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**President: Mr. Emilio ARENALES (Guatemala).**

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Ignatieff (Canada), Vice-President, took the chair.*

**Message from the President of the General Assembly**

1. The PRESIDENT: Before the Assembly takes up the item on its agenda for this morning, I should like to read the following telegram, dated 24 October 1968, which has been received from the President of the General Assembly. This telegram is addressed to Mr. Alexandre J. Ohin, Vice-President of the General Assembly of the United Nations, and reads as follows:

"Deeply moved and grateful for the affectionate wishes of yourself and all the representatives in the General Assembly. Hope to resume my duties as President very shortly and feel even more obliged for the sympathy that you have shown me. Meanwhile, I congratulate you on the effective way in which you have carried on the activities of the General Assembly, and I join with you in spirit today when the peoples of our international community are celebrating United Nations Day as a beacon of hope and guidance for the world.

*"(Signed) Emilio ARENALES"*

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

2. Mr. HUNLEDE (Togo) (*translated from French*): Before giving this Assembly my Government's views on the specific problems which are causing concern to the United Nations, I should first like to join previous speakers from this rostrum in extending warmest congratulations to Mr. Emilio Arenales on his election as President of this session of the General Assembly. His personal qualities and the high standing of his country in the United Nations fully justify his being chosen. No one can doubt that under his enlightened guidance the twenty-third session of our General Assembly will be a success. My delegation offers its

sincere good wishes to Mr. Arenales for his speedy and complete recovery.

3. I must also pay a special tribute to his predecessor, Mr. Corneliu Manescu, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Romania; we had an opportunity of appreciating his great kindness, tact and skill when he presided over the twenty-second session.

4. I cannot pass over in silence the untiring efforts of U Thant, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in the cause of world peace. I should like to assure him of the high esteem in which my Government holds him.

5. I should like to take this opportunity of thanking the delegations present for the signal honour done to my country by electing it one of the Vice-Presidents of this session. The delegation of Togo will not fail to make its modest contribution in the search for solutions to the many problems on the agenda of this Assembly.

6. In the name of the people and Government of Togo, I welcome our brother country, Swaziland, which has just taken its place in the great United Nations family. At a time when the Organization of African Unity has decided to intensify the struggle against the enemies of the total liberation of our continent, Togo is proud of this new victory over colonialism.

7. One of the primary objectives of the United Nations is to lead peoples towards self-determination. Yet in Angola, in Mozambique and in so-called Portuguese Guinea, millions of Africans are still living under foreign domination, despite the many resolutions adopted here with a view to putting an end to this shameful and anachronistic practice. In Rhodesia, the white minority continues to impose its will on the black majority, and so offers a contemptuous challenge to the United Nations. In South Africa *apartheid* is being carried to more dangerous lengths. The Pretoria authorities still deny to the United Nations the right to lead Namibia to self-determination. Such situations can only endanger the peace which the world needs so much. For this reason my Government appeals urgently to the great Powers to contribute more effectively to the solution of these problems.

8. The situation in Nigeria continues to cause great concern in my country. At a time when every African State should be working for the unity of their continent, it is inconceivable that internal divisions should appear in those States whose national unity is a prerequisite for the unity of Africa as a whole. For this reason my Government is opposed to secession in any African country. We are, of course, aware that there is a human side to this war. But war being what it is, the best way to putting an end to it is

for those who caused it to renounce it and to seek a peaceful solution to their problem. The recent resolution [AHE/Res.54(v)] passed by the Organization of African Unity at Algiers<sup>1</sup> should induce the secessionist province to seek a compromise with the Federal Government. In any case, the unity of Nigeria must be preserved.

9. My Government is not unmindful of the other international problems.

10. It is becoming urgently necessary to find a definitive solution to the Middle East problem. The parties engaged in this conflict are at present taking advantage of the cease-fire to obtain more arms, and it is to be feared that there will be a further clash as soon as they have replenished the stocks which were destroyed. The great Powers who are supplying arms to the States concerned should use their good offices to ensure that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) is put into effect, thus bringing about "a just and lasting peace" in the Middle East.

