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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. RAHMAN (Malaysia): It is my privilege to be here for the first time and to come to this rostrum with the signal honour of offering my felicitations to you, Madam, on your election as President of this august Assembly. Your election to that high office is a tribute to a lady who is a diplomat and who has made lasting and outstanding contributions to the work of the United Nations.

2. Before proceeding further I should like to join with others in expressing my condolences and sympathies to the delegation of Guatemala on the sudden demise of that State's Foreign Minister, Mr. Arenales, who had served this Organization and its specialized agencies devotedly in many capacities, finally crowning them all as President of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly, to which office he brought added lustre.

3. I should also like to take this opportunity of paying the highest tribute to the Secretary-General, U Thant, who has brought to his high office and difficult tasks a rare skill and great courage and foresight which are a source of comfort and encouragement to so many of us amidst the trials and tribulations of the present-day world.

4. I have come here almost directly from the historic Islamic Summit Conference held at Rabat from 22 to 25 September 1969 and I should like to outline to the Assembly the significance and the outcome of that gathering. The Conference was the first of its kind where Heads of States and Governments and other representatives from Moslem countries gathered together to discuss matters of common concern. The subjects of common concern were the invasion of Palestine by Israel, thereby compromising the status of the Holy City of Jerusalem and, subsequently, while under Israeli control, the sacrilege committed to the Al Aqsa Mosque, which caused anger and humiliation to all Moslems.

5. The holding of that Conference, to which Moslem leaders came from great distances at quite short notice, was an indication of the grave concern of the entire Moslem world regarding the situation in West Asia. It can be said therefore that the status and the future of the Holy City of Jerusalem is no longer a matter between Israel and Jordan only, or even between Israel and the Arab States; it is a matter of deep and mutual concern to all Moslems throughout the world. It was that widespread emotion and pressure of Moslem public opinion which brought the various Heads of States and Governments and other representatives to Rabat. What has happened in West Asia is a matter for the serious attention of world Powers for, sooner or later, unless some solution is found, it must draw all Moslem nations into the conflict because Moslems regard the occupation of Jerusalem by force as a humiliation and an insult to their religion.

6. Moslems everywhere therefore felt a great sense of shame and tragedy at what had occurred. That loss was made all the more bitter by the sacrilegious act of vandalism against the Holy Al Aqsa Mosque, for which the Moslems hold Israel responsible. Although a foreigner has been charged with the crime, it must be appreciated that the Al Aqsa Mosque is the third most holy mosque of all Moslems and the place to which the Holy Prophet and his followers turned as the first Kiblat. Who, then, among the Moslems can help but look to it with feelings of the most profound reverence? It is understandable, therefore, that Moslems everywhere should be profoundly affected by the events in West Asia. Hence, unless the United Nations takes firm action to enforce its decisions, the pressure of public opinion in the Moslem world will certainly explode and force the leaders to take some drastic action which would have very serious consequences on world peace. Israel would then have to reckon not only with the Arab people but with all Moslems.

7. The resolutions adopted at the Rabat Conference were indeed restrained and statesmanlike. But that restraint should not lead others to underestimate the intensity of feeling and emotion around the Conference table. In this connexion, I should like here to express my disappointment that there has been so little publicity in the Western press with regard to the Conference itself and what happened at, or what came out of that Conference. In fact, one cannot help feeling that there was an attempt to belittle the Conference through suppression of the news. The Heads of State or Government, representatives from 25 countries representing some 600 million people, had come together to discuss a subject of vital importance to them all, which must, on that score alone, hold world interest and attention. It is very important that the public in Western countries should be made aware of, and should understand, the deep feelings and anxiety of Moslem peoples. In short,

the subject of discussions involved the question of either peace or war; on one side the Israelis, and on the other the Arabs, now backed by the Moslems of the rest of the world.

8. The restrained resolutions adopted at the Rabat Conference were arrived at after a most careful study by all participating nations. Such an attitude was due mainly to the presence and counsel of the non-Arab Moslems, and I cannot accept any characterization of the Conference such as that made by the Israeli representative, in respect of the membership of the Security Council, who said that "one third of the Security Council's members are States whose diplomatic relations and sentimental predilections are exclusively confined to one side of the Middle East dispute . . ." [1757th meeting, para. 160].

9. On principle, however, the resolutions taken there leave no room for any compromise. I refer in particular to the appeal of the Conference to Members of the international community, "to intensify their collective and individual efforts to secure the speedy withdrawal of Israeli military forces from all the territories occupied as a result of the war of June 1967, in accordance with the established principle of the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by military conquest".

10. In other words, Moslems would not tolerate the acquisition of Jerusalem by the Israelis through conquest, and are determined to dislodge them by any means possible. The four major Powers—Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the United States—are urged, in the words of the Rabat Declaration, "to take into account the deep attachment of the followers of Islam to Jerusalem and the solemn resolve of their Governments to strive for its liberation". The major Powers should heed the depth of conviction and feeling of Moslems throughout the world on this question, which shows that if no progress is made to restore Jerusalem to its rightful owners, then sooner or later a crusade to recover it will start in earnest. How then can we prevent the sporadic fighting from escalating into a holy war with dangerous consequences to world peace?

