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President: Mr. Emilio ARENALES (Guatemala).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Kamba (Uganda), Vice-President, took the chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. Ali OMAR (Somalia): Let me first congratulate Mr. Arenales on his election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its twenty-third session. We are confident that with his great experience in international affairs and with his personal qualities of wisdom and understanding he will guide us to a successful and fruitful conclusion of the issues before this Assembly. It is unfortunate that illness prevents him from being present with us today, and it is the sincere hope of my delegation that he will make a speedy recovery.

2. I must also pay a tribute to his predecessor His Excellency Mr. Corneliu Manescu, the Foreign Minister of Romania, whose wisdom and patience and unquestionable diplomacy were of great service to the deliberations of the twenty-second session.

3. My delegation also extends its most cordial congratulations and welcome to Swaziland as it takes its rightful position in the family of nations. It is a happy occasion for us here when we see the practical application of the principle of self-determination which the United Nations has done so much to promote. To the people of that young State we wish lasting prosperity.

4. It is customary at this time for us the Member States of the United Nations to become introspective, to examine the progress or otherwise which this Organization has made towards its expressed goal of universal peace and brotherhood, and to show our individual attitudes towards the issues and problems which stand in the way of achieving that goal. There have been years when the dominant theme has been confidence in the ability of the Organization to achieve its ends; there have been years when grave doubts have been felt about the ability of the United Nations to survive at all. I think it is important each year, before we go

on to the business of thrashing out the items on the agenda in the various Committees, that we should take an objective look at our Organization to see where we stand today.

5. As we begin the deliberations of this session we have cause neither for jubilation nor for deep foreboding. Unsolved problems drag on and continue to cause tension in various parts of the world. The war in Viet-Nam, the dangerous situation in the Middle East and the continued imposition of racial injustice on the non-white population of southern Africa are all issues which are evidence of failure on our part. Their effect is hardly outweighed by such encouraging developments as the endorsement of the nuclear non-proliferation Treaty and the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions on Rhodesia. None the less I should like to reiterate a view that my delegation has expressed before in this Assembly: that in the United Nations Charter we have the guidelines for the development of an international morality. The steps we are taking towards the acceptance and implementation of that morality are slow and halting, but they are being made, and we hope they will develop in strength and purpose. I should like to outline the attitude of my Government on some of the main issues which are the concern of the international community.

6. The long-drawn-out suffering of the people of Viet-Nam continues even while the talks in Paris give some hope for an end to that terrible war. While my Government hopes that both sides will use the conference table to work towards a speedy end to the war, we believe that the United States has an international and moral obligation to stop the bombing of North Viet-Nam and so to initiate those first steps which can create the conditions necessary for meaningful negotiations to take place. It is at least possible for the United States to make this gesture and to place the onus for responding to it, in the cause of peace, on the Government of North Viet-Nam. We repeat our conviction expressed last year: that the Viet-Nameese people alone have the right to decide how they should turn to the building of a unified State, and to decide what form that State should take.

7. The continued occupation by Israel of Arab territories in defiance of resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly is an equally dangerous source of international tension. Israeli forces have repeatedly violated the cease-fire; the shelling and bombing of Arab villages and cities have increased tensions; Arab lands and property are being expropriated to make way for new waves of Israeli colonizers, and, as has been pointed out by the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, several hundred thousand more Arab refugees have been rendered homeless and forced to take refuge in neighbouring Arab countries.

8. The Arab people of those occupied areas cannot be blamed for the deep hostility which they harbour against the Israeli régime, nor can anyone deplore the resistance movements which have developed to counteract the occupation of Arab homelands. Similar movements arose during the Second World War when so many European countries fell under the yoke of Nazi tyranny. Those fighters of the Resistance won the admiration of all freedom-loving people for their undying courage and patriotism. It is the same force of patriotism and the same courage born of defiance to tyranny which lies behind Arab resistance today.

9. At the international level, my delegation considers that this Assembly should not only express strong condemnation of Israel's occupation of Arab territory, but should also take meaningful action which would bring about a termination of that occupation. It must be made clear that territorial expansion brought about by war cannot be condoned and that the use of territorial gains to exact political concessions is equally unacceptable. Furthermore, it is most important that the United Nations should press for the solution of the problem on the basis of the resolution of November last, and that the vital mission of Ambassador Jarring in this matter should not be deflected by spurious arguments.

10. The habitual opposition of the Israeli Government to United Nations attempts to solve the problem of the Middle East will no doubt be further demonstrated in its response to the Security Council resolution [259 (1968)] of 27 September recommending the despatch of a special representative of the Secretary-General to investigate the violation of human rights in the occupied territories. In this context it should be noted that the International Conference on Human Rights held in Teheran earlier this year has condemned Israel for violating the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the population in the occupied territories. However, reports emanating from Tel Aviv already point to a negative and unco-operative attitude towards this matter by the Israeli authorities, in keeping with the defiance which they have customarily displayed towards international opinion.

11. Like the Middle East and Asia, parts of Africa have also been the scene of human conflict and suffering. In the great Republic of Nigeria the life and progress of the people have been afflicted by civil strife which has caused horrible suffering to the civilian population. The Somali Republic, at the recent summit conference of the Organization of African Unity, was one of those States which strongly supported the adoption of a resolution which appealed for the cessation of hostilities and which urged the secessionist leaders to co-operate with the federal authorities in order to restore peace and unity in Nigeria. It is the hope of my Government that this appeal will meet with a positive response and that all concerned will co-operate to facilitate the urgent delivery of essential supplies of food, clothing and medicine for the civilian population in the affected areas. In a situation of this dimension there will be need for forbearance and magnanimity. Consequently, it is our hope, as the OAU resolution has recommended, that the Federal Military Government of Nigeria will, on the cessation of hostilities, declare a general amnesty and will co-operate with the Organization of African Unity to ensure the physical security of all the people of Nigeria alike until

mutual confidence is restored. The international community on its part should refrain from any action detrimental to the peace, unity and territorial integrity of Nigeria.

12. The situation in southern Africa which is of particular concern to the free people of that continent must remain a vital concern of the international community as well. The plight of the millions of Africans who are held in bondage under the system of *apartheid* is not constantly held up to public view through the mass communication media. South Africa is not a free country and under the repressive conditions that prevail there it is difficult to obtain the type of visual commentary that would bring home to people everywhere the fact that one of the greatest of crimes against humanity is daily being enacted in that country. In these circumstances the United Nations, which is the self-proclaimed champion of human rights, has a special responsibility to lead international public opinion in a moral crusade against *apartheid* and to use every means at its disposal to attempt to bring an end to this evil system. While *apartheid* continues to be applied with increasing severity with a consequent increase in the disruption and misery that attends the lives of the black people of that territory, the system continues to be supported by Members of this Organization which not only maintain but also increase their trading connexions with and material support of the Government of the Republic of South Africa. In addition, Member States, by their lack of co-operation, make the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council ineffective.