11. The war in Viet-Nam, with all its slaughter and misery, continues to be a subject of concern. Last year my country advocated a complete cessation of bombing followed by negotiations. Although we are glad to see that negotiations between the two sides have begun in Paris, we deplore the continuation of bombing, even on a reduced scale, when a total halt could have contributed to the success of these negotiations. We can only renew our appeal to both sides to ensure that these long-awaited negotiations lead to satisfactory results.

12. Recent events in Central Europe have been universally condemned. In my Government's view a sovereign country has a right to choose its own line of political development. Failure to recognize this important attribute of sovereignty is a blow to the very principle of self-determination, the essential basis of the United Nations Charter.

13. The German problem is still a source of concern to my Government; for historical reasons it could not be otherwise. My Government reaffirms that this painful problem can be solved only through self-determination for the German people as a whole.

14. With regard to disarmament, my Government welcomes the conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)]. My Government feels that this Treaty, despite its shortcomings, is a step towards general and complete disarmament, the indispensable guarantee of world peace.

15. Another equally important requirement for peace is the close economic co-operation that should exist between the Member countries of the United Nations.

16. The main concern of new States like my own on achieving independence is development. We welcomed the idea and the proclaiming of the United Nations Development Decade all the more because it showed that the developed countries had become aware of our manifold and

complex development problems, and demonstrated their desire to help us to solve them. The decade is drawing to a close, but we are bound to admit that the results have been far short of what it had been hoped to achieve.

17. The New Delhi Conference,<sup>2</sup> which had awakened so many hopes, was also a disappointment to the developing countries. The developed countries did not show in sufficient measure the understanding and political will which are essential for the specific commitments which should result from such an important conference. Nothing was done to improve our countries' share of world trade, to give them better access to world markets, or to stabilize those markets. No positive steps were planned for increasing commercial aid and promoting the conclusion of commodity agreements, which are a decisive factor in the development of most of the poorer countries. The 1968 International Coffee Agreement certainly played an important part in stabilizing prices for this commodity, but we regret that, so far, it has proved impossible to conclude a similar agreement on cocoa owing to the lack of a spirit of co-operation among the main consuming countries. All these disappointments are due solely to the fact that the rich countries do not do all they could to come to the aid of the Third World.

18. Yet it is not right that within this great family of nations the richer members should leave other countries, which are not entirely responsible for the difficulties confronting them, to their fate. However, we should not dwell too much on these crippling disappointments; in the last analysis, they should encourage us to seek better means of arriving at more fruitful international co-operation.

19. The lessons learned from the first Development Decade, and a realistic assessment of the situation at the national or regional economic level, should help us to evolve a global development strategy with more chance of success. We think that it is also essential to take all necessary steps to protect the interests of the developing countries and to normalize world trade in the spirit of the principles adopted by the first conference at Geneva in 1964.<sup>3</sup>

20. The problem of hunger throughout the world is closely linked to the problems of development. Malnutrition, whose distressing effects are felt over vast areas of the earth, causes us to share the deep concern of the Organization at the serious world protein problem. It is because my country is aware of this problem that it has sponsored the draft resolution [A/7405, para. 15] in which the General Assembly calls for an increase in the production and use of edible protein. My Government hopes that the Secretary-General will give careful attention to this problem with a view to bringing about very close co-operation between Governments and the various specialized agencies. Togo, for its part, is ready to co-operate in any measures which might lead to the elimination of the danger caused by the world protein problem.

21. The problems submitted to the United Nations are numerous and complex. They cannot be solved unless

<sup>1</sup> Fifth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held from 13 to 16 September 1968.

<sup>2</sup> Second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 1 February-29 March 1968.

<sup>3</sup> First session of the Conference, 23 March-16 June 1964.