11. We must, therefore, explore all possible avenues towards alleviating the present situation and bringing us nearer a peaceful solution. The Rabat Conference has declared unacceptable any solution of the problem of Palestine that would deny Jerusalem the status it had before June 1967. This brings us back to Security Council resolutions 252 (1968), 267 (1969) and 271 (1969), which clearly stated that the legislative and administrative actions taken by Israel, which tend to change the legal status of Jerusalem, are invalid and have no valid effect on that status. If those resolutions could be enforced, the net result would be to restore that part of Jerusalem to its rightful owners. It is imperative for the United Nations to give effect to its resolutions and decisions, as otherwise the decisions taken will become valueless.

12. According to the Israel representative who spoke in this Assembly, Israel is ever ready to discuss peace with the Arab States and to negotiate terms for a settlement of the present dispute or trouble. He said: "... I come back to repeat with increased conviction what I said to the Arab Governments at this rostrum in June 1967: 'You have chosen repeatedly to meet us in the arena of battle. You

cannot refuse to meet us at the negotiating table.' " [Ibid., para. 176.]

13. That was well said but the question is whether the words carry the meaning or intention on the part of Israel to make peace with honour and justice. If the intention is there, then what is the objection to the Israelis' withdrawing their military forces from all the territories occupied as a result of the war of June 1967, in accordance with the established principles of the United Nations, as a prelude to the talks? If Israel agreed to accept Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 252 (1968), and the resolutions which followed pertaining to Jerusalem, I am certain that the Arab States would agree to a dialogue that might lead to peace.

14. Malaysia is one of the countries which attended the Rabat Conference and recognized the United Nations decision to create Israel, and it is willing to use its best endeavours towards a settlement of the dispute. But Malaysia is not prepared to offer its services when it is obvious to it that Israel, in offering to hold a dialogue, is in fact talking from a position of strength, with one hand holding a gun and the other a pen offering, so they say, to sign the treaty of peace. No self-respecting people with any pride left would accept these terms. The only answer to such an Israeli offer to discuss peace will be for the Arab nations to prepare for war.

15. It is obvious that Israel, elated with its successes, will not willingly return the occupied territories. But can it hold them for all time—2 million people against 100 million Arabs, and now the whole of the Moslem people, who are united in their determination to back the Arabs? They may hold it for a time but it will not be for all time, and even that would be at a great sacrifice to themselves of lives and money. That is clear. The time will come when they will have to give up this territory, and even more.

16. The United Nations must take a firm stand now and bring pressure upon Israel to accept the decisions reached, both in the General Assembly and in the Security Council, and the big Powers must make it their duty to see that they are carried out. Lasting peace cannot be built on war machines but only on mutual respect, understanding and co-operation between the peoples of that region of Asia who are now locked together in deadly conflict. Are the Israelis prepared to accept the animosity of the other Asian Moslem nations which are now finding the Israeli attitude repugnant, hostile and arrogant?

17. Within the framework of what I have said and bearing in mind the urgent necessity of some positive action to break out of the present impasse, there might be consideration of the idea that, as a temporary expedient and pending a final settlement, the United Nations itself should assume authority and jurisdiction over Jerusalem. According to the Israeli representative:

"Israel does not claim exclusive or unilateral jurisdiction in the Holy Places of Christianity and Islam in Jerusalem and is willing to discuss this principle with those traditionally concerned. There is a versatile range of possibilities for working out a status for the Holy Places in such a manner as to promote Middle Eastern peace and ecumenical harmony." [Ibid., para. 149.]

