

United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION

Official Records



1575th
PLENARY MEETING

Monday, 2 October 1967,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

| | Page |
|--|-----------|
| <i>Agenda item 9:</i> | |
| <i>General debate (continued)</i> | |
| <i>Speech by Mr. Odaka (Uganda)</i> | <i>1</i> |
| <i>Speech by Mr. El-Aarniry (Jordan)</i> | <i>3</i> |
| <i>Speech by Mr. Bashev (Bulgaria).</i> | <i>7</i> |
| <i>Speech by U Soe Tin (Burma)</i> | <i>11</i> |
| <i>Speech by Mr. Zahedi (Iran).</i> | <i>13</i> |

President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. ODAKA (Uganda): Mr. President, on behalf of the Uganda delegation, allow me to convey to you my sincere congratulations on your election to the high office of the Presidency of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly. I am confident that your recognized statesmanship, personal qualities and experience will guide us successfully in our search for solutions to the important and urgent issues that are before this Assembly.

2. I should also like to pay special tribute to the outgoing President of the twenty-first session who presided over three important and difficult sessions with great wisdom and impartiality.

3. During the present session grave issues on the international scene will be discussed and, although the general political situation has deteriorated in the last twelve months, my delegation hopes that under your wise guidance it will be possible for this Assembly to chart new ways through which it could reduce world tension and make positive progress towards peace and freedom.

4. In my statement I shall concern myself chiefly with African problems, not because I am unmindful of other issues but because the war against colonialism and neo-colonialism in Africa tends, as Ambassador Pazhwak put it the other day, to become an "almost forgotten war" [1560th meeting, para. 22]. In Africa and Asia many peoples are still struggling against heavy odds for self-determination and independence. It is a matter of regret, therefore, that the beginning of this twenty-second session, unlike that of earlier sessions, finds no new Members being admitted to the United Nations. It is the duty of this Assembly, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, to find ways and means to lead all colonial peoples to independence. The Assembly is aware of the unanimously adopted resolution 1514 (XV), which proclaims the necessity of bringing a speedy and unconditional end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

Looking back at the past twelve months, it is regrettable that no significant progress has been made in this important and urgent matter.

5. In the field of decolonization, Uganda considers Rhodesia and the solution of problems created by the unilateral and illegal declaration of independence a matter of top priority. This matter has been discussed for years in the Organization of African Unity (OAU), in this Assembly and in Commonwealth Conferences, and in spite of differences in approach we seem to agree on the objectives. The policy agreed on is that there should be no independence before majority rule. The problem before us is how to achieve this goal.

6. Time and again, the United Kingdom Government has declared its objectives and guiding principles in Rhodesia. We welcome its declared policy of "no independence before majority rule". We are, however, concerned at the time factor, for time is against us. Sincerity on the part of the administering Power, accompanied by an unending period of inactivity, will never bring about majority rule in Rhodesia. Mere wishes will never topple the Smith régime. We have been told that our misgivings are untimely and that we should give sanctions time to work. We have even been told that sanctions are "biting". There is a real danger that the present go-slow policy adopted by the United Kingdom and even by the United Nations may result in maintaining the status quo.

7. Further, there is a danger that the United Nations might be diverted from the important problem of Rhodesian independence under majority rule and will become pre-occupied with the question of sanctions as such. We believe that sanctions, in their present form, will never overthrow the illegal régime, unless they are comprehensive and mandatory. To eliminate loopholes and to ensure that sanctions are effective, there is no other way but for the Security Council to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter.

8. The Smith régime has made it clear that it intends to adopt the obnoxious policy of apartheid. We read daily of increasing acts of brutality and loss of lives inflicted by the Smith régime on the Africans in Rhodesia. I fear that, unless the United Nations takes effective measures to contain the situation, the conflict with its attendant evils will spread into other neighbouring African countries.

9. We in Africa cannot ignore the threatening remarks by the South African and Rhodesian authorities against the neighbouring Republic of Zambia. The United Nations cannot afford to make the mistake of waiting until these threats are translated into action. The Security Council should, as a matter of urgency, take note of these grave developments. Uganda feels

that the time has come for the Security Council to reconsider the problem of Rhodesia, to work out new and more effective ways to dislodge the illegal régime.

10. The policy of my Government and, indeed, of most African Governments, has been stated in this forum. We have said that we welcome developments and the creation of non-racial societies in Africa. We have never advocated the elimination of other races, either in our own individual countries or in southern Africa. We are, however, uncompromising in our rejection of the policy that political power should be confined to the so-called "civilized hands", which to the South Africans means white hands. It is only right and proper that all persons should be in a position to participate in the political life of their nation. The United Nations Charter is built on the principle of equality and self-determination. Therefore, we believe that it is the duty of the United Nations to ensure that South Africa, South West Africa and Rhodesia do not become islands of totalitarianism outside the effect and influence of the Charter. It is this principle which guides our views on the whole question of South West Africa and the whole problem of southern Africa.

11. In the case of South West Africa, which was debated in a special session of this Assembly, we are left in no doubt that we need a new formula, a new strategy, to save the people of South West Africa. The well-being, dignity and future of South West Africa are at the mercy of this Organization. The United Nations must continue relentlessly in the spirit in which it adopted the General Assembly resolution [2145 (XXI)] terminating South Africa's mandate. We must find effective ways of implementing our decisions, otherwise the situation will continue to deteriorate and will lead to an explosion between the races in South West Africa. It is my delegation's hope that South Africa, which is a Member State of this Organization, will change its policies and, instead of continuing defiance of this body, will co-operate with the United Nations Council for South West Africa to enable it to lead this Territory to independence by June 1968, as provided for by the United Nations General Assembly resolution [2248 (S-V)].

12. Prompt action is required, not only in Rhodesia and South West Africa, but also in the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. Portugal is today controlling, under conditions of serfdom, an estimated population of thirteen million people. Portugal, like its South African friend, has continued to ignore United Nations resolutions concerning its colonies. Indeed, it has intensified measures to suppress the people of Mozambique, Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea.

13. Continued and intensified measures of oppression and military brutality perpetrated by Portugal against the African people in its colonies are crimes against this Organization, they are crimes against humanity. The General Assembly has urged Member States to take coercive measures, including the breaking off of diplomatic, consular and trade relations with Portugal; yet many Member States which are traditional partners of Portugal do not seem to have paid any attention to such appeals. This support has put Portugal in an intransigent mood and has enabled it to flout all United Nations resolutions with impunity.

14. We in Africa are determined to do everything to help the Africans in their struggle for political rights and self-determination as clearly laid down in the Charters of the United Nations and that of OAU. We would hate to see racial war developing in Africa, because we believe there is room for both black and white to coexist and contribute towards building a better Africa. The United Nations at the international level and OAU at the regional level have important roles to play in the emancipation of all non-self-governing countries in Africa.

15. While this body is bogged down with the problems of decolonization of which I have been speaking, we must touch upon another subject which is of concern to Africa, another political storm which has developed and now looms over the continent: the activities of mercenaries. These mercenaries and their activities have a number of racial overtones. These mercenaries are white, and since they operate in black Africa there is a danger of fanning racial animosity and conflict, which must be avoided. Mercenaries who engage in these unfortunate and regrettable excesses not only go to Africa to earn money, but—what is disturbing and clear—they are opposed to the existence of independent, stable and viable Governments run by Africans. We have seen them at work waging war against the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

16. The use of mercenaries to invade foreign lands is a new and brutal feature in another scramble for Africa. These mercenaries are encouraged by some Governments whose policies are racial. It is important that the General Assembly consider this problem and find an effective remedy before it is too late. We know from where these mercenaries are recruited: they are being recruited from countries most of which are Member States of this Organization. We appeal to the Member States concerned to make it illegal for their nationals to be recruited as mercenaries. This is important and urgent and we will support measures requiring Member States to ban the recruitment of these soldiers of fortune and make it illegal for their citizens to be hired as mercenaries. The activities of mercenaries are against the Charter of the United Nations because they threaten the very existence of certain States of Africa. They undermine the territorial integrity of Member States of this Organization. It is because of this that we feel very strongly that this matter must be taken up by the United Nations. The United Nations must stop this new wave of mercenary activity which, if it continued, would poison racial relationships and erode the principles enshrined in the Charter, and would indeed make a mockery of international relationships and democracy.

