disagreement between two great Powers on the interpretation of an Article of the Charter are all symptoms of a progressive breakdown which has now reached a dangerous point.

126. At the most acute phase of the financial crisis, I stated before this Assembly that the problem we have to face was essentially political. Actually, behind the financial questions, there were substantive problems of the greatest importance, such as the role and the responsibilities of the United Nations in the settlement of international disputes; the machinery to be used in the maintenance of peace; the utilization of United Nations forces for undeniably political ends, and ways of ensuring that they will not be used as a Trojan horse for imperialist infiltration.

127. To invoke the competence of the General Assembly or of the Security Council, depending on fluctuations in majorities, is not perhaps the right way to lessen the growing confusion. This situation is nevertheless due to the growing importance of the new States in the responsibilities of the international community, and also to the unequal development of the material power of the members of the Security Council.

128. In other words, there is a need to establish, on the one hand, a balance of power between the great Powers and, on the other, a sharing of responsibilities between those Powers and the small countries. In the circumstances, to argue that peace-keeping operations come within the province of the Security Council or of the General Assembly is to consolidate the present deadlock by perpetuating a situation which has become established over the years. So long as the problem is posed in terms of these alternatives, it will be difficult to find a viable solution or machinery capable of adaptation to all eventualities. Perhaps the solution is to be found in a recasting of the concepts of the Security Council and a realistic approach in evaluating the powers of that body and of the General Assembly.

129. Indeed, in the twenty years since the drafting of the Charter the world has undergone profound qualitative and quantitative changes. The emergence of a balance between the great Powers, the affirmation of the importance of China, the nuclear factor and the accession of dozens of countries to national sovereignty have all introduced some new elements in the confrontation of forces and also a qualitative change in relations between States. The Charter of the United Nations envisaged a world government by the Powers that had defeated Hitlerite fascism, and aimed at creating a balance and a security consistent with the forces and ideas of that time. The Charter of today, in order to be a truly effective instrument in the service of peace, must be realistically adapted to the conditions and ideas of our time.

130. In this connexion, the most recent Judgment of the International Court of Justice on South West Africa ^{4/} is of special importance. The Court, con-

^{4/} South West Africa, Second Phase, Judgment, I.C.J., Reports 1966, p. 6.

ceived at a time when colonial law was a part of international morality, no longer corresponds to the needs of an era when the concepts of the liberation of peoples have become fundamental principles of international law. The Judgment of 18 July 1966 is inspired more by the philosophy of the nineteenth century than by the ideas which led our Assembly to adopt the resolution on decolonization. The gap between the evolution of the world and the stagnation of institutions is a serious contradiction which must be remedied.

131. This gap is evident not only in the machinery of the Organization, but also in the very terms of the Charter. The concept of Trusteeship, officially established by the Charter, is an anachronism which prejudices the fundamental principles of the United Nations. The notion of "under-age" and "adult" peoples implied by Trusteeship is a political and legal endorsement of the colonial phenomenon, a way of legitimizing the obsolete theory of the incapacity of some peoples to govern themselves, and a serious distortion of the principle of self-determination.

132. Our peoples can no longer unconditionally appeal to the Charter without subscribing to colonially inspired concepts. The universality of the Charter implies that each Member State subscribes, without reservation, to the letter and the spirit of its whole text. The Trusteeship concept must therefore be stricken from the Charter without delay. The revision of Chapters XII and XIII, even of Chapter XI, relating to Non-Self-Governing Territories, has now become an imperative duty which it is difficult for us to shirk. It has become urgently necessary to put an end to this concept of relations between nations and to adjust our texts to the evolution of our ideas.

133. The United Nations must therefore adapt itself to present-day conditions if it wishes to play its full role, assume all its responsibilities and become an effective instrument of international peace and security. Its machinery can hardly function on the basis of rigid situations which have largely been overtaken by events.

134. It would be illusory to claim that one can settle the problem of disarmament in the United Nations under present conditions. The Eighteen-Nation Committee has become involved in technical discussions, while the essential political aspects of the problem remain unsolved. First of all, it is impossible to disarm so long as a war, which in more ways than one contains the seeds of a general conflagration, still continues. This war, which is raging in Asia and which can break out in any other country of the Third World, clearly shows how serious is the concern of those who are anxious about the priority being given to the search no longer for disarmament, but for a balance of armaments. The gigantic development of conventional weapons weighs heavily on the security of the small countries, directly and immediately, while the balance of atomic armaments only applies in the framework of conflicts between the great Powers. Thus, while proliferation is a matter of deep concern to us in that it raises the problem of the very existence of our planet, the problem of the development of conventional weapons interests us just as much, if not more, since it exerts a real and constant pressure on our young independent States.

135. The problem of non-proliferation, in our opinion, can be approached in a positive way only if it does not lead to a de jure monopoly to the advantage of some countries. In other words, along with the discussion on non-proliferation, we must examine the problem of the cessation of all tests, whatever their nature, and of the destruction of existing stockpiles.

136. In any case, no negotiations on disarmament can be seriously contemplated unless the People's Republic of China, which is a decisive military Power, and henceforward a nuclear one, takes part in them.

137. What is true of disarmament is even truer of the great political problems that we have to solve. The entry of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations is no longer only a problem of restoring the rights of a country. It has become imperative for the Organization if it wishes to create the conditions for a revival which would give it the necessary political authority to accomplish its mission. Any international settlement without the participation of this great Power is unrealistic. It serves no purpose to incriminate the alleged intentions of the People's Republic of China. With respect to actual policies of aggression, daily events show quite clearly that the accuser has all the characteristics of an accused. If one were to use that criterion to decide on the participation of States in our work, the Security Council would be deprived of an appreciable number of its members. A United Nations in which Taiwan has a veto, while the People's Republic of China, a nuclear Power of 750 million inhabitants, is not represented, cannot be in a position to solve the difficult problems confronting it. We feel that there is still time to rectify the errors, to give each the share of responsibility which is his rightful due, bearing in mind that what is possible today may not be possible tomorrow.

138. If we do not take care, we shall with our own hands destroy the instrument for safeguarding peace which we have built with so much labour. The crisis resulting from the end of the term of office of the Secretary-General is without any doubt a new, dramatic factor which helps us better to see the grave nature of events. Behind the problem of a man, we must face the problem of the seriousness of the situation in the world and the weakening of international institutions.

139. With courage, clarity and sincerity, U Thant on 15 September clearly posed the problem in words which will be remembered in the history of the United Nations:

"If the Members have the will to see the United Nations develop into a really effective force for peace and progress, to bring it back to solvency, to see that this Organization is so constituted as to contribute significantly towards the easing of tensions and conflicts and towards enabling the United Nations to perform its harmonizing function, as envisaged in the Charter, then there will be a way to achieve these objectives—with a new man at the helm."

140. Of course, we hope that U Thant will change his decision. He has our complete esteem and confidence. He has been accepted by the whole world as a man of exceptional range whose only ambition is to serve the principles to which we are all dedicated. But to appeal

to him without considering his suggestions, to ask him to remain in office without providing him with the necessary conditions for the discharge of his duties, would not seem to be a method likely to solve the crisis. In fact, if the situation were to remain as it is, it would not be easy for any person, conscientious about his responsibilities, to offer himself as a candidate.

141. This is a serious crisis. It calls for radical measures. The symptoms of a chronic disease are too apparent for us to limit ourselves to hasty or partial measures.

142. In the search for solutions, all of us have an equal responsibility today. It can, of course, be argued that material power may confer a special aspect on responsibility; but that in no way implies that the responsibility of the small countries is thereby diminished. The examples of the last twenty years clearly show that the consequences of conflicts weigh much more heavily on the small countries than on the great Powers. International society is increasingly reverting to the law of the strongest, and the peoples of the Third World are being torn between their desire to lead an independent life and their fear of the consequences of their choices.

143. The experience of the peoples of the Indochinese peninsula is one of the tragedies of the second half of the twentieth century; and the most cruel of these tragedies is that being experienced by the heroic people of Viet-Nam. If today we allow a Power to intervene militarily in a country in order to impose a political régime, we shall help to create a precedent which will weigh heavily on the independence of all small countries.

144. If, relying on its physical strength, a Government believes that it has special responsibilities in all the five continents and uses force to carry out the responsibilities which it thinks it possesses, the world will only move towards chaos and general conflagration.

145. Already in Viet-Nam there is nothing which allows us to think that the war will not develop into a conflict which would be fatal in its scope and as regards the parties that it might line up against one another. At this moment, apart from political calculations and the confrontation of ideologies, the war in Viet-Nam raises the whole question of the survival of a people. Like all other peoples, Viet-Nam has the right to choose whatever form of government it pleases and to achieve, under its own responsibility alone, the unity of its people and its territory. The Viet-Nameese people of the north and south is one and indivisible. Under the circumstances, to apply the same criterion to acts of natural solidarity between parts of one country and military intervention of the United States of America would be to present the problem in terms that would jeopardize any search for a solution.