Member States can endow the Organization with all the authority it needs to solve them. The United Nations will be what its Member States make it. It is therefore important that all countries, large and small, rich and poor, should do everything possible to strengthen its authority.

22. You may rest assured that Togo, as always, will contribute to this joint effort.

23. Mr. ODAKA (Uganda): I want to start by congratulating the distinguished Foreign Minister of Guatemala on being elected President of the General Assembly and its twenty-third session. We are very sorry to learn of his illness and we wish him a speedy recovery. I should also like to express thanks to the outgoing President for the work he did for this Assembly.

24. We in Africa understand the meaning of what it is to gain independence and to be free from colonialism. Last month, in Algiers, we were happy to admit Mauritius and Swaziland to the membership of the Organization of African Unity. We are equally happy to see Equatorial Guinea gain its independence from Spain. The accession to independence of the States I have referred to is a significant and positive step in the area of decolonization. It is a process that goes to fulfil one of the fundamental objectives of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations: that is, to fight colonialism and to help all the peoples of the world to become independent.

25. You may recall that the representative of the United Kingdom, while sponsoring the candidature of Swaziland for membership of this Organization, claimed that Swaziland was its last colony in Africa, thus deliberately forgetting that Rhodesia is a British colony. We in Uganda cannot accept that contention and in my statement I will spend some time discussing this burning issue.

26. Uganda continues to be disturbed by the situation in Rhodesia. The fact that three years have passed since the unilateral declaration of independence is a challenge to the United Nations. The result of the United Kingdom's refusal to use force is clear to all of us. The experiment with economic sanctions has lasted long enough and has failed. The United Nations should not be so preoccupied with sanctions that it loses sight of the desired end. Our goal is to see a free independent Zimbabwe under majority rule. This goal must determine the nature of the measures that we adopt. The comprehensive mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council have failed to bring down the illegal régime in Rhodesia. On the contrary, in the absence of more effective measures Smith and his racist régime have grown from strength to strength and he now talks with even greater confidence. Uganda still believes that the United Kingdom has no excuse whatsoever for not using force to crush the rebellion. We call on her to remember that the fulfilment of her pledge to the people of Zimbabwe is a responsibility she must not shirk. Britain is committed to the principle of no independence before majority African rule and this pledge should be fulfilled immediately by any means, including the use of force.

27. Our apprehension with regard to the United Kingdom's attitude towards her responsibilities to the African people of Zimbabwe has been confirmed particularly by the

recent talks between Mr. Wilson and Smith on the *Fearless*. In those talks, serious issues of principle were in question. During those talks certain proposals were made by Britain to Smith. Smith has now indicated that these proposals are generally acceptable to his régime. We now know also that these proposals amount to very serious concessions of principle by Britain. First, the cardinal principle of no independence before majority African rule is being cast overboard. Secondly, what has all along been known to be a rebellion is now being systematically legalized. We say that these are the two matters at issue which can be sacrificed only with serious consequences. We see now that Britain is going step by step to repeat once more what she did in 1910 when she callously sealed the fate of millions of Africans in South Africa under dubious pledges and thus created the situation that has given rise to *apartheid* and all the problems we now face in southern Africa. We hear of pledges, including the requirement to refer any constitutional changes in Rhodesia to the Privy Council. In a similar way pledges were made in 1910 and all of us know what happened to them. The pledges now being given are not worth the paper they are written on. The principle that must be upheld is one of no independence before majority African rule. Without that, all the other pledges are worthless and cannot save the Africans from perpetual servitude under *apartheid*. Since the unilateral declaration of independence, legislation in Rhodesia has shown quite clearly that the Smith régime is determined to go the *apartheid* way. I wish to reiterate that we in Uganda can never accept any solution of the Rhodesian problem which is not based on majority African rule. We consider that the developments arising from the talks on the *Fearless* warrant immediate re-examination of the Rhodesian question by the Security Council.

