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President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. HAKIM (Lebanon): Mr. President, I am happy to see you in the Chair as leader of this session of the General Assembly. On behalf of the delegation of Lebanon, I should like to express to you our warmest congratulations. Your election to the Presidency of the Assembly is significant in many ways. It is a landmark in the history of the United Nations. For the first time a representative of an Eastern European socialist country occupies this high post. The honour as well as the responsibility have fallen to you as a recognition both of your own personal qualifications and of those of your country. It is an excellent choice in which we rejoice, for Romania and Lebanon are two small friendly countries having much in common in their history and culture and their attachment to the United Nations and the cause of world peace.

2. I take this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to our outgoing President, Ambassador Abdul Rahman Pazhwak, of Afghanistan, for his outstanding leadership during the last regular session as well as the two special sessions held this year. He has won the gratitude and admiration of my delegation for his untiring efforts to make a success of the deliberations of the Assembly in one of the most difficult periods of the history of our Organization.

3. This annual general debate provides Member States with an opportunity to express their views on the most important problems of the world and on the main questions inscribed on the agenda of the Assembly. My delegation has had occasion in the past to express its views on some of these questions and it will do so again this year in the appropriate Committees. There is one question, however, which is of overriding importance to my Government and causes great concern to my country. It is the question entitled "The situation in the Middle East" (item 94). It comes to us

from the fifth emergency special session recently held at the request of the Soviet Union. To our deep regret, the General Assembly failed to arrive at a decision on the main problem of Israel's aggression and occupation of Arab territory. I should like to concentrate on that subject and will devote most of my statement to it. But before I do so, I should like to make some brief remarks on the state of the world and the state of the United Nations.

4. The state of the world is anything but healthy. On the contrary, it causes all of us great anxiety. Mankind has not known general peace since the end of the Second World War and the establishment of the United Nations. The promise of the Charter has not yet been fulfilled.

5. The war in Viet-Nam continues to grow in intensity with no prospect of an early peaceful settlement. Unfortunately, the United Nations is unable to consider such a settlement because some of the main parties to the conflict are unwilling that it should do so. But the tragedy of Viet-Nam arouses feelings of sorrow and frustration among all of us here and in all our countries. A valiant people has suffered the ravages of war for over a quarter of a century. But the destruction and loss of life continue on an ever-increasing scale. How can this people be saved from whatever it is supposed to be saved by such killing and devastation? Can one save a country by destroying it?

6. We are all agreed on the principles for a peaceful solution to the problem: a recognition of the right of self-determination of the people of Viet-Nam, non-intervention in the internal affairs of the country and a settlement among the interested parties based on the Geneva Agreements. My delegation would welcome any initiative to bring about peace in Viet-Nam on the basis of these generally accepted principles.

7. My delegation is unhappy about the lack of progress in the field of disarmament. No practical advance has been made on the road to general and complete disarmament. On the contrary, the nuclear arms race is proceeding apace. Nuclear weapons are piling up in the arsenals of the great Powers. The interests of peace require that these weapons of mass destruction be reduced and eventually destroyed. Only then would mankind feel safe from the terrible risks of nuclear war. My delegation supports the conclusion of a treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons as a first step towards nuclear disarmament.

8. The growing gap between the rich developed countries and the poor developing countries also causes us great concern. The United Nations Development Decade is drawing to a close with little progress to show in economic growth in the under-developed world. Great expectations arose from the first session of the

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) held at Geneva in 1964 and the establishment of UNCTAD as a new organ of the United Nations. Likewise there is now new hope that the second session of UNCTAD, to be held at New Delhi next February, will achieve concrete results and benefits for the promotion of trade and development of the developing countries. But such results can only be achieved if there is the political will to undertake an all-out effort for world development in the common interest of all nations. It appears that the richer the advanced industrialized countries become, the less inclined they are to give aid to the peoples of the developing world. There is still insufficient consciousness of the interdependence of nations. There is a lack of determination to work for the common good of mankind. Such consciousness and determination are needed in order to meet the great challenge of development facing the world during the remaining third of the twentieth century.

9. I come now to the state of the United Nations as related to peace in the Middle East. Last June and July we took an active part in the debates of the fifth emergency special session, believing that the Assembly would face the challenge of aggression in our region and shoulder its responsibilities under the Charter. It was hard to believe that the United Nations would fail to meet that challenge and would not adopt a basic decision on a peaceful solution to the crisis. The crisis in the Middle East thus became a crisis of the United Nations.

10. There was war in the Middle East in early June. Israel invaded three Arab countries. It occupied the Gaza Strip, the Sinai Peninsula, the West Bank of the Jordan and areas in the southern part of Syria. It was a clear case of the use of force prohibited by Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter. There was a flagrant violation by one Member State of its obligations under the Charter. Israel committed armed aggression against the United Arab Republic, Jordan and Syria. It did all this at a time when the Security Council was seized of the dispute over navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba and when international diplomacy was seeking a settlement of that dispute. The Charter calls for peaceful settlement of disputes and action by the Security Council. But Israel took the law into its own hands. It chose aggression and war. All these are incontestable facts. Faced with these facts the General Assembly in its emergency special session took no action. It did not condemn Israeli aggression. It did not even call on Israel to withdraw its forces from occupied Arab territories. This is unprecedented in the annals of the United Nations.

11. It would be proper for a future historian to assess the results of the fifth emergency special session. I should like to say only a few words inspired by Lebanon's loyalty to the Charter and our concern for the future of the United Nations.

12. The situation is too serious to allow for any feelings of anger, frustration or complacency. If there is something wrong with the United Nations let us honestly recognize it. And let us try to remedy it. It does no good to anybody to indulge in clever and cynical explanations of the nature and condition of our Organization. We are told that it is an instrument of great Power politics which can only operate effec-

tively when the great Powers are in agreement. Others say that it is nothing but a debating society from which we can expect resolutions finely worded, but difficult to implement. At best it is an international forum for the discussion of world problems and the declaration of national policies. All these explanations are unsatisfactory. It is good to have a world forum and a meeting-place for top diplomats and foreign ministers. But it is not enough. The Charter provides for much more than that. The peoples of the world demand more than debates and an exchange of views between diplomats. They demand action for peace and progress in fulfilment of the high principles and purposes of the Charter. Man's best hope for peace should be preserved and strengthened. The great expectations of all our nations must not be dashed to the ground.

13. In the introduction to his annual report, our Secretary-General spoke of a "'crisis' of confidence" which the United Nations is facing. He said:

"this 'crisis' is in itself an index of the high hopes that Member States have come to place in the Organization, and their faith that these serious problems can and should be solved by determined efforts and a spirit of co-operation on the part of the Governments of Member States" [A/6701/Add.1, para. 169].

He described the United Nations correctly as an instrument of multilateral diplomacy which could be used effectively by Member States. As the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, the Right Honourable George Brown, put it [1567th meeting], our Organization is what we make it. The question is why should we not make it an effective instrument for peace and international co-operation. I would address this question to the great majority of Member States, those small and developing countries which need the United Nations most for their national security and their economic and social development. Perhaps the great and rich Powers can do without it. They can take care of their own national security and progress. But we, the small and developing nations, would suffer a grievous and irreparable loss if the United Nations became ineffective and unable to fulfil the promise of the Charter.

14. We must work together to prevent the withering away of our Organization. To us, the small and developing nations, it is indeed our Organization, and we must do everything in our power to bring it back to health and strength. We cannot afford to let it sicken and fall and fall into disrepute. We cannot tolerate violations of its Charter. We cannot condone aggression. We must rise above our narrow national and regional interests, and uphold the Charter in the common interest of peace and progress for all the peoples of the world.