17. I now turn to the conflict in the Middle East, which has caused and still causes us grave concern. My Government supports the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the States in the Middle East. We support the existence and territorial integrity of Israel. We are, however, opposed to the acquisition of territory through military conquest. It was on those grounds that my delegation supported in the emergency special session of the General Assembly the draft resolution calling for the withdrawal

of Israeli troops from Arab territories occupied during the war.^{1/} Withdrawal, in the opinion of my delegation, while not solving the problem, would be an important first step towards finding a just, peaceful and lasting solution to the Middle East issues. No progress will be possible unless and until the parties concerned are prepared to change their policies governing their relationship in the Middle East.

18. We consider that belligerency is as futile as the psychology of force in solving the complicated problems of the Middle East. The States concerned should seriously analyse their positions and policies towards each other with the objective of reducing tension in the area. An attempt to find a lasting and just solution to this problem cannot be achieved without moral and physical support from the United Nations. The United Nations, and especially the Security Council, should take the initiative to bring about peace in the Middle East. It is our duty at the present session to build on the achievement which brought about the cease-fire.

19. Concerning the vexed and unfortunate problem of Viet-Nam, my delegation supports the view that a political solution is needed and should be sought. We appeal to all parties in the conflict to stop fighting. The military approach and method, apart from the loss of life involved, can never solve this problem. We support the principles agreed to in the Geneva Agreement of 1954, which should constitute a basis for peaceful settlement. All parties concerned in the conflict should see their way to negotiate and be encouraged to do so.

20. Turning now to economic development, the Uganda Government is convinced that our level and rate of economic development will, in the final analysis, depend on the results of our own endeavour. We believe that with the co-operation of other neighbouring States, it is possible for us to achieve a higher rate of economic growth. In pursuance of this policy, the East African States have maintained common services and a common market. To formalize and strengthen this co-operation, a treaty for East African co-operation was signed in Kampala in June of this year by the Republics of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. This treaty was based on recommendations of a commission under the chairmanship of Professor Phillips. I would like, on behalf of my Government, to record publicly our appreciation and thanks both to the United Nations and to Denmark for his services. It is hoped that, in accordance with the Charter of OAU, more States in East and Central Africa will find it possible to join with us in a common understanding to achieve an accelerated rate and growth of development. It is with this objective in view and in accordance with the Charter of OAU that a number of meetings of representatives of various East and Central African Governments have been held.

21. In the field of international and economic relationships, our experience convinces us that the best form of aid is through the establishment and widening of greater commercial contact and favourable terms of trade to developing countries. It is our hope that the Second United Nations Conference on Trade and

Development, due to be held at New Delhi next year, will achieve more positive results in this direction than did the first Conference at Geneva.

22. I should like to end my statement by welcoming the remarks on aid made by Mr. Martin, Chairman of the Canadian delegation [1569th meeting], in which he announced his country's plans to give more aid on better terms to developing countries and its intention to play a full part in the replenishment of the resources of the International Development Association. Those two issues, the issue of giving aid on better terms and the question of replenishing International Development Association resources, are very important issues in the field of aid, and can contribute significantly to the achievement of rapid development. I hope and trust that developed and developing countries will play their full role in a joint effort to make this world a better, safer and happier place for us all.

23. Mr. EL-AAMIRY (Jordan): Mr. President, allow me, at the very outset of my statement to extend to you my warmest and most sincere congratulations on your election as President of this twenty-second regular session of the General Assembly. Your election symbolizes the gratifying spirit of justice and understanding, as well as a desire for peaceful co-existence which characterizes this Assembly today. Your election also reinforces the principle of universality in our Organization and the unfolding of a new era for the United Nations, in which the socialist States are coming to play their full part in the attainment of peace and security in this world.

24. I am convinced that under your wise guidance our deliberations will prove to be most fruitful and productive.

25. Nor can I overlook this opportunity of expressing my delegation's warm appreciation and admiration for your predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Abdul Rahman Pazhwak of Afghanistan, for the able and wise manner in which he guided the deliberations of this body.

26. My delegation wishes to renew its appreciation and admiration of the efforts of the Secretary-General and the efficient and valuable services he has rendered, and continues to render, to this Organization. I should like also to assure you, Mr. President, of our co-operation and support in your difficult and noble task.

27. Our Assembly holds in its hands the hopes of most of the peoples of the world. Thus, as we review the events and the problems, the successes and the failures which confront the United Nations, we must never lose sight of the fact that this is precisely why the most intractable world issues of life and death are brought before this august body. And it is precisely why this Assembly is bound to seek an objective assessment of those issues and, in so doing, resolve them in accordance with the terms of the Charter and the principles of equity and justice to which, as Members, we all have subscribed.

28. It is not my intention to enumerate all these problems at the outset of my address. Yet every one of us carries in the forefront of his mind the awareness that

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Emergency Special Session, Annexes, agenda item 5, document A/L.522/Rev.3.

two great crises bear heavily upon us. The one in the Far East has long been threatening world peace. The other is in our area, the Middle East. It too has for a long, long time festered and deepened, sometimes erupting in varying degrees of intensity, and always threatening international peace and security.

29. It is the second crisis which must for obvious reasons concern Jordan first and foremost. And it is this "situation in the Middle East" that this Assembly now has before it for its consideration.

30. The "situation in the Middle East", in the words of the General Assembly's agenda, is indeed a mild expression for what has transpired. An act of armed aggression has been perpetrated by one Member of this Organization upon other Members. Of that aggression, my country, Jordan, has been a principal victim and bears today the grievous wounds inflicted by it. Almost half the country, including Arab Jerusalem, is under military occupation. Half my people suffer persecution and humiliation under alien rule. Over 10 per cent of the country's population is uprooted and displaced, forced to live in misery and suffering, driven out as new refugees are being stripped of all their possessions.

31. That same act of aggression resulted also in the occupation of sizable territories belonging to the United Arab Republic and to Syria, and brought about a similar massive human disaster.

32. And all this is the bitter consequence of the pursuit by Israel of a policy of naked force, of territorial aggrandizement and of "peace" through conquest—peace reminiscent of nazi offers of peace in eastern Europe, following each act of criminal and military expansion.

33. Beyond the suffering and the tragic conditions of the inhabitants of these occupied territories lie the fearful questions asked by all the peoples of the Middle East and those of many of the nations of the world. Will the United Nations at this session fail to take a decision on this issue, as it did at the fifth emergency special session of the Assembly? Will the United Nations condemn aggression and occupation and take effective measures for the liquidation of the consequences, by first and foremost obtaining the withdrawal of the forces of aggression from the occupied territories?

34. Once again the attention of the world is drawn to the General Assembly by the convening of this regular session. We must pray, therefore, that this Assembly will not frustrate the world's expectations and aspirations for peace and justice. For let none doubt that the repeated failure to resolve a grave and serious and urgent matter in a sensitive part of the world weakens this Organization, disfigures its stature and invites a return to the law of the jungle.

35. Also, let none doubt that the choice we have before us now is clear-cut: either an honourable and just solution, or continued war and turmoil.

36. Those whose hearts, for religious reasons, are attached to the area, those who have any interest therein, and those who know the effects of the repercussions of war in this world are all invited to meditate.

37. I shall not forget at this point, however, to extend my country's thanks to those Members of the General Assembly who earnestly tried at the emergency special session to reach a decision on our crisis, to condemn aggression, and to order the reparation of the destruction it caused and compensation therefor.

38. There is no need to describe in detail the aggression perpetrated on 5 June 1967. Yet the essential aspect of that deed bears recalling, so that all my respected colleagues and all delegations may recognize it for what it is.

39. On that date Israel launched a simultaneous, wide-scale aerial attack, on the true Hitlerian pattern, against all the airfields of the United Arab Republic.

40. It has been said in defence of Israel that its attack was in answer to earlier alleged provocations. Nothing could be further from the truth. There was no provocation to justify a war. The issue itself—Sharm-El-Sheikh, the Strait of Tiran—was not commensurate with any war. The President of the United Arab Republic declared very clearly on 22 May that the United Arab Republic would not initiate a war. The Egyptian air force, as later became evident, was not on a war footing.

41. Only after Israel had made sure of the success of its sudden and rapid three-hour aerial attack on the air force of the United Arab Republic was the war started by Israel on the Jordanian frontier. Only then and not a minute before. Yet Israel has had the audacity to tell the world that Jordan initiated the hostilities, despite the many hours which elapsed after the Israel attack was launched on the United Arab Republic, and before any fighting had taken place on the Jordanian front. And the same applies to the Syrian front.