13. The danger of *apartheid* spreading like an infectious disease has now become very real. As the Secretary-General pointed out in his report, the South African Government has not only continued to ignore the decisions of the United Nations with regard to Namibia, but is also extending to that Territory the typical *apartheid* pattern. The ruthless suppression of any form of protest and the dehumanizing process of segregation are now well established.

14. My Government reiterates its opinion that the continued occupation of Namibia by the Government of South Africa is an act of international aggression. The General Assembly, as the sole authority responsible for Namibia, should again call on the Security Council to take all measures necessary to ensure self-determination and independence for the people of the Territory. In Southern Rhodesia too the signals are clear. In addition to the denial of political rights to the majority of the people of the Territory the white minority régime is moving steadily towards racial segregation with all its attendant social injustice. While my Government welcomes the application of mandatory sanctions to Rhodesia, we believe that the problems of southern Africa must be tackled at the roots—which lie in the Republic of South Africa.

15. In the face of the dangerous tensions which the situation in southern Africa engenders, and confronted by the moral responsibility to fight against *apartheid*, it would be dishonest of any Member State which directly or indirectly supports the policies of the Government of South Africa, to point a finger of accusation at any other Member on the grounds that the Charter or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is being abused.

16. With regard to other territories in Africa which are still under colonial control it is the hope of my Government that the Administering Authorities will take heed of the recommendations made by the United Nations Committee on Decolonization and by the General Assembly for the speedy implementation of the measures proposed for the early advancement of those territories to independence through the process of self-determination. It is appropriate that my Government should express its satisfaction with the manner in which Spain has co-operated with the United Nations in facilitating the independence of Equatorial Guinea. We welcome the Government and people of that Territory to the family of nations.

17. On the question of French Somaliland my Government hopes that the Administering Authority will take those necessary measures recommended by the United Nations for the early advancement to independence of the people of that Territory. Somalia's interest in this particular question stems not only from its close association with the people of French Somaliland, but also from its desire to see that the people of the Territory are allowed to determine their political future freely and in an atmosphere of peace and harmony.

18. Once again this Assembly will consider the question of the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. It is the hope of my Government that this question will be viewed by all with objectivity and that reason will at last prevail so that a great Power may take its rightful place on the Security Council and as a Member of the General Assembly. It is clear to my delegation that there is only once Chinese nation. The Government of the People's Republic of China is in fact and in law the legitimate Government of the Chinese people and as such should be able to send its representatives to join in our deliberations. Furthermore, the absence of the Government of the People's Republic of China makes progress towards the solution of many international problems difficult. Such a problem is that of disarmament, where the co-operation of all the major Powers is necessary for a definitive solution.

19. My Government welcomes the conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*], which is the culmination of ten years of intensive effort in the United Nations and by the Disarmament Committee in Geneva. My Government is aware of the shortcomings of the Treaty, but having regard to the dangers inherent in the proliferation of nuclear weapons, considers it an important advance towards the goal of nuclear disarmament. My delegation does not believe that an extension of the nuclear arms race to more and more countries would improve their security, neither does it accept the contention that the deliberate maintenance of the mutual fear of extinction constitutes an element of security or an inducement to the lessening of tensions. We expect the nuclear Powers, however, to terminate their nuclear arms race at any early date and to enter into serious and urgent discussions which would result not only in the destruction of all nuclear weapons, but also in tangible progress towards a treaty on general and complete disarmament. In this respect my delegation was happy to see an item inscribed on the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly designed to initiate action in this direction.

20. Representing a country which is now involved in an intensive programme of national economic development, I find myself in agreement with many of the conclusions which the Secretary-General has recorded in the introduction to his annual report for the current year [*A/7201/Add.1*]. The importance of the role to be played by the regional economic commissions cannot be overstated. My country, for example, has found the services offered by the Economic Commission for Africa, as a vital part of our own national development and for promoting a high degree of social and economic co-operation with sub-regional groups, most essential for rapid and effective development.

21. On the other hand, my Government, like many others, is disappointed with the results of the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. There should be reform of the institutional machinery of the Conference so that it is capable and sufficiently resilient to give practical effect to trade and development principles and policies. There was, unfortunately, an absence of political will on the part of the developed countries to enter into a more meaningful and equitable economic relationship with the developing countries. Again, the Conference showed that its institutional machinery required reform to make it capable and sufficiently resilient to translate into practical terms trade and development principles and policies.

22. Industrialization, as a phenomenon of our century, is now being accorded top priority in the economic planning of every government. To meet the urgent needs in this field of the developing countries the General Assembly has established the United Nations Industrial Development organization [*2152 (XXI)*]. Unfortunately, available resources are not sufficient for that new important organization to carry on its task. It is our hope that substantial financial contributions will be given to the Organization during the forthcoming Pledging Conference. While industrialized countries should bear the main burden, developing countries must also make an effective contribution.

23. I should like to end my speech on the same note of cautious optimism with which I began it. The United Nations has an organization and a set of principles which could enable it to be an effective agent of progress and peace. But the United Nations will fulfil its purpose only when nations large and small have accepted the fact that it must be used as the basic instrument for international relations. The world cannot wait much longer for this attitude to crystallize and it cannot wait too long for the United Nations to acquire the strength, the acceptance and the respect which it lacks. We need a great effort of will on the part of Member States. The United Nations has reached a crossroads in its existence; the principles have been laid down; the problems which arise in applying those principles have been defined. We can take the road to chaos or the road to peace and freedom through morality and international justice. The choice is ours.

24. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic would like to join in congratulating the President of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly on his election and we wish him a speedy recovery and every success in his work.

25. The general debate which is now concluding has shown that there are many problems that must be solved by

concerted action. They are attracting the attention of the whole world. It is not a matter of indifference to the peoples of the world how the predominant opinion will take shape in the General Assembly in regard to the necessity of ending the American aggression against the Viet-Nameese people; how the consequences of the aggression of Israel against neighbouring Arab States will be liquidated; what measures will be carried out to put an end to the arms race and to achieve disarmament; what is proposed to be done to strengthen security in various parts of the world and in the world as a whole; when the last remnants of colonialism with its policy of slavery and discrimination will be finally swept away and what steps will be taken in the interests of the economic and social progress of all the peoples.

26. The general debate and the first results of the work of the Committees of the General Assembly do not make it possible to give simple answers to these questions because at the present session, more clearly than ever before there have become apparent two contradictory approaches to the United Nations and to the consideration of the problems confronting it.