15. That leads me to comment on Israel's attitude to the United Nations responsibility for peace in the Middle East. In his statement of 25 September, the Foreign Minister of Israel, Mr. Eban, sought to limit the role of the United Nations in what he called "the Middle Eastern conflict". He said:

"The fact that the United Nations was unable to prevent the war has a direct bearing on the question of its capacity and title to impose a peace. The in-

terests of the parties and of the Organization itself require that United Nations action be realistically adapted to United Nations capacities. A call to Middle Eastern States to negotiate the conditions of their future coexistence is the most constructive course which the General Assembly can take. What the United Nations should strenuously avoid is the tendency to make its existence a substitute for negotiation and a barrier to direct settlement." [1566th meeting, para. 146.]

16. In his intervention on 3 October he repudiated the General Armistice Agreements and called for the conclusion of peace treaties between Israel and the Arab States, asserting that: "Apart from the cease-fire agreement, there are now no valid effective contractual engagements between the States of the Middle East." [1577th meeting, para. 137.] I wish now to make the following observations.

17. Firstly, the United Nations has exercised authority and responsibility for the Palestine question for the last twenty years. In fact, Israel owes its very creation to the United Nations. By its resolution of 29 November 1947 [181 (II)] on the partition of Palestine the General Assembly created a Jewish State, which became Israel in 1948. But the Zionists were able to expand the territory of their State by force beyond the borders assigned to it by the Assembly. Thus from the day of its birth Israel committed aggression against, and occupation of, Arab territory, thus proving beyond any doubt its expansionist nature and ambitions.

18. Secondly, the United Nations was responsible for the conclusion of the General Armistice Agreements which Israel now repudiates. Mr. Eban stands in contradiction to Secretary-General U Thant's statement on the validity of those Agreements in the introduction to his annual report. Our Secretary-General says:

"On the other hand there has been no indication either in the General Assembly or in the Security Council that the validity and applicability of the Armistice Agreements have been changed as a result of the recent hostilities or of the war of 1956; each agreement, in fact, contains a provision that it will remain in force 'until a peaceful settlement between the parties is achieved'. Nor has the Security Council or the General Assembly taken any steps to change the pertinent resolutions of either organ relating to the Armistice Agreements or to the earlier cease-fire demands. The Agreements provide that by mutual consent the signatories can revise or suspend them. There is no provision in them for unilateral termination of their application. This has been the United Nations position all along and will continue to be the position until a competent organ decides otherwise." [A/6701/Add.1, para. 43.]

There can be no more forceful expression or more authorized opinion on the status and validity of the Armistice Agreements.

19. Thirdly, the Arab States have declared their willingness to work for a political settlement through the United Nations. They are supported by the great majority of Member States. Such a settlement should

provide for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Arab territories occupied after 5 June. In view of the history of the Palestine question, however, there can be no recognition of Israel, negotiation with Israel, or conclusion of a peace treaty with Israel. The Arab States are all committed to these basic principles of Arab policy. It is up to the United Nations, which has assumed responsibility for the Palestine question and peace in the Middle East during the last twenty years, to work out a peaceful solution to the present conflict.

20. Fourthly, Article 33 of the Charter provides for several different means for the pacific settlement of disputes among States. Negotiation is only one of them. The others are: "enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice". Article 33 also provides that "The Security Council shall, when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means."

21. Finally, conditions of peace do not always result from diplomatic recognition or negotiations or peace treaties between States. The greatest war in history, the Second World War, ended in 1945, and conditions of peace exist in Central Europe. But there have been no peace negotiations or peace treaties between the States concerned.

22. Israel's attitude to the United Nations and the Armistice Agreements concluded under the authority of the Security Council is not new. Israel denounced the Armistice Agreements with Egypt in 1956 when the Israeli army invaded Egyptian territory and occupied large areas in the Sinai peninsula. It also refused to participate in the Syrian-Israel Mixed Armistice Commission for many years.

23. In the spring of 1949 Israel and the four Arab States parties to the Armistice Agreements signed the Protocol of Lausanne accepting a peaceful settlement on the basis of United Nations resolutions. That Protocol was negotiated through the Palestine Conciliation Commission. Israel's purpose then was to gain admission to membership of the United Nations. As soon as that purpose was accomplished, it denounced that negotiated agreement which could have resulted in a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the Middle East.

24. Israel's refusal to carry out the Assembly resolution of 11 December 1948 [194 (III)], providing a choice for the Arab refugees between repatriation and compensation, is well known. The lack of implementation of this just solution to the refugee problem was one of the major causes of the instability in the Middle East and the main obstacle to the establishment of peace in the area. Israel always refused to agree to the Assembly decisions of 1947 and 1949 [resolutions 181 (II) and 303 (IV)] on the internationalization of Jerusalem and declared Jerusalem as its capital in contradiction with those decisions.

25. The aggressive character of Israel has been proved time and again during the last twenty years. Israeli armed forces committed aggression at least a dozen times against the United Arab Republic, Jordan and Syria by large-scale attacks across the

Armistice demarcation lines. Not once—I repeat not once—did the armed forces of any Arab State cross the Armistice lines and attack Israeli territory.

26. The true image of Israel is beginning to be seen clearly in spite of clever Zionist propaganda and influence over the media of information. The myth of Israel as a small peace-loving country surrounded by powerful neighbours bent on its destruction has been exploded. The reality is just the opposite. The true nature of Israel as an expansionist, racist, militaristic State is clear for all to see. The blitzkrieg launched by Israel against three Arab States on 5 June and its declared intention to annex Arab territory are sufficient proof of its militarism and expansionism.

27. The Arabs of Palestine were driven from their homeland by force and became homeless refugees living in misery and degradation. Their expulsion from their country made room for a million Jewish immigrants gathered from all over the world. General Dayan said recently that a million Jews have taken the place of the Arabs in the conquered territories, and whether it is moral or not there is no more room. Since the Israeli aggression of 5 June, 350,000 new refugees have been forced to leave their homes in the occupied territories of Jordan, Syria and the Sinai Peninsula. Israel has refused to implement resolution 237 of the Security Council calling on it to facilitate the return of the refugees to their homes in the occupied areas.

28. Can anyone explain why Israel does not allow homeless Arab refugees facing the hardships of the coming winter to go back to their own empty homes in strictly Arab territories? Can anyone explain why Israel has annexed the purely Arab old city of Jerusalem? Can anyone justify the refusal of Israel to accept General Assembly resolutions 2253 and 2254 (ES-V) of 4 and 14 July 1967 regarding Jerusalem? Those two resolutions call on Israel to desist from taking any action which would alter the status of Jerusalem. The Holy City is of concern to all Christians, Moslems and Jews and to the whole of mankind. But Israel insists on defying the United Nations and the whole world by taking unilateral action amounting to annexation of the Arab old city of Jerusalem. Whether it is called integration or annexation, it means the same thing. The Israeli answer to the two Assembly resolutions is given clearly in the Secretary-General's report of 12 September 1967. The report states: "The Israel authorities stated unequivocally that the process of integration was irreversible and not negotiable."^{1/}

29. Here at the United Nations we hear eloquent words about peace from Israeli representatives. There, in the Gaza strip, in the Sinai Peninsula, on the Suez Canal, in the West Bank of Jordan and on the Syrian hills, Israeli deeds are more eloquent. They speak loudly of annexation, the establishment of new Israeli settlements in Arab areas, the denial of the right of Arab refugees to return to their homes and oppression of 1.5 million Arab inhabitants in the occupied territories.