18. If that is so, there is no reason why Israel cannot accept this proposal, which has as its main objective the protection of the sacred places in Jerusalem, and to ensure that an occurrence such as the case of the Al Aqsa Mosque should not incite intense emotion, animosity and hatred towards any one particular race of people. I repeat that this will not be made at the sacrifice of the principle I enunciated earlier, namely, the evacuation by Israel of the territories acquired by aggression.
19. I hope that this idea which I have put forward in all sincerity and humility will carry enough weight to influence the United Nations in order to gain wider support for the resolutions it has already adopted.
20. I should like to turn next to an area much closer home to Malaysia, that is, to the region of South-East Asia which is going through a period of much change and uncertainty. It has long been my view that the countries of South-East Asia must get together and work together to ensure their security, stability and prosperity. Indeed as long ago as 4 February 1958, only six months after our own independence, during an official visit to Ceylon, I urged publicly that a meeting of South-East Asian leaders should be held to forge unity in the region. That was, if I may say so, at a time more than 10 years ago when the concept of regional co-operation was perhaps less fashionable than it is today. I said then, that we in South-East Asia were rich in natural resources and that we were also rich in high ideals of justice, human rights, liberty and freedom. But we also had many problems in common and I expressed my belief that the only way we could tackle our problems was by getting together, working together and planning together even more closely. In that same speech I warned that if the countries in South-East Asia continued to drift apart, then the danger would be that we might have to lean for support on big nations with the result that independence, on which we place so much value, would come to have very much less meaning. I believe that the sentiments I expressed then still retain their validity—indeed, they have equal, if not greater, force today.
21. Following upon that statement, my Government took the initiative in engaging in consultations with our neighbours, and this led to the formation of the Association of South-East Asia in 1961 with three member States. The limited membership and the long interval that passed before its formation were indicative of the difficulties and obstacles which stood in the way of regional co-operation. Since then we have made greater progress. In 1967 the Association of South-East Asia enlarged its scope and increased its membership and now goes by the name of ASEAN, or the Association of South-East Asian Nations, with Indonesia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Malaysia as members. I am happy to report that after a brief lull in its activities—for reasons that I need not go into now—the work of ASEAN is now proceeding apace.
22. All the practical programmes so far discussed or undertaken at different levels in ASEAN have been conscientiously bent to economic, social and cultural co-operation. At the same time, Malaysia is already co-operating with some of its neighbours in other fields of activity.
23. However, while our attention and efforts are being directed towards peaceful development with our neighbours, we are at the same time faced with acts of terrorism and subversion by enemies who are out to wreck our efforts in that region of Asia, and who are constantly trying to undo our good work in order to create disorder and disturbance. These enemies find ready support from followers within our territories whose loyalty to their country of origin makes them into tools, ever ready to carry out the orders emanating from that source. How to deal with them is a matter of great concern to us. They are subjects of our country by virtue of the law, but their hearts and minds are subject to outside power, a new type of imperialism that tries to gain control of South-East Asian countries by the exercise of influence over these traitors. Many of the countries in South-East Asia have suffered, in one form or another, from subversion and other acts of violence from these enemies. Above all, apart from the troubles that they cause us, their activities involve us in much expenditure, time and planning which should be directed towards peaceful purposes for the betterment of men.
24. There is the conflict in Viet-Nam. A dangerous situation is developing in Laos and on the northern Thai border. Recently, in my own capital city there were the regrettable eruptions of 13 May caused by these same enemies, and what is worse, the foreign press—particularly the press of the Commonwealth countries—in reporting the incidents purposely played them up to the advantage of the enemy. This irresponsible reporting calls for censure and, in my opinion, no place is more suitable than this rostrum for me to apply it.
25. On 13 May, an event which shocked our nation and shook it to the core took place; it was known as the “riot of 13 May”, which caused loss of life and damage to property, unprecedented in the history of our young nation. Such an unleashing of violence had never happened before in that happy country where people of different races lived together in tranquillity and peace.
26. As a result of the outbreak of the violence, foreign correspondents converged on the capital as if drawn by a magnet. They turned out in droves in the troubled areas. They were there to collect news and to transmit it to the readers in their countries. It was expected, therefore, that they would give a correct account of what was happening in that unhappy city, but instead, most of them turned up in order to create a sensation abroad, adopting the attitude that no news is good news unless it is accompanied by stories of horror, terror or acts of atrocity. They made the most of it, seeming to gloat over our misfortunes. Seldom has any country had to put up with such misrepresentation, distortion of facts and corruption of truth as was suffered by us. Any gossip or any rumour which they picked up from street corners, from hooligans and, above all, from our enemies, was news for them and for the readers in their own countries. In fact, the general run of coverage by many foreign correspondents was so exaggerated as to be out of proportion to what happened. Their head offices abroad showed an equal lack of balance in publishing the news, and some even suggested that Malaysia should be expelled from the Commonwealth. In all honesty, can such reporting be considered fair? If the riots had continued for some weeks instead of for five days and had got out of control, if the Government had proved incompetent and unable to deal with the situation, then such headlines as were flashed in

these papers might have been justified. In fact, the Government was in control and within three days of the outbreak of violence the worst part of the trouble was over.

27. In these days some newspapers are blatantly and outrageously irresponsible. They care not a jot for the truth of the subject-matter they publish; all they seek is headline news, and the more sensational the better. It was a heartbreaking experience for me to read extracts from the reports appearing in the newspapers and journals abroad, for they did a lot of harm to the image of my country and to the good name of the leaders entrusted with its care and administration. The goodwill and friendship which Malaysia had gained in the short years of its independence received a setback from the scandalous strokes of their pens. The damage they did to my country by wildly exaggerated reports, misrepresentation of facts and editorial comments of armchair critics writing thousands of miles away was mischievous, unjustified and uncalled for. It was irresponsible, careless journalism of the worst kind.

28. When I consider this lamentable chapter in journalism today which published the incredible stories that we have had to read in respect of current events, world and domestic affairs, I feel that many Asian and African leaders have been justified in barring some journalists from their countries. The way the image of their countries has suffered, or they themselves have suffered as a result of this type of journalism, is sufficient reason for their action. What happened in my country is a clear instance of this. We have had to face internal threats, which I have spoken about, instigated from outside, and the part played by the foreign press during that troubled period meant support to the enemies and did further harm to our cause.

29. What is worse is that most of those correspondents and journalists came from countries of the Commonwealth, of which we are a member. What irony this is when a nation like ours, confronted with a situation instigated by our enemies, finds our friends ranged alongside them. That was the situation we faced. May this never happen again. I venture to think this is by no means an inappropriate forum from which one is entitled to express one's concern, if not censure, when these responsibilities are ignored. This, I regret to say, was sadly lacking in the reporting of the 13 May incident. Therefore, we seek the co-operation of the members of the press from friendly countries to help us through the exercise of care and balanced judgement in their reporting of events.