146. We cannot repeat often enough that the question of Viet-Nam is, above all else, a matter which must be settled by the Viet-Nameese and between the Viet-Nameese. Nobody can claim a right to interfere in the internal affairs of a people, or to pass judgement upon the ideological or political preferences of that people. United States intervention in that distant

country has only given the conflict a scope which transforms the just struggle for self-determination of peoples into a strategic confrontation on a world scale.

147. As long as the escalation continues, more ruinous and more murderous than ever, and as long as probability of United States forces crossing the seventeenth parallel remains, no prospect for a political solution is conceivable. Actually, only a military disengagement by the United States and the withdrawal of its troops and bases according to a fixed time-table can create the conditions for a just and equitable peace. Then fruitful negotiations could be opened with the National Liberation Front, the authentic representative of the Viet-Nameese people, to find a political solution to the problem.

148. The Algerian people, which has had a difficult and exalting experience of revolutionary struggle for liberation, and which has been able to appreciate the value of international solidarity, cannot act otherwise than in a spirit of active solidarity with the struggle of the Viet-Nameese people for self-determination, unity, and the integrity of its territory. Although the political and geographical contexts may seem different, there are numerous similarities which, in our search for solutions, permit us to hope that one day some lesson may be drawn from history.

149. In any case, the United Nations, which cannot assume the right to interfere in this delicate question through formal channels, must not nevertheless use the lack of any juridical or legal basis as a pretext for refusing to serve as a forum where the grave events taking place in South-East Asia can be discussed in a way that would enlighten world opinion, awaken its conscience, and thus help to create a healthy upsurge towards the peace which all the peoples of the world so earnestly desire.

150. It is not for us to take the place of the Viet-Nameese in finding a solution to their problems. Those who are fighting are the only ones entitled to express the feelings of their people. In any case, reason dictates that a serious organization such as ours cannot seek a solution to a problem when it refuses certain parties the right to sit in its midst.

151. Once certain conditions are brought about, negotiation becomes a just and unavoidable course.

152. Moreover, the solution to the Algerian problem should in our opinion serve as an example in this regard. The negotiated settlement between France and the National Liberation Front, after seven years of bitter warfare, set the stage for long-range co-operation. The two partners have striven to decolonize their relations, thus offering to the world a positive contribution to the policy of understanding and friendship between peoples. Indirecting their efforts towards the complete achievement of this objective, the two partners are only obeying an imperative need of their peoples, which today, as tomorrow, are unanimous and confident in their common hopes.

153. Unfortunately, the process of decolonization has not been completed in all parts of the world. While newly liberated peoples are waging a continuous struggle to consolidate their political independence, others are still subject to the direct control of

administering Powers. Colonialism has chosen southern Africa as a last bastion which it is converting into a veritable fortress of imperialism. In that region Portugal is pursuing its repressive policy in Angola and Mozambique, while the United Kingdom refuses to abandon its dream of establishing artificial States governed by white minorities as watchful guardians of the interests of the colonial Powers. The Rhodesian phenomenon is the most dramatic manifestation of this policy. The so-called economic sanctions have in reality only gained time for accustoming public opinion to a de facto situation. The primary responsibility of the United Kingdom in this matter remains unchanged, for it still possesses all the means to restore the rights of the people of Zimbabwe.

154. As far as South West Africa is concerned, the responsibility of the United Nations seems incontrovertible today. The United Nations, which is accountable for the destiny of that people, must terminate the Mandate, proclaim the independence of that country, and see to it by all the means at its disposal that its decision is implemented. The repeated violations by South Africa of the Charter and of United Nations resolutions are already too serious for the United Nations to allow South Africa to extend its segregationist régime to Territory for which the international community is responsible. The repeated violation of seventy-three resolutions by South Africa should, moreover, cause the Organization finally to assume its responsibilities if it does not wish to discredit itself in this miserable affair.

155. As in Africa, imperialism in the Middle East, held at bay by the resistance of the peoples, is trying to take another form. The situation in Oman remains confused and, while imperialism is promising to lead the people of Aden to independence, it is striving to keep intact its economic and strategic interests by creating the Federation of South Arabia.

156. Further to the north, in Palestine, Israel remains a military enclave, a bridgehead of imperialism in the midst of the Arab countries. The Palestine problem has been given racial overtones only by those who have expelled the indigenous inhabitants from their own land in order to install foreign settlers in their place. Indeed, what is needed is to go beyond the racial criteria and eliminate the segregationist State, in order to return this country to its people. This people, like any other people in the world, must have its right to self-determination recognized.

157. Recent events in the Middle East have served to remind us of the possible consequences of a confrontation between the supporters of the fait accompli and the Palestinian people itself. The aggressive designs of Israel must be checked by the vigilant opposition of all countries which are devoted to the principle of self-determination and the freedom of peoples.

158. It is the duty of the United Nations to contribute to the elimination of the last bastions of direct colonization; experience, however, has shown that the acquisition of political independence is but one step towards the total liberation of peoples. Indeed, the need to give substance and real meaning to the political freedom they have acquired has revealed to the coun-

tries of the Third World the immensity and complexity of the problems posed by economic and social development.

159. The General Assembly is already aware of the gravity of these problems. It gave proof of this at its twentieth session, when it grappled with economic questions as a whole, rather than striving to solve isolated problems.

160. The creation of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and its secretariat, the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology, the Committee for Planning and now the United Nations Industrial Development Organization testify to undeniable progress. However, this progress at the institutional level cannot justify serious hopes if, at the same time, the industrialized countries do not display the will to translate into deeds the recommendations of the United Nations and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

161. We must record the fact that the results have not measured up to our hopes. How can one fail to deplore the retrogression that has become apparent? How can one fail to wonder about the reasons for the increasingly obvious indifference of most of the countries whose attitude affects all possible progress? How can one fail to wonder whether these countries and the whole international community have the political will to help two thirds of the peoples of that community?

162. Such are the features of a situation which we had hoped to see transformed by the realization of mankind's common destiny and the acceptance of a collective responsibility to attain it. We are compelled to note that we are still far from our objectives. Nevertheless, it is still possible to attain them and to give new life to all the organs of our Organization.

163. At the present juncture, we should spare no effort to realize the objectives of the Charter and to implement our own decisions. The survival and strengthening of the United Nations are essential for the promotion of peace, international co-operation, and the ideals of freedom and justice. The permanent threats to the security of the world, born of the gigantic development of armaments technology, are too serious for us to allow international relations to evolve outside an appropriate framework. Each of us has a duty to contribute to the search for solutions capable of channelling relations among nations on to the path of peace and progress.

164. Mr. López VILLAMIL (Honduras) (translated from Spanish): May we be allowed to add the voice of our delegation to the many congratulations that have already been offered to our President, Mr. Pazhwak, since his election constitutes recognition of his wide experience and his devotion to the cause of the United Nations.

165. I welcome the return of Indonesia and the admission of Botswana and Lesotho to the United Nations.

166. Representing as I do a country of this continent, I should also like to express our gratification at the admission of the new State of Guyana to Membership of this World Organization. I take this opportunity of congratulating the Government and people of Guyana, with which we hope to strengthen our ties in the

community of American countries, within its realities and prospects in co-operation with the rest of the world.

167. Year after year, world opinion has been following the work of the United Nations and studying with interest the discussions of the General Assembly. Every delegation in this great congress of the contemporary world is conscious of the dual responsibility it bears. First, there is the national contribution of each State to the cause of world peace, to solidarity and the implementation of the principles of the Charter, and to the strengthening of the Organization as the body best able to maintain an international order on which all geographical regions have pledged they will rely; and secondly there is the collective responsibility of all States Members of this Organization in fulfilling the higher destiny for which the United Nations was created.

168. At every session of the General Assembly, this Organization makes a series of historical projections, and conscious of what has happened in the past, it must not allow a recurrence of the failure of its predecessor, the League of Nations—a failure that was due to the indifference and the conventional attitudes of the majority of its members towards the reign of force which was later to unleash the Second World War.

169. Events have produced numerous problems greater than any of the past. The great changes undergone by the world in the last decades have brought about the abolition of a number of privileges and have made it possible for many countries to take part in the international dialogue on a footing of equality; at the same time, differences have grown deeper; acts of aggression, overt or covert, manifest themselves within the turbulence of the demagoguery that inspires them and the defensive strength that is used to resist them.

170. We see a world, disunited and splintered by ideological weapons, which pays no heed to the scourges of hunger, misery and disease affecting millions of people over vast areas of the world but continues to squander billions on armaments in the sinister form of an every-growing stockpile of thermo-nuclear weapons. All of this casts a dark cloud, daily more threatening, on the sense of human values, which is making way for a new technological barbarism imposed by the warring ideologies, whose dispute—violent, ambitious and deaf to the voice of reason—threatens the stability of the world.