27. The Western countries responsible for the policy of the aggressive blocs created by them have not only done nothing to settle pending problems, but in recent times have steadfastly striven to worsen the situation in Europe and redoubled their activities against the socialist countries which guard peace and progress on earth.

28. At this session of the General Assembly representatives of the Western countries are trying to introduce the spirit of the cold war into relations between States and to divert the attention of the United Nations and world public opinion from their activities and plans fraught with grave danger to the cause of peace. To that end they resort not only to traditional slander and intimidation but also to even more subtle methods. They try to pass themselves off as zealous advocates of the principle of non-interference although they have constantly violated and continue to violate the sovereign rights of many countries and peoples. Suddenly they have come out with a hypocritical love of socialism.

29. The participants in the aggression against Viet-Nam speak of peace and of their fidelity to the principles of the United Nations Charter. They try to make out that if blood flows in Viet-Nam it is not their fault. Colonialists disguise themselves under the cloak of liberators and advocates of economic progress in developing countries. They diligently hush up the fact that they are the inspirers and protectors of the presumptuous Israeli aggressors, that it is they who are increasing tension and speeding up the arms race through NATO and other blocs, that many hotbeds of tension and territorial disputes are the work of their hands, and that it is only because of their support that there are still racist and colonialist régimes and that colonialism has been and remains the primary cause of the economic backwardness of most countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

30. Although the representatives of certain Western countries try to replace the solution of important international problems by verbal acrobatics, speaking here about subjects

that have no relation to the aims of the United Nations, they have not succeeded, nor will they succeed, in diverting the attention of most Member States of the United Nations from the search for constructive decisions in keeping with the aims and principles of the United Nations and the aspirations of the peoples of the world.

31. Responding to the appeal of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, most delegations, and even those which come under the influence of imperialist propaganda, have concentrated their attention in facilitating the development of international events in favour of the strengthening of peace and co-operation among peoples. In the United Nations the forces of aggression, colonialism and racism are ever more isolated.

32. This can be seen by studying any problem that is disturbing the world today.

33. What has been the attitude of United Nations Members towards the criminal aggression of the United States against the Viet-Nameese people? The agreement of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to have its representatives meet the American side in Paris has been approved by everybody. Almost all speakers have spoken in favour of a successful conclusion to those talks. The overwhelming majority of delegations have shown understanding for the readiness of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to discuss other matters relating to the Viet-Nameese problem after a complete and unconditional cessation by the United States of its bombings and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

34. It is not by accident that in 1968 the number of countries insistently demanding that the United States put an immediate end to the bombings of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, as an important and urgent first step towards the political solution of this problem, has increased; and nobody except the accomplices of American aggression in Viet-Nam, and the allies of the United States in aggressive blocs, has supported the demagogical demand of the United States for so-called mutual de-escalation, since this demand is nothing but an attempt to compel the freedom-loving people of Viet-Nam to put an end to its just war of liberation and to submit to the will of the aggressor.

35. We are convinced that by their joint efforts the peoples of the world, standing side by side with heroic people of Viet-Nam, will finally compel the United States of America to put an end to the war of aggression in Viet-Nam for the continuation of which the United States is exclusively to blame. The well-known position of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the political programme of the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam of 1 September 1967, which are fully in keeping with the Geneva Agreements of 1954, open up the possibility of a political settlement of the Viet-Nameese problem.

36. With the end of the war in Viet-Nam one of the main obstacles in the way of the constructive efforts of peace-loving States to normalize the international situation and the solution of a number of other problems would be removed.

37. Let us now turn to the question of eliminating the consequences of the Israeli aggression against the neighbouring Arab States. The discussion of this problem is likewise of a positive nature. The key to a settlement of the conflict in the Near East is the withdrawal of the aggressor's forces from all Arab territories seized by it to the positions they occupied before 5 June 1967 (242 (1967)). Only in that way will it be possible to carry out the various measures for the settlement of the situation in the Near East contained in the unanimously adopted Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967. Unless that resolution is carried out, it will be impossible to get rid of the dangerous situation in the Near East, impossible to put an end to the ever more frequent violations by Israel of decisions of the Security Council concerning the cease-fire and impossible to implement the decisions of the General Assembly of the United Nations concerning the inadmissibility of a policy of enslavement of the indigenous Arab populations of the conquered territories by the Israeli invaders.

38. The United Arab Republic and other Arab countries have taken up a constructive position for the settlement of the Near East conflict. They have proclaimed their recognition of the Security Council resolution and their readiness to carry it out. Almost all the delegations which have spoken here, with the exception of Israel and those which abet it, are in favour of the speediest possible implementation of this decision of the Security Council, making full use of the possibilities at the disposal of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Jarring. Nobody has spoken in support of the so-called nine principles put forward by the representative of Israel, principles which evade the main thing—the question of the recognition by Israel of the Security Council resolution and its willingness to carry it out and to withdraw its troops from the foreign territories which it occupies. Together with other delegations, we emphatically condemn Israel and its protectors for avoiding the obligation to comply with the decision of the Security Council and for its attempts to hold on to the occupied Arab territories.

39. Let us now turn to the problems of Europe. Within the life span of one generation two world wars have started there. The armed forces of two opposing social and economic systems directly face one another in Europe. It is in Europe that the imperialist forces of revenge and militarism supported from outside redouble their activities. But it is also in Europe that the creative forces of socialism are growing ever stronger and developing. We note with satisfaction the fact that the forces of anti-socialism, reaction and imperialism have failed utterly in their attempts to change to their own advantage the *status quo* in Europe, to encroach upon the socialist achievements of the people of Czechoslovakia and to separate the fraternal States of the socialist community.

40. The leaders of Bonn and those who think like them among the NATO countries will not find in the records of the debate in the General Assembly anything which bears witness to support for the foreign policy of the West German militarists, which is aimed at reconsidering the results of the Second World War and at redrawing the map of Europe. And nobody at this session has supported the encroachments of the revenge-seekers of Bonn upon the

German Democratic Republic and West Berlin, their nuclear ambitions, their claims to represent the whole German people, their attempts to divert the punitive sword of justice from the Fascist war criminals. In this connexion it is appropriate to recall that the Third Committee has already examined the question of punishment for war criminals and those who have committed crimes against mankind, and has approved a draft convention (A/7342, paragraph 113) which would do away with any statutory limitations as regards those guilty of these heinous crimes. Only six delegations—those of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Republic of South Africa and Portugal among them—voted against that document. It is not that this is such a large group, but it is extremely characteristic as far as its composition and political leanings are concerned. The convention will be not only an indictment of the Nazis and racists who have committed crimes in the past but also a dire warning to those who commit or plan to commit such crimes.