28. Looking at the map of Africa, it is now quite evident that the real confrontation between independent Africa and the forces of colonialism is about to start. We have stated time and again and we now wish to reiterate that the situation in southern Africa is deteriorating very fast and constitutes a threat to international peace and security. The *apartheid* policy of South Africa, the colonial régime of Portugal and the racist minority régime in Rhodesia, all of which are backed by deadly conventional weapons, clearly demonstrate the danger the neighbouring independent African States are facing. The threat to peace in Africa is real. There is new and concrete evidence of a determined thrust northwards by those in the unholy alliance in southern Africa. The border areas of independent African States are being bombed, people are being kidnapped and threats are being made to invade independent Africa. The stage is being prepared for a racial war which will have disastrous consequences for the continent. We call upon the Security Council, therefore, to act to remove this threat.

29. Apart from colonialism, Africa's other, twin preoccupation is economic development. We are striving to raise the standards of living of our people and in this task we are accelerating the pace of industrial development and diversifying our agriculture. We also believe strongly in regional co-operation and we are pleased to say that the East African Community, which was formed last year, is becoming stronger and is already yielding benefits to partner States. Furthermore our neighbours have expressed interest in this challenging experiment and some have

applied to join. We welcome this development and hope that the negotiations which are already in progress will be fruitful, to the mutual benefit of us all.

30. In spite of our efforts, however, the world economic situation is such that numerous obstacles hinder our development. It is disappointing to note that there has been hardly any progress made by UNCTAD to remove the trade barriers and to improve the terms of trade of the developing countries. High protective tariffs militate against our exports. Discriminatory policies against our manufactures still exist. Commodity agreements for primary products such as coffee are not working to the full advantage of the producer countries, because the interests of the consumer developed countries take precedence.

31. The flow of capital to the developing countries is still inadequate, and the conditions under which it is procured place burdens on the economies of the recipient countries. Furthermore, the insistence of donor countries that recipient countries should use the funds which they obtain to import goods from the former raises the costs of projects, discourages local industries, and also results in the abandonment or postponement of some priority projects which may have a high local cost element. It distorts priorities and nullifies the whole rationale of our planning. The debt burden weighs heavily upon the economies of recipient countries. Moreover, interests on loans are inequitably high and repayment terms are unfavourable. The matter is further aggravated by the anomalies that exist in the technical assistance which we receive.

32. Many of the experts sent to us have little knowledge of our problems and come with preconceived ideas on how best to deal with them. The work that these experts carry out in our countries is also often unnecessarily academic and it does not take into account the reality and urgency of our needs. In order to attain our goals, therefore, it is necessary to change what has always been a donor-centred arrangement into one in which the interests of the recipient countries are paramount.

33. Our needs are a greater flow of capital on more equitable terms, an improved world market, remunerative terms of trade and technical experts who understand and sympathize with our aspirations. All these needs can be fulfilled only if the international institutions which operate in these fields are reoriented and given a new and meaningful mandate. I have dealt at some length with the most urgent problems facing Africa and I now wish to make some reference to the other matters of world concern which previous speakers have touched upon. My delegation will cover these subjects more extensively in the Committees.

34. I should like now to turn to the situation in the Middle East. My Government deeply regrets that no permanent solution has as yet been found to the problem in that area. The situation is still explosive and a full-scale war could erupt at any moment. We have always believed, and we should like to restate, that no progress will be possible unless and until the parties concerned are prepared to change the policies governing their relationship with each other. We believe that as a first step to a lasting solution Israel should withdraw from occupied territories, as called

for by the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)]. We must also restate the principle that the territorial integrity of all countries in the area must be respected. We welcome the efforts so far made in this direction by the Secretary-General's envoy, Ambassador Jarring. We urge, therefore, that no effort should be spared in the search for a permanent solution.