171. The war in Viet-Nam moves the conscience of all mankind, for the proportions it has acquired exceed those of the conflict of some years ago. Every official invested with high public responsibility realizes that this war represents more than an impediment to the great many international solutions which radiate from the United Nations to every corner of the world.

172. The war also constitutes an insurmountable obstacle to better exchanges, to the execution of programmes that would benefit the great hungering masses of humanity and raise living standards, and to the reduction of the world-wide inflation caused by the arms race. The President of Honduras has publicly expressed his wish that efforts for peace in

Viet-Nam should take the path of reason towards the best solution.

173. The path to peace in Viet-Nam will not be found if in advance we label the contending parties as "angels" and "devils". Only constructive negotiations in which the two sides are prepared to agree to a cease-fire and to guarantee the independence of South Viet-Nam and its right to self-determination can lead to the kind of solution the whole civilized world is waiting for. Fanaticism, hatred, violence, arrogance and intolerance have shown through the centuries that they have never been effective in promoting the conclusion of peace treaties and that when under their influence such treaties have been imposed by force, they have produced even worse consequences. Peace won at the conference table, as has been said, will always be better than peace won on the battlefield. As the representative of New Zealand indicated this afternoon, there should not be unilateral solutions.

174. In their international relations, the small countries have found a greater sense of responsibility in their common ties within a world organization such as this. But their immediate interests achieve more meaningful objective: through regional agreements setting up systems of permanent solidarity. This has been the case with those of us who belong to the Organization of American States, which has functions that are consistent with the Charter of the United Nations. Honduras, together with other American countries, sent a contingent of soldiers to a sister country, the Dominican Republic, in fulfilment of its duty in defence of the American system. The Inter-American Peace Force, in an act of collective solidarity, rendered a service to the cause of representative democracy. Those who have made their fortune by demagoguery speaking, in the name of the freedom that they never permit their peoples, cut off by walls of shame, within their dictatorial régimes, condemned that Inter-American Force as an instrument of interventionist aggression. But the great truth, the true reason for satisfaction for all free men of the world and this hemisphere, is that the Dominican people, of its own volition, answered that charge by exercising the franchise, demonstrating once again that free elections are the most genuine expression of a nation's will, a continuing self-determination of peoples, whereby they provide themselves with their own institutions and the leaders who are to guide their destinies.

Mr. Pazhwak (Afghanistan) resumed the Chair.

175. This example will inevitably be reflected in the regional agreements of Africa, Asia and other regions where young countries are concentrating on forming their own institutions in keeping with their history and their peculiar attributes, for otherwise they would be subjected to ideologies and régimes of force alien to their destiny. It has been shown that free elections are the worst enemy of despots.

176. Freedom protected by law is essential if civilization is to preserve its dynamic continuity. As Antonio Caso, the Mexican philosopher, said, "the community which tyrannizes man forgets that we men are 'persons', not 'biological units'". What to many is doctrine, namely that man is a wolf that hunts his

own species, may be true in the pursuit of barbarism and slavery, but it is false in the conquest of human dignity as an element in man's scale of values.

177. "That is why"—says the Argentine philosopher Alexander Korn—"man must win his freedom by fighting nature, his fellow men and himself". But that freedom, to assert itself, can only be genuine if economic resources protect the well-being of all and basic human needs do not hamper the flowering of democracy and its institutions.

178. The illustrious Honduran, José Cecilio del Valle, in the first years of our common Central American nationality, was among the few who foresaw that for its political emancipation a country must also win its economic emancipation.

179. In a world in which interdependence is a necessity of life, we must find new and more equitable solutions to that other cold war: the war for survival against the predominance of the developed over the developing countries. We believe that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development will have a decisive part to play in giving effective guidance, provided that a modest effort is made to seek a better understanding of the disparity of social resources brought about by the great differences between the rich and poor countries which create a multiplicity of frustrations that are becoming more explosive every day.

180. The countries of Latin America have left in the history of the United Nations an indelible trace of their sense of the universal and the human. We have always supported emancipation based on the principle of self-determination, when self-determination is a legitimate right. At no time would we be able to favour discrimination—which we consider intolerable, whatever its reasons—because that would be tantamount to condemning the origin and development of our own nationhood. We have been a melting-pot of races: the Indian, by legitimate right; the white man, by his contribution to our culture; and the Negro, brought to America as a worker, has left the fruit of his toil. But all of our races live together united in a common destiny, and they work at a task of continental proportions, that of finding solutions of benefit to all through institutions of permanent evolution.

181. For that reason we can never accept the policy of apartheid pursued by South Africa both on its own territory and in South West Africa, a policy that is contrary to the principles of the United Nations. The defiant attitude of South Africa towards the repeated resolutions of the General Assembly has led to the present crisis over South West Africa. South Africa, the Mandatory Power responsible for that Territory, has overlooked the fact that the legal status established by Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations was subjected to substantial changes in Chapter XII of the United Nations Charter, whose larger meaning is shown by the discussions which took place at Yalta in February 1945, and those which preceded the signature of the Charter in San Francisco.

182. Moreover, by not fulfilling its obligations under the Trusteeship System as defined in the Charter, South Africa has created a situation in which its Mandate may be terminated for one tacit but decisive

reason, i.e. for non-fulfilment of the international obligations deriving from the Mandate.

183. Honduras has supported in the past and continues to support the position of Guatemala in its historic claims to Belize. We have likewise given our support to the claims of the motherland, Spain, to the Territory of Gibraltar and have also been on the side of Argentina in the matter of its rights in the Malvinas Islands.

184. We could not in a spirit of justice and equity look at the different regions to study the crises that are occurring in the world, without at the same time mentioning that the same situation of dominance and injustice has existed for many years in our country, because authorities and citizens of the United States, without any legitimate rights and with no more title than that of mere occupation, are usurping the Cisne [Swan] Islands, which are Honduran territory off our north-eastern coast.

185. The Cisne Islands belong to Honduras because of their geographical proximity, because they were discovered and nobly baptized with the names of San Millan, Santanilla or Santillana by the Spanish conquerors, ever since the fourth and last voyage of Christopher Columbus, and because of the very fact of the independence of Honduras, which, as the legitimate successor of Spain, preserved them from any other colonial claim. To this we must add the unusual express declaration by United States officials that they have never exercised acts of sovereignty over the Cisne Islands.

186. Our delegation wishes this General Assembly to heed the voice of Honduras on this question of the usurpation of our territory, which we have been raising for many years in this world body, so that the most just solution, which cannot be other than the absolute integration of the Cisne Islands into Honduras, may confirm the hopes of our Government and our people that this Organization can act on the basis of the juridical equality of its Member States.

187. We have the most friendly relations with the United States, which have been strengthened through the understanding of our differences in the international and the continental context. But it will be a cause of great satisfaction to our country to know that the illegitimate possession of our Cisne Islands by the United States is coming to an end through an act of recognition that the islands do not belong to the United States.

188. Our Government has always been prepared—and is prepared at this time—to make appropriate arrangements, on the assumption that the United Nations will listen to what we are claiming justly and—more than justly—by legitimate right. We hope that the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples will study our case when it comes to deal with the Cisne Islands. We shall go into greater detail on this matter in the Fourth Committee at the appropriate time.

189. The small countries understand more and more that their presence in this Organization as participants in a permanent and constructive task represents an important contribution to the strengthening of the

United Nations and the solution of its many problems. As was pointed out by our President, Mr. Pazhwak, the United Nations has been the instrument for giving independence to two thirds of the world's population. It has held back the pressing tide of a nuclear war. Together with the specialized agencies it has established standards for international progress in practically all fields of human endeavour and has expanded the world's machinery for co-operation through regional organizations. Our faith and hope in the work of the United Nations, for what it has done and what it will do in the future, cannot be diminished by the crises or the other negative phenomena that now beset the world.

190. Our country, as a member of a regional organization, feels the same concern as other Latin American countries, and as any developing country, when it sees slow progress in general economic and social development; and we therefore support the proposal for a meeting of the Heads of Government of this hemisphere in order to make more effective the purposes of our existing continental programme by adjusting it to accelerate the development of our countries within the Latin American system and to promote its economic integration.

191. In its relations with the Central American region, Honduras has made a supreme effort by contributing to the integration of the Central American Common Market, which, because of its acceleration, has not favoured Honduras as much as its sister republics. We believe, however, that a more just treatment, through incentives from the other members to offset our unbalanced development, is now being applied.

192. My Government endorses and supports the Organization of Central American States and its efforts for the economic integration of the countries of the Isthmus, as the surest and most lasting means of bringing prosperity to all its member countries. This process of our common history has already achieved a notable improvement in the economy of the region and has attracted international attention.

193. We still remember the visit of the illustrious President of Mexico, Gustavo Díaz Ordaz, to our country during his friendship tour of Central America, which unquestionably resulted in great benefits, as might be expected from countries dedicated to work and to the understanding of common problems through bonds of race, geography and history.