42. If these Israeli tactics seem hard to believe, I suggest that we go back to the record of the Israeli aggressions of 1948 and 1956, and to the violations, down through the years, of the Armistice Agreements between Jordan and Israel. The attack on the As Samu village, for which Israel was censured by the Security Council [resolution 228 (1966) of 25 November 1966], stands out as a prime example of such behaviour.

43. It is only necessary to count the number of incidents for which this Organization has condemned or censured Israel and to compare that total with the number of incidents for which the Arab States were condemned. Then, gentlemen, you may judge for yourselves who is the guilty party and who is the aggrieved. Those of you who had anything to do with this subject, or with the deliberations of this Assembly, will no doubt bear me out on this point. And to complete the record, let us state here that Israel itself has admitted that it initiated the surprise air and ground attacks upon the Arab States.

44. A recurring theme in Israel's symphony of justification for its aggression is that even if Sharm-El-Sheikh did not offer sufficient provocation to justify a war, then Arab threats to wipe Israel off the map served as sufficient excuse for this wanton attack. But how does this sophistry stand up to the cold light of reality when the facts are examined? The truth is that

there is no place whatsoever for mass murder and genocidal war in Arab history, religion or traditions—absolutely none. There is not a single incident of persecution of Jews by Arabs to be found in Arab history, whether ancient or modern. Historically, the persecution of Jews started in those same countries from which they emigrated to Arab lands. The most recent and terrible instance was practised by the Nazi leader in the heart of Europe. The hideous irony cannot cease to amaze all of us that Israel, in turn, should have proved so apt a pupil of his methods, learning from him, not only the sneak attack known as the "blitzkrieg", but the application of the Nazis' "final solutions", faits accomplis and methods of persecution in order to drive out innocent Arab populations from their homes and lands and replace them with Jewish immigrants.

45. The consequences of the unleashing by the Israelis of the vast potential for death and destruction which they have built up over the last twenty years, are now the subject of this Assembly's attention. The aggression that occurred on 5 June last has resulted, *inter alia*, in the disruption, with world-wide repercussions, of navigation in the Suez Canal, paralysis of the economy and of the process of economic development, including that of tourism, which has been almost completely interrupted.

46. And how am I, in the same breath, to mention the untold suffering and anguish which has befallen the innocent people of our area?

47. In the Gaza Strip the policies of the occupying authorities have paralysed life and subjected the people to starvation, forcing many inhabitants to seek refuge in Jordan and other neighbouring Arab countries.

48. On the West Bank of the Jordan the once prosperous and well-developed life, in town and village, of one million Jordanians has been shattered. A life of unemployment, misery and degradation is now their lot. Twenty per cent of the inhabitants of the West Bank have been forced to leave their homes and Israel is now endeavouring to coerce and incite the rest of the inhabitants to submit to its rule. The one million Arab Jordanians on the West Bank, despite the continued Israeli policy of coercion and oppression, have continued to manifest in every possible way their resistance to Israel's occupation. They have also refused to co-operate with the Israel authorities to derogate from Jordan sovereignty over the occupied territory. Many of the Arab Jordanian leaders and dignitaries are in custody or under arrest simply because they have declared their loyalty to Jordan. Their stand is not only in keeping with their attachment to their mother country, but it also stems from their recognition of the harsh conditions in which their brethren have lived as second-class citizens for the past twenty years under the Israelis.

49. In Jerusalem, Israel has already demolished an entire Arab quarter, rendering homeless about 700 Arabs in order to level the area in front of the Wailing Wall, and both Moslem and Christian religious leaders have protested against interference in their religious and municipal affairs by the occupation authorities.

50. Even if we overlook the undoubted rights and demands of the residents of Jerusalem, we cannot overlook the well-known differentiations in Israel's religious and racial policies, nor its lack of respect for the beliefs of others. These alone would disqualify Israel for guardianship of the Holy Places of the Moslems and Christians.

51. The General Assembly, at its fifth emergency special session, adopted resolution 2253 (S-V) on 4 July 1967 by 99 votes in favour to none against. That resolution stated that the Assembly considered as invalid the measures taken by Israel to change the status of the City of Jerusalem. The Assembly called on Israel to rescind all measures already taken and to desist forthwith from taking any action which would alter the City's status. I repeat: that resolution was adopted by 99 votes in favour to none against. On 14 July 1967, the Assembly reiterated its call to Israel to respond to the decisions of the overwhelming majority of the Members of this world body.

52. But what do we find? Israel flouts and mocks those decisions and the obligations of membership in the United Nations as blithely and recklessly as it has always done. And now something new is added: a systematic Israeli campaign to entice the inhabitants, the civil servants and the religious personalities of Jerusalem, to declare loyalty to Israel. That campaign is failing as miserably as have earlier efforts by other invaders throughout history.

53. One further thought on Jerusalem. I wonder if my colleagues here realize that the greater part of the western portion of Jerusalem controlled by Israel prior to 5 June 1967 is Arab property forcibly occupied by Zionist terrorists in 1948. And now Israel wants to remain in the eastern Jordanian half of Jerusalem, which has not a single Jew in it and in which all the Holy Places and shrines, sacred to half of the world's non-Jewish population, are situated.

54. And what of the refugees, the human debris from the construction of the new Zion? If we add the new refugees totalling 350,000 in Jordan, Syria and the United Arab Republic, to the total of old refugees, they will add up to approximately two million people. Two million people: almost the same as the population of Israel.

55. In Jordan, 20 per cent of the inhabitants of the West Bank, or about 200,000 people, representing 10 per cent of the total population of Jordan, have fled to the East Bank because of the behaviour of the occupying forces. The Secretary-General has distributed a report prepared by his personal representative, Mr. Gussing, on their conditions. Here may I refer to the terms of the Security Council resolution [237 (1967)] calling on Israel "to ensure the safety, welfare and security of the inhabitants of the area where military operations have taken place and to facilitate the return of those inhabitants who have fled the areas since the outbreak of hostilities".

56. We all know Israel's response to that decision of the world community. It has ignored the simplest concepts of humanity and international conventions and, for various reasons of its own, Israel has permitted no more than 13,000 refugees to return. Instead, the Prime Minister of Israel declared a new programme

for the resettlement of an additional one million Jewish immigrants in the occupied Arab territories. The homes of the Arab refugees recently expelled stand empty, awaiting their return. The weeks and months pass. The cold of winter approaches. Only a refugee or perhaps an eye-witness observer can fully understand and feel the suffering and anguish of these people.

57. And what is this world body going to do? There is the practical provision of the Charter: if Israel persists in its present disregard for the United Nations, the Security Council must apply sanctions aimed at securing compliance by Israel with the resolutions adopted by this Organization.

58. On the one hand, you have heard Israeli leaders saying that all that they had undertaken was purely for self-defence. Yet we have also heard them declaring that they will not withdraw from Jerusalem and will continue their occupation of the West Bank and that they intend to share with the United Arab Republic the shores of the Suez Canal. Does a war of self-defence lead to invasion, occupation, expansion and usurpation? Israel is now, after having occupied the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, inciting and intimidating the Arab inhabitants to declare their separation from the rest of the Arab peoples and to join the Israelis instead. Does a war of self-defence mean that Israel should prevent the return of the Arab refugees to their homes and properties?

59. Yet Israel does not stop at the adamant and belligerent refusal to comply with your decisions regarding Jerusalem and the refugees. No, Israel has the arrogance to declare beforehand, through its leaders, that it will not be affected by any resolution adopted by the United Nations of which it does not approve.

60. I do not wish to take any more of your time with this tragic record or the history and evidence of the other aspects of the case. I must look now into the position which Jordan can take in order to help this Organization adopt a clear resolution to resolve this unprecedented crisis.

61. There is one basic point that seems to be central in this regard. It was at the core of the failure of the General Assembly to take a decision in the crisis at its emergency special session. Surprisingly, that central point related to the legal and natural demand for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Arab territories which they have occupied.

62. Some Powers mobilized all their efforts to prevent such a simple decision from being adopted by the General Assembly. Not only did that stand openly encourage Israel in its public posture of justifying territorial aggrandizement and acquisition by military conquest but also it was in contradiction to the specific declarations by those same Powers about respect for the territorial integrity and political independence of the countries of the Middle East.