35. Once more I wish to refer to the Viet-Nam conflict. The war in Viet-Nam must come to an end if international peace is to be preserved. This war has led not only to the destruction of life and property in Viet-Nam, but also to the unnecessary waste of valuable resources which could have been utilized for peaceful economic development to the advantage of mankind. While we welcome the talks in Paris as a step in the right direction, we regret that, so far, no breakthrough is in sight. A sense of urgency must be brought to bear on the negotiations. We still hope that these deliberations will yield a lasting solution to the Viet-Nam tragedy.

36. As in the past, we are still convinced that the People's Republic of China should take its rightful place in this Organization. Without the representation of the People's Republic of China in this Organization, there cannot be a solution to the problem of disarmament, without which there cannot be lasting peace.

37. The question of disarmament has been the subject of intense discussion both here and in Geneva. In these negotiations the interests of the non-nuclear Powers have not been adequately covered. This was one of the major drawbacks of the Treaty on non-proliferation. Moreover, disarmament negotiations have centred on nuclear weapons without paying enough attention to the very grave danger posed by conventional weapons. The question of security guarantees, in our view, should be considered in relation to both nuclear and conventional weapons.

38. Mr. GEGHMAN (Yemen):<sup>4</sup> Mr. President, allow me first to extend through you to His Excellency Mr. Emilio Arenales my most sincere wishes for his speedy recovery and early return to preside over our deliberations. I wish also to extend, through you, Sir, my delegation's heartfelt congratulations to Mr. Arenales for the honour and trust which our Assembly deservedly bestowed upon him by electing him to its Presidency. In his person I congratulate his friendly country, Guatemala, and the whole Latin American group.

39. On this occasion may I extend greetings to His Excellency Mr. Corneliu Manescu, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Romania, who presided over the General Assembly's twenty-second session with mastery, integrity and great wisdom.

40. And it gives me great pleasure to mention here with deep respect and admiration our Secretary-General, U Thant, whose efforts and dedication are a source of hope and inspiration.

41. The people of the Yemen Arab Republic, which put an end to the outmoded and oppressive rule of the imamate

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Gekhman spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.



theocracy and established the Republic by its 1962 revolution, has since been engaged in a long and fierce war, a war forced upon it by reactionary and counter-revolutionary forces in collaboration with international imperialism and its huge oil monopolies. The enemies of human progress have subjected our revolution to savage attacks, our Republic to wide international conspiracies, and our very capital to a long siege. All efforts of these interventions were doomed to failure. Our revolution triumphed, our Republic lives and our people go on with faith and determination towards a better life.

42. We in Yemen feel proud and look to the future with great optimism due to the success which we were able to achieve in the last six years since the revolution, particularly in the economic field. National income has increased, agricultural production has doubled, and in some crops, as cotton for instance, production has more than tripled. Important industries have been introduced for the first time into Yemen with the aim of giving our country the greatest amount of self-sufficiency. Some industrial projects, such as textiles, phosphorus, cigarettes and mineral water industries, are already in the stage of production. Also, for the first time, modern banking and financing methods have been adopted. The Yemen Bank for Reconstruction and Development has played a great role in introducing new avenues of co-operation between the public and the private sectors in industry and trade. Great attention has been directed towards agriculture. Several important projects of reclamation, irrigation and model plantation are in the stage of execution in co-operation with friendly countries, and one project in co-operation with the United Nations.

43. Big strides have also been made in the field of education. Hundreds of modern schools were opened, teachers and instructors were brought to the country, and thousands of young Yemenis were sent abroad for higher and vocational education. Scores of hospitals and medical centers with modern equipment and efficient doctors and medical personnel are now in operation. Clean water and electricity and public services and facilities are provided. Roads were built and the reconstruction plan of the country is going on at a reasonable if not yet satisfactory pace. But most important of all, the Yemenis are living today under their constitution and laws and enjoying full freedom and human rights of which they were deprived under the rule of the reactionary and outmoded imamate. This in our opinion is the greatest and most important achievement of our people, resulting directly from the establishment of the Republic. These achievements have been made despite the fact that ours is a war economy, where the bulk of the national income goes for defence. Our people have to build with one hand and defend their country, their Republic and their revolutionary gains with the other.