30. When colonialism is coming to an end almost everywhere, a new colonialism is appearing in the Middle East. Israel is the new colonial Power. It has established its colonial rule over the Arab peoples of the occupied territories. A new Arab struggle against that oppressive rule is beginning. The lessons of recent history are clear. The result of this struggle cannot be in doubt. It can end only in liberation from colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

31. The United Nations now has a real opportunity to achieve peace in the Middle East. The conditions are favourable for a peaceful settlement of the present crisis. The withdrawal of Israeli forces can be followed by the establishment of peaceful conditions guaranteeing the renunciation of the use of force and the security of all States in the region. If this opportunity is missed it may never come again.

32. The condition of the refugees and that of the inhabitants of the Arab areas occupied by Israel is an explosive element in the situation. Fighting on the Suez Canal may erupt at any time. We have heard threats from Israel of further military action. On the other hand no self-respecting country can tolerate for long the foreign occupation of parts of its territory. If peace is not achieved now, war will break out sooner or later.

33. Time is not on the side of peace in the Middle East. The United Nations, either in the Security Council or in the General Assembly, must act now. It must arrest the drift towards renewed war. The responsibility of the United Nations for the Palestine question is not in doubt. Its responsibility for peace stems from its own Charter. It must face the challenge confronting it. It must act for peace in the Middle East.

34. Mr. WANE (Mauritania) (translated from French): Mr. President, the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania wishes to associate itself with all the delegations which have preceded us at this rostrum in offering you its warm congratulations on your unanimous election to the Presidency of this twenty-second session of the General Assembly of our Organization. Your qualifications as a distinguished diplomat, bearing a great responsibility for your country's foreign policy, command the admiration of all who know you. We have every reason to believe that under your firm and wise leadership the work of the current session will proceed under the best conditions, thus enhancing the authority of our Organization to the point where each Member State will agree to abide by the fundamental principles of the Charter.

35. We would also like to express our deep gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Pazhwak, who presided with authority, tact and a keen sense of justice and fairness over the many meetings of our Assembly during the three sessions held since his election to the presidency of the twenty-first regular session of the United Nations General Assembly.

36. My delegation would like once again to mention how much the Mauritanian people and its leaders appreciate the admirable way in which the Secretary-General, U Thant, is carrying out his lofty and difficult mission, thus earning the esteem and confidence of freedom- and justice-loving peoples. We should

^{1/} Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1967, document S/8146, para. 35.

like to renew to him our assurance that the active support of the Mauritanian Government and people will not fail him in the courageous and constant struggle being waged to gain respect for the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter, and for the maintenance of peace and harmony in the world.

37. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania, a country where all races and all currents of African thought meet and find mutual inspiration and enrichment, aspires to be an agent for union and understanding in Africa, and to contribute to reconciliation among men and to the maintenance of peace.

38. The Mauritanian people's deep attachment to the fundamental principles of the Charter of our Organization is based on the keen sense of justice and respect for the dignity of man that is one of the most typical assets of Mauritanian society; in other words, racial or religious prejudices are completely foreign to our outlook on the serious problems troubling the world in which we live.

39. As a small country, and as a non-aligned African country, as an active member of the Organization of African Unity, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania is determined to stand firmly alongside those who are struggling against the forces launched by the imperialist countries to conquer those who reject their domination. Our active support is unhesitatingly given to people struggling in defence of their dignity, their territorial integrity, their freedom and their independence. If that stand reflects the most deep-rooted aspirations of the Mauritanian people, we are happy to recall that it is also in full accordance with the principles set forth by Africa in the Charter adopted in 1963 at Addis Ababa, when the Organization of African Unity was established.^{2/}

40. Even more recently, at Kinshasa, the African Heads of State and Government,^{3/} inspired by the same principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, unequivocally condemned under that same heading the mercenary activity in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the heinous aggression perpetrated against the United Arab Republic by the Israel forces and the military occupation of a portion of the territory of that State, which is a founding member of the Organization of African Unity, as well as the criminal activities of the secessionists whose action, harmful to the interests of Africa, is creating a tragic and grave situation in the Federation of Nigeria.

41. At a time when what Mr. Pazhwak has called the "malevolent forces of violence" [1560th meeting, para. 18] have been unleashed—in other words, when fierce attacks are being launched throughout the world by imperialism against the freedom, sovereignty and progress of peoples—the common destiny of the countries of the Third World has a profound significance for the Government and people of Mauritania. It is indeed obvious that no African, Asian or Latin American country is safe from the outbreaks of

violence resulting from repeated violations of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter which are being perpetrated by the imperialist Powers against the freedom of peoples. Those serious violations of the principles of sovereignty, the territorial integrity of all States and the right of peoples to self-determination are being perpetrated in Africa, in the Middle East and in South-East Asia.

42. With regard to the Middle East, the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania has already had occasion, during the fifth emergency special session [1531st meeting], to express to this Assembly the grave concern which the Israel aggression and its aftermath have aroused in the people and Government of Mauritania. We are indeed deeply disturbed by what is taking place on the territory of the United Arab Republic, the Syrian Arab Republic and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

43. We have no doubt whatsoever concerning the active collusion of the United States of America and Great Britain with the Zionist authorities in Israel during the preparation and implementation of the aggression of 5 June 1967, by which the Tel Aviv leaders deliberately created a serious crisis in the Middle East. The tendentious efforts made by the powerful information media, part of a widespread conspiracy among the imperialist countries, to exonerate the Zionist authorities of Tel Aviv by putting the entire blame on the Arab victims of the aggression of 5 June, are deceiving no one. At any rate, no delegation present here will be deceived by them.

44. In the light of the objective account, supported by relevant quotations, that was made before the General Assembly at its 1573rd meeting by Mr. Riad, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Arab Republic, it has become clear to those who may not have been previously convinced that the Zionist authorities of Tel Aviv were well aware that no attack whatsoever was being planned against their country at the time they unleashed their aggression against the United Arab Republic, the Syrian Arab Republic and Jordan.

45. Every Member of our Organization is in duty bound to face the facts.

46. The painful memories of the martyrdom of more than 6 million Jewish victims of German nazism so ably and compellingly recalled to the mind of this Assembly cannot but move deeply the feelings and conscience of mankind. Such heinous crimes shocked the conscience of the Arabs as they did the rest of humanity. The Arabs made heavy sacrifices side by side with those who fought on to victory against German nazism. It is therefore truly shameful and inadmissible to call up such memories to justify before an organization such as ours massacres, pillaging and military occupation on the part of the Israel armed forces in the Arab territories which they hold in defiance of the most sacred principles of the United Nations Charter.

47. As for the picture of a people "threatened in its survival" so grandiloquently evoked by Mr. Abba Eban, all the delegates in this Assembly who might once have believed that must now know that no military attack was being planned against Israel. We note

^{2/} Summit Conference of Independent African States, held from 22 to 25 May 1963.

^{3/} Fourth Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held from 11 to 14 September 1967.

further that Mr. Khan's statement contained assertions which leave no doubt as to the true intentions of the Zionist Tel Aviv authorities. We quote at random:

"We shall not commit the irrational course of returning to the ... strategic vulnerability ...

"The fact that the United Nations was unable to prevent the war has a direct bearing on the question of its capacity and title to impose a peace." [1566th meeting, paras. 128 and 146.]