41. The situation in Europe confirms the rightness of the consistent political policy of the socialist countries, which is aimed at ensuring collective security in Europe and at carrying out the other measures set forth in the Bucharest declaration¹ and the declaration of the meeting of communist parties of Europe in Karlovy Vary²—the policy of transforming Europe into a continent of peace, friendship and co-operation on the basis of equal rights between all States and peoples.

42. Of all the tasks facing the United Nations the main one is the maintenance of peace. The peoples of the world have no greater desire than to live, work and build in peace.

43. Since the arms race is the gravest threat to peace, measures must be taken first of all to put an end to it. The arms race and wars have already cost mankind a great deal. In the first half of the twentieth century the arms race and wars cost mankind over 70 million lives and over \$4,000,000 million. In the second half of this century the scale and pace of the arms race have increased many times over. Today the United States alone spends more for military purposes than all the countries of the world together were spending in the recent past. If the arms race in our times is not stopped, it may lead to tremendous losses and consequences for mankind.

44. The arms race must be stopped immediately. The task is difficult but it is a practical one. All that is needed is the willingness and resolve of States, and in the first place the large States, to take concrete measures to put an end to the arms race and to carry out disarmament.

45. The way to solve these problems is shown in the Memorandum (A/7134) of the Government of the USSR on some urgent measures for stopping the arms race and for disarmament. First of all, it is necessary to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons.

¹ Declaration on the strengthening of peace and security in Europe signed at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Members of the Warsaw Pact. The meeting was held in Bucharest on 4-6 July 1966.

² Held on 24-26 April 1967.

46. With the appearance of nuclear weapons the danger of an incredibly destructive war has greatly increased, as has the responsibility of Governments for the fate of many millions of people. In these circumstances an important step towards eliminating the threat of a nuclear war would be an international agreement prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons, and this would also be a significant step towards the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons and their elimination from the arsenals of States.

47. It is also necessary to take measures to put an end to the production of nuclear weapons and to reduce and eliminate existing stockpiles. The delegation of Byelorussia expresses the hope that the readiness of the Soviet Government to undertake immediate negotiations on this question will meet with due support on the part of the other nuclear Powers.

48. The proposals of the Soviet Union concerning the limitation and subsequent reduction of strategic means of delivery of nuclear weapons, the prohibition of flights of bombers with nuclear weapons on board beyond national boundaries and the limitation of zones of navigation of submarines carrying nuclear weapons also deserve full support.

49. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers that it is high time to prohibit underground nuclear weapon tests. The Soviet Union has expressed its readiness to agree immediately to the prohibition of underground nuclear tests on the basis of the use of national means of detection for control over that ban. This position of the Soviet Union is supported by many States. It is now up to the Western Powers, which must finally move towards a solution of this problem.

50. In addition to nuclear weapons, there are other kinds of weapon which are extremely dangerous for mankind—chemical and bacteriological weapons. Over forty years ago the Geneva Protocol of 1925 prohibiting the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons was concluded, and this played a very important role during the Second World War. Unfortunately to this day there are still States which have not signed that Protocol.

51. On the initiative of Hungary the General Assembly, at the twenty-first session, adopted a resolution (2162 (XXI)) calling for strict observance by all States of the principles and objectives of the Geneva Protocol. In that resolution the General Assembly condemned all actions contrary to those objectives and called on all States to adhere to the Geneva Protocol. Indignation is aroused by the fact that the United States, to which that resolution applied, continues to disregard the clearly expressed desire of the States Members of the United Nations and the rules of contemporary international law. We fully support the proposal made by the Soviet Union (1679th Session, paragraph 121) that the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament examine immediately ways and means of ensuring compliance by all States with the Geneva Protocol prohibiting the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons. The consideration of this question is most timely and cannot be replaced by the proposals of some Western countries for a revision of the Geneva Protocol under the pretext of modernizing it, especially since a similar proposal was already considered at the twenty-second session and met with no support.

52. In the Memorandum of the Soviet Government other important measures are dealt with, such as the need to liquidate military bases on foreign soil, to foster the creation of denuclearized zones, measures for regional disarmament, and negotiations on the question of the use of the sea-bed beyond existing territorial waters for peaceful purposes only.

53. In supporting these concrete, clear-cut and practical proposals we are glad to note that in the general debate they have attracted considerable attention. Almost all delegations referred to the initiative of the USSR and expressed their own views which, in the main, concurred with the ideas in the Memorandum; this document, which takes due account of the existing situation and the results already achieved, and, in particular, the results of the resumed twenty-second session, indicates the main practical ways of stopping the arms race, and disarmament measures.

54. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR will state in detail its position in regard to specific disarmament questions when they are considered in the First Committee. We declare right now, however, that, together with all peace-loving States, we shall continue our struggle for the cessation of the arms race, for the implementation of partial measures in the field of disarmament and, finally, for general and complete disarmament. This is the main task of all peace-loving States.

55. No far-fetched proposals, such as the one put forward in the general debate by the representative of one of the Western countries for an account of the traffic in arms, will divert us from this road. Who needs that when it is well known that the United States is the greatest supplier of weapons in the world? In the past six years alone the United States has sold to NATO countries, including the country which initiated the aforesaid proposal, arms and military equipment in the amount of \$10,140 million. That proposal is yet another clumsy attempt to create the impression that the United Nations is dealing with the problem of disarmament, and thus to divert the General Assembly from the problems confronting it concerning disarmament and the strengthening of peace.

56. In these days the Byelorussian people is preparing to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Byelorussian SSR and the Communist Party of Byelorussia.

57. The Byelorussian Soviet Republic was founded on 1 January 1919, as a result of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in the difficult years of foreign intervention and civil war. In the past half century our people, which is successfully building a communist society, has carried out great historic transformations. It has made vast progress in the fields of economy, science and culture, in raising the standard of living of the population. All our successes and achievements are the results of implementation by the Communist Party of the wise national policy of Lenin, a policy of mutual assistance and co-operation of the great fraternal family of all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

58. It is characteristic that, during the years of Soviet power, our Republic proved that it was possible to overcome economic backwardness within the lifetime of one generation, or even less. Despite the fact that out of

fifty years, eight were spent in wars forced upon us by the imperialists and in rebuilding our national economy destroyed by the war, we have been able to put an end once and for all to poverty and backwardness, to eliminate illiteracy, to create a wide network of special, secondary and higher educational establishments, to develop industry, to transform and strengthen agriculture, and to achieve great success in the fields of culture, science and technology.

59. The constructive labour of the Byelorussian people, as a result of which industrial production in 1940 was 8.1 times higher than before the Revolution, was interrupted by the Fascist invasion during the Second World War. In that war one in four of the inhabitants of the Republic was killed. The Fascist aggressors destroyed and burned down almost all of our cities, towns and villages. The level of industrial production in December 1944 amounted to only 10 per cent of the level of December 1940. The total direct destruction for which the Hitlerite invaders were responsible was equal to thirty-five budgets of the Republic in the last pre-war year.