63. The outward justification for that peculiar position taken at the United Nations by those Powers—and which now, I am afraid, may be repeated by them—is that the withdrawal of occupying forces should be linked up with peace and with the settlement of other issues. We are asked, it seems, to reward aggression in one way or another. That, however, is not the road

to peace, because it is unjust and therefore unacceptable. When any Power champions such an unfair course and states that it supports withdrawal only in that way, it is violating the United Nations Charter and distorting the issue of peace.

64. In their conflict with Israel, the Arab countries have not been opposing peace. They have really been objecting to solutions tantamount to acquiescence in the series of invasions and faits accomplis imposed militarily upon the Arab countries and peoples and infringing their legitimate rights and interests.

65. May I repeat: to link up the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Arab territory with Arab acceptance of such a distorted concept of peace is neither fair nor wise nor morally defensible.

66. First and foremost, this Assembly must insist on an immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces from Arab territories. The consideration of peace is, and has been, our purpose. The consideration of the various aspects of the immediate or original problem is also possible, and indeed necessary. That should take place, and within the framework of this Organization, but only after Israel withdraws from our land. Nor is it defensible legally, in the terms of the United Nations Charter, to obstruct or delay a clear and unequivocal pronouncement by this Assembly on the withdrawal of the occupying forces and on the urgency and immediacy of that withdrawal. It must not be subject to any bargaining, territorial or otherwise.

67. In the past, some decisions have been taken in this Assembly contrary to the fundamental interests of the Palestinian, Jordanian and other Arab peoples of the Middle East. The most important of them was the partition of Palestine. The objection of the people then was ignored. Now we suffer from that and similar mistakes committed in the past. The result has always been the aggravation of the situation. If the same policy is now followed, I am sure more disastrous results will ensue, not only to the Arab peoples but also to those Powers interested in the area, and not least to Israel itself.

68. From this rostrum, I ask you most earnestly to examine these matters very, very carefully at this session. Otherwise, an explosion of the Middle East situation again will most probably be the result. As a matter of fact, we can see the beginnings of it taking place at the present moment.

69. In expressing the sincere hope that this Organization will take the initiative to settle the crisis with firmness and urgency, I am convinced that all of you share the opinion that another failure to settle the crisis in the Middle East on the basis of justice is very likely to reduce to a great extent the hopes of the peoples of the world in this Organization, if not really to threaten its existence.

70. Permit me to point out in this regard that the resolution of the Fourth Arab Summit Conference^{2/} has united and consolidated Arab efforts in this direction. It represents a positive attitude which, we hope, will evoke the appropriate and necessary reaction. Otherwise, the Arab peoples will draw the lesson of extremism and violence. Time and justice are on the

^{2/} Held at Khartoum, Sudan, from 29 August to 1 September 1967.

side of the Arabs, and the Arabs are patient—let there be no mistake about that—even if Israel could bring in thousands of Jewish immigrants to replace the Arab inhabitants and make them into refugees.

71. It will be observed that I have dedicated most of my statement to the Middle East. That is quite natural in view of the fact that we are from the Middle East, which has suffered in general from Israeli aggression, and from Jordan which has suffered in particular. Yet, in spite of our grievous problem, we still support the efforts of this Assembly to advance the cause of humanity as a whole and the realization of justice and peace.

72. The other major issue plaguing our world is the Viet-Nam crisis, which is in many ways similar to the Middle East crisis. We are convinced that the withdrawal of foreign forces and elements from Viet-Nam will eventually result in peace. The same element of withdrawal applies to the Middle East, for the problem is linked with an important concept, the successful observance of which is essential to this Organization. I refer to non-intervention by any State in the internal affairs of other States. This must be accompanied by the liquidation of foreign military bases. Some of those bases are in the Arab countries, and the Arab Summit Conference has decided that they should be removed. We hope that that will be accomplished quickly.

73. I am certain that there is general agreement that special attention and care must be devoted to expanding the programmes in the economic and technical assistance fields. The programmes provide the solid basis for the advancement of world peace and security, and the developing countries must be given special attention in this field.

74. In the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, we hope to see every effort made by all peace-loving nations to eliminate from our world all imperialism, in forms both old and new.

75. We call for a halt to the arms race and the reduction of world tension. We call for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and support a treaty to this effect. We call upon all nations to support this Organization financially in all its activities.

76. Despite the dark clouds shadowing our world, despite the failures of this Organization in recent times, we still see some rays of hope penetrating the gloom. Some of those modest glimmers of light stem from our Organization which, we trust, will come to have more strength based on the principles embodied in its Charter.

77. For the sake of all the peoples of the United Nations let us hope and let us work to the end that we shall be capable of fulfilling its duties with the fairness and justice for which the Organization was created so that it may achieve its ultimate goals of peace, prosperity and stability.

78. Mr. BASHEV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): Comrade President, may I, on behalf of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, congratulate you on your election to this important post, which is occu-

pled for the first time by the representative of a socialist country.

79. Our pleasure is all the greater in that you represent a neighbouring people with whom we have had close ties of friendship for many years and with whom we share our aspirations for the building of a new life.

80. The twenty-second session of the General Assembly coincides with the fiftieth anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution, an event which strongly influenced the march of history and the destiny of mankind. The noble ideals proclaimed by the October Revolution have been successfully realized in the Soviet Union and in a large part of the world. Those ideals have also had a considerable influence on the theory and practice of contemporary international relations. They are principles which lay down the right of all peoples, great or small, to self-determination and independence, the equality of all peoples and States, the elimination of the exploitation of one people by another, and peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. These ideals have left their imprint on international political doctrines and institutions during the last few decades and still exert a favourable influence on the development of international relations. Thanks to the participation of the Soviet Union—the first socialist State and one of the leading Powers in the anti-Hitlerite coalition—in the founding of the United Nations, these principles have found expression in the Charter of our Organization. The ideals of the October Revolution, which have been strengthened by the success of the socialist structure, are today still as attractive as ever and serve as an inspiration to peoples in their struggle for freedom, peace, equality and social progress.

81. We must admit once again that the international political situation has deteriorated during the past year. Instead of decreasing, the dangers to world peace have increased considerably: the United States continues to escalate its aggression in Viet-Nam; Israel too, committed aggression against the Arab people last summer, the United States is aggravating the situation in the Caribbean area and hotbeds of conflict and trouble have been created in Africa. This march of events is dangerous for the freedom and security of peoples and for the independence and sovereignty of States. In this climate of ever-increasing tension and of open or latent conflict, some States are more and more frequently resorting to violence and intimidation in their relations with other States and are spurning more and more the principles of international law which mankind has elaborated in the course of its long and often painful history.

82. The war of the United States in Viet-Nam is the most obvious example of this. For ten years, and especially during the past three, one of the most powerful States in the world has been waging a devastating war against a small nation. This war is a flagrant violation of the principles of self-determination, of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States, and of the freedom of every people to govern itself and determine its own social order. Respect for these principles is the only guarantee for the very existence of States, and especially of small States. By fire and sword, by force and duress, the

United States wants to impose its own order and its own law on Viet-Nam, without heeding the rights or wishes of the Viet-Nameese people. Violations of the fundamental principles of international behaviour are spreading ever further afield from the main centre of aggression, thereby threatening to draw an increasing number of States into the war.

83. Consequently, the establishment of a lasting peace in Viet-Nam is one of the most urgent international problems. The aggression of the United States against the Viet-Nameese people casts its shadow over the whole international scene and poisons relations between States. Both peoples and Governments are hoping for the immediate restoration of peace in Viet-Nam. The question is: how is this to be achieved? Should it be achieved by forcing the Viet-Nameese people to capitulate? No one has the right to demand that from a people which has been struggling bravely for national liberation for several decades. Peace cannot be established in Viet-Nam unless the United States recognizes, as other States have done, the rights and vital interests of the Viet-Nameese people and leaves it alone, in complete freedom, to settle its own affairs. When the United States decides to act thus, it will be able to take steps to open up the way for negotiations aimed at finding a political solution to the problem of Viet-Nam on the basis of the 1954 Geneva Agreement. The first step would be a bombing halt over the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. The Government of the United States is well aware of the positive attitude of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam on this matter, as are the Governments of some of its allies.

84. Moreover, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam has expressed that view on several occasions. On 28 January of this year the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam stated:

"If the United States really wishes to talk with us, it must first of all unconditionally halt the bombing and all the other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam."

That position was once again confirmed quite recently by the Prime Minister of Viet-Nam, Pham Van Dong. Unfortunately the only response of the United States to the goodwill shown by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam was to escalate the aerial bombardment. More than once the United States has, in this way, thwarted every possibility of negotiation for the settlement of the Viet-Nameese problem.