48. It is the intention of the Israel authorities and the Powers behind them, who share with them the heavy responsibility for the aggression of 5 June, to see that the position of strength gained by Israel as a result of its aggression against and occupation of the Arab territories is used, in humiliating circumstances, to wring recognition of the Zionist State from the Arab countries. As the price of such recognition, only a part of the territories presently being occupied would be returned to their rightful owners. In fact, we still recall the statement made by General Dayan to the correspondent of the *Sunday Times* on 10 September 1967, concerning the refugees driven from the occupied Arab territories: "One million Jews have replaced the Arabs and whether it's moral or not, there simply is no room." In its arrogance, that statement clearly reveals the plan of the Zionist Tel Aviv authorities.

49. The Israel authorities, who speak more and more frequently of "new frontiers", intend to limit the role of the United Nations to that of a go-between whose mission would be to further sinister schemes. It is clear that such behaviour is dangerously far removed from the sacred purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. In this connexion, emphasis should be laid on the heavy responsibility borne by certain great Powers, without whose support it would have been unthinkable for the Zionist authorities in Tel Aviv to defy our Organization in this way. These same Powers, after making it impossible for the Security Council to act and after paralysing the fifth emergency special session, may, if we are not on our guard against them, force us into the same situation at the present session.

50. We appeal to the conscience of Members of this Assembly to put an end, while there is still time, to the mounting wave of unbridled passions and racial hatred, which are being provoked and skilfully fomented by international Zionism.

51. The peoples of the Middle East aspire to peace and freedom for the same reasons as peoples in other parts of the world.

52. The friends of Israel have the duty to remind the Israel authorities that the human and material resources of the Arab nation will enable that nation—deeply wounded in its flesh and in its dignity—forcefully to rise again after several defeats.

53. Our analysis of the serious situation in the Middle East leads us to state that the essential prerequisite for some chance of success in the examination of the complex problems of that region remains the unconditional withdrawal of Israel forces from the Arab territories occupied since the aggression of 5 June.

54. The delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania fully shares the opinion expressed by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report:

"It is indispensable to an international community of States—if it is not to follow the law of the jungle—that the territorial integrity of every State be respected, and the occupation by military force of the territory of one State by another cannot be condoned." [A/6701/Add.1, para. 49.]

55. Therefore, the United Nations must put an end to serious violations of the sacred principles of the Charter and demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel troops from the territories they occupy in the United Arab Republic, the Syrian Arab Republic and Jordan.

56. As our delegation pointed out from this rostrum on 22 June 1967, during the debates at the fifth emergency special session [1531st meeting], the crisis created in the Middle East by the Israel aggression of 5 June has not blinded us to the serious situation prevailing in the Far East.

57. My delegation wishes to pay tribute to the heroic resistance offered by the courageous people of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the National Front for Liberation to hundreds of thousands of troops backed by thousands of aircraft and an armada of the world's most modern warships. These super-powerful means are being used by the world's greatest Power against the legitimate aspirations to freedom, independence and sovereignty of an entire people. The war in Viet-Nam is one of the most flagrant examples of the violation of the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States. It is also a serious threat to the principle of respect for the sovereignty of peoples.

58. For my delegation, the American aggression in Viet-Nam constitutes one of the most serious threats to the maintenance of world peace. The delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania wishes to express its appreciation for the efforts initiated by the Secretary-General of the United Nations aimed at bringing a speedy end to this grave conflict, which is alarming for so many reasons.

59. Along with many of the speakers who have preceded us, we believe that the immediate and unconditional cessation of the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is the first indispensable step towards peace in that region. Peace- and freedom-loving peoples unanimously and unequivocally condemn the monstrous crimes daily being committed by the American armed forces in Viet-Nam. We are convinced that, in any event, the just cause of the heroic Vietnamese people will triumph.

60. The delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania would further like to stress its conviction of the need to proceed without delay to the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. That conviction was expressed by the Mauritanian Chief of State at the Congress of the Mauritanian Peoples' Party held in June 1966, when he said: "The admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations

would be—let me repeat—a giant step towards peace and the easing of international tensions."

61. Indeed, it must be emphasized that the great Chinese nation, "one and indivisible", which has just become a nuclear Power thanks to the admirable courage of its great people and its eminent leaders, and thanks also to its organizational abilities and to its immense human and economic resources, has won for itself a place in the front rank and an ever-wider influence on the international scene. In the introduction to his annual report on the Organization's activity in 1966, His Excellency U Thant expressed that fundamental reality in these terms:

"It is impossible, moreover, to view some of these outstanding problems—whether it is the position of the United Nations with regard to the crisis in South-East Asia or the lack of progress in disarmament—without relating them to the fact that the United Nations has not yet attained the goal of universality of membership. In the long run the Organization cannot be expected to function to full effect if one fourth of the human race is not allowed to participate in its deliberations."^{4/}

62. Our delegation categorically rejects as inadmissible the theory of two Chinas which some are attempting to promote within our Organization. We consider that it is high time to redress that grave injustice, which is prejudicial to the United Nations itself, by restoring to the People's Republic of China its legitimate rights in the United Nations and by returning to it its seat which has been usurped by the representatives of Taiwan.

63. The delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, along with all delegations of countries which love peace and justice, will continue to work towards the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in our Organization.

64. As for the question of Korea, our delegation shares the view that foreign troops occupying that country under the United Nations flag must be withdrawn without delay, thus enabling the Korean people to exercise its right to choose its own destiny in complete freedom.

65. My delegation wishes to remind this Assembly that colonialism and its fruits continue to pose problems of great concern to Africa.

66. Portugal continues to oppose relentlessly and illegally the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of so-called Portuguese Guinea, Angola and Mozambique to freedom and the recognized right of all peoples to free self-determination. If the Salazar régime still violently opposes the African will to freedom, it is because that régime is receiving aid and assistance from the powerful members of NATO. It is obvious that the resources of a country such as Portugal would not allow it to wage a prolonged colonial war. An urgent appeal should be made to all countries to stop providing Portugal with the financial and military aid which enables it to carry out the slaughter of African patriots. In fact, left to its own resources,

the Salazar régime would soon have to give in to reason.

67. In Southern Rhodesia, the Ian Smith régime is doing well because Salisbury continues to enjoy the active support of South Africa and Portugal. It is becoming more and more intolerable that Member countries of our Organization should continue to trample underfoot the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

68. In this question of Rhodesia, the heaviest responsibility falls upon the United Kingdom, whose many promises to make Ian Smith see reason and restore to the Zimbabwe people its legitimate rights have been shown to be nothing but dilatory measures designed to allow him and his handful of fascist and racist cohorts to gain precious time.

69. My delegation considers that our Organization is in duty bound to take all necessary coercive measures to restore legality and justice in Southern Rhodesia.

70. The brother people of Zimbabwe, realizing that they must first of all rely on themselves, have already undertaken to ensure their own liberation. The Government and the people of Mauritania offer them their active and unreserved support within the framework of the Co-ordination Committee for the Liberation of Africa of the Organization of African Unity. My delegation is more than ever convinced that economic sanctions, even general and obligatory economic sanctions, are nothing but a delusion and that the rebellion of Ian Smith can be put down only by the use of force.

71. As for South Africa, Members of this Assembly hardly need reminding that the Pretoria authorities are taking no notice whatsoever of the numerous decisions by which our Organization has unequivocally condemned the South African policy of apartheid and the behaviour of that country with regard to the internationally mandated Territory of South West Africa.