30. With your leave, I might now make a brief reference to the matter of the Philippine claim to Sabah, which, I may say, was to a large measure the outcome of irresponsible journalism in Manila. It is a subject with which the Assembly is quite familiar, and Malaysian representatives here have, more than once over the last six years, stated our position in full. All I want to say here is this: after all the technicalities, the debates and the dust have been cleared away, it is an incontrovertible fact that the people of Sabah have, by democratic processes, decided and reaffirmed their decision to be part of Malaysia. That fact was confirmed by no less an authority than the Secretary-General himself, in response, moreover, to a request made by *inter alia* the Philippines itself. Therefore, howsoever or in whatever forum the Philippines now wishes to pursue its claim, unless

it can explain how it can expect us to ignore the simple but fundamental fact that the people of Sabah have exercised their right of self-determination, then there is nothing more to be said on this matter. What is disturbing to us is that, by playing up the matter of this claim, our neighbour is playing into the enemy's hands and thereby causing some setbacks in our efforts in the various fields of regional co-operation.

31. The situation in that part of the world demands that each and every country of South-East Asia see how best we can face our common dangers. Of course, I do not mean by this that there should necessarily be a multilateral defence pact among the South-East Asian countries. I know that this is in many ways impracticable and even, in the view of some, undesirable. However, the countries of South-East Asia should keep in close touch and in consultation with one another in the interest of our very survival and see what sort of understanding we can work out regarding the defence of the region in the 1970s. There are many ways we can co-operate. Malaysia is co-operating with our neighbour in the north, Thailand, in joint border operations, and we are similarly co-operating with Indonesia in East Malaysia along the border in Sarawak, and with Singapore on defence within the framework of the Five Powers Defence arrangements. These are examples of the ways open to us to co-operate in our mutual interests. I repeat that there should be no hard and fast plan and no rigid framework for such co-operation. What is important is that every country in South-East Asia should do its utmost to co-operate in every possible way with its neighbours, and in this way a web of interlocking arrangements would be established in the region which would further strengthen regional co-operation.

32. Finally, I should like to turn to some of the outstanding issues facing this twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly. My delegation will speak at greater length in the subsequent discussions on these particular items, but because of their importance or interest I would crave your indulgence to refer briefly to them now.

33. The death of Cape Town's best-known Moslem leader, Imam Abdullah Harun, who died in prison on Saturday, 27 September, after being held for more than four months under the South African 180-day detention law, reminds us again of man's inhumanity to man as a result of the policy of *apartheid*. I have long felt strongly about this disgraceful and despicable policy ruthlessly pursued by the Government of South Africa and took the initiative, as long ago as 1960, to have it expelled from the Commonwealth and to boycott all trade with it. South Africa must also be held accountable for its defiance of the United Nations over Namibia. Then there is also the situation in Rhodesia, which has turned away from any liberalization of its régime and has sought to imitate the inhuman and racist policies of its southern neighbour. I wish, for example, to draw the attention of the Assembly to the fact that the Government of Rhodesia has, by act of proclamation, ordered Chief Rekayi and the tribe of Tangwena to leave their traditional home as the Government has claimed their land for white settlers. Such acts of injustice will continue unabated unless effective sanctions are taken to put a stop to them. I wish to point out now that, like the situation in West Asia, the entire situation in southern Africa, with all its ramifica-

tions, is of concern to more than just the immediate neighbours or even to the countries of the African continent. I appeal, therefore, in particular to the major Powers to do their utmost to defuse the time-bomb which is ticking inexorably before it explodes with incalculable consequences to us all.

34. I should like, finally, to refer to the imaginative proposal for an international university contained in the Secretary-General's introduction to his annual report [A/7601/Add.1, paras. 196 and 197]. I hope that this idea will be explored at greater length, because I believe that it is essential to channel the energies, the ideas and the enthusiasm of youth along constructive lines. The restlessness of youth today is a world-wide and disturbing phenomenon. It must be provided with a challenge such as the challenge of international service or international economic development. I welcome the suggestion that the primary objective of the university would be to promote international understanding, at both the political and the cultural level. Of course, the establishment of an international university would not itself lead to the achievement of that objective. The university would need to evolve specific and positive programmes for promoting international understanding and for spreading its methods and influence to the various institutions of learning at all levels throughout the world.

35. As we stand today on the threshold of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, Madam President, let me express the hope that this twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, under your able guidance, will make progress along the road to international peace, economic development and social betterment, for which all mankind has yearned since time immemorial. I pledge the full support and co-operation of my Government in that task.

36. Mr. ZOROMÉ (Upper Volta) (*translated from French*): As the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly of our Organization opens, I should like with your permission, Madam President, to begin by saying a few words about your predecessor, the late Minister of Foreign Affairs of Guatemala, Mr. Emilio Arenales. The tragic death of that great diplomat was a heavy blow, not only to this country, to which we desire to express our condolences, but also to this Organization. After his warmly supported election as President of the twenty-third session, he was unable to complete the task he had so courageously undertaken. We desire to pay a well-deserved tribute to his memory.

37. Madam President, I must make a reference to the event, so important for us Africans, of your election as President of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Your unanimous election to one of the most difficult offices of our time is a mark of respect both for your country and for yourself, whose sense of duty, skill and long experience have so often been placed at the service of our Organization.

38. We regard your widely acclaimed election as a recognition by the international community of the increasingly important role of the African continent and of its true representatives in dealing with issues affecting the peace of the world and our Organization. Furthermore, you rep-

resent a country which upholds the same ideals as mine, and one with which my country maintains the most cordial relations. Your country's history, geography and traditions have progressively impelled it to devote its best efforts to the defence of peace and to the attainment of the purposes and principles of the Charter. My delegation is convinced that these ideals will inspire and guide you in directing our proceedings.