44. Despite the withdrawal, about a year ago, of the United Arab Republic forces whose presence in Yemen was taken by some reactionary Powers as a pretext for intervention in our internal affairs, the interventionists never gave up their interventions and dreams. Nay, intervention has become more virulent and more open. Money and arms for the purpose of sabotage, destruction and corruption have been flowing into our country in an unpre-

cedented manner. Even foreign mercenaries are being brought and sent into Yemen in blind, ruthless and hopeless attempts to destroy the Yemeni revolution, the Yemen Republic and the Yemeni people. It is superfluous to state that these hostile and senseless acts are in contravention of the principles of the United Nations Charter and the convention of the League of Arab States, and run counter to the age-old, honoured and respected basis principles of good neighbourliness.

45. We had expected the United Nations to help our people in their striving for peace and security and to prevent external intervention in our internal affairs, as well as to give assistance in the task of reconstruction and development. It pains me to have to mention here that in this connexion the role of the international Organization has been minimal and is at present almost non-existent.

46. We have spared no effort, missed no opportunity, and hesitated at no time in our endeavours to express to all concerned our true and sincere desire to live in peace with our brethren and neighbours, particularly after the withdrawal of the United Arab Republic forces whose presence in Yemen was used as a pretext to send money, arms and mercenaries to our country to fight our people. My Government has issued numerous pronouncements, documents and official declarations reiterating the Yemeni stand. They all call for peace and respect for the will of the Yemeni people, who exercised their right to self-determination on 26 September 1962. But all our efforts and pleas for peace seem to fall on deaf ears. We have yet to see any indication of the presence of goodwill. The war is being imposed upon our people from outside their borders with the purpose of hindering their revolution and their progress. But our revolution has no designs against anyone. The aim of the Yemeni revolution and the Yemeni Republic is to take the Yemeni people out of the era of backwardness and stagnation to progressive and fruitful life.

47. In the present state of the world, the problems and aspirations of small Powers seem to hinge on what agreement or disagreement there is among big Powers. Even their internal security, their independence and their very survival depend on whether external Powers choose to leave them alone, to help or to intervene. This is an unhappy and unhealthy state of affairs with which the people of Yemen are very much concerned. The United Nations could have played a more important role in helping man achieve a better world order. But here again the policies, actions and narrow self-interests of certain Powers have proved to be the important players on the stage. A case in point is the tragedy of Palestine.

48. In 1948 Britain withdrew from Palestine. Instead of returning the land to its lawful people in accordance with the Mandate, Britain was planning a different fate for that unhappy land even before the infamous Balfour Declaration of 1917. The land and its people were delivered into the hands of criminal bands who had gathered from far away lands, armed and prepared under the auspices, protection and blessing of British imperialism. Under the pressure and arm-twisting of the United States this General Assembly, whose membership was then less than half of what it is today, agreed to the partition of Palestine between its people and the transplanted foreigners. The people of

Palestine refused to give up their homeland. The Arab nations overthrew the Governments which failed to protect Palestine.

49. Twenty years passed during which this General Assembly and the Security Council issued innumerable resolutions, none of which was implemented by the transplanted foreigners who established a State in usurped Palestine and called it Israel. In the period between the adoption of the partition resolution [181 (II)] and the Security Council's resolution of November last [242 (1967)], Israel has occupied the whole of Palestine and considerable parts of neighbouring Arab States.