85. In the light of these facts the efforts of the United States representative in the United Nations, Mr. Goldberg, to reassure world public opinion as to the peaceful intentions of the United States in Viet-Nam hardly seem convincing. Once again, the statements made here in favour of a peaceful solution to the Viet-Nameese problem flatly contradict other statements which have been made by American public figures who are no less authorized. The United States representative claims here that his Government is ready to seek a peaceful solution and that the United States is not trying to impose any military solution on North Viet-Nam. At the same time, outside this hall, American statesmen are justifying the intensi-

fication of military operations and the bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and are expressing the opinion that this is an indispensable prerequisite for a United States victory on the battlefield. Intensified military operations by the United States, accompanying or following such statements, confirm the fact that there has been no change in the policy of war escalation which the United States is pursuing in Viet-Nam, and that the United States is continuing to seek only a military solution to the Viet-Nameese problem. This, in a nutshell, is the cause of the deadlock reached in the Viet-Nameese problem.

86. The Viet-Nameese people is fighting for a just cause in defense of its rights and existence. It cannot be vanquished and its aspiration to freedom and independence cannot be crushed by force of arms. In this legitimate struggle the Viet-Nameese people enjoys the support of some staunch friends. The People's Republic of Bulgaria, together with the other socialist countries, supports the heroic people of Viet-Nam in its fight against aggression.

87. The situation in the Middle East is another source of tension and a serious threat to world peace. The consequences of Israel aggression against the Arab countries have not been eliminated and the road to the peaceful settlement of problems in that area remains closed.

88. The aggression of Israel has been followed by the tragedy of military occupation and the suffering of the enslaved Arab population. More than a million and a half Palestinian refugees are living under conditions of extreme poverty, total insecurity and distress. Israel aggression and occupation are holding up the economic and social development of the Arab peoples. The presence of Israel troops on the left bank of the Suez Canal, which is the main reason for closing that important waterway to international shipping, in fact transforms the aggression of Israel against the Arab countries into an act of aggression against all States whose peaceful interests require free passage through the Canal, with the full agreement of the United Arab Republic.

89. Israel, far from seeking a peaceful and equitable settlement of the problems of the Near East, intends to prolong the situation which has been newly created in that part of the world as a result of its aggressive behaviour, a situation which neither the Arab peoples nor the international community can tolerate. There is talk of Israel's "natural borders". If we are to believe the Israel Prime Minister, the borders of Israel lie at the Suez Canal. Scarcely a week ago, Mr. Eshkol announced a system of governmental measures intended to bring about the final incorporation of the occupied Arab Territories into the territory of Israel. The Foreign Minister of Israel claims that the demand for the unconditional withdrawal of Israel troops is historically unprecedented. However, neither the Arab peoples nor the peoples of other countries would agree to a solution which would in fact put a premium on aggression. The setting of such a precedent cannot be tolerated in the second half of the twentieth century. Israel must renounce its annexation of foreign territories.

90. Although victims of aggression, the United Arab Republic, Jordan and the other Arab countries have shown proof of their realistic and moderate attitude and favour the search for a just political solution to the Near East crisis. The soundly-reasoned speech of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Arab Republic confirmed that fact. The Governments of some of the non-Arab States have also made constructive proposals. Nevertheless, Israel continues to adhere to its extremist position and to reject all reasonable proposals such as that put forward by Yugoslavia, for instance, and stipulates unacceptable conditions which obviate any possibility of a peaceful settlement. All this goes to confirm that Israel is following a dangerous road leading to a further worsening of the crisis and is seriously threatening to cause new conflicts in that area. The last speech of Mr. Eban in this Assembly is the most recent official proof of Israel intransigence.

91. Although the problems of the Near East are complex and difficult, efforts to find an equitable solution must not be halted. The United Nations, and particularly the Security Council, can and must use every available means to achieve the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel troops from the occupied Arab Territories. That would be a genuine manifestation of the desire for peace and an important step towards the peaceful settlement of the problems of the Middle East, which would guarantee the continued existence and safety of all the States in that area.

92. In this connexion, I should like to emphasize that the suggestion of the Secretary-General, U Thant, to hold unofficial private meetings of the Security Council in which the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of member countries of the Council would participate, deserves special attention. However, if such meetings are to lead to constructive results, it is essential that they should be prepared thoroughly in advance and that the general lines of a solution to the questions discussed in the Council which would be acceptable to all should be mapped out.

93. Our country attaches the utmost importance to the item on the agenda of the present session concerning the withdrawal of the United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations.

94. The solution of the Korean problem requires that the people of both the South and the North should be left to settle the problems of their unification and democratic development freely and without foreign interference. The General Assembly of the United Nations should therefore speak out in favour of the withdrawal of the United States troops from South Korea, of the prohibition of the use of the flag of the United Nations as a cover for the *de facto* occupation of South Korea by the United States, and of the dissolution of the so-called Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. Such a decision must be adopted by the present session as a matter of urgency. That would create the necessary conditions for calm, security and the free development of the whole of Korea. A real danger for peace in the Far East would thus be removed.

95. The campaign against the Cuban Republic has been intensified lately. New acts of provocation are being prepared against that country; pressure is being exerted on some States to compel them to break off their trade relations with Cuba; plans are being made to set up a total sea and air blockade, and voices are being raised advocating armed aggression against that country. These threats are aimed at preventing the development of the Cuban people along progressive lines and at creating an atmosphere of permanent tension and insecurity in the area in order to justify future intervention in the domestic affairs of the Cuban Republic. We must put an end to the provocations against Cuba and to the worsening of the situation in the Caribbean in order to prevent the danger of confrontations which would be fatal for peace from increasing in that area also.

96. I have touched on some aspects of the international situation, dwelling especially on the seeds of conflict and tension, which are the direct consequence of violence and acts of aggression and which represent a very real danger for the peace of the world. Those responsible for all the acts of aggression which have led to these conflicts are well known. However, propaganda and certain political figures are trying to reverse the roles so as to persuade public opinion that, even in the most obvious cases of aggression which we have witnessed, the aggressors are not those who have engaged in armed attacks, but rather the victims of such attack.

97. The aggressors are even seeking to benefit from the lack of a definition of aggression in order to make it more difficult to condemn them on political or moral grounds or to take collective measures against their acts of violence. In this connexion, our delegation considers that the proposal of the Soviet Government (A/6833) calling on the United Nations to expedite the drafting of a definition of aggression is most opportune, and we support it. It would be a new contribution by our Organization to the establishment of rules of conduct for States which would eliminate any form of aggression as an instrument of national policy.

98. One encouraging aspect of the present international situation, which is characterized by the lack of positive solutions to major international problems, is the presentation of identical draft treaties on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons^{3/} to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament in Geneva. This leads us to hope that we are not far from agreement on this problem.

99. However, some Governments have expressed their reservations in this regard owing to the fact that the treaty does not contain the final solution of the fundamental problem, namely, the prohibition and final elimination of nuclear weapons. But it is quite clear that no agreement on this problem can be reached at the present time. In these circumstances, would it not be better, instead of insisting on a complete solution, which cannot be achieved for the time being, to be content with a partial but attainable solution. We believe that there can only be an affirmative answer to that question. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons would

^{3/} Documents ENDC/192 and ENDC/193.

mark the second step towards a decrease in the dangers of atomic armaments, the Treaty banning nuclear weapons tests, signed in Moscow in 1963, being the first.

100. In order to bring about this development, the General Assembly must examine and adopt certain measures in connexion with it. One such measure is the proposal of the Soviet Union for the conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons (A/6834). Our country will give its full support to the preparation and signing of such a convention.

101. It has been stressed more than once here that the process of national liberation of peoples, of disintegration of the colonial system and of the emergence and consolidation of a large number of independent States in Africa and Asia is one of the characteristic features of the contemporary development of mankind. However, it should be noted once again that this process is not yet concluded. Vast areas of the African continent, of South Arabia and of other parts of the world are still under colonial domination. In certain areas, the colonial forces are trying to unite and strengthen their positions. The alliance between the racists of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonists is an obstacle to the suppression of colonialism in Africa and a threat to the independence of the newly liberated countries in that part of the world.

102. The final elimination of colonialism and the achievement of a process of national liberation of peoples are vital necessities in our era, and it is the duty of free peoples to bring them about. All anti-colonialist forces must resolutely oppose the efforts made to arrest this process.