194. The President of Colombia, Carlos Lleras Restrepo, also initiated a policy of closer friendship with Central America, and with that in view high officials of our Government visited the island of San Andrés to discuss with the Colombian President matters that could promote better exchanges.

195. In keeping with this constructive trend towards closer relations among our countries, today, the President of Honduras, Oswaldo López Arellano, is in Mexico City, for the important purpose of paying homage to the friendship between Mexico and Honduras and the spiritual ties that have traditionally linked our two peoples. Such exchanges are an example of the cordial coexistence which is a distinctive feature of international political life in our continent. They

implement the duty of peace between friendly nations and improve the prospects for future progress.

196. The other policy—fatal for the destiny of the American hemisphere—is that which aims at overt or covert intervention in internal affairs, through the infiltration of guerrillas, acts of terrorism, assassinations and bloodshed in general. This policy lives by proclaiming a so-called revolution, which is nothing but a permanent state of genocide, in which even fellow combatants are murdered or mysteriously disappear. These acts are contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter and to the provisions of resolution 2131 (XX), which imposes on all Member States of this Organization the obligation to refrain from any act that might be a direct or indirect intervention in the internal affairs of any other State.

197. The American hemisphere is now the object of a series of attacks designed to destroy representative democracy and its institutions, and Latin America is feeling the consequences of these attacks in its living flesh; but in spite of the tragedy they represent, there exists a firm determination to defend our national and collective system and there is increasingly effective co-ordination—as has been shown by the setbacks suffered by the saboteurs and guerrillas as a result of the actions taken—to ensure that all the communities of the hemisphere may maintain their purpose to acquire for themselves bread and liberty in abundance, in order to defend their institutions with determination and energy. The fact has been overlooked that real development occurs more rapidly in systems of representative democracy than under any system based on force.

198. The present session of the General Assembly is mindful of the statements of the Secretary-General regarding his desire not to stand for re-election. My Government, together with those of the other Latin American countries, has expressed its support of his excellent efforts for the cause of international peace; and it hopes that this Assembly, by majority consensus, will find a solution which will induce him to remain in office, and that the Assembly will also find the best way of permanently upholding the prestige of the Organization and ensuring its constructive historical dynamism, to which all Member States have entrusted their higher interests, especially the small countries, which would have much to lose if the principles of the Charter are not respected and if this Organization loses prestige because of the levity displayed in adopting some resolutions which have no real legal content.

199. The PRESIDENT: Several representatives have asked for the floor in exercise of their right of reply. As agreed this morning, we shall hear them this afternoon.

200. Mr. MAKONNEN (Ethiopia): The visit to the United Nations of a distinguished personage as the Head of a Member Government is a matter of great satisfaction to all Member countries and also to all those who have the interests of the United Nations at heart. Such a visit should be clear testimony to the concern that Member countries show for the Organization and its continued effectiveness in international relations. When the visit of the Prime Minister of Somalia was announced some time ago, my delegation

looked forward to welcoming the representative of a country whose people are our brothers and our neighbours. Our high expectations, however, have been somewhat dampened by the one-sided and unfounded references that the Prime Minister has chosen to make to my Government's policy regarding the future of the Territory of Djibouti. Nevertheless, this disappointment does not in any way prevent me from extending to him all the courtesies that are his due as Head of a Member Government, and I salute him in the spirit of the United Nations and in the true tradition of my ancient land. However, while extending to him the courtesies that are his due by virtue of his high office, I cannot leave unanswered the many distortions and fallacies to which he has given expression in his statement earlier this afternoon with regard to certain aspects of the international policies of my Government.

201. The Prime Minister of Somalia spoke of some imaginary threats from Ethiopia and of his fear of the motives of Ethiopia, whereas in fact the threat to peace and tranquillity in the whole of Africa comes from the ambitions of territorial aggrandisement and expansion of the Government of Somalia at the expense of its closest neighbours. Its hidden ambitions with regard to the Territory of Djibouti are but part and parcel of this same policy. This policy of territorial expansion and aggrandisement is one which the Somali Republic has inherited from its former colonial mentors, who, in their desire to carve out dominions for themselves, had engaged in futile exercises of creating imaginary entities comprising peoples around the Territory. Such were the circumstances in which the idea of the so-called Greater Somaliland was born. That is the origin of the present crusade of the Government of Somalia and the true objective of that Government's policy regarding Djibouti.

202. Somalia's drive towards territorial expansion in support of this idea is a matter of open declaration of policy enshrined in the Somalia Constitution and aimed openly at dismembering, in the first instance, its two neighbours, namely, Kenya and Ethiopia. We know this policy to be one which does not recognize any international frontier agreements and that it is based on practices of interference in the internal affairs of sovereign nations and the use of all mass information media for purposes of propaganda and subversion.

203. The Ethiopian Government has shown great restraint in the face of this outrageous policy which is explicitly prohibited both by the United Nations Charter and by the Charter of the Organization of African Unity. We have appealed time and again to our brothers in Somalia to give up this policy, which can only serve to create division and weakness amongst African neighbours; but our appeal has always been met with increased propaganda and hostility and with an open programme of militarization—a programme which we considered, in the light of Somalia's resources, is not only foolhardy, but also beyond that needed for any genuine purpose of defence or preservation of internal peace and order.

204. While totally rejecting the unjust accusations which the Prime Minister of Somalia has levelled against my Government, I wish to seize this opportunity

of his presence here at the United Nations to appeal to him once again, in this historic Assembly Hall, to give up the futile and fruitless policy of territorial aggrandisement which his Government has chosen to follow. I invite him to put aside prejudice and fanaticism and all policies and actions which can only lead to an enormous waste of the limited resources of both nations—resources which could well be used to the mutual advantage of our two countries.

205. Ethiopia's policy with regard to its neighbours is crystal clear: we do not want an inch of other people's lands; neither shall we give up an inch of our own. I challenge the Prime Minister of Somalia to make a similar declaration before this Assembly of the United Nations with regard to his country's policies towards its immediate neighbours. The Ethiopian Government, for its part, is ready to enter into serious negotiations with the Government of Somalia in order to settle outstanding problems. We are willing and prepared to sign with Somalia a treaty of friendship and of non-interference in each other's internal affairs and of respect for all mutual rights of independence and territorial integrity. The principle of territorial integrity is one to which the Prime Minister of Somalia has referred so eloquently. It is a principle to which Ethiopia is also closely attached. Is this a principle which he is willing to uphold when he goes back home, or is he only making empty promises which will be broken when it comes to Somalia's relations with its neighbours? This is the fundamental question that my delegation would like to put to the Prime Minister of Somalia.

206. In the course of his statement the Prime Minister of Somalia made inaccurate references to the policy of Ethiopia with regard to the Territory of Djibouti. Representatives of Somalia have found it necessary to repeat these gross misrepresentations of the position of my Government in regard to the Territory of Djibouti, both in this organ and elsewhere in these halls. In view of the fact that reference was made to these misrepresentations, in the statement of the Prime Minister, I would ask your permission, Mr. President, to deal with them briefly.

207. When the Ethiopian delegation participated in the general debate, at the 1423rd plenary meeting of the General Assembly, the statement made by the Foreign Minister of Ethiopia included a re-affirmation of the well-known position of the Ethiopian Government with regard to the territory in question. I refer to paragraphs 5-8.

208. Later, at the same plenary meeting, a representative of Somalia strained all ingenuity when he attempted to quote out of context some random clauses from the statement of the Ethiopian Foreign Minister, in an endeavour to demonstrate that the substance of the ideas contained in those clauses which he had cited were contradictory. [1423rd meeting, para. 237]

209. On yet another occasion, another representative of Somalia found the opportunity to evolve a remarkable thesis on what he considered to be a correct analysis of the history of Djibouti and a factual appraisal of the economic realities in that Territory. The arguments have been repeated by the Prime

Minister of Somalia, in short form, in his statement today.

210. I do not propose to engage representatives of Somalia—let alone the Prime Minister—in sterile polemics, nor to assume, as they do, the role of self-appointed advocate of the rights of the people of the Territory of Djibouti, much less to attempt to insinuate, as they have done, inconsistencies in the statements of others. Instead, I shall attempt to uncover the absurdities contained in the various theses evolved by Somalia representatives and to indicate, wherever pertinent, the motivations that prompted those statements.

211. On 29 September a representative of the Republic of Somalia, in the exercise of his right of reply, deliberately misquoted from the statement of the Ethiopian Foreign Minister when he said:

"The Ethiopian representative mentioned in his statement that Emperor Haile Selassie fully supports the exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of the territory" [1423rd meeting, para. 237].

212. To this he added another misquotation from our statement in which we had said, in part:

"The one single lesson that my people have learned from our bitter experience of the events of the 1930's is that our natural outlet to the sea must never again fall into, or be controlled by, unfriendly hands." [Ibid., para. 8.]