50. In this session, the Israeli Foreign Minister stands on this rostrum to dictate a solution which will legitimize the usurpation of Palestine. Eban goes even further than that to demand open borders between Israel and the Arab States for the infiltration of international monopolies and exploitation for which Israel was created to serve as a base and spearhead in the Arab East. What deepens the sense of tragedy is the regrettable fact that this Organization, its halls and lobbies and this big city with its gigantic mass media are in one world, while the Palestinian people, their rights, their pleas and justice itself are in another. But this cannot prevent us from putting before this House the clear truth, the only truth the people of Palestine—and with them the Arabs and hundreds of millions of justice-loving people around the globe—hold to. Transplanted foreign bands, armed, financed and supported by big Powers, cannot forever impose themselves upon any people on earth who refuse submission to the intruders, no matter how weak and limited the resistance may be at present.

51. In 1948 the Jews left Yemen. The Zionist propaganda led them to believe that they were “returning” to Palestine. All historical facts, however, insist that neither the Jews of Yemen nor their forefathers lived in or even knew Palestine. They were pure Yemenis who adopted Judaism. No doubt other Jewish bands who invaded Palestine from other lands are as foreign to Palestine as the Yemeni Jews. This Organization would be embarking on the awesome and unbelievable task of dividing the world into Christian, Islamic, Taoist States and so on and so forth, to the end of the list of world religions, were the United Nations to give itself the right to legitimize the usurpation of Palestine by foreign colonists in the name of Judaism.

52. According to the United Nations Charter, Palestine should have been returned to its indigenous people at the end of the British Mandate. The Palestinians—Christians, Jews and Muslims—according to the principle of self-determination were to have their own representative government. No moral, no law, no principle could ever justify the take-over of the country by one group, to the complete exclusion of others, and by force of arms, money and support from foreign Powers, the expelling of the lawful people of the land and their replacement by the usurping group's co-religionists gathered from the four corners of the earth. That goes further than any policy of colonialism or *apartheid* has ever gone and is more dangerous. That may happen in a period of human moral laxity. It could never last. Gone is the era of the extermination of the Red Indians. Palestine was stolen once before. Palestine is in the heart of the world surrounded by

a hundred million throbbing Arab hearts and with them hundreds of millions of freedom and justice-loving peoples around the world. Justice will one day be restored.

53. A few weeks ago the United States of America, a permanent member of the Security Council, announced that it would enter into negotiations to sell Israel fifty Phantom Jet aircraft, at a time when Israel still occupies territories of three Member States of this Organization in utter disregard of every United Nations resolution. Such aggressive behaviour on the part of the United States Government can only be regarded as contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter and further encouragement of Israel's arrogance, aggressiveness and expansionist dreams.

54. It is matter of irony that while celebrating the International Year for Human Rights some people still insist on ignoring this glaring fact of our time and still continue to subject to slavery and oppression other peoples which today or tomorrow will ultimately regain their independence. My people—who resisted and fought imperialism on the borders of their country for a long time—stand with all the peoples that are still struggling for their right to self-determination. We look with deep respect and great hope to the freedom-fighters in the Portuguese colonies, in Rhodesia, in South Africa and in Namibia; and we expect the United Nations to redouble its efforts to eradicate the remnants of colonialism and racialism in all their forms.

55. At this juncture the delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic wishes to welcome Swaziland to membership of this Organization and to extend heartfelt congratulations to the people of Swaziland on their independence and their deliverance from the shackles of colonialism. On this occasion the role of this Organization and particularly the Special Committee of twenty-four nations and the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly should be mentioned with satisfaction for the success they have achieved in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)].

56. The heroic people of Viet-Nam have been subjected to the misery of unjust wars for long years. The voices of the peoples around the world have been deafeningly clear, vehement and insistent, demanding that the United States put an end to this horrifying human butchery. The bombing of Viet-Nam must stop immediately and unconditionally; and foreign troops must leave that country to its own people. The people of Viet-Nam are the masters of their own destiny. The lot of today's interventionists and intruders in Viet-Nam will not be better than the lot of their predecessors in Dien Bien Phu.

57. It is unjust and unjustifiable that the People's Republic of China—with a population of over 700 million—should remain outside the United Nations. The universality of this Organization can never be complete unless the People's Republic of China occupies its rightful place in this hall and in all the organs of the United Nations as every great Power does. We believe that ignoring this fact is a great weakness of this Organization and indeed degrading.