103. The fourth summit Conference of the Organization of African Unity, held at Kinshasa in September 1967, and the decisions taken at that Conference represent an encouraging step towards the consolidation of the African States and the liberation of African territories and peoples still suffering from oppression. Until this goal is reached, the United Nations will have to play an essential role in bringing about the final elimination of colonialism. Hence it is desirable that the General Assembly should address an even more insistent appeal to Member States to provide more effective moral and material support to the peoples struggling for their freedom and to cease all co-operation with the colonialist and racist régimes.

104. It would also be useful if the General Assembly were to recommend to the specialized agencies and international organizations affiliated to the United Nations to furnish more active assistance to the movements of national liberation in their efforts to ensure education for the youth of the colonial territories, to organize medical services, to wipe out epidemics and to guarantee that the children are fed. This is a wide field in which the humanitarian ideals of our Organization can be applied. It is with this in mind that my delegation has asked that the question concerning the implementation by the specialized agencies of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples should be inscribed

on the agenda for the present session. It is a fact that the majority of European States have, over the last few years, adopted a realistic attitude with regard to the situation in Europe and are trying to base their relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence. Thanks to this policy, confidence among the European people is growing, relations between Eastern and Western States are improving and the tension in Europe is diminishing.

105. The progress so far achieved should be continued. The growing confidence and mutual respect among the European States may then give rise to favourable conditions which would make it possible to find a solution to the basic problem of Europe, the setting up of an efficient system of European security. This problem is occupying the attention of European peoples and Governments for whom national security is of primary concern. The solution to this question should be approached in a new way, without adhering to obsolete forms of security which were able to avert neither local conflicts nor world wars.

Examples of these are still fresh in the memory of the European peoples.

106. Consequently, the point of departure in finding a solution to the problem of national security should not be the concept that the best way of guaranteeing such a solution is the setting up of military blocs and alliances pitted against one another and bearing in them the seeds of fear and of the danger of future confrontation, but the establishment of a harmonious collective system in which general and lasting peace would be the very foundation of independence and national security. Our country shares these ideas. It is convinced that the time has come for a European security system to replace the system of multilateral military alliances. Quite recently, the President of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, Todor Jivkov, confirmed once again, on behalf of the Bulgarian Government, that we are ready for the simultaneous dissolution of the Atlantic Alliance and the Warsaw Treaty. This would be an important first step in reducing international tension and in helping to bring about a favourable atmosphere and the political and psychological conditions necessary for the establishment of an efficient European security system.

107. In view of the fact that some Governments regard the simultaneous dissolution of the blocs as premature, more limited interim decisions could be agreed upon as a first step, such as the conclusion of a non-aggression treaty between the Atlantic Alliance and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, or the disbanding of the military organizations of those blocs.

108. Of course, the situation in Europe is far from being idyllic. There too there exist complex problems and considerable difficulties. There is no reason for complacency as far as Europe is concerned.

109. The problem which is crucial for the peace and security of Europe is that of the militaristic and revanchist attitude of West Germany, its plans for re-making the map of Europe and the chauvinistic atmosphere in which German fascism is once more emerging. The fact that the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany still refuses to recognize the consequences of the Second World War and the reali-

ties of post-war Europe, that it stands by its unfounded claims to represent the whole German people, and that it is trying to isolate the German Democratic Republic politically and to gain access to nuclear armaments, all serves to demonstrate the alarming nature of its policy. That policy, which is supported by certain States, members of the Atlantic Alliance, constitutes an obstacle to the further improvement of the political climate in Europe and to a constructive solution of many of the important problems besetting the European States.

110. One of the characteristic features of present-day international relations is the universalization of relations between States. As the most fully representative international Organization, the United Nations can make an important contribution to the affirmation and application of this principle.

111. In the introduction to his annual report (A/6701/Add.1), the Secretary-General drew the attention of Member States to the fact that the Organization has not yet succeeded in translating the principle of universality into fact. We share the concern of the Secretary-General and are ready to support any effort designed to overcome the policy of discrimination against certain States, a policy which is aimed at preventing their participation in multilateral conventions concluded under the auspices of the United Nations and in international conferences convened at the initiative of this Organization and at depriving them of the right to send observers to the United Nations or to become Members of the Organization or its specialized agencies.

112. For these reasons, we consider it necessary that the German Democratic Republic, which is pursuing a constructive policy of peace and security, should have the opportunity to accede to multilateral conventions concluded under the auspices of the United Nations and to take part, on an equal footing, in the work of international conferences and other international gatherings organized by the United Nations. The German Democratic Republic has asked to become a Member of the Organization. This request should meet with a favourable response.

113. The restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, together with all the consequences resulting therefrom, has for a long time been a compelling need. The absence of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations diminishes the effectiveness of this Organization in solving important international problems.

114. The twenty-second session of the General Assembly must face up to important problems. The United Nations is called upon to play an active role in international events and in the peaceful development of the present-day world. However, there still exists forces which seek to arrest the course of history and hinder the activities of the United Nations. But we are firmly convinced that if the progressive forces in the world are mobilized to a greater degree, the Organization will move forward along the path to peace and progress. In this connexion, I should like to state that our delegation is in full agreement with the clear

statement made by our Secretary-General, U Thant, in the introduction to his last annual report:

"There is but one true answer to violence, duress and intimidation among States; the answer must be found in a resolute rejection of violence and a determined resistance to it by that vast majority of men and women throughout the world who long to live in peace, without fear. This would be a movement of mankind to save mankind." (A/6701/Add.1, para. 153).

115. U SOE TIN (Burma): Mr. President, I would like, first of all, to tender to you the warm and sincere felicitations of the delegation of Burma, and my own, on your election as President of the twenty-second regular session of the General Assembly. At a time when the Assembly has come to serve more and more as the principal forum and the focus for the differing views and the divergent currents in the affairs among nations, and to reflect increasingly the hopes of the community of man and, indeed, its frustrations, we are confident that your wisdom and perception will stand you in good stead in the discharge of your heavy responsibilities. Your election as President also serves to give effect to the principle of equitable geographical rotation, and the delegation of Burma is hopeful that your assumption of this high office will bring with it a new mood of harmonious co-operation among the various groups with different political affiliations. I am confident that with your wise guidance and able counsel the important issues on this year's agenda will be discussed in a most constructive spirit, and that the deliberations in the General Assembly will take us a step forward in the interests of international peace and harmony.

116. I should also like to express our sincere gratitude and appreciation to His Excellency Ambassador Pazhwak, whose unfailing vision of the road that we as a corporate body must travel has served to guide us during the difficult moments in the year that has just passed.

117. If we approach the General Assembly in a sober mood, then, it is because this is indeed a time for sober thought for all of us here. The fresh cries of anger and anguish that have beset our ears in the months just passed serve also to remind the Assembly that today there are mounting pressures in more than one part of the world that may imperil the peace of the entire world.

118. The plight of the people of Viet-Nam continues to plague the conscience of the world community, and the delegation of Burma cannot but express its grave concern that developments in Viet-Nam involve increasingly the risk of widening the conflict. I would like to express once again the hope that all concerned will make greater efforts towards finding a just solution which will secure to the Viet-Nameese people their inherent and legitimate right to determine their own future free from all outside interference and pressure and thus help to establish a lasting peace in that country.

119. The recent events in the Middle East, which called for urgent consideration by the General Assembly at an emergency special session, will continue to occupy the most serious attention of this Organiza-

tion. As the representative of a country which has long-standing ties of friendship with the Arab nations, as well as cordial diplomatic relations with Israel, I should like to express our sincere desire that a just and equitable solution may be formulated which will be acceptable to all the nations in the region. This just and equitable solution, to have a lasting effect, will of necessity have to embody the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations that international disputes shall be settled by peaceful means and that all nations shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State. It follows from those principles that the legality of territorial changes achieved by the use of military force cannot be recognized. The violence of the recent tragedy and the rigid positions assumed by the parties may, however, seem to indicate that an acceptable solution is not within easy reach. However, we believe that a realistic approach to the problem will make it obvious to all parties that there can be no real positions of strength in this recurrent tragedy, but only positions of shifting weakness. We are therefore confident that a realistic approach to the problem will facilitate the eventual formulation of a reasonable, just and equitable solution which will ensure a stable and durable peace in the region.