213. The Somalia representative then concluded post haste that the contradiction in his misquotations was obvious. Indeed, I find admirable the efforts of the Somalia representative to make every opportunity serve. However, what in fact the Ethiopian Foreign Minister said in his statement to the General Assembly was:

"The basic policy of my Government with regard to Djibouti was affirmed in no uncertain terms at a recent press conference at Addis Ababa by my august sovereign, His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I. My Chief of State unequivocally stated that the Ethiopian Government fully supports the exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of the Territory, provided that that process is unfettered in any manner whatsoever and that its sole purpose is to enable the majority of the indigenous inhabitants of the Territory to decide their destiny in consonance with their genuine and lasting interests. Hence, let there be no misunderstanding of the clear position of my Government on this score." [Ibid. para. 5.]

214. And what the Ethiopian Foreign Minister said in the second instance was:

"I hardly need add that any decision which will take into consideration the aspects of the problem of the future of the territory which I have just enumerated, if founded on the free and unhampered will of the majority of its indigenous inhabitants, will have the full support and co-operation of my Government. Conversely, any move designed to jeopardize the abiding interests of the people of the territory of Djibouti, who, as I have stated, are our kith and kin, will be opposed by my nation with all vigour. The one single lesson that my people have learned from

our bitter experience of the events of the 1930's is that their natural outlet to the sea must never again fall into, and be controlled by, unfriendly hands." [Ibid., para. 8.]

215. Quoting out of context is a familiar and deplorable tactic designed to serve only a narrow purpose and, obviously, lends itself to all kinds of distortion. However, I trust that there will be no further misrepresentation on this score. It is, after all, difficult to play conjuring tricks with matters which are on the records of the General Assembly.

216. The representative of Somalia was, if anything, even farther off the mark when he implied that Ethiopia's support of self-determination for the people of the Territory of Djibouti was motivated by a desire for subsequent annexation. One might have hoped that Somalia representatives would have been sufficiently prudent not to play the old game whereby one accuses another of precisely the same motives that he himself harbours. But since allegations of inconsistency and suspicious motives have been made against my country, I feel bound to say a few words on this matter as well.

217. To begin with, I find it rather difficult to reconcile two attitudes that have emerged from the official acts of the Republic of Somalia and the pronouncements of its representatives: how would one reconcile the expansionist philosophy written into the Constitution of the Republic of Somalia and encrusted in its national emblem, a philosophy expounded by spokesmen of Somalia at every opportunity, with their recent posture as altruistic champions of the cause of independence and self-determination for the people of the Territory of Djibouti?

218. Speaking of expansionist designs, it seems that Somalia is scarcely in a position to accuse Ethiopia of such motivations, for it is the Republic of Somalia, not my country, which is obsessed with grandiose schemes for territorial expansion and aggrandizement. This is a fact which the spokesmen of Somalia can hardly deny. For instance, in its memorandum dated 25 May 1965 to the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the intentions of the Government of the Republic of Somalia toward the Territory of Djibouti are made crystal clear. Paragraph 37 of their memorandum reads as follows:

"The Somali Republic's intentions are the reintegration of all territory inhabited by the Somali peoples into one nation-State, the Somali Republic, on the basis of the right of self-determination of the people of the Territory." [A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XII, annex II, para. 37.]

That is a clear statement to the effect that the objective of Somali policy is to attempt to incorporate all peoples of Somali descent, be they in Somali proper or outside, into one Somali State.

219. In the remarkable statement that I have just quoted, the intentions of the Government of Somalia are revealed to be not limited to the Territory of Djibouti alone. When the Somali Government speaks of reintegration, it does so as if there ever was such an integral unit. Its scope is suddenly projected as a vast one, and it makes the astounding claim to "all

territory inhabited by the Somali peoples". It discloses in explicit black and white a grandiose plan reminiscent of other similar designs attempted elsewhere and fraught with far-reaching consequences, not only for the maintenance of the precarious peace and security in that region, but also for the stability of numerous countries across the continents of Africa, Asia and elsewhere.

220. The fundamental inconsistency in the position of the Government of Somalia, which I alluded to earlier, is not difficult to pinpoint. On the one hand, they are on record as proclaiming that their paramount interest is what they term "reintegration" of all the lands inhabited by Somalis who, incidentally, comprise diverse ethnic groups, as I shall have occasion to bring out more clearly later on in my remarks. On the other hand, Somali representatives magnanimously plead the cause of the right of the people of the Territory of Djibouti to independence and self-determination. Clearly, a kind of split motivation is involved here, as the two propositions are obviously mutually exclusive and hence, taken together, untenable.

221. Yet it is my delegation that is accused of contradiction, of imposing conditions and holding reservations regarding the exercise of the right of self-determination in our statement assuring full support of the Ethiopian Government to the exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of the Territory of Djibouti

"provided that that process is unfettered in any manner whatsoever and that its sole purpose is to enable the majority of the indigenous inhabitants of the territory to decide their destiny in consonance with their genuine and lasting interests" [1423rd meeting, para. 5].

222. I might add here that the position of my Government on the matter is on record and does not admit of any ambiguity whatsoever. If there is ambiguity, surely it is to be found in the policy and contradictory statements of the Republic of Somalia. On the one hand, Somalia representatives pose as the self-appointed champions of the rights of the people of the Territory and of the universal application of the principle of self-determination, exactly because such a posture serves them as a convenient smokescreen behind which their Government quietly carries out its insidious programme of subversion, intimidation and sabotage. On the other hand, while seizing every opportunity to preach a high sermon on the sanctity of the principle of self-determination, particularly when it serves their purpose, their Government has been infiltrating political agitators, saboteurs and armed brigands for quite some time now into the Territory of Djibouti. Though an accurate figure is not available at present, according to the latest information this fifth column, already active in the Territory, numbers in the thousands.

223. As for the ill-disguised misrepresentation of the true economic situation in the Territory, I wish to refer to paragraphs 29 and 30 on page 10 of the working paper prepared by the Secretariat on French Somaliland for the Special Committee. These paragraphs state:

"The economic activity of French Somaliland is chiefly commercial. Djibouti is an important centre for trade, mainly transit and entrepôt trade, as well as a refueling station for ships passing through the Red Sea.

"The economy of the Territory is dependent to a great extent on the Djibouti-Addis Ababa railway, construction of which was started in terms of a Treaty between Ethiopia and France in 1896 and completed in 1917." [A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XII, paras. 29-30.]

224. The remainder of the last paragraph referred to gives details on the length of the railway line and the specific provisions of a subsequent Franco-Ethiopian Treaty which "fixed the present ownership and administration of the railway".

225. In view of these basic facts published in this working paper by a body of this Organization—facts that can be easily ascertained from recent documents on which the Secretariat's conclusions are based—it is, to say the least, rather strange how the representatives of Somalia could so adroitly alter the facts even if they thought that doing so would serve their purpose.

226. I do not propose to take up the valuable time of this Assembly in an enumeration of the transparent motives which have compelled the representatives of Somalia to resort to such tactics. However, I must state that, because we in Ethiopia have strong historical and ethnic bonds with the people of Djibouti, we are deeply disturbed by the machinations which will tamper with the future and the well-being of the people of this Territory, in complete disregard of their paramount interests. We in Ethiopia, because of our special ties with the inhabitants of the Territory of Djibouti, are concerned that the economic viability and the political stability of the Territory shall be preserved and further strengthened. Our concern for the well-being and future of this Territory is no less important to my Government than the future and well-being of the peoples of both Ethiopia and the Territory of Djibouti taken together.

227. I hope that I have given a clear and concise outline of my country's policy regarding the Territory of Djibouti. My Government has never been against the genuine independence and self-determination of the peoples of that Territory. On the contrary, we have always, as is well known, championed the cause of all peoples, including the peoples of Djibouti, in their struggle for independence and self-determination.

228. We believe that in any consideration of the future of Djibouti, the realities of the interdependence and special relationship between Ethiopia and Djibouti should be given paramount consideration. This future is a matter for the people of Djibouti to decide, and we have no doubt that, if unobstructed by outside pressures such as that which the Somali Government is trying to exert, the people will know where their true interests lie and will decide their future to their best advantage.

229. Finally, I should like to refer to a matter to which both the Prime Minister today and also the representatives of Somalia have referred on different occasions.

230. The Somali delegation has tried to overstate the fact that Ethiopia is a country inhabited by Christians and Moslems alike. From time immemorial Ethiopia has been a country where peoples of all races and religions have lived together in full co-operation and complete harmony. Religious tolerance has always been our policy and will continue to be our policy in the future. This is an achievement for which, it seems to me, we deserve praise rather than condemnation. People of all faiths, particularly Christians and Moslems, have lived together in harmony for ages in Ethiopia, indicating the extent and degree of religious tolerance which has long been characteristic of our history and tradition.