39. Upper Volta cannot refrain from expressing its disappointment and apprehension at the events of 1969. We are disappointed, for these events have not strengthened the United Nations. And our disappointment is all the greater because the San Francisco Charter appears to be under increasing attack by forces challenging its purposes and principles. Our apprehension arises from our concern about the very future of our Organization.

40. Actuated by these two sentiments, and in a desire to see my country make a modest contribution to the solution of the problems exercising us, I wish to set forth my Government's views on certain issues as we see them from the standpoint of our general foreign policy.

41. In my last statement from this rostrum [1568th meeting] I referred to the serious problems confronting new States, and I mentioned in particular those arising from economic development, which is the basis of any State's political future.

42. In this connexion I am glad to be able to say today that the revolutionary upheaval which took place in Upper Volta early in 1966 proved in the long run to be beneficial. After finding itself to begin with in a situation of grave economic crisis and administrative disorganization, the present Government of Upper Volta, with the unreserved support of the people—which unhesitatingly accepted the sacrifices dictated by the need to preserve our independence—has succeeded in restoring and strengthening the foundations of the State, so gravely shaken by a succession of administrative errors.

43. Today, therefore, Upper Volta feels that it has learned something from the trials through which it has passed since independence; some of these were imposed by the vicissitudes of history, and others, closer at hand, by our enemies on all sides. These trials have heightened the feeling of national identity, so enabling our leaders, concerned for the common good and striving after rapid economic and social development, to look boldly beyond our frontiers and to strengthen our co-operation with all States which respect the new situation brought about by the popular uprising of 1966.

44. The Government brought to power by that uprising has worked unremittingly to restore the national economy of Upper Volta, and the results are encouraging. We have laid great stress on the development of our external trade, because of its importance for the financing of our development and because of the leading part it plays in balancing our national accounts.

45. From that standpoint, our trading activities are well sustained and are based on a policy of seeking a wider range of trading partners, in the interests of the country as a

whole and of producers. We wish here to draw attention to the steadily expanding trade between Upper Volta and the States of Eastern Europe, access to which, until recently, had for a variety of reasons been difficult for us.

46. I should also like to mention that the volume of our foreign trade in 1968 has been encouraging, since it was 15 per cent higher than in the previous year. Sound and well-balanced public finances, an expanding trade and broader diplomatic horizons: such is the present-day picture in Upper Volta. This is a situation which my country is resolved not merely to maintain, but also to improve—with the assistance of all its friends, of course, but above all in the conviction that it must count first and foremost on itself and on its own resources.

47. Upper Volta is ready to face other difficulties and to make the sacrifices necessary for strengthening its independence, for the people of my country would never forgive their leaders if they chose the easy and humiliating way out by resorting to mendicancy and national abdication.

48. Once again we wish to thank all those States and international agencies that are assisting us in our development effort and to express our special appreciation of what they are doing. At this point I should like to mention the considerable assistance provided to Upper Volta by France and the other member States of the European Economic Community. The way in which this aid is planned and carried out provides an example which many States or groups of States might well imitate, of course with the necessary adaptations.

49. The present level of our economic development, the responsibilities that we must assume both in the short and in the long term, and the needs we must meet in the process of transforming an under-developed country into a modern and fully sovereign State, naturally play their part in providing the guidelines for our foreign policy.

50. In view of the importance we attach to economic problems in general, this is the appropriate moment to emphasize the serious problems encountered by developing countries in the process of building up a modern economy.

51. Upper Volta remains convinced that, so long as the problems facing the developing countries are not considered with the necessary objectivity and detachment, the international community will continue to live under the shadow of insecurity, with all that that entails in the way of threats to the safety of each of its members, until there is a general conflagration.

52. As the First United Nations Development Decade draws to a close, it is distressing to note that no substantial progress has been made towards solving the problems of international trade and in particular the problem of the deterioration in the terms of trade. We must not just resign ourselves to the failure of the New Delhi Conference.¹ To break the deadlock, we urgently appeal to the developed countries not to adopt an unhelpful and selfish attitude. The present trade pattern, which is very much to their

advantage, cannot last indefinitely; sooner or later, the States that are the victims of this deplorable situation must be expected to react against it, with the gravest consequences for international peace and security. Accordingly, we feel that, in the spirit of solidarity which should characterize our world, now so small, the developed countries should have the political will to co-operate with the developing countries in the quest for equitable solutions to the problems of international trade.

53. Some States have spent enormous sums, equivalent to the budgetary expenditure of a small member State for hundreds of years, and displayed extraordinary energy and determination in order to accomplish outstanding technical feats: the placing of the first men on the moon is a vivid example of this, if example were needed. At the time we applauded this historic exploit, but we continue to experience day by day the reality of our economic difficulties. In this connexion, we cannot but feel that the same effort, though infinitely superior in terms of moral and humanitarian values, could be made to improve the lot of millions of human beings caught up in an endless round of suffering. If this were not the case, the poor countries would feel even greater bitterness at the indifference of the wealthy Powers to their poverty.

54. As we know, the First United Nations Development Decade is closing in failure, for the target of a 5 per cent growth rate which, when all is said and done, was a modest one, has not been attained. To us, this adverse result is a clear sign of the lack of international solidarity and the tragic absence of political will.