120. It will be appropriate if I refer here to the question of peace-keeping. As the representative of one small country among the many small countries which make up the majority of the United Nations membership, I should like to reiterate our long-held desire that the United Nations should be developed into a really effective instrument for the prevention of war and for the active maintenance of peace between nations. The Security Council has the primary responsibility under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security, subject of course to the will to act constructively by its permanent members. The delegation of Burma holds the firm view, however, that where the Security Council is unable or unwilling to initiate peace-keeping operations then the General Assembly, as the body on which the entire membership of the United Nations is represented, has the duty and the responsibility to seek alternative ways and means of taking effective measures to keep the peace and repress aggression. The delegation of Burma further holds the view that peace-keeping costs should necessarily be the responsibility of all Member States and that certain Member States, including the permanent members of the Security Council, which have substantial private or public interests in the area concerned, should assume correspondingly higher responsibility in the financing of peace-keeping operations. It is our hope that a satisfactory formula can still be devised which will permit all Member States, in a spirit of co-operation and conciliation, to share equitably in the cost of peace-keeping.

121. I should like to refer here very briefly to the question of the ever-mounting budgetary expenditure which the world Organization faces. The Organization's financial position—one of continuous and growing deficits—is also a matter for concern. The Secretary-General has again called our attention to the well-nigh unmanageable proportions of the burdens im-

posed on the Organization by the steadily mounting number of meetings and documents. The delegation of Burma holds the view that one way of conserving the resources available to the United Nations would be to adapt the establishment of United Nations departments and the frequency of conferences and meetings of the United Nations, or those held under its auspices, so as to make them commensurate with the resources available to the Organization.

122. I should like to touch here again on the need, which has long been denied, for assuring universality of membership in the United Nations and its specialized agencies. The effectiveness of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security, and in obtaining the goodwill and co-operation of all nations, would lie in assuring that its membership was truly universal. This lack of universality imposes a severe and unwarranted handicap on the United Nations and limits its authority. The world's most populous nation, the People's Republic of China, continues to be excluded from its rightful seat in the different organs of the United Nations. The delegation of Burma considers that discussions of world problems would be more realistic and solutions reached more lasting if the People's Republic of China were to be a party to them as a Member of the United Nations.

123. The situation prevailing in certain parts of southern Africa, where colonialism, a system by which one nation enslaves and exploits another, still thrives in significant dimensions, imposes a challenge to the effectiveness of this Organization. Appeals for freedom and independence for the peoples in southern Africa still under colonial rule remain unheeded. The delegation of Burma regrets that, in spite of all the peaceful efforts made within the United Nations, colonialism has not yet been eradicated from southern Africa nor have the aspirations of the indigenous African peoples been furthered significantly. As a nation which has itself secured independence from colonial rule shortly after the end of the Second World War, Burma has consistently supported and continues to support the aspirations of all peoples struggling for freedom from colonial domination and exploitation.

124. An equally unhappy manifestation is the prevalence of racial discrimination as a matter of official policy in parts of southern Africa. The policy of apartheid has been universally condemned and is a policy which is doomed to fail in this day and age. It is a matter for deep concern, therefore, that apartheid has not merely persisted in parts of Africa, but that the open and contemptuous defiance of the world's moral indignation with which it has been possible to apply this policy against the indigenous African population in one part of southern Africa has encouraged the maintenance and furtherance of racist policies in other parts of southern Africa also. The delegation of Burma truly fears that this tragic trend, if not checked in time, could become a potential for a racial explosion in southern Africa leading to more violence, more brutality and more wars.

125. I shall now turn to the subject of disarmament which has exercised the minds of statesmen and nations before, between and in the period following two of the most devastating wars in human history. In the nuclear age the urgent need for effective dis-

armament cannot be overemphasized, and though movement in this field has indeed been dishearteningly slow, we have, along with most other nations, welcomed what small gains there have been in the direction of disarmament.

126. We therefore share the view of the Secretary-General that the tabling on 24 August 1967 by the Soviet Union and the United States of America of identical draft treaties on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons was an event of great significance and that it marked the culmination of years of patient efforts to narrow and remove the differences between them [A/6701/Add.1, para. 12]. We have been particularly encouraged by the fact that the presentation of the drafts to the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament represents a welcome departure in procedure from that of the previous partial nuclear test ban treaty, in that a wider co-operation and consensus is being sought. We regret, however, that a very essential element, since the effectiveness of the treaty depends on its wide acceptance, has been omitted from the draft; namely, the element of balanced mutual responsibilities and obligations as between the nuclear and the non-nuclear Powers. This important omission, when taken in conjunction with the fact that there is as yet no comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty, a fact marked, as the Secretary-General has pointed out in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization [A/6701/Add.1, para. 17], by the accelerated pace of nuclear testing by the major nuclear Powers, raises some doubt in our minds as to whether the forward step represented by the two-Power agreement in drafting the non-proliferation treaty may not, in fact, have been counteracted by several retrograde steps in other directions. This feeling of doubt has been reinforced by our fear that a new race may be developing between the two major nuclear Powers in anti-missile missiles.

127. While on this subject, the delegation of Burma would like to congratulate the States of Latin America and welcome their signing at Mexico City, on 14 February 1967, of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. This Treaty, which provides for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Latin America, was conceived and negotiated entirely by the States of Latin America and marks an important milestone on the road to disarmament, providing an example and a stimulant for progress in other disarmament measures.

128. It is with a feeling of restraint also that we have welcomed the signature, in January of this year, of the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies [see resolution 2222 (XXI)]. As evidenced by its signature of the Treaty, the Government of Burma is in favour of the advancement of space exploration and research for the benefit of mankind, though Burma itself has not yet embarked on space activities and is not, therefore, in a position to collaborate practically to any extent in this field. Burma, nevertheless, believes that the Treaty is a valuable contribution to the lessening of international tension and to the strengthening of peace. We are hopeful that when

the specific elements contained in the provisions of this Treaty are spelled out and applied, there will be no loopholes which will permit any part of outer space to be exploited for any warlike purposes whatsoever.

129. I should like at this point to turn from disarmament to the economic problems which confront the world today, since the peace and harmony of the world community depends to a preponderant degree on the ability of nations to solve their economic problems together.

130. The United Nations Development Decade continues to disappoint expectations, and meanwhile the gap between the developing and the developed countries continues to grow. While the increasing inequality in wealth between the developing and developed countries is a cause for dismay to the world community, little that is effective has been achieved on the international level to correct the imbalance between the rapidly growing population in the developing countries and the lack of industrial capacity in these countries to absorb the population growth. There is an obvious long-term danger in this situation, and the establishment of organizational machinery, such as the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, may not be enough in view of the vastness of the problem. Trade patterns between developing and developed nations continue to operate against the interests of the developing nations, and remedies for this situation, such as may be sought during the second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to be held early in 1968, may prove to avail but little, until goodwill between groups of nations at different levels of economic development make possible a more effective co-operation between these groups, while yet permitting the developing nations to control and dispose of their natural resources in conformity with policies and programmes of their own choice.

131. Before concluding, the delegation of Burma on behalf of the Government of the Union of Burma would like to reaffirm its unswerving dedication to the ideal of peace, friendly relations and co-operation between all nations based on international justice and morality, and to reiterate its wholehearted support for and its complete faith in the purposes and principles of the United Nations as embodied in its Charter.

132. Mr. ZAHEDI (Iran): Mr. President, on behalf of the people and the Government of Iran, may I extend to you our most heartfelt congratulations on your election as President of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly. Your election to this high office is a just tribute to you personally, as well as a reflection of the position which is held today by the socialist Republic of Romania in the council of nations. I had the good fortune to visit Romania last August and I was able to witness the deep commitment of the Government and people of Romania to the cause of peace and international understanding. My visit to your country, Mr. President, gave me an opportunity to note with deep interest your accomplishments and to learn about the high hopes and aspirations of your people for the future.

133. This Assembly faces a number of critical issues vital to our peace and security. We are indeed fortu-

nate to benefit from your wise guidance and leadership. In the performance of the great task with which you are entrusted, you can be sure of the close and sincere co-operation of the Iranian delegation.

134. I should like also to thank Mr. Pazhwak, my Afghan brother, for presiding with great distinction at three successive sessions of the General Assembly. The duration of his office, the critical issues he had to cope with, and the ability with which he presided during these sessions makes us aware of the debt of gratitude that all of us owe to him. I should like to thank him sincerely for his dedication and ceaseless efforts.

135. The present session of the General Assembly has opened under more alarming circumstances than those which prevailed last year. Unfortunately, the problems which were then before the Assembly are still before us today. In fact, new conflicts have flared up and more menacing problems have emerged.