231. If the Somali delegation knows its history well, as I have no doubt it does, it will realize that this multi-religious character of Ethiopian society has been commented upon and highly praised by eminent men of the past. Even in the Holy Book of the Koran, the great Prophet Mohammed, the founder of Islam, has some commendatory words to say about Ethiopian tolerance. When the first disciples of Mohammed were persecuted in their country, a vast multitude of them took refuge in the land of tolerance which is Ethiopia. If my memory does not fail me, the words which the Prophet used in appreciation of Ethiopian hospitality was: "Leave the Habash"—which means the Ethiopians—"in peace so long as they do the same with you".

232. I stand to be corrected by the many learned Arab scholars in our midst if I have misquoted, but I feel that I have recalled correctly the essence if not the wording of the Prophet's wise and peaceful message. I wish we could find the way for bringing this message over to our Somali brothers and neighbours. I can only pray that the spirit of the Prophet will open their hearts and minds to the wisdom of this meaningful message.

233. Mr. PANYARCHUN (Thailand): In the course of the general debate yesterday, the representative of Cambodia [1445th meeting] deemed it fit, and possibly politically advantageous to him, to unleash a vicious and malicious attack on Thailand. We in our delegation regret the attitude he adopted. This indulgence in abusive language against my country by the Cambodian representative is, however, not the first during the present session of the General Assembly. We had to endure a distortion of facts and an intemperate attack on us on 4 October 1966. However, in our wisdom and with due deference to the constructive efforts presently being taken by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, my delegation felt duty bound not to reply in kind, but, instead, to exercise maximum restraint, as we had always done in the past, in face of either physical or verbal attacks from Cambodia.

234. Perhaps our decision then not to be drawn into a verbal warfare and to refrain from exercising our right of reply had the effect of encouraging the Cambodian representative to be more daring and provocative, as evidenced by his exhibition yesterday. Needless to say, my delegation wishes to deny, in most emphatic and categorical terms, any charges levelled at us. We do not intend to deal with the specific charges because we believe that charges,

refutation of charges and counter-charges would not be fruitful or productive, and they are certainly not conducive to peaceful negotiations being undertaken at the present time.

235. At present Ambassador Herbert de Ribbing, who was designated by the Secretary-General as his Special Representative since August, is in the area, commuting between Bangkok and Phnom Penh, in exploration of ways and means of reducing tension between Cambodia and Thailand. The Thai Government, which initiated the request to the Secretary-General, welcomes the positive endeavours of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in this direction and we are doing everything we can to facilitate this praiseworthy task. We are certainly not going to jeopardize this mission. We are determined to give every possible co-operation to Ambassador de Ribbing in his efforts to resolve whatever problems may exist between Cambodia and Thailand and to help promote a spirit of harmony and understanding between the two countries.

236. The Thai Government has repeatedly stated that it is prepared, in keeping with traditional friendship and good neighbourly policy, to resume diplomatic relations with Cambodia without any pre-condition. We are also committed by our membership of the United Nations to all the principles, purposes, rights and obligations as laid down in the Charter of the United Nations.

237. In view of our declared willingness to extend our hand of friendship to our neighbour to the East and to forget past differences, I should like to make an earnest appeal to the Cambodian representative to reciprocate our goodwill and to extend co-operation to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in his constructive efforts, and in his quiet diplomacy, to put our two countries back on the course of traditional and normal relationship. My delegation hopes that this is not too much to ask, and surely the United Nations is entitled to ask that much from a Member State.

238. Mr. COMAY (Israel): My delegation has asked for the floor to exercise its right of reply to the abusive statement made this morning by the representative of Syria, and to earlier statements in a similar vein. We do so reluctantly, without deceiving ourselves that anything we might say will deflect the obsession of the Syrian representative, who seems able to discover the "Israel peril" lurking in every one of the ninety-eight items on the Assembly agenda.

239. The unhappy dispute between Israel and its Arab neighbours does not permit of a military solution in our area, nor of a rhetorical solution at the United Nations. It will yield only to the healing processes of dialogue, the slow growth of understanding, mutual tolerance and adjustment to reality. An integral part of that reality is the State of Israel, which is a permanent feature of the Middle East landscape and of the international order. We seek to live in amity with our neighbours. Till that comes—as come it will—we insist on the application in our region of the principles of coexistence which are written into the Charter and reaffirmed in other regions in such solemn instruments as the Treaty of Rio and the Charter of African Unity. All States, including Syria,

are committed to respect each other's independence and territory, to refrain from the use of or threat of force, to settle disputes by peaceful means, not to intervene in each other's affairs.

240. In the case of Syria, as is now very apparent in the current debate in the Security Council, there are also the specific commitments of non-aggression written into the Armistice Agreement which the two Governments signed jointly in 1949. All threats of peoples' wars or any other aggressive activities against a Member State are illegitimate and a danger to peace. I heartily agree with the Syrian representative on one point, and that is that the excessive burden of armaments in our area is at the expense of the welfare of our people. The remedy for that is for the parties to the Israel-Arab dispute to enter into agreed and internationally supervised arrangements for arms limitation. My Government has previously offered to negotiate such an agreement, and I reaffirm that offer now. I would also mention that tired old canard we heard again this morning, that Israel has supplied weapons to Portugal. The Syrian representative has reminded us that his country is a member of the Committee of Twenty-four. If he will take the trouble to communicate with the Chairman of that Committee, he will find in his possession a letter from me stating that there is no basis, in fact or in the policy of my Government, for such a statement. I repeat that assurance.

241. One further comment. These spokesmen, like the representative of Syria, try desperately to persuade others that Israel is colonialist or imperialist. That is plain nonsense. The small people to which I belong was an independent nation in this same spot three thousand years ago. We had to fight against colonial oppression in Biblical times. We have been the classic victims of racial persecution throughout the ages. Eighteen years ago, we again fought a war of independence to regain our freedom in the land of our forefathers. That freedom is precious to us, and we shall cherish and defend it. It constitutes no threat to any other State on earth.

242. It is insulting and patronizing for the representative of Syria, or any other representative, to try and instruct other new nations about the meaning of colonialism or imperialism. Who is going to be frightened by such slogans? Other Governments are quite capable of forming their own judgements in the light of their own experience. It is their sovereign prerogative to have normal, friendly and co-operative relations with Israel and the Arab States, and any other State, if that is their wish and their decision. It is time that the representative of Syria learned to respect the equal status and the equal maturity of those whom he seeks to influence by this propaganda exercise.

243. Israel's vision of the Middle East is not one of enmity and rancour. We and the Arab peoples are kinsmen. Between us, we have added many lustrous pages to the history of humanity. We desire nothing but to live and work with our neighbours in peace and co-operation, and once more to make of our shared region one of the centres of civilization. We shall hold tenaciously to that vision of a positive future, free of the kind of recriminations we heard this morning.

244. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America): I have asked to speak in order, at one time and briefly, to reply to some of the comments of several delegations in the discussion of Viet-Nam during the general debate.

245. The universal anxiety caused by the conflict in Viet-Nam is seen in the stress placed upon this subject by nearly all—by new and old Members, by large and small Powers, and by countries as far removed physically from Viet-Nam as Dahomey and Norway. With few exceptions, the discussion about Viet-Nam in this general debate has been constructive and devoid of the harsh words which appeal to emotion rather than reason. In this sense, it is a tribute to the seriousness with which most Members of the Assembly approach their task as peacemakers.

246. The discussion has been notable in another respect, the substantial agreement and sentiment expressed in favour of five points: first, the vital necessity of a political rather than a military solution in Viet-Nam; second, and a logical corollary to the first, the need for early discussions in one form or another and for reduction, leading to a cessation, of all the military operations now going on there; third, the need to assure the people of South Viet-Nam the same right of self-determination cherished by all peoples, the right to decide their own political destiny free of any external interferences; fourth, a recognition that those countries rendering military assistance to South Viet-Nam have no designs against the North and no intention to establish a permanent military presence in the South; fifth, the need for some arrangement whereby the peoples of both the North and the South will be permitted to make a free decision concerning the unification of Viet-Nam.

247. My Government subscribes to these points without reservation, for we see in them, as have many Members of the Assembly, a way to a settlement which would respect the rights of South Viet-Nam and deprive North Viet-Nam of nothing to which it has a legitimate claim.

248. We have made our commitment to a political solution and, therefore, remain prepared to engage in immediate discussions, through private, informal channels or through more formal negotiations. Similarly, we have offered to take the first step towards de-escalation, to order a prior end to all bombing of North Viet-Nam the moment there is an assurance that there will be a response towards peace from North Viet-Nam. We have been given advice by some as to what we ought to do in this area. We have considered this advice, and having considered it, we would like to know from Hanoi, privately or publicly, what would happen if we followed it. We have said repeatedly that we do not seek a permanent military presence in Viet-Nam, and have offered to agree to a time schedule for supervised, phased withdrawal of all external forces—those of North Viet-Nam as well as those of the United States.