60. But in 1950, only five years after the victorious end of the war, the industry of Byelorussia exceeded the pre-war level by 15 per cent. In 1967 we were already nine times above the pre-war level; and now in five days alone we produce as much in the field of industry as was produced by Byelorussia before the Revolution in a whole year.

61. The constant rate of growth in our productivity is characteristic of the economy of the Byelorussian SSR in all the stages of socialist development. The average increase in production in the last seventeen years amounted to about 13 per cent per year. Per capita output of many types of industrial products in our Republic is higher than in many highly developed capitalist countries. In the last year, eighty-seven countries of the world bought our manufactured goods; among them automobiles, tractors, machine tools, electronic computers, agricultural and road-building equipment, watches and various other kinds of equipment.

62. In the past fifty years we have radically changed the conditions of life of the people. We have eliminated the exploitation of man by man, and everyone has guaranteed work, with constant increase in actual wages, free medical services, free educational and social services and free insurance.

63. The successes achieved by the Byelorussian SSR were made possible by the socialist system of our economy, thanks to the scientific determination of the main objectives and of the direction of development. The deep and all-round analysis and account of our experience could certainly facilitate the preparation of effective programmes for overcoming economic backwardness in the developing countries. Our whole experience bears witness to the possibility of increasing industrial production along socialist lines in practically thirty years by 73 times, and now there are much greater scientific and technological opportunities for development.

64. We cannot but be alarmed by the existing calculations according to which the countries of Africa, at the present

pace of their development, would require a hundred years to double their annual national per capita income, and three centuries to reach the contemporary level of development of European States.

65. It is quite obvious that everything has to be done in order to disprove such calculations and forecasts, so that the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists will not be able to make use of the economic backwardness of the developing countries as a source of exorbitant profits and ever-increasing enrichment by exploiting the natural wealth and resources of these countries. For that purpose, it is necessary to liquidate colonialism and neo-colonialism in all their forms and manifestations and put an end to the discriminatory system of international division of labour imposed upon the developing countries by the imperialists.

66. In their aspiration to economic development and social progress the young independent countries are not alone in their struggle against the imperialist world with its system of exploitation and pillage of countries and peoples, with its practice of inequitable exchange and one-sided agreements.

67. The developing countries can count on the support of all progressive forces of peace.

68. The Byelorussian people take an active part in the effort to develop the national economy of the young and independent countries. We also make voluntary contributions to the United Nations Development Programme. Unfortunately, the resources of that Programme are used in a very unsatisfactory manner by its directors.

69. We have a large number of foreign students, among them many citizens of developing countries. We organize seminars and study tours for specialists of the young States and this form of assistance is currently expanding. In 1964 in Minsk we had an interregional seminar of the United Nations on social aspects of industrialization. In 1968 we have already had three similar events, one of them being the interregional seminar of the United Nations on the siting of industrial enterprises and on regional development.

70. In rendering disinterested assistance to the development of the national economy of new and independent States, we cannot of course base our approach to this problem on the premise that our socialist State must give assistance equal to that given by those who are responsible for the present state of the economy of the developing countries and for the slow pace of their development, by those who for centuries pillaged and continue to pillage the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America but do not return the wealth that has been taken away from them.

71. In Asia, Africa and Latin America, the struggle of the peoples for social, political and economic liberation is constantly increasing. The Declaration adopted in 1960, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Resolution 1514 (XV)) gave an additional stimulus to the national liberation movements which have brought freedom and independence to many peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Since then twenty-six new sovereign States have appeared on the map of the world.

72. However in various parts of the world there are still bastions of colonialism. The peoples of Namibia, Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, Oman and other colonies continue to live in conditions of alien domination and enslavement.

73. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has still not been implemented fully because of the position taken up by the colonial Powers—Great Britain, the United States, Portugal, the Republic of South Africa, Australia and others—which are unwilling to implement the Declaration with respect to the remaining colonies.

74. With the direct support and protection of those States and the Federal Republic of Germany a consolidation of the most reactionary forces of colonialism and racism is taking place in the southern part of the African continent. There has been created a criminal triple alliance of South Africa and Southern Rhodesian racists and Portuguese colonialists, to whom the imperialists have assigned the main role in the struggle against the national liberation movement in Africa.

75. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples must be implemented immediately and unconditionally in respect of all colonial peoples and territories. It is necessary resolutely to condemn the nefarious activities of the international monopolies in the colonies and to work out the necessary measures to put an end to these activities. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development must be required to abrogate the loans and credits granted by it to Portugal and the Republic of South Africa since these are used for continuing the exploitation of the colonial peoples and the repression of the national liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies and Namibia and for the oppression of the African population in South Africa. We must resolutely condemn the use of military bases by the colonial Powers against the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and for acts of aggression against other countries and demand that the colonialists implement the decisions of the United Nations concerning the liquidation of these bases.

76. We condemn the attempts of the British colonialists to come to an agreement behind the back of the people of Zimbabwe with the leaders of a small group of rabid racists in Southern Rhodesia who have created an illegal and criminal racist régime and have deprived the 4 million indigenous inhabitants of Zimbabwe of their most elementary rights.

77. Our delegation considers it necessary that the United Nations should resolutely condemn and pronounce itself in favour of prohibition of the use of foreign mercenaries in colonial wars. The mercenaries of the colonialists commit criminal acts against enslaved peoples, that is, they are criminals. The recruitment training and use of mercenaries must be prohibited by law and be liable to punishment. It is undeniable that those who are guilty of using the mercenaries must be made fully responsible for payment of compensation for damages resulting from the use of these mercenaries against the peoples fighting for their liberation from colonialism and its consequences.

73. Ever since its creation my country has always been on the side of peoples fighting against any form of colonial oppression and for freedom and independence. Our support for national liberation movements and our struggle in the United Nations since its very inception for the liquidation of colonialism and its consequences has contributed to the birth of new and independent States which have now become Members of the United Nations. That is why we reject as completely unfounded and far-fetched the allegation of one speaker here that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are to blame for the fact that there are still colonial régimes in various countries. It is high time to understand that without the Great October Socialist Revolution, which started the process of liberation of peoples, without the Soviet Union and the victims which it has offered on the altar of the freedom of peoples, and without our support for the national liberation movements, that speaker would not have been able to come to this exalted rostrum of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

79. The Byelorussian SSR has always supported and will always support United Nations decisions designed to put an end to the shameful colonial system and will give its full support to the legitimate struggle of the peoples in colonial Territories for their freedom and independence.