72. At its twenty-first session, the General Assembly, by its resolution 2145 (XXI), terminated South Africa's Mandate over South West Africa. We may further recall that in its resolution 2248 (S-V), the fifth emergency special session of the General Assembly decided to establish a United Nations Council for South West Africa, comprising eleven members and entrusted with ensuring the administration of that Territory, assisted by a United Nations Commissioner for South West Africa. South Africa persists in its refusal to allow that body to function.

73. In southern Africa, the unco-operative and contemptuous attitude shown by Portugal and South Africa with regard to the rightful decisions taken by our Organization resembles in every way the behaviour of the Israel authorities with regard to the decisions of our Organization. What, for instance, has become of the two decisions regarding Jerusalem [resolutions 2253 (ES-V) and 2254 (ES-V)] which were adopted almost unanimously by Member States during the fifth emergency special session of the General Assembly?

74. We note therefore that in all parts of the world where peace is endangered, the United Nations must be in a position to command respect for the prin-

^{4/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Supplement No. 1A (A/6301/Add.1), section X.

ciples of the Charter and to ensure the implementation of its decisions.

75. Mr. Swaran SINGH (India): Mr. President, may I begin by saying how pleased we are to see you as the President of the General Assembly. In conveying our greetings and felicitations to you on your assuming this high office, my delegation salutes your great nation, which has been known as a bridge-builder and a path-finder in Europe, both in the field of science and in culture. The first socialist representative to be the President of this Assembly, you are well known to all of us here as an outstanding statesman. We have also great pleasure in paying tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Pazhwak, who represents our friendly neighbour, Afghanistan, and who has had the unique record of presiding over three sessions of the General Assembly in one year with great distinction.

76. All my colleagues who have spoken so far during this session have underlined what our Secretary-General, U Thant, has stated in the introduction to his annual report this year. He said: "The picture ... of what I regard as the most significant developments in the United Nations during the last twelve months is, on the whole, a discouraging one." [A/6701/Add.1, para. 148.] He went on to say: "We now again see violence, threats, incitement, intimidation and even hatred being used as weapons of policy in increasingly numerous areas of the world." [*Ibid.*, para. 150.]

77. The months that have elapsed between the closure of the twenty-first session and the commencement of the twenty-second session have seen two extraordinary sessions of the United Nations General Assembly—the fifth special session to deal with the problem of South West Africa and the fifth emergency special session necessitated by the war in West Asia. We have, therefore, witnessed the unusual spectacle of a more or less continuous year-long General Assembly session. During this period, the Security Council also has been kept busy. And while all the discussions, deliberations and multilateral negotiations go on at the United Nations Headquarters, and as the involvement of the United Nations becomes increasingly deeper in problems connected with almost all fields of human activity throughout the world, we also hear doubts and hesitations about the capability of the United Nations to take meaningful action to cure and heal or to function effectively in situations of serious crisis.

78. At no time in its history has the United Nations faced such a critical situation for peace and such challenges to its cherished principles as it does today. A brief but savage war has taken place in West Asia causing suffering and misery to hundreds of thousands of persons. A long and vicious armed conflict is raging in South-West Asia which, if not checked, will certainly lead to a much wider conflagration. In southern Africa colonialism and racism are still rampant. The nuclear arms race shows no signs of slackening; thermonuclear stockpiles are growing at a frightening speed. As a founding Member of the United Nations India is deeply concerned at this growing trend towards violence in international life.

79. The gravity of the situation in West Asia has been of the utmost concern to the international community. Vast Arab territories lie under foreign occupation.

Hundreds of thousands of persons have been displaced from their homes and hearths. Steps have been taken to annex parts of these occupied lands and to continue the occupation indefinitely of the rest of the area. Tensions continue to grow along the cease-fire positions and there are frequent clashes in spite of the presence of United Nations observers. International commerce through this region has been severely affected.

80. In the days preceding the outbreak of conflict last June, it was India's earnest and constant endeavour, both inside and outside the United Nations, to help preserve peace in West Asia by urging restraint on all parties. We stood firmly behind the Secretary-General's efforts to gain a breathing spell during which quiet diplomacy could be used to resolve the crisis. After Israel's attack on its Arab neighbours we and several other members of the Security Council advocated an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of all armed forces to the positions held prior to the outbreak of hostilities. We did this because of our firm conviction that a cease-fire without a simultaneous call for a withdrawal of alien armed forces was not only contrary to the eminent practice of the United Nations but also against its fundamental principle of non-use of force in international relations and the principle that territorial gains should not be made through military conquest. The deliberations of the fifth emergency special session, even though inconclusive, have shown a near unanimity among member nations on these fundamental principles.

81. It is a matter of regret, therefore, that no progress has been made in securing the withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied territories and in bringing peace and security to the area. India firmly urges that this impasse must be broken. We must all realize that failure to find a solution for the problems of West Asia would lead to even graver threats to peace. It is our belief that the foundation of lasting peace in West Asia should be built on certain basic and fundamental principles of our Charter, in particular those contained in Article 2. First, there must be a complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from Arab lands under their occupation. Secondly, all States must respect the territorial integrity and political independence of one another in accordance with the Charter of this Organization. Thirdly, all outstanding problems in the region should be settled exclusively through peaceful means. Finally, the just rights of the Arab refugees must be safeguarded. As the Secretary-General has reminded us: "people everywhere, and this certainly applies to the Palestinian refugees, have a natural right to be in their homeland and to have a future" [*ibid.*, para. 49].

82. It is also imperative to strengthen the presence of the United Nations in the area to ensure a smooth transition from the present state of crisis to a state of calm and peace. The role of the United Nations has been commendable in peace-keeping over the years in West Asia. I should like to pay a tribute to the officers and men of the United Nations Emergency Force who discharged their duties with such devotion and distinction and many of whom fell in the service of peace.

83. Another area where innocent people are suffering untold misery is Viet-Nam. Many representatives have expressed their deep concern and stressed the need to find a peaceful solution to this problem. My Government's views on the tragic war in Viet-Nam have been expressed on several occasions. As a neighbour belonging to the same continent and geographical region, India has a vital interest in peace in this area. As member and Chairman of the International Commission for Supervision and Control, we bear certain special responsibilities. We have also a wider and more important consideration in mind, that is the interests of world peace which can be threatened by an escalation of the Viet-Nam conflict.

84. It is against this background that I should like to say a few words on this subject. My delegation welcomes the statement of the President of the United States wherein he said: "I affirm without reservation the willingness of the United States to seek and find a political solution of the conflict in Viet-Nam." India stands by its consistent policy that a solution to the problem of Viet-Nam must and can be found only at the conference table and not on the battlefield. We have always believed that a peaceful solution can be found within the framework of the Geneva Agreements of 1954. In this context we are glad to note that Ambassador Goldberg has stated [1562nd meeting] that those agreements should constitute the basis for a settlement. It is our conviction that the people of Viet-Nam alone can decide their destiny without any foreign interference.

85. The most immediate problem, however, is to create a proper atmosphere for a peaceful solution. The first essential step for this purpose, in our considered view, is the unconditional ending of the bombing of North Viet-Nam and we are confident that if this is done it will lead to cessation of all hostile activities throughout Viet-Nam and a Geneva-type meeting, to which all necessary parties including the National Front for Liberation should be invited. We are also confident that the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam would respond favourably to such a positive step, which would be welcomed throughout the world.