55. Of course, we hope that States will draw the necessary inferences from the failure of the First Development Decade and try to make the Second a success. But, even so, we have justifiable misgivings at the non-participation of certain States in the preparations for the Second Development Decade, and regard this as a matter for serious concern.

56. The developing countries are also concerned at the rise in the World Bank's interest rate, now 7 per cent. As a result, the poor countries, already heavily in debt, will see their indebtedness increase still further. We find it all the more difficult to understand the World Bank's decision, because in September 1968 it decided that greater efforts should be made to ensure that the services of international financial institutions were available in the first instance to the developing countries.

57. Unfortunately, economic problems are not the only ones we have to face. The world is perhaps in a more disturbed state today than it ever was before. We seem to be living again the events which 30 years ago led up to the Second World War. In the opinion of the Government of Upper Volta, the international community must find solutions to the burning problems of the modern world, so that all nations may at last enjoy peace and security.

58. In an age when the world has been made so much smaller by technical and scientific progress, it is more than ever essential that States should be animated by the desire to work together to achieve peace and progress. It is more than ever essential that they should, once and for all, turn their backs on war and on intolerance in all its forms, in

¹ United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Second Session, 1 February to 29 March 1968.

particular racial and religious intolerance. Many of our problems would be more easily solved if the great Powers would only forget their differences, often dating back to a bygone age, which have gradually led to the present division of the world into opposing blocs, the source of most of the grave crises familiar to us all.

59. Upper Volta has been made aware of the dangers of this situation through the obstacles placed in the way of relations between States. For that reason, we have sought to establish relations with more countries, on the basis of the principles of independence, non-interference in domestic affairs, mutual respect, and economic and cultural co-operation. Present-day experience shows that interdependence is undoubtedly one means by which mankind can eliminate the painful spectacle of poor countries desperately struggling to break free from their unhappy destiny.

60. Our common aspirations for peace and progress could be realized if the international community were not preoccupied every day by the tensions and clashes which afflict certain parts of the world. How much effort is wasted in these fruitless struggles whose sole result is to bring insecurity and misery to regions whose sole desire is peace!

61. In the Middle East the situation deteriorates from day to day. It is to be feared that the violations of the cease-fire line by both sides, inevitable in the present circumstances, may lead the parties to a new and violent confrontation; hence the need to find a just and lasting solution to this conflict.

62. My delegation is of the opinion that the Security Council resolution [242 (1967)] of 22 November 1967 provides an adequate basis for settlement of the conflict in the Middle East and that any differences of interpretation to which its text may give rise—and in fact it is quite clear—should not lead the parties to reject it. On the basis of the idea that all States in the region have a right to existence and that the territorial integrity of each must be respected, a number of compromise solutions can be found for the other problems.

63. In my country's view, the discussions between the great Powers on the Middle East question have been a fresh and encouraging feature of the search for a solution to the crisis. Despite their different viewpoints on this question, and despite the diversity of their interests, we believe that there is no reason why the great Powers should not make proposals for settlement to the parties involved. We therefore appeal to those parties not to reject from the outset any proposal that might lead to peace.

64. With regard to the conflict in Viet-Nam, my country both deplores its continuation—a major obstacle to co-operation among the States of that region and to the relaxation of international tension—and regrets the failure of the parties to make any serious effort to turn to account the various opportunities that have arisen for putting an end to it. The Paris talks aroused some hopes at the beginning, but since then they have made no headway and this is a disquieting sign for the future. In the opinion of the Government of Upper Volta, if the withdrawal of United States troops were speeded up, that would create a

new situation which the parties should take advantage of to put an end to the conflict on the basis of the Geneva Agreements of 1954. We continue to believe that this war must be brought to an end, for there is no longer any reason why it should go on.

65. I cannot pass over in silence the tragedy of Nigeria, which is a tragedy for the whole of Africa. We must deplore the action of those who, from outside Africa, and by a clever and calculated policy, have brought about the present situation in the State and sister nation of Nigeria. General Lamizana, the President of Upper Volta, said in 1967: "If Europe is for the Europeans, and America for the Americans—something that no one disputes—then why should not Africa be for the Africans?" The civil war is still raging, with all its misery and suffering. All of us here are greatly concerned at the very distressing humanitarian problems resulting from the situation of the civilian population. The reason why we have always refused to consider this aspect in isolation is that Upper Volta remains convinced that the surest, and perhaps also the most humanitarian, way to a genuinely lasting solution is to recognize the territorial integrity of Nigeria, a Member State of our Organization. There is every reason to believe that, once self-seeking and passion have died away, the guns too will fall silent, so that brother Nigerians who were yesterday at loggerheads can become reconciled and work shoulder to shoulder in the future for a prosperous Nigeria. We therefore address a solemn and urgent appeal to all States, particularly to those whose actions or inaction can have some influence on the parties, to join in the quest for a solution, which must necessarily be an African one.

66. Another thing to bear in mind is that the process of decolonization must be brought to completion. One of the greatest dangers to international peace and security is the continued existence, in the middle of the twentieth century, of régimes based on the colonial domination of a racist minority, backed by forces that seek to remain hidden but which all of us can readily identify. On the problem of decolonization, it has to be recognized that there has been a failure to act. The refusal, or at all events the powerlessness, of the United Nations to take appropriate measures to ensure the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and all the other resolutions that we have adopted by large majorities provides ample reason for the disappointment felt by the peoples of the colonial countries.