249. Other proposals have been made, both in and out of this Assembly. These we have welcomed, for, as I told this Assembly on 22 September, the position of my Government is flexible; we are prepared to discuss any and all proposals looking towards a settlement which is honourable for all concerned.

250. Underlying the discussion of Viet-Nam in the general debate has been a recognition, one which we share, that the principles of the Geneva Agreements, with suitable updating and strengthening, provide the bases for such a settlement. It is well to recall, therefore, what those principles are:

(1) A demarcation line between North and South Viet-Nam and the regrouping of all forces on the appropriate side of that line;

(2) A demilitarized zone on either side of that line from which all forces, supplies and equipment were to be withdrawn;

(3) The obligation of the parties on either side of that line to ensure that their territory was not used for hostile actions against the other and to prevent the crossing of that line by unauthorized civilian and military personnel;

(4) The political decision concerning the reunification of Viet-Nam was to be made—in freedom and peace and without interference from any source—by the peoples in the South and the North; and, finally,

(5) An obligation on the part of all to refrain from interference in the internal affairs of all the States on the Indo-Chinese peninsula.

251. We, for our part, persevere in the belief that these principles do indeed continue to provide a basis for a peaceful and honourable settlement.

252. It is through some contact, some dialogue, of course, that we are most likely to proceed towards a settlement. While public statements of position could usefully lead to a dialogue, they can neither be a substitute for it, nor accepted as a final rejection of it. We want that dialogue to begin, and are, therefore, prepared to use any of the many private channels available at this very moment. Our commitment to a political solution remains undiminished, as does our willingness to take the first step which may be conducive to the necessary discussions or negotiations concerning the contents of a political solution.

253. I would conclude by stating simply that the offers we have made before this Assembly are genuine and they remain open. To those who doubt their sincerity—whether parties to the conflict or not—I would make the most direct reply I can think of: There is only one sure way to test the sincerity of a man or a country—challenge him to make good through deeds what he offers in words. We are prepared to accept and make good on that challenge.

254. Mr. ZULOAGA (Venezuela) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, when in order to plan your work you asked us how much time our statement would take, we said we would need five minutes. I am now happy to tell you that we will need only two minutes.

255. The representative of Guyana, in his statement this afternoon, referred to what he called an intrusion on the island of Anacoco which, according to him, is part of the territory of Guyana.

256. I should like to go on record as saying that this island, which is situated at the confluence of the Venamo and Cuyuni Rivers, is Venezuelan territory and has never been a part of the disputed area. However, we were gratified to note that the representative

of Guyana stated that any question of this kind must be solved through the Mixed Commission ^{5/} created for that purpose by the Geneva Agreement of 17 February 1966 [A/6325], in keeping with the provisions of article V, paragraph 2, of that Agreement. We share that opinion of the representative of Guyana.

257. Frontier disputes are consequences of the colonial régime; many African and Asian nations represented here have been victims of its sad legacy. In solving its frontier disputes, Venezuela has chosen the path of peaceful means and the rules of international law.

258. In conclusion, may I express my sincere hope that relations between our two countries will develop in a most friendly atmosphere of co-operation and in the spirit of mutual understanding reflected in the Geneva Agreement.

259. Mr. CADENA (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): Guatemala finds itself compelled to exercise its right of reply in this general debate for the second time in order to defend the basic principles underlying the policy of our new constitutional Government.

260. The delegation of Guatemala exercised it for the first time in defence of its territorial integrity because of the reference made in this Assembly to the question of Belize. It intervenes now in order to define its position clearly as a result of the allusion made today by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cuba, Mr. Raúl Roa, to certain aspects of the domestic policy of my country.

261. The Government of Guatemala is a democratic Government, which was elected after being in opposition; it is deeply rooted among the people, and is completely dedicated, within the framework of a system of legality and respect for the freedom and dignity of the human person, to solving the economic, social and political problems of its country.

262. My Government intends to carry out, and is carrying out, a vast development programme with the object of raising the living standards of the great majority of its people so as to eradicate hunger and disease from our midst. In order that such activity should be effective and constructive, my Government is endeavouring to create within the country the necessary conditions of political stability.

263. Likewise, in the international sphere, it maintains and will maintain due respect for international treaties and the principles of law governing the international community, including resolution 2131 (XX) of the General Assembly.

264. In keeping with its democratic beliefs, my Government is exercising the inalienable right of every State to determine its own political, economic, social and cultural system. We respect those same rights in relation to other States and refrain from interfering in political matters, internal or external, which are within the competence of those States. But in the same way, we are determined to demand the same respect for our country.

265. Guatemala therefore faithfully observes the principle of non-intervention and the right of peoples

^{5/} Consisting of two representatives of Venezuela and two representatives of British Guiana.

freely to decide their own destiny. Guatemala does not wish to intervene and it will not intervene in the domestic affairs of other States; but it insists, and insists firmly, that no country—be it a Latin American country, continental or an extra continental Power—shall under any pretext interfere, directly or indirectly, in Guatemala's own affairs.

266. Mr. TOMEH (Syrian Arab Republic): Mr. President, to you and to the Members of the Assembly my most sincere apologies for taking these few minutes of your precious time at this rather late hour. Unfortunately, I find myself obliged to do so in view of the remarks which have been injected unnecessarily by Mr. Comay.

267. It will be recalled that all representatives of Arab States and friendly countries that spoke in one way or the other about the problem of Israel and the Arabs have, in more than one instance, said much more than I. For the Israel representative, Mr. Comay, to take up only what I have said, to emphasize it and try to refute it, reflects the obsession which Israel has these days against Syria, as well as the aggressive spirit which animates Israel against Syria. It is rather ironic that the Israel representative should speak about propaganda and accuse us of propaganda. Who is speaking against whom? All of us here know that all the mass media of the United States, and of New York City especially, are at the disposal of the Israel representative. It is needless to say and to remind the representatives that all the television stations, radio stations and newspapers speak for Israel. The representative of Syria alone, in the halls of the General Assembly, speaks for Syria. I am sure nobody will be deceived.

268. Putting aside the oratory and the acrimonious spirit of Mr. Comay, let the facts speak for themselves. Mr. Comay poses, as he usually does and as all Israel spokesmen do, as a peace-lover. But, as I say, let the facts speak for themselves: What happened on 14 July 1966? Mr. Comay addressed a letter to the Security Council^{6/} in which he said that the Israel Air Force was ordered to conduct an attack on Syria, in which attack napalm bombs were used, during which attack a woman and a child were killed, nine civilians wounded, and a development project completely destroyed.

269. A similar attack took place before on the borders of Jordan this year. But those are but two or three stories. The history of Israel since its establishment in 1949 is nothing but a series of attacks, culminating in 1956 in a war against Egypt which was condemned by four solemn resolutions of the General Assembly.

270. Mr. Comay, strangely enough, spoke of the General Armistice Agreement between Syria and Israel. I am really wondering who is to be reminded of the General Armistice Agreement. It is not a fact that the Mixed Armistice Commission, established to look after border problems between Israel and Syria, has been deliberately boycotted by Israel since 1951? Why? Because Israel wants to avoid being condemned by a United Nations body which is supposed to take care of all border problems.

271. The second point about which Mr. Comay spoke is the question of armaments. I still maintain our attitude: We really deplore the fact that we have to arm ourselves. But while the money which pays for our armaments comes from the toil and labour and suffering of our people, the money which pays for Israel's armaments comes from donations. I shall not use my own words; allow me to quote a very brief paragraph from an article in The New York Times, dated 15 August 1966, speaking about the deficit in Israel's budget and its economic and financial crisis. This is what that article states:

"Along with a \$500 million annual deficit in her balance of trade, Israel has a foreign currency reserve of more than \$700 million.

"The unusual situation derives from the fact that charities, such as United Jewish Appeal collections in the United States, loans, including bonds sold in the United States, reparations and restitution from West Germany and other income have plugged the trade gap adequately during the last eighteen years."

272. Thus, during the last eighteen years, Israel has been able, through those charities, amounting to a surplus of \$700 million, to build the largest, strongest, most powerful army in the Middle East; and Israel boasts of the fact that in forty-eight hours it can mobilize 250,000 soldiers, fully equipped.

273. Mr. Comay spoke about my reference to the Angola question. He reminded me of a letter which he submitted to the Committee of Twenty-four. I wish to assure Mr. Comay that I read that same letter before writing the speech which was delivered today. The letter does not at all or in any way detract from the fact that a statement was made by the Angolan people criticizing the sale of Israeli-made armaments to Portugal. Here is the statement I referred to, in their own wording. It was issued in Dar es Salaam on 6 May 1966:

"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 Kabinda, destroyed a unit of the Portuguese Colonial Army and captured a lot of war material. Among the material captured were several sub-machine guns, UZ-3, made in Israel. The MPLA denounces this and strongly protests against this co-operation between Israel and the Portuguese colonialists."

That speaks for itself, and Mr. Comay's denial does not in any way negate those facts.