80. The present session of the General Assembly faces many important problems to which we have already drawn attention. The time has also come to achieve the full implementation of the principle of universality of our Organization. It is indispensable for the United Nations to admit the two German States—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany—and to expel from the United Nations the men of Chiang Kai-shek and to restore the lawful rights of the Chinese People's Republic. It is also high time to put an end to the improper practice of bringing before the General Assembly such questions as the report of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, a Commission which we and some other countries propose to abolish. We have also asked that attention be concentrated on the question of the withdrawal of United States and all other foreign troops occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations. Moreover, this question should be debated and settled with the participation of representatives of the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

81. The Byelorussian SSR is one of the founding Members of the United Nations. Our Republic has taken an active part in working out the Charter of the United Nations and in carrying out its high principles and objectives. Guided in its activities by the Leninist principles of the peace and freedom of peoples, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR in the sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations and other international organizations has bent all its efforts towards maintaining and strengthening peace, towards solving the problem of general and complete disarmament, towards liquidating the shameful colonialist system, and towards creating favourable conditions for the social and economic progress of the peoples of the world.

82. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): It was with deep regret that we learned of the surgical operation undergone by the President of the General Assembly, and we seize this

opportunity to wish him a speedy recovery. We all consider Mr. Arenales an outstanding exponent of Latin American culture and thereby share with his own people a common heritage. We have no doubt that his high qualifications and the wide experience he has had in international affairs will contribute to guiding our deliberations in the best traditions of this Organization.

83. I should also like to take this opportunity to thank the past President of the General Assembly, the Foreign Minister of Romania, Mr. Manescu, for having guided the last session of the General Assembly with singular ability, tact and dignity.

84. It is with deep pleasure that I welcome Swaziland, the new sister African State, which has recently joined our Organization.

85. My thanks and greetings would be incomplete were I not to mention the noble role of U Thant, the Secretary-General, who has continuously laboured with courage in his endeavour to remind the Member States that the *raison d'être* of this Organization is the maintenance of world peace.

86. The acute conflicts in the world today do not augur well for the universal brotherhood of man. In 1945 hopes were high in San Francisco that the United Nations would not repeat the serious mistakes of the League of Nations, which led to the Second World War. In 1945 a renewed hope loomed on the horizon. Today we shudder to think that we may be on the threshold of another world conflict. There seem to be striking similarities between the underlying forces that prevailed in the late thirties and those of the late sixties which may shatter our fondest hope for universal peace.

87. The cause for alarm lies in the fact that those States which exercise tremendous power do not desist from subordinating the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter to the promotion of their own national interests. Similar behaviour on the part of the great Powers in the late thirties led to the disintegration of the League of Nations. I was in Western Europe then and observed the work of the League of Nations and I feel I am justified in making these comparisons.

88. Any policy of expediency and rationalization which may be promulgated under such terms as compromise or political solution would inevitably fail to establish even the semblance of world peace. Unless compromise and political solutions are based on justice, and only on justice, the fate of the United Nations will be at stake, and no one will be in a position to assure us that our Organization will not flounder as the League of Nations did before it.

89. Inasmuch as at one time a good number of Member States deplored the abuse of the veto in the Security Council, many of us today are aware of a tendency to take Council decisions by consensus whenever the great Powers shun assuming a position based on justice. Hence consensus may in many cases prove to be as unsatisfactory as the abuse of the veto, if not more so. This relatively recent practice of arriving at a consensus in the Security Council, quite often at the expense of reaching a right solution, has

been utilized to evade justice on the one hand and avoid a serious confrontation, especially between the super-Powers, on the other hand.

90. It is true that many political problems today are of such a complex nature, involving all kinds of conflicting interests, that it is not easy in an Organization like ours to find simple solutions. Nevertheless, we do know that since the First World War any problem arbitrarily dealt with by the great Powers without observing the fundamental principles, whether they were enshrined in the League of Nations Covenant or the United Nations Charter, ultimately led to serious trouble in the world.

91. One of these fundamental principles of the League of Nations Covenant, which has eventually evolved into a fundamental right, is that of self-determination of peoples and nations. The flouting of the right of self-determination at the Conference of Versailles in 1919 sowed the seeds of the Second World War. There is no guarantee that the flouting of the right of self-determination today may not likewise cause the eruption of a third world war, especially when that right has been trodden underfoot in a critical area, such as Palestine, which lies astride three continents.

92. The United Nations committed one of the most dangerous errors when, by a slim majority, exacted through great pressure on the part of certain Western and Eastern Powers, it recommended the partition of Palestine [181 (II)] and, in so doing, totally ignored the right of the majority of the indigenous people of that country to exercise their sovereign rights.

93. It would be a waste of time to argue the Palestine question from this rostrum, as indeed it has become common knowledge that those Zionists who laid claim to Palestine were an alien people that belonged to many nationalities, mostly from Eastern Europe. Their claim has always been spurious on religious and historical grounds—spurious because the majority of these Zionists were converted to Judaism between the seventh and ninth centuries, as is attested by the Jewish Encyclopaedia. Hence, these people, although they embraced a Semitic religion, were no more Semites than a Christian Scotsman or a Christian Scandinavian whose religion is of Semitic origin.

94. Furthermore, the indigenous people of Palestine lived on the land even before they were arabized and, no doubt, some of them may have been of the Jewish faith. In fact, there were Jews in Palestine whose heritage of culture, language and traditions was Arab before political Zionism was conceived in the mind of an Eastern European Jew. These Oriental Jews had always lived at peace with their brothers, as they too had been arabized.

95. The argument that Palestine belongs to the Zionist Jews because Judaism flourished in that area three thousand years ago is, therefore, invalid. Palestine is also the cradle of Christianity and equally holy to Muslims. Do the Christian nations lay any political claim to Palestine on the grounds of religion? The answer is a simple "no". Why should Zionist Jews then, whose real homeland lies in Eastern Europe, at least mostly so, claim title to Palestine on the grounds of their religion? The only people to whom

Palestine really belongs to the people who have lived there regardless of the religious faith they belonged to. The Arab people of Palestine amounted to 94 per cent of the entire population in 1919, when they were betrayed and placed under a Mandate by the Allied Powers, instead of being treated on an equal basis with other Arab Territories that were also placed under mandates and eventually attained total independence.