67. Once again we should like to voice our indignation and concern at the explosive situation created and maintained in southern Africa by the colonialist and racist States and their accomplices. In Rhodesia, the situation is getting worse. With the manifest complicity of the administering Power the rebel minority has consolidated its position. Every attempt made by the peace-loving and freedom-loving Member States of the United Nations has had to contend with the selfish interests of certain Member States which, directly or indirectly, are the economic, commercial and diplomatic allies of the Rhodesian rebels. In view of this situation and the obvious failure of the policy of sanctions, my delegation hopes that the General Assembly will, at this session, take the measures that are now necessary. But it is already clear that the people of Zimbabwe, in order to recover their independence and

freedom, will have to rely first and foremost on themselves, draw upon all their physical, economic and moral resources, and courageously continue their struggle. We are certain that with the assistance of all peace-loving and freedom-loving States, the people of Zimbabwe will triumph.

68. As regards the territories administered by Portugal, the Lisbon authorities continue with impunity to defy the wishes of the peoples of those territories and international public opinion. Portugal has still not learned that it is time to end this arrogant form of political domination; but the tide of decolonization cannot be turned back, and Portugal will learn this to its cost; of this we are convinced. It is true that Portugal is strongly supported in its colonial policy by Members of our Organization, but it must be remembered that the valiant freedom fighters of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) have behind them the peoples of Africa and every peace-loving and freedom-loving State. We ourselves once again take the opportunity to assure them of our whole-hearted support.

69. My delegation considers that the situation in South Africa and in Namibia, which is under illegal occupation, constitutes an imminent threat to international peace and security. The resolutions so far adopted by our Organization have done nothing to change the situation. South Africa has steadfastly refused to co-operate with the United Nations on the question of Namibia, and it becomes clear, therefore, that the measures that should be taken to oblige South Africa to withdraw from Namibia are those laid down in Articles 41 and 42 of the Charter.

70. Our Organization must show that it is and will remain the paramount body to which peoples suffering injustice and oppression can appeal, for its prestige and its very survival are at stake. In our view, those who sell arms to South Africa are its accomplices, for the only purpose of those arms is to strengthen that State and thus to encourage it to continue its policy of defiance of our Organization and of domination over Namibia.

71. Today, more than 20 years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, racial intolerance is a scourge which is still with us and must be fought. The explosive situation in southern Africa is due largely to the policy of *apartheid* instituted by the authorities in Pretoria. All States must whole-heartedly condemn the policy of racial discrimination practised by the South African authorities, and bring the maximum pressure to bear on that country so that it will renounce that form of domination. We continue to believe that *apartheid* is a standing threat to international peace and security and that our Organization should tackle the problem of *apartheid* from that standpoint.

72. As is the case every year when the time for stock-taking comes round, we feel bound to raise the question of the future of our Organization as an instrument for the maintenance of peace and the settlement of disputes.

73. My delegation would wish in the first place to express its appreciation of the Secretary-General's tireless efforts both to relieve the tension in situations of crisis and to ensure that our Organization plays its full role.

74. The feeling that we still have today is that our Organization is impotent, because many of the decisions which we take, sometimes almost unanimously, remain a dead letter. At times of serious crisis, the United Nations, weakened by its contradictions and the conflict of selfish interests, is unable to find the solutions that are needed. There are two reasons for this impotence: the fact that the United Nations is without adequate means to implement its decisions, and the attitude of certain Member States that refuse to co-operate with it. For, while it is true that, legally speaking, no Member State directly challenges the fundamental principles of the Charter, the fact remains that the behaviour of certain Member States constitutes a negation of those principles. This impotence of the United Nations is to a large extent brought about by the attitude of the great Powers, whose differences destroy cohesion among its Members. It is necessary therefore that the great Powers should become aware of their responsibilities and act in such a way as to strengthen the United Nations and make it more effective, as prescribed in the Charter. The greater the power and influence, the greater should be the responsibility.

75. We also believe that the small Powers, which make up the majority in our international community, should not underestimate the contribution they can make to the strengthening of our Organization. Since they are the ones that have suffered the most from the decline of our Organization, the small Powers should pool their efforts and seize every opportunity offered through bilateral contacts and relations, to draw the attention of the great Powers to the dangers resulting from the inability of the United Nations to act.

76. We in my country continue to place our hopes in the United Nations. Despite its weaknesses and its vicissitudes, it remains an essential instrument for co-operation and a privileged place where it is possible to meet and take counsel in the most difficult moments. Each Member State must exercise self-control, and all peoples must be imbued with the idea that their destinies are inextricably linked and that progress and peace depend on co-operation. Neither war nor the defence of selfish interests, contrary to the principles of the Charter, can bring us any nearer to a solution of our problems. If, however, the Member States of the United Nations show themselves capable of choosing the path of co-operation and active solidarity, and realize that they have common interests and a common destiny, then there is every reason for hope, since the progress of science and technology, if proper advantage is taken of it, can ensure a better future for all.

77. The Republic of the Upper Volta is ready to make its modest contribution towards furthering any initiative, no matter what its source, which may lead to peace, international security and the progress of mankind. We express our warmest good wishes for the full success of the work of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

78. Mr. BAROUM (Chad) (*translated from French*): Madam President, allow me to begin by saying a few words in this great forum about Mr. Emilio Arenales, President of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly, who is no longer with us, but who remains for my country a great champion of the United Nations, and for Guatemala a statesman whom his countrymen will long mourn.