136. In many corners of the world millions of our fellow men are denied their fundamental rights and are subjected to intolerable racial discrimination creating a highly explosive situation. Guns are thundering anew in certain parts of Africa. The war in Viet-Nam continues at an ever increasing pace. In the Middle East especially, we are confronted with a most urgent problem threatening world peace.

137. Economic problems facing the world are growing to an incredible proportion, while the rate of economic progress in developing countries remains alarmingly slow.

138. In the meantime, the United Nations, upon which rests our greatest hope for the preservation of peace and the well-being of mankind, is becoming progressively less equipped to serve effectively the wider and larger interest of world peace. Indeed, we must admit that the credit of the United Nations has sunk steadily.

139. I turn now to specific issues of crucial importance. As my Government's views on these issues have already been expressed on several occasions, I shall confine my remarks to certain problems which, in our opinion, require greater attention.

140. The Middle East crisis is uppermost in our mind. In view of the ties of faith and culture that bind us to the Arab peoples it is but natural that we should consider this issue with a great sense of urgency and do our utmost to ensure its settlement on a satisfactory basis.

141. The Assembly may recall that at the recent emergency special session we held the view [1530th meeting] that an arrangement for withdrawal from occupied territories was an essential step towards the achievement of a peaceful solution. And I am certain that it is appreciated by all of us here that unless withdrawal is achieved, feelings of antagonism will grow and create a barrier in the way of peaceful settlement. It was most unfortunate that the General Assembly could not find an appropriate way to express what I am sure is the general view that there is no validity to titles obtained by force. In this connexion, we may remember that His Majesty the

Shahanshah was the first Head of State to declare as early as 7 June 1967 that:

"The days of occupation and retention by force of one country's territory by another are over. Undoubtedly, arrangements should be made whereby that part of Arab territory occupied by Israel during the present hostilities may be returned ... as soon as possible."

142. These views were further elaborated on 31 July, at the end of the Ramsar Conference of the Heads of State and Government of Pakistan, Turkey and Iran, who expressed their deep concern at the aggravation of tensions in the Middle East and the continuance of threats to peace and stability in the area. They reiterated their belief that acquisition of territory by the use of force is contrary to the provisions of the United Nations Charter. In this context, they reaffirmed that withdrawal of Israeli forces from Arab territories was essential for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. And they further reaffirmed their opposition to the unilateral measures taken by Israel to change the status of Jerusalem and stressed the urgency of the implementation of the resolutions passed by the United Nations General Assembly on this question. They also reiterated their sympathy for the victims of the recent conflict and emphasized the urgency of rendering the maximum humanitarian assistance to alleviate their suffering.

143. It is our earnest hope that it will be possible, in the course of the debate on this question, for the General Assembly to provide the necessary arrangements for the realization of the objectives to which I have just referred. These arrangements, to be workable, must take into account that the parties and States generally, in signing the Charter and renouncing the use of force in their international relations, have undertaken an obligation of mutuality and reciprocity on which both sides are entitled to rely.

144. My Government is greatly concerned at the continuation of the war in Viet-Nam. Our basic position on this issue has had public expression. The right of the people of Viet-Nam to decide their own future without interference from outside is undeniable and cannot be questioned. The war has caused the people of Viet-Nam untold sufferings. Efforts should be intensified to bring about a settlement on the basis of the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

145. The urgency of a restoration of the peace-keeping capacity of the United Nations needs no demonstration. Our position with regard to this question is well-known and will be further elaborated in the appropriate Committee. But what I do wish to emphasize at this point is our endorsement of the Secretary-General's suggestion contained in the introduction to his annual report [see A/6701/Add.1, para. 31].

146. I take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his valuable work, and in particular his sincere efforts to keep alive the promise that the United Nations should become an effective instrument for peace.

147. Through the forum of this Assembly we seek peace and security in pursuit of our declared policy

of peaceful and constructive co-existence. Active international co-operation directed towards the construction of a sound and expanding world economy, in which all nations are assisted in resolving their problems and satisfying their aspirations, appears to be an essential course of action to follow.

148. Yet, at a recent session, the Economic and Social Council expressed concern about the unsatisfactory progress in the achievement of the objectives of the United Nations Development Decade. In its evaluation, it has admitted that even the modest target of growth of 5 per cent per annum has not been achieved. [See Economic and Social Council resolutions 1152 (XLI) and 1089 (XXXIX).] Food shortages and threats of famine in many parts of the world constitute a most serious problem for developing countries.

149. The present circumstances are such that the gap between the advanced and the developing nations is widening all the time. Whatever the causes, the result is that the present international community is sharply divided into rich and poor nations. The continuance of the present situation is not only against the interest of the highly developed countries, but is also a source of great danger to world peace and security. It is the expectation of the developing countries that the more advanced nations will pay greater attention to their legitimate needs. It is not, however, my country's view that the rich countries' offers of assistance should take the form of grants. Indeed, we advocate close and constructive co-operation which serves the interest of all concerned.

150. For our part, my country has devoted its full attention to the problems of development. As a result of the far-reaching social, political and economic reform programmes which have been carried out, the Iranian economy has been developing at a rate of growth of 10 per cent per annum. This is truly symbolic of our revolution for progress. And we intend to continue on that course during our fourth Five-Year Development Plan, which is due to start in March 1968.

151. It is our view that by active regional and international co-operation we can accelerate the pace of our development. As this august body is aware, Pakistan, Turkey and Iran are carrying out a comprehensive programme of economic co-operation within the framework of Regional Co-operation for Development.

152. Already there has been significant progress in this programme, but we have not confined our interest to the level of regional co-operation. Indeed, we have been equally interested in wider international co-operation in the economic field.

153. In that context I should like to state that we attach great importance to the future of the activities of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. The Ministers of Economy of seventy-seven developing countries will soon meet at Algiers in order to determine their course of action at the second session of the Conference. We sincerely hope that their views and policies will receive sympathetic

consideration by the developed nations at the New Delhi Conference.

154. Our preoccupation with persistent international issues and mounting crises should not make us lose sight of the fact that the United Nations has made significant progress in a number of fields. I refer particularly to the question of human rights where, by its constant endeavours and probing, the United Nations has done much to uphold the dignity of man throughout the world.

155. The two International Covenants on Human Rights are vivid examples of the work accomplished by the United Nations. Yet more ought to be done, and the scheduled meeting of the International Conference on Human Rights has its own share of contributions to make.

156. The fact that Iran is to be privileged to be host to that important Conference in 1968 is, I submit, a proof of our deep attachment to the cause of human rights. It is the wish of my Government, which looks forward to welcoming the distinguished participants to our capital, that the Conference adopt constructive measures to further ensure the fulfilment of human rights and fundamental freedoms the world over.

157. During the twenty-first session of the General Assembly we had occasion to welcome the agreement reached between the major space Powers, which culminated in the conclusion of Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies. The presentation to the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament in August by the United States of America and the USSR of identical drafts of a non-proliferation treaty gives us grounds to anticipate that the conclusion of a treaty on that urgent question will not be far off.

158. So much for the past. What of the future? It is peace the world seeks. We must have peace no matter how great the problems. It is a matter of regret that the provisions of the United Nations Charter are often disregarded when there are major disagreements. Nevertheless, it is our firm belief that it is the United Nations that can offer assurance for peace. Hence, if we are to have peace, all other considerations must be subordinated to the task of equipping the Organization for the effective discharge of its responsibility. Too many sources of danger exist in the world today to permit us to question that imperative. And this thought brings me again to the all-important question of the peace-keeping capacity of the United Nations. It is difficult to imagine how the United Nations can work effectively unless agreed procedures for peace-keeping operations are evolved. The maintenance of peace is a collective action requiring the understanding, assistance and forbearance of every one of us.

159. Some time ago my Government offered to place permanent peace-keeping forces at the disposal of the United Nations. Today that pledge stands as valid as ever.

160. I should like to conclude by quoting a passage from my Sovereign's last book, The White Revolu-

tion, which underlines the essence of our foreign policy:

"We seek peace, coexistence, and better understanding with other nations, whatever their ideologies may be; we will always support any endeavours for the establishment and furtherance of social justice; we will assist efforts in bridging the gap between the poor and rich nations of the world; and will

support any plans for international co-operation, campaigns against illiteracy, poverty, disease and other contemporary social ills.

"These firm beliefs have been our guide in international situations, and have enabled us to defend the principles of right without hesitation or doubt."

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.