86. The Government of India will continue, as it has done so far, to make every effort to shift the conflict from the battlefield to the conference table. In this respect we are encouraged by the positive response we have received from the various parties concerned, including the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. We would appeal to all parties concerned not to lay down any pre-conditions. There is always some military risk involved in de-escalating a conflict but the risks involved in escalation are greater. We hope, therefore, that the Government of the United States of America will, in the larger interests of peace, take a calculated risk by stopping the bombing of North Viet-Nam in the belief that it will lead to a cessation of all hostilities throughout Viet-Nam and negotiations for a peaceful settlement. We would also appeal to the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to look at this question from the larger interest of peace in Asia and the world and we are confident that it will respond favourably if no preconditions are laid to the cessation of bombing of its territory.

87. We should like to add the voice of India to that of others, including the Secretary-General's, who have expressed their belief and hope that an unconditional cessation of the bombing of North Viet-Nam would be followed by a cessation of all hostilities and lead to negotiations for a peaceful settlement. We do so not as an exercise in wishful thinking but with confidence and belief based on our talks with the various parties concerned in the conflict.

88. The problems of West Asia and Viet-Nam do not exhaust the catalogue of situations which imperil peace and security because of interference from outside. Both in South West Africa and in Southern Rhodesia two racist minorities, militant and ruthless, to whom neither the fundamental rights of the people who constitute the majorities in those areas, nor international opinion as expressed through numerous resolutions of the various organs of the United Nations, seem to matter, continue to hold power. I need not go into any details about my country's position either on apartheid or on colonialism; it is well known. I would merely say here that the sufferings of the people of Zimbabwe, the problems of the majority in South Africa, the problems caused by Portuguese colonialism in Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, are all facets of one composite picture. It is a matter of regret that the trade and commerce which certain affluent countries are carrying on with those Territories should help to sustain the oppressors in power. India joins with the Organization of African Unity in stating firmly and unambiguously that the stage is being set in that part of the world for a major explosion. It is the duty of the international community to persevere in its efforts to avert the tragedy.

89. In the current critical international situation, meaningful measures of genuine disarmament calculated to achieve the fundamental objective of general and complete disarmament assume greater urgency than ever before. In this context one of the most serious problems facing the international community today is the need to halt, reduce, and eventually eliminate the growing nuclear menace. The nuclear-weapon Powers are continuing to augment and develop their offensive and defensive weapon systems.

90. In the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and elsewhere, considerable attention has been devoted in the recent past to the question of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. There can be no doubt of the immense threat posed to world security and stability by the indiscriminate proliferation of nuclear weapons. India believes that non-proliferation, like all other disarmament measures, must be examined and resolved in the context of security for all.

91. It has long been an accepted and axiomatic principle that international security lies not in armament, but in restraints on armament, and in disarmament. The rational approach to the solution of that problem requires that any international instrument which seeks to limit the threat of nuclear weapons must ensure that the possessors of those weapons should be denied the licence to continue increasing the instrument of their threat. Nuclear disarmament cannot be achieved by the preservation of exclusive rights, privileges and options sought to be retained by certain armed and

powerful countries while measures are to be taken to limit the actions of the threatened and unarmed countries.

92. It is for that reason that India has consistently emphasized that any international instrument which seeks to deal with this problem must ensure, if it is to be acceptable and to endure, that both nuclear and non-nuclear weapon Powers accept obligations not to proliferate. It must be recognized that those mutual obligations are complementary and are but two facets of the same problem.

93. The General Assembly has already laid down, by its resolution 2028 (XX), the principles which any non-proliferation arrangement should embody if it is to be truly balanced and non-discriminatory and a genuine step towards the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. It is only on the basis of those principles that a mutually acceptable non-proliferation agreement can be worked out.

94. Certain non-nuclear countries could have produced nuclear weapons several years ago, had they so desired, but have refrained from doing so. It can scarcely be argued that this policy of restraint and self-discipline should result in their being deprived of the benefits of the development of peaceful nuclear technology. While the Government of India continues to be in favour of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, it is equally strongly in favour of the proliferation of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes as an essential means by which the developing countries can benefit from the vast advantages of science and technology in that field. We are glad to note that our approach to this question enjoys the support of a large number of Governments. It is of the greatest importance that this consideration should be borne in mind in the formulation of a balanced and acceptable international non-proliferation instrument.

95. Ever since 1954 the Government of India has been making efforts to achieve a ban on all nuclear weapon testing. We are distressed that it has not yet been possible to conclude a comprehensive test-ban treaty. The partial test-ban Treaty has remained doubly partial in that it has not been acceded to by all States, and in that it does not cover underground tests. There is a serious danger that even that partial Treaty may cease to have any real meaning in view of the continuation and acceleration of nuclear weapon tests by non-signatory States. There have also been ominous reports that with the development of more sophisticated weapons systems there might even be a resumption of atmospheric testing. The international community cannot but view that prospect with the deepest alarm and make intensive efforts to put an end to all nuclear weapon tests by all countries.

96. We are now nearing the end of a decade which began with great hopes and expectations for the poverty-stricken areas of the world, in which more than three fourths of humanity resides. With the designation of the current decade as the United Nations Development Decade, we had hoped that a beginning had been made towards an all-out drive to reduce, if not bridge, the gap between the rich North and the poor South. The targets set for the Development Decade

were by no means ambitious. And yet, nearly seven years after the solemn resolve of the entire international community to bend its energies for the attainment of those modest targets, if we find ourselves farther away from them than we were, we owe an explanation to ourselves and to the collective conscience of mankind. So pressing and urgent are the problems of the developing countries that we can no longer afford to delay concerted international action to solve them.

97. There is no doubt that the effort for the improvement of living standards and for the attainment of higher rates of economic growth will have to be made by the developing countries themselves. And yet, year after year, this Assembly is reminded that the failure of the developing countries to attain the modest targets of economic growth set for the Development Decade has been mainly due to the insufficiency of external resources, and not due to any lack of effort on their part.

98. This year once again, concern has been expressed at the loss of momentum in international aid adversely affecting the efforts made to realize the goals of the Development Decade. I join all those who have urged the major industrialized countries to make every attempt to ensure the replenishment of the resources of the International Development Association. I would also urge them to reconsider their attitude to the Capital Development Fund and to make substantial contributions to it; the commencement of its operations next year will mark an important step forward in international co-operation in this field.

99. Another matter for serious concern is that the terms and conditions of development loans continue to remain hard and inflexible and in some cases have become even harder. It has been estimated that if the present volume and the terms and conditions of aid to developing countries were to be maintained, a paradoxical situation will be reached by 1975 when there will be a net transfer of resources from the developing to the developed countries. In order to overcome these difficulties, the developing countries must be enabled to increase their export earnings on which they must remain largely dependent if they are to stand on their own feet. That is the primary objective enshrined in the Final Act of the first session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). Although the permanent machinery of UNCTAD has completed three years of activity, as the Secretary-General's introduction to his annual report [A/6701/Add.1] highlights, the progress towards the fulfilment of the aims and objectives set forth in 1964 has been alarmingly slow.

100. The successful conclusion of the Kennedy Round negotiations a few months ago was no doubt an important event and will contribute significantly to further growth in world trade. However, it is a matter of serious concern that the main beneficiaries of this growth will be the developed countries, while the major problems of the developing countries in the field of trade have remained unresolved. My delegation would strongly urge the completion of the unfinished tasks of the Kennedy Round before the end of this year. In addition, new initiatives would be re-

quired for the expansion of the trade of the developing countries.

101. In a few months' time my country will have the honour to play host to the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. The "New Delhi Round", as U Thant has called it, will provide a unique opportunity not only for assessing the past achievements but also for the adoption of concrete measures for the future to provide practical and meaningful solutions to the urgent problems of the developing nations. In the next few days in Algiers the developing countries will be meeting^{5/} to discuss their common problems and the solutions to those problems which they hope will emerge from New Delhi. Ultimately, the success of the "New Delhi Round" will be largely determined by the political will of its members to undertake the necessary measures to provide those solutions. We have every hope that the "New Delhi Round" will usher in a new era of international co-operation in the field of trade and development of developing countries.