96. It is an anachronism to make a nationality out of a religion. It is indeed an anachronism, in this twentieth century, to make a nationality out of a religion. There are many Christian nations represented here, or at least their religion is Christian because there is a separation between State and church, and I ask, do Christians all over the world consider themselves as belonging to one single nation? Do Muslims all over the world consider themselves as belonging to one single modern State? Do the followers of Buddhism—and there are many Buddhists amongst us here—and other major religions for that matter claim to belong to one single State or nation? No. Only the Zionists, regrettably, claim that it is imperative for all Jews, regardless of their ethnic origin, to become one and only one single nation. I say “regrettably”, because we know a good number of Jews in many parts of the world who identify themselves with their countries of birth or adoption and do not consider themselves as belonging to a single Jewish State. I say “regrettably” because the Zionists, by claiming that all Jews should eventually and ultimately belong to one State, are creating a world Jewish problem which, due to the influence Zionists wield in many countries, may one day throw the world into a third world war.

97. The Palestine question has been consistently considered as one stemming from the conflict between Israel, which usurped Palestine, and the Arab countries, especially those contiguous with Israel. In dealing with this problem in various organs of the United Nations, quite often the Palestinian people have been sadly neglected in so far as their sovereignty and political rights are concerned. The emphasis in the United Nations has been mostly on how to keep the Palestinian refugees alive on six or seven cents a day per person, herded in camps as they are, whilst their homes and land and other possessions have been expropriated by the Zionists from Eastern Europe—all this under the banner of Judaism, a noble religion.

98. The fact that these refugees reside in camps and subsist on a pittance, and are dispersed, as some of the Palestinians have been, outside refugee camps, does not rob them of their sovereignty and political rights, whether this Organization exists or does not exist. Sovereignty resides in the people. Nobody can rob a people of its sovereignty unless that people is erased. Can they erase two million Palestinians? Let them try. That will start a third world war, I assure you. Mr. President, it is not a question of what you and I want; it is that two million and more Palestinians wish to see that they are not robbed of their sovereign rights.

99. The Palestine question, therefore, does not revolve only around the state of war that exists between Israel and the Arab countries, but also around whether any Power or group of Powers in this United Nations is able, once and for

all, to kill the aspirations and the deep yearning of the Palestine people on the whole to return to their own homeland.

100. It is my duty to make the Member States of the United Nations aware that, should any solution based on expediency be imposed on the Middle East without cognizance being taken of the sovereignty and political rights of the indigenous people of Palestine, it will be doomed to failure. The Palestine patriots, called “terrorists” by Eastern European Zionists who usurped their homeland, cannot be suppressed. They are no different from any other freedom fighters in Europe or elsewhere who maintained their struggle under the most dire circumstances.

101. Those who believe that the establishment of Israel is a *fait accompli* should not ignore the lessons of history in the area. Conquerors have come and conquerors have gone, but the indigenous people, regardless of their religious beliefs, have remained in Palestine. Time is the best judge, and unless the whole of mankind commits suicide, time will demonstrate that the Palestine people will come into their own, perhaps not in the very near future but not at some very distant date either.

102. Indeed, any consensus—I return here to the matter of consensus, whether it is in the Security Council or in any other organ of the United Nations—any consensus, indeed, among the major Powers—and the lesser Powers, for that matter—that does not render justice to a people like the Palestinian people may spell the disintegration of the United Nations, all the more so because Palestine lies in one of the most sensitive strategic areas of the globe.

103. I remember—you are young, Mr. President, but I remember, although I was a child—it took one bullet at Sarajevo to start the First World War. But you do remember, Sir, and many here remember that the marching of Hitler into the narrow strip called the Polish Corridor started the Second World War. You remember that, Sir. We all remember that. I submit that the situation in the Middle East is fraught with no less danger. Let this be a warning. My hair is grey; I have seen a lot. Let this be a warning.

104. I repeat, the situation in the Middle East is fraught with no less danger. More than bullets is flying around in the Holy Land. Let us not persuade ourselves, erroneously, that the patriots and freedom-fighters can be stopped or deterred in an area where misjudgement of the forces at play may abruptly lead to a third world conflagration.

105. If I have not so far mentioned the Holy City of Jerusalem it is because my Government considers it part and parcel of the Palestinian homeland. However, I must mention again that Jerusalem is considered as holy as Mecca and Medina not only by Arabs, regardless of their religion, but by all Muslims the world over. The Zionists' claim that Jerusalem is also holy to Jews does not give them any political rights to that city. I say “political rights”; they have religious rights as does any other monotheistic religion to which Jerusalem is holy. If the number of adherents to any religion is to be the criterion for political rights to Jerusalem, let us not forget that there are over a thousand million Christians and about 600 million Muslims in the world.

106. Since the adventure of the Crusaders, the remnants of whom ultimately were assimilated and became part of the indigenous people of the Middle East, no Christian country, as such, nor the hierarchy of any Christian denomination, has laid claim to Jerusalem because it was the cradle of Christianity. Christian nations all over the world have accepted the concept that Jerusalem should belong to the indigenous people who have resided in it for centuries. Likewise, no Muslim State ever laid claim to Jerusalem because of its holiness to Islam. By dint of what logic, or by what yardstick of justice, do the Zionist Jews claim political rights to Jerusalem, when the number of Jews does not exceed 17 million in the world; all the more so when the majority of those 17 million are nationals of many modern States and do not consider Israel as their country, as then they would indeed suffer from the conflict of dual nationality? And since when are the Eastern European Zionists more pious and devout than the majority of Jews who do not wish to claim Israel as their fatherland? We have come to realize that Zionism is indeed a movement which, unfortunately, has used Judaism, a noble religion, as a motivation for a political and economic end.

107. Since the usurpation of Jerusalem by the Zionists, it is becoming an attraction for tourists rather than exclusively a place for piety and reverence. We have been told—indeed we have read despatches to the effect—that cabarets and dance-halls have been established in the Holy City to lure all kinds of tourists with a view to filling the coffers of the Zionist authorities. This what Jerusalem has come to. Never in the history of Jerusalem have there been cabarets, dance-halls, go-go swingers, miniskirts, and what-not.

108. I would be remiss in my duty were I not to repeat again and again that there can be no peace in Palestine if the aspirations of the indigenous people remain unfulfilled—and by “indigenous people” I mean the people of Palestine regardless of their religion.

109. It was with great misgiving and indeed with deep dismay that we learned of the decision that the Government of the United States of America has undertaken to sell or donate a substantial number of Phantom jets to Israel, whose troops still occupy Arab territories and whose authorities have illegally annexed the Holy City of Jerusalem in contravention of United Nations resolutions. That decision on the part of the United States Government will no doubt alienate Arab peoples, as a whole, from the United States and make it more difficult for the Arab peoples and Governments not to question the consistent partiality which the United States has always manifested, to the detriment of the mutual interests of the Arabs and the United States. I hope the representative of the United States is here listening to what I am saying. The lights are too glaring—I cannot see all the representatives in this Hall. Perhaps he is listening to the radio if he is not here.