58. Before I conclude, allow me to allude to the United Nations role in the economic, educational and social fields, which is receiving more attention and recognition and in which there has been encouraging progress. I do have here, however, two remarks to make. Firstly, a considerable portion of the funds allotted for development in those fields is being spent on fantastic amounts of paperwork, too much travel, too many briefings, debriefings and so on and so forth, so that only a small portion of those funds trickles down to real projects. This, I submit, is not in keeping with the spirit of austerity and belt-tightening advocated and inaugurated in this Organization and in the "third world". The complaint of lack of sufficient funds is understandable. The lack of sufficient funds should, however, impel us to use what is already available in a manner that is most beneficial to developing countries.

59. Secondly, allow me to note also that the United Nations assistance more often goes to those countries that know how to get it than to those countries that really are in desperate need of it. This is a paradox where the "know-how-to-get-it" seems to be the key. The preparedness, the efficient administration, the knowledge of what goes on inside the United Nations and the capability of follow-up make it easier for some countries to get what they want. Less efficient and less sophisticated administration in some other countries, together with lack of knowledge of what goes on, let alone follow-up, in the labyrinth of the United Nations and its autonomous organs, makes it almost impossible for such unfortunate countries to get anything. I hope that these remarks will be given the serious consideration they deserve and that such a state of affairs will be remedied. The balance sheet of the first United Nations Development Decade shows a good many shortcomings. Let us hope that these very shortcomings will help us to do better in the second decade.

### *Organization of work*

60. The PRESIDENT: I have been informed by the Chairman of the Fourth Committee that that Committee has just approved a draft resolution on the question of Southern Rhodesia. The Fourth Committee has authorized its Rapporteur to submit its report on that item to members of the General Assembly as an urgent question. That report will be available to members of the General Assembly as soon as possible, in all languages, as document A/7290. Consequently, if there is no objection, the Assembly will take up that report this afternoon in plenary meeting before proceeding to the general debate—that is,

immediately following the consideration of the first item of the agenda for that meeting.

*It was so decided.*

61. The PRESIDENT: Before adjourning the meeting, I give the floor to the Under-Secretary-General for General Assembly Affairs.

62. Mr. NARASIMHAN (Under-Secretary-General for General Assembly Affairs): Various delegations have been making inquiries of the Secretariat as to the programme for Monday, 28 October, when the report of the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development<sup>5</sup> will be presented and considered in plenary. Based on the consideration of this question in the General Committee, in the plenary Assembly when the question of allocation of items came up, and in the Second Committee two days ago, the Secretariat believes that the following arrangements may prove acceptable all-round.

63. There will be two meetings devoted to the consideration of this item in plenary with the understanding that at the close of the afternoon meeting, if time permits, the Second Committee will meet. The morning meeting will begin with the President of the General Assembly inviting the President of the second session of UNCTAD, the Honourable Dinesh Singh, Minister of Commerce in the Government of India, to present the report of the Conference. After that presentation the Chairman of the Second Committee, His Excellency Mr. Richard Maximilian Akwei, Permanent Representative of Ghana, will address the plenary. Thereafter representatives of regional groups will speak. It is understood, from the discussions in the Second Committee, that the regional groups have agreed that the number of speakers from each regional group will be limited. If those proposals are approved, the Secretariat will be glad to inscribe speakers starting this afternoon for both the morning and the afternoon meetings on Monday.

64. The PRESIDENT: Members have heard the proposals made by the Under-Secretary-General for General Assembly Affairs to regulate our discussion next Monday morning on the report of the second session of UNCTAD. If there is no objection to those proposals they will be regarded as approved.

*It was so decided.*

*The meeting rose at 12.5 p.m.*

<sup>5</sup> *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Second Session, vol. I, Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.68.II.D.14).