102. I have just enunciated the views of my Government on the issues of war and peace in West Asia and Viet-Nam; on colonialism and racialism; on international co-operation and multilateral efforts to remove poverty. All this I have said in the context of our basic approach towards peace and progress and our policy of coexistence and non-alignment. We believe that by remaining non-aligned we promote the cause of peaceful coexistence. It is further our belief that this approach and this policy express our profound faith in and loyalty to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter. Each one of the Members of this world Organization faces problems at home and in its own region. India is no exception to this. Our problems are gigantic, but these are matched by the determination of the Indian people to solve them through its own efforts within the framework of a democratic set-up. We have this year had our Fourth General Elections, and our people have once again demonstrated their faith in the strength and vitality of democratic processes. Rapid strides have been made in industrialization and social services, taking us closer to our goal of a democratic socialist society. In spite of the burden we bear of meeting the challenge of an arrogant and unpredictable neighbour to our north—who unfortunately is not represented in this Organization and thus not subject to its discipline—we shall continue to strive to realize our cherished objective, namely, a more prosperous and fuller life for all our people.

103. The international scene presents a sombre picture. There is surely at present an urgent need to rectify this state of affairs and direct the energy and resources of the international community towards the path of peace and reconciliation. Our Organization can and must give a lead in this direction through strict adherence to the cardinal principles of inadmissibility of the use of force by one nation against another; of respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty of States; of the right of all nations to live in freedom and enjoy the fruits of freedom; of the need to remove the canker of colonialism and

racialism from the world; of settlement of international disputes exclusively through peaceful means; of international co-operation in political, economic and other fields for the benefits of mankind.

104. Mr. BORG OLIVIER (Malta): I should like in the first place to offer my sincere congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your election to the Presidency of this Assembly. Your selection for this duty is a tribute to your own personal qualities and also to your country, which you have had the honour to serve with so much distinction for so many years.

105. I venture today to put before this Assembly certain considerations which are of particular importance to my country and, I think, also to others which, like Malta, are small, have to struggle to break free from the tentacles of poverty, or are militarily weak. The weaknesses we share in size, wealth and power give us a natural interest in the work of the United Nations and spur us to efforts, both within this Organization and outside it, to act in concert in search of peace and a wider distribution of the wealth of this earth, within the framework of social justice and equity among nations. In the United Nations, we the small nations enjoy the right to have our voices heard and to exercise a role of responsibility in promoting a co-operation essential to world peace for the benefit of mankind as a whole. This privilege, which we share with the bigger countries in equal measure, makes us even more conscious of our duty to play our part in this Organization with wisdom and great care.

106. In making use of this privilege we must recognize that the major responsibility for bringing about a relaxation of international tension and for seeking solutions to the major political problems plaguing the world continues to lie with the major Powers, especially the permanent members of the Security Council and, in particular, with the two nuclear super-Powers. The "equilibrium of terror" has resulted in coexistence. But coexistence as presently interpreted still presupposes the existence, indeed the necessity, of struggle by all means except nuclear war. The aim of coexistence, in fact, has become to modify the strategic balance of power in the world without destroying the world itself, and this by choosing means of struggle in fields where one or other major Power believes it has an advantage.

107. This situation produces a modern version of the old concept of armed peace. It may well delay a major conflict but could also ultimately lead to a catastrophe. The unrestrained propaganda, the mutual political probings, the military support given to political friends in third countries either to incite insurrection or to keep in power Governments that are rejected by their peoples, not only cause needless suffering to millions but are also very dangerous for the peace of the world since they involve, directly or indirectly, the super-Powers. Coexistence rejects a world war for political or ideological ends but leaves the maintenance of world peace to a process resembling a dangerous game of chance. The super-Powers have, up to the present, exercised admirable restraint. An occasion may well arise, however, when rational calculations based on political interest can be

^{5/} Ministerial Meeting of the Group of Seventy-Seven, held at Algiers from 10 to 24 October 1967.

nullified by unforeseen events. The irreparable then happens.

108. It is now time to go beyond coexistence and on to active co-operation among major centres of world power. Until this co-operation is achieved it is an illusion to hope that sufficient resources can be devoted to relieving the pressing needs of two thirds of mankind. Active co-operation among major centres of world power will, we must believe, eventually be achieved, since the alternative is disaster for all, including the major Powers; but it will not help if it takes a form which will perpetuate the domination of the rich over the poor, of the strong over the weak.

109. My country will continue to support a four-pronged programme in relation to the United Nations, namely: disarmament, peaceful settlement of disputes, peace-keeping and the economic and social work of this Organization. The record of the work of the Organization in the first three fields of disarmament, peaceful settlement and peace-keeping has been a bitter disappointment. Armaments have continued to increase; their use in war has not ceased for even one day in the last years, whether in Asia, the Middle East or Africa. No real progress has been registered in creating conditions conducive to disarmament or in tackling effectively any of a number of issues which could lead to the reduction of tension.

110. Events since the close of the twenty-first session have been discouraging for the United Nations and for the cause of world peace. Old problems remain unsolved, tensions have increased, and resentment over the continuing struggle in Viet-Nam and recent hostilities in the Near East have further envenomed international relations. Acrimonious disagreement on political matters and limited effectiveness in the promotion of world economic and social progress increasingly mark the United Nations.

111. The only silver lining, not altogether untarnished, has been the progress made in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. We welcome the draft treaty which may be put before us in the near future, as a document that has a primarily political significance. One cannot, however, refrain from noting that the draft treaty does not fulfil all the principles laid down by the General Assembly. In particular, it does not fully embody an acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligations as between the nuclear and non-nuclear Powers; furthermore negotiations on the draft treaty are taking place during a period of rapid escalation in the nuclear arms race.

112. The long-term effectiveness of the treaty is also imperilled by the uncertainties which result from the fact that two nuclear-weapon States have not participated in the Geneva discussions, and by the fact that the proposed treaty does not provide explicitly for the security of non-nuclear Powers. Consequently, one would have preferred at this stage the conclusion of a simple non-dissemination treaty among all the nuclear-weapon States, which would have a political significance comparable to that of the proposed non-proliferation treaty and would not

have the disadvantages of the present draft treaty for non-nuclear Powers. We are reinforced in this view by our conviction that the proliferation of nuclear weapons is not desired by any country and is not necessarily imminent, and that the conclusion of a non-proliferation treaty and the prospects of military nuclear proliferation are not necessarily interdependent.

113. It is clear that endorsement of the proposed non-proliferation treaty by the General Assembly will have to be followed by intensive negotiations on other aspects of nuclear disarmament. We would not wish that, as a result, progress on other urgent problems connected with the control of armaments, progress which may contribute to the relaxation of international tensions, should be neglected.

114. Recent events have emphasized the dangers of the trade in sophisticated conventional weapons. We believe that it has become urgent to elaborate a comprehensive and fair system designed effectively to publicize, and thus indirectly to control, the transfer of armaments among States.

115. The extent of the trade in arms must be brought out in the open. It will be recalled that two years ago the delegation of Malta presented a draft resolution in the First Committee on the subject.^{6/} Whilst the draft resolution did not then attract sufficient support, we are gratified to note the interest of some of those countries which were somewhat hesitant two years ago on the question raised by the delegation of Malta. Should an appropriate initiative be taken in this field, we will not be found wanting in giving it support.