110. Inasmuch as we consider the aggression in Palestine as a stark form of colonialism fraught with great dangers, as we have mentioned, we should not forget the repressive measures committed by alien forces against the indigenous people of various parts of Africa. The people who have lived under the Mandate of South Africa do not seem to

have a chance to attain full nationhood unless the Mandatory Power—I should say the “erstwhile” Mandatory Power—recognizes their right to self-determination and accelerates the process leading to their independence.

111. We do not believe that economic sanctions are enough to compel South Africa and Southern Rhodesia to pursue a policy of liberating the people under their yoke. On the other hand, the highly developed countries—I do not have to name them—are not willing to use force on the grounds that persuasion might be the better part of wisdom for bringing about the desired ends. This lack of positive action is engendering a legitimate bitterness against those highly developed Powers, which, because of the special vested interests they have in both South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, are reluctant to go beyond making pious declarations. They say: “Oh, we want them to evacuate. We want those forces to liberate.” It is all double talk. It is understandable that national interests often dictate the policies of States, large and small, but if such policies are in contravention of the fundamental principles of the Charter, should the United Nations give up the search for effective measures to bring about a just solution?

112. There are other means than pious declarations to attain the proper goal. I am afraid that emotions are running so high in Africa as well as in Asia that in the not-too-distant future arms will be smuggled in and these will be utilized in guerilla warfare against the ruling authorities. Such a situation, which may arise, would indeed be deplorable, because it would entail loss of life and a great deal of destruction. It is therefore hoped that the authorities in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia—and I am speaking to them in a friendly way—will not remain obdurate in pursuing a policy which one day may subvert their very existence in Africa.

113. We have an Arabic proverb which says “An eye cannot fight with an awl”—an awl is an instrument with which leather is bored. The people of Africa will become that awl and the poor Rhodesians—I say “poor Rhodesians” because it is their authorities who are responsible—and the poor South Africans will be that eye. Not now, but in the future. Let us hope therefore that they will think of a solution that will bring peace to that continent in the future.

114. Year in, year out, the United Nations has condemned all forms of racial discrimination, but *apartheid* is still prevalent in South Africa. We sincerely hope that South Africa will abolish such practices which, without a shadow of a doubt, will create dangerous tensions that may lead to sanguinary conflicts with repercussions in Africa, Asia and other continents.

115. We also hope that Portugal, which has dominated large areas of Africa, will see the light and feel the winds of change that may—and not in the distant future—turn into a hurricane. It is indeed strange that a small State like Portugal should ignore the lessons of history. Erstwhile colonial Powers—mighty colonial Powers—have relinquished their possessions in Africa and elsewhere. How could Portugal, small Portugal, were it not for the Powers behind it, beguile itself into thinking that it can retain territories

whose indigenous people are clamouring for independence? It is a question of time. Although, I must admit, Portugal is less racially minded than were the former European colonial Powers, we believe it is in Portugal's interest as well as that of the multi-racial elements residing in Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea (Bissau) to identify themselves with the movement for political independence with due regard to economic ties with the metropolitan State—we do not want Africa to suffer. It took a great statesman of the century, General de Gaulle, to recognize that Algeria was not a province of France. We hope that Portugal will produce a similar statesman and a lot of bloodshed will be avoided. If Europe could produce such a great statesman as de Gaulle, we should not lose hope that Portugal will see the light of wisdom.

116. We are not unmindful of the armaments race, which more than ever is endangering the peace of the whole world. The conventional weapons used in the Second World War caused such a massive loss of life and treasure that one would have thought that the havoc wrought would be a sufficient deterrent to the creation of more advanced lethal weapons. Unfortunately, man seems to suffer from a short memory. The arsenals of the major Powers are replete with the most sophisticated engines of war—not to speak of chemical, bacteriological and other secret weapons which may very well bring about the end of human and animal life on this earth; and maybe vegetable life too—I have heard that there are certain bombs that are used to kill vegetable life also. Fear is far from being a safe deterrent to the deployment of these weapons. On the contrary, fear may give rise to spontaneous panic, and panic may inevitably hasten the release of the wild demons of total warfare.

117. The only practical solution leading to disarmament is a genuine change of heart—and not resolutions and debates in the United Nations. Words, words, words, as Hamlet said. I repeat: the only practical solution leading to disarmament is a genuine change of heart among the leaders of the major Powers, instead of protracted negotiations for writing international treaties which cover only partial disarmament in various stages—one stage after the other. Such treaties cannot possibly keep pace with the armaments race. And many of us, representatives of small States, sincerely believe that time is running short.

118. As to the observance of human rights, I must say that hardly any fundamental human rights can be respected in time of war. Therefore, we should co-ordinate our endeavours to protect human rights with the earnest will to abolish war. Only the major Powers can bring about world peace, by concerted acts rather than by high-sounding declarations that their weapons are being stockpiled for self-defence or for preventing war. Whom do they think they are fooling? “Self-defence” and “for preventing war”:

that has been said time and again, and we have witnessed two world wars. Weapons are being stockpiled for “self-defence”! Nowadays, when wars—modern wars—break out, thousands of miles away from those waging them, what kind of self-defence is it? It is to stretch our imaginations immeasurably to think of self-defence in such terms.

119. But nobody believes any longer that wars are fought “to save democracy”, or to save an ideology, for that matter. Youngsters are rebelling in the streets in many countries of the world today. The hypocrites of my generation have been unmasked—and that is all to the good—but people should not go to extremes. The younger generation of today is rebelling all over the world because it can no longer be taken in by such hackneyed slogans as “war to end war”, “war to save democracy” and so forth. The younger generation—and good for it—has awakened, and it is going to rise as one generation, regardless of nationalities, to abolish war, and I hope this happens before I die.

120. Other polemics used by politicians all over the world—and their number is legion—include assertions like “preventive war”, “just war”, and similar terms which no intelligent youngster in his innermost heart believes; nor do we adults believe such terms any longer. To sum up, war is war, and that is that. No wonder that people at large nowadays expect their leaders to become real statesmen and are increasingly decrying the blunders of politicians, which they cannot afford if humanity is to survive.

121: I do not wish to be unduly repetitious, but since an indisposition has prevented Mr. Sakkaf from delivering this speech, I should like to recall on his behalf, before bringing my statement to a close, some observations that I have made at previous sessions, from this rostrum, about economic and social development in Saudi Arabia.

122. I might mention that further progress has been achieved under the guidance of His Majesty King Faisal and with the co-operation of the Saudi people. More progress in many fields would have been achieved had it not been for the fact that the critical situation in the Middle East is preventing us from deploying all our energy and resources to pave the way for additional welfare services which it is the sacred duty of my Government to provide, in accordance with Islamic law. We do sincerely pray that God the Creator of the universe will ultimately inspire us all to follow the righteous path that will ultimately lead to peace and brotherhood on earth.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.