274. Mr. Comay took issue with the fact that we refer to Israel as a colonialist Power. Yes, Israel is a colonialist Power. And the greatest proof that it is a colonialist Power is that the same man who came here as a representative of Israel and spoke of the land of his ancestors is a man who comes from the Union of South Africa. Now, he did not apply apartheid in South Africa; he applied it against the Arab minority in Israel.

^{6/} Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-first Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1966, document S/7411.

275. Certainly it would take very long to deal with this subject. But the very fact that there is an Arab population of 1.5 million people living as refugees in tents, driven from the homes of their ancestors in which they lived for at least two thousand years, is a proof that Israel is a racist, colonial country; and in exactly the same manner, unfortunately, as the Nazis and Fascists, who thought up a morbid solution of the Jewish problem, the Nazis and Fascists of Israel have thought up a final solution of the Arab problem, namely, to eject the Arabs, to perpetuate their tragedy and misery, and to regard them as an inferior element.

276. Finally, Mr. Comay did not deny the fact that in the Israel Yearbook of 1951 and of 1953 the statement was made—officially recorded in an official document of Israel—that "The frontiers of Israel extend from the Nile to the Euphrates". Let him come here and deny that statement, and then I will read it to him again.

277. Mr. ADAN (Somalia): We have heard in this Assembly this afternoon what I regard as an outburst by the Representative of Ethiopia in alleged reply to the statement given today to the Assembly by my Prime Minister. It is clear to us that the representative of Ethiopia had anticipated the speech of my Prime Minister and had come to this Assembly with a prepared statement. Unfortunately, his statement missed its mark, because the representative of Ethiopia wrongly anticipated my Prime Minister. His speech ranged far and wide about problems which are not before the Assembly. He talked about the territorial dispute between Ethiopia and Somalia; he talked about the idea of Greater Somaliland; he talked about the Somali Constitution; he talked about Somalia's military build-up; he talked about many other subjects which have nothing to do with the problem of French Somaliland, on which my Prime Minister spoke.

278. Naturally, all this was nothing but an attempt to camouflage the issue, the real issue that is before the Assembly, and that is the issue of French Somaliland.

279. We need not talk about the problems between Ethiopia and Somalia. The time will come when we shall have the opportunity of discussing those matters. But there was no need here today, in reply to my Prime Minister, for the Ethiopian representative to go into this matter. It is unfortunate that this is the last day of the Assembly's general debate and that we do not, therefore, have time to go into detail and refute point by point the allegations and distortions to which the Ethiopian representative has treated the Assembly this afternoon. I can, however, take consolation from the fact that the problems of the Horn of Africa are very well known to members of this Assembly. No one can insult the intelligence of this Assembly by parading here distortions and misrepresentations. I would like only to say a few words about the problem itself that is before us, the problem of French Somaliland.

280. I do not wish to digress into any other arguments which we should not go into here this afternoon. But one point which strikes me as very odd is the fact that in spite of all international maps and all international literature, in spite of all to be found in the archives of the world on the name of the Territory

of French Somaliland, the Ethiopian Ambassador was at great pains to avoid the name "French Somaliland". He has been using the term "the Territory of Djibouti". Now, Djibouti is the port of French Somaliland. If I said "the Territory of Addis Ababa", I would be insulting Ethiopia. Addis Ababa is the capital of Ethiopia. And Djibouti is the capital of French Somaliland. You can check this on any map, you can look it up in any book which talks about the Territory, and you will find it referred to there as "French Somaliland". So I do not see any reason why the Ethiopian representative should avoid the term and try thereby to mislead the Assembly. Or is it perhaps that the Ethiopian Ambassador is interested only in Djibouti, not in the rest of the Territory—Djibouti which, as he said, is the natural outlet for Ethiopia? Is his concern really limited only to Djibouti, does it not include the rest of the Territory? What about the rest of French Somaliland? Why does he not talk about it? Well, I will leave that for the Assembly to judge.

281. Then he talked about infiltrators and saboteurs and fifth-columns, which he said were responsible for the riots which occurred recently in French Somaliland. It pains me to hear my brother the Ethiopian representative deny the efforts of the people of French Somaliland and attribute those efforts for independence and self-determination to saboteurs and infiltrators from the Somali Republic. It really pains me, because this could have come from the French Government, but it is a tragedy that it comes from a sister African State. No, I wish to say that those events in French Somaliland were purely and solely due to the efforts and endeavours of the people. They were not the result of anything done by anybody outside and they were not instigated by Somalia. We should not try to belittle the efforts of those people who are struggling for independence.

282. The Ethiopian Ambassador talked also about the Somali Constitution—as if he were an expert on the Somali Constitution and on its motives and meanings and its interpretation. He said the Somali Constitution, which calls for the reunification of all Somali territories, is in contradiction to our call for independence of the Territory of French Somaliland. But I see no contradiction in this. Of course the Somali Constitution calls for the reunification of all Somali territories; but it calls for unification by consent, not by annexation as Ethiopia has been threatening in case French Somaliland opts for complete independence. Perhaps the word "consent" does not exist in the vocabulary of the Ethiopian language. We seek the reunification of all Somali territories, but through the consent of all the peoples concerned. We do not seek to annex any territory. Our Constitution says "by peaceful means". The Ethiopian representative did not mention that. There is, therefore, no contradiction. If any people of Somali origin in any Somali territory chooses, of its own free will and without interference by us or anyone else, to unite with the Somali Republic, we shall welcome their decision. The idea of the reunification of all Somali territories is not incompatible with the idea of the unity of Africa. It is but one step towards African unity, and I see nothing wrong with it. It is a first step towards African unity; therefore I see nothing wrong in Somalia's calling for the reunifica-

tion on the basis of self-determination; we do not do so on the basis of force or threats of annexation or arguments of national security. The Ethiopian Emperor and the Ethiopian Foreign Minister speak about the security of Ethiopia if this Territory, French Somaliland, should fall into unfriendly hands. Whose are these unfriendly hands? Those of their African brothers, or of France? Why should they be worried about their brothers, or about French Somaliland or about Somalia? Are we a threat to their security? This is the language of power politics, it is not the language of self-determination and independence. "The security of Ethiopia"—if every country were to annex another country for reasons of its security, then where would self-determination and independence be? This was the language of Mussolini when he was preparing, in 1935, to annex Ethiopia.

283. It is a tragedy that an Ethiopian Ambassador stands today in the United Nations and says this. I should like to quote him here, because I do not want to be accused of quoting the Ambassador or his Minister out of context. The Ambassador referred to the exigencies of his country's security with regard to the Territory. We should not think in terms of security but of self-determination. We, both Somalia and Ethiopia, should be willing to work together for the liberation of the Territory from colonial administration. The French Government has said that it was willing to apply democratic processes to the Territory. If the people opted for independence, then France was willing to grant independence. But whenever Ethiopia talks about self-determination and independence it always brings in many "ifs" and "buts". It says that the people know that their interest lies with Ethiopia. Therefore, if the referendum is genuinely conducted, the people will opt for Ethiopia. That is the condition. We say, "Let the people of French Somaliland choose whatever they like". It is their own affair to manage, or to mismanage, however they like. Whatever they choose we shall abide by. If they choose a solution which does not satisfy us, we shall still say, "Well, this is their own choice". Who are we to impose conditions? My Prime Minister's statement is loud and clear. He has come out for self-determination. We

should like the Ethiopian delegation to do the same, without bringing in any "ifs" and "buts".

284. Mr. President, I do not want to take much of this Assembly's time because the hour is getting late and I do not even have the text of the Ethiopian Ambassador's statement to enable me to reply to it point by point. But it really pains me that we heard a statement this afternoon which accused the Somali Republic of many things and which painted Ethiopia as a paragon of peace and friendship towards its neighbour. We also know that Ethiopia has expansionist intentions. It has always had them. It has always claimed Somalia. The Emperor Menelik claimed territories as far as Khartoum in the Sudan, and as far as Lake Nyasa in Uganda. These are matters of record. The Ethiopian Ambassador may try to deny them as he is trying to deny the maps of the world, calling the Territory we are talking about "Djibouti". But these are matters of record. These are fictitious claims which exist only in the mind of Ethiopia. Therefore, we shall not listen to these fictitious claims. But we should devote our attention to the problem of French Somaliland which is now before the Assembly.

285. I should like to say that should these people choose independence the United Nations should safeguard and guarantee the territorial integrity of French Somaliland. The Somali Government is willing to agree to that. I hope that the Ethiopian Government will also be willing to agree to a treaty safeguarding the territorial integrity and independence of the Territory, without any conditions.

286. The PRESIDENT: We have now concluded the general debate. Thanks to the co-operation of the distinguished representatives, it has been possible, in the course of twenty-seven plenary meetings, to hear 108 statements, not taking into account various occasions when rights of reply have been exercised. I cannot adequately express my appreciation to all representatives for their kind co-operation.

The meeting rose at 7.30 p.m.