116. There is equal need to study the implications of continued accelerated research in technically advanced countries with regard to the development of ever more sophisticated chemical, bacteriological and other unconventional methods of warfare, and the implications of these developments for all countries, but particularly for those that cannot afford, or are unable to establish, comprehensive measures of protection. The potentiality of the terrible weapons that have already been developed or are in the process of development is not widely known, and the potential danger of these weapons to the health, if not the life, of the population, particularly of the technologically less advanced countries, may be comparable to that of nuclear weapons. The delegation of Malta will seek an opportunity to have this matter brought to the attention of the appropriate organs of the General Assembly for careful study.

117. The work of the United Nations in the field of disarmament will remain sterile if a greater impetus is not given to the advancement of the poorer countries. Armaments, whether nuclear or conventional, absorb enormous resources and increase tensions. Tensions are also increased by lack of progress in implementing the economic and social purposes of the United Nations. The close interrelationship between the creation of conditions of well-being and the maintenance of international peace and security is clearly recognized in

^{6/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes, agenda item 28, document A/C.1/L.347.

the Charter of the United Nations. It is wisely stated in Article 55 that:

"With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote:

"a. higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development".

118. This does not imply solely assistance in the development of poor countries. It should also imply a more direct approach to ensure a fair share of the world's riches for those who suffer from an economic handicap. Unless present circumstances are rapidly and radically changed the gap in standards of living between the rich and the poor countries can only grow wider. The technological capability of the poor countries, having regard to all the development progress which they are likely ever to achieve, unaided, or even aided at the present scale, can never match the advances of the richer countries.

119. This matter is all the more important since it is improbable that the flow of international aid for economic and social purposes is likely to expand substantially in the near future. This, in spite of the fact that the capacity of developed countries to provide such aid, measured in terms of their rising per capita incomes, is increasing. The causes are basically two: rising expenditure on armaments and rising expenditure on new or expanded programmes of economic and social development within the rich countries themselves. At the same time, in poor countries, Governments must attempt to satisfy in some measure the rising expectations of their peoples for an immediate and visible improvement in their living conditions, in circumstances where regional or world tensions often require the allocation of increasing resources to defence. This creates conditions of great stress both within many poor countries and between poor countries and rich countries.

120. If we are correct in believing that we have reached, temporarily at least, a plateau with regard to total resources allocated by major donor Governments for the development of poor countries, we are forced to draw certain conclusions. In the first place, while continuing to press rich countries to implement their stated policies in this field, poor countries must be prepared to rely increasingly on the mobilization of their own resources for their development.

121. In the second place, in order to encourage, for a variety of reasons, donor countries to channel through international organizations an increasing proportion of the relatively static total of resources allocated by them for the development of poor countries, it seems imperative that international efforts should have clear objectives and be organized with demonstrable efficiency since it is obvious that a reputation, however unfounded, for the inefficient use of available resources may impair the ability of organizations within the United Nations family to attract resources now used in bilateral programmes.

122. Thirdly, it is important to investigate the possibility of utilizing an increasing proportion of the not inconsiderable funds already flowing into the United Nations system on programmes of more direct relevance to individual countries and regions. The discontinuance of activities not fully justified by cost-benefit or other generally accepted criteria could release scarce manpower and considerable funds for the priority needs of poor countries.

123. Finally, a determined search must be made for new major sources of development capital that do not imply increased burdens on the rich countries. It is felt that one such source could be the exploitation of the resources of an internationalized sea-bed and ocean floor. The sea-bed and the ocean floor underlying the seas beyond present national jurisdiction constitute approximately some 65 per cent of the area of the world and are the only land areas of our planet, excluding possibly Antarctica, that have not yet been appropriated for national use. Resources proved so far are immense. To mention only one, manganese nodules—containing also cobalt, nickel and copper—are found in some areas in incredibly large quantities at depths of 5,000 to 18,000 feet of water. Technology is now making possible the exploitation of the sea-bed at ever greater depths. This technology, however, is available only to industrially advanced countries. Furthermore, the Convention on the Continental Shelf is an open-ended instrument as it defines the continental shelf as:

"the sea bed and the sub soil of the submarine areas adjacent to the coast but outside the area of the territorial sea, to a depth of 200 metres or, beyond that limit, to where the depth of the superjacent waters admits of the exploitation of the natural resources of the said areas".^{1/}

Mr. Zollner (Dahomey), Vice-President, took the Chair.

124. The formulation of this Convention might result in technologically advanced countries claiming to appropriate for their own exclusive benefit the sea-bed underlying the sea at any depth and at any distance from their coasts, as soon as they can exploit the natural resources thereof. This is not a remote possibility unless an international framework for the exploitation of this potential wealth is established.

125. We would stress to all delegations, particularly those of developing countries, the urgency of international action in this field, action which, we believe, should eventually lead to the establishment of an international agency to assume jurisdiction, as trustee for mankind, over the sea-bed and ocean floor in order to ensure their orderly and rational exploitation, and that from the immense potential of this exploitation the poor countries should also benefit. Our proposal is paralleled by a number of initiatives in the same field such as that taken by the Geneva World Conference on World Peace through Law this year. Quite apart from the military implications and the very important question of the safe disposal of radioactive wastes, our suggestion could provide an equitable solution to conflicting national claims and it may in

^{1/} Convention on the Continental Shelf, Geneva, 29 April 1958 (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 499 (1964), No. 7302, p. 312).

due course provide an important additional source of wealth for distribution among nations, particularly the developing countries. We have requested the inclusion of the question of the sea-bed and ocean floor on the agenda of this session [A/6695] and we commend our proposals to the attention of the Assembly.

126. The suggestions of Malta open a field in which international action is urgent even though progress may be difficult in other fields. In the matter of peaceful settlement we have watched a disturbing series of setbacks, and in peace-keeping the United Nations is now in difficulties partly because of lack of agreement on the allocation of costs. International bodies have been discussing disarmament for forty-five years or more without much visible success. All this is discouraging, but it is essential that discouragement should not deepen to a point where we give up entirely. Too much is at stake for that. While continuing our efforts to find solutions to these fundamental issues, let us in the meantime not neglect other horizons. The Malta plan on the sea-bed and ocean floor is, we submit, one of them.

127. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I give the floor to the representative of the United Kingdom, who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

128. Sir Leslie GLASS (United Kingdom): I apologize to the Members of the Assembly for dragging their thoughts away from the wise and imaginative speech of the Prime Minister of Malta to a small but unattractive matter. I was amazed to hear the Foreign

Minister of Mauritania attempt to revive the long-defunct allegation of the complicity of my country in the preparation and execution of Israeli military operations last June. This allegation has long since been disproved and denied by the parties most closely concerned, and it might indeed seem unnecessary to take up the Foreign Minister's remarks. But I do so because my delegation has the very strongest feeling about this allegation which is, of course, completely without foundation. God knows, the Middle East problem has enough genuine complications without the injection of imaginary ones.

129. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I give the floor to the representative of the United States of America, who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

130. Mr. O'CONOR (United States of America): I regret the necessity of intervening in this lengthy debate, but my delegation is concerned about the statement made by the Foreign Minister of Mauritania alleging complicity between the United States, the United Kingdom and Israel before and during recent active hostilities in the Middle East. We note with interest that the States directly concerned in the conflict have long since abandoned the fabrication that the United States was involved in any way. The representative of Mauritania may have overlooked this fact, which is much more significant and revealing than what he has said on this point.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.