79. Last year, during his brief meeting with the President of the Republic of Chad here at United Nations Headquarters, Mr. Arenales drew attention, courteously but energetically, to the decisive part which Heads of State and Government can play in making our Organization a truly effective, decision-making body in most of the many matters which fall within its competence under the San Francisco Charter. What he then had in mind, as the delegation of Chad understood it, was an appeal to Heads of State in general and to those of the great Powers in particular.

80. Madam President, in these times of continual confusion and disorder, it is hard for me to express the satisfaction and pride of the Government and people of Chad at seeing you in the office of President of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The honour thus conferred on you by virtually all members of this Assembly is a mark of the sympathy and solidarity which the nations, large and small, feel with all women, for they have paid with their sweat, their blood, their life, and their youth for the triumph of life on our planet. To symbolize the sacrifices of women in every continent and of every race and nationality, we could not have done better than to choose a woman from among the bravest of women, a woman from Africa which has experienced five centuries of humiliation, exploitation and slavery; at this very moment, part of it is imprisoned in a system of oppression and assassination which history will never dare to describe in full.

81. The fact that in holding your present office you represent all the women on earth is due in no small degree to your personal merits: as a daughter of one of the first black nations of the world, Liberia, you are among the great pioneers of the Africa of today. I am speaking now of all those nations of Africa which in less than 20 years have joined the ranks of the free nations. We all know that you are experienced, and the delegation of Chad has full confidence in you. My country will do its utmost to assist you in your heavy task.

82. For yours is indeed a heavy task, at a time when from this rostrum so many diagnoses are made of the ills afflicting mankind. From there, too, the possible remedies are also examined, yet no one wants to take the first step, so much does confidence seem definitely to have left the community of men.

83. You may rest assured, Madam President, that Chad will at all times be at your side, limited though our means are, whenever anything has to be done to promote peace. For without peace, how can the young nations grow up normally?

84. We are the more firmly convinced of this, because peace is the only real way out. We therefore follow with great sympathy the efforts made day by day by U Thant, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, to find a way through complex situations that will allay some of our immediate apprehensions and even suggest the beginnings of a solution. For young people in my country, the Secretary-General symbolizes courage and peace and personifies the United Nations.

85. I referred just now to the complexity of the problems which our Assembly and Organization will have to face. But among these problems, there is one which is the Gordian knot for us all: the armaments race, involving arms of every kind, and the perfecting of the means of delivery of weapons of mass destruction. My delegation is quite unabashed about repeating the same truth over and over again, when there is an evident danger that failure to acknowledge that truth may cause irreparable damage to the universe.

86. And today, more than ever, the plain truth is that we must put an end to the armaments race, and that it can be done. Once the armaments race has been stopped, as a prelude to further progress towards universal disarmament, then the fact that man has set foot on the moon will indeed be seen to be an unprecedented leap forward and will acquire its full significance for our future development. Even so, my delegation wishes to pay a well-deserved tribute to all the teams of workers, skilled technicians and political figures who have imparted a new dimension to our conception of the world through the success of the United States astronauts.

87. It was with a glimmer of hope that, in July 1968, Chad signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*]. In the introduction to his annual report, the Secretary-General is more pessimistic on that point than he was last year. He speaks of "fear", "insecurity" and "frustration", and he states with clarity what we already believe:

"The notion of 'superiority' in such a race is an illusion, as that notion can only lead to an endless competition in which each side steps up its nuclear capabilities in an effort to match, or exceed, the other side until the race ends in unmitigated disaster for all." [*A/7601/Add.1, para. 28.*]

88. The more optimistic speak of the "balance of terror". They believe that the bombs perfected and accumulated day by day, along with their means of delivery, will never explode. In real life terror has never been balanced, particularly as it is an essentially subjective thing which no weapon can measure accurately. It would be better for mankind to be made fully aware that, in the present state of affairs, the odds are over nine to ten that those terrible weapons will one day be used in a struggle for domination.

89. The young nations, in the present situation, cannot accept the idea of a "balance of terror". It would be more accurate to speak of a world "neurosis"—something that can still be halted. I have used this expression because there is now a nuclear Power which is not a member of the United Nations. It is, therefore, an unknown quantity in the "balance of terror".

90. There are certain facts with which our world has to live: nuclear weapons, bacteriological weapons, chemical weapons, and the means of delivering them. This is the beginning of October 1969; is mankind to resign itself to mass suicide?

91. What we wish above all is that negotiations on this all-important subject should be resumed as early as possible.

The work of the technical committees proceeds too slowly. The Assembly must set the negotiations in motion again. That is why the items entitled "The strengthening of international security" and "Question of general and complete disarmament" have been rightly included in the agenda of this session.

92. The reason why the delegation of Chad dwells on the question of disarmament is to prevent us from being unable to see the wood for the trees. The crisis areas of the world are in fact nothing but testing grounds for new weapons or for strategies which, we are assured by both sides, are always defensive. It is against this background that Europe must study its basic security problems, both medium-term and long-term, for the peace of the world depends on it.

93. In the Middle East, a grave situation seems to be taking shape which could lead to a final confrontation between the forces I have just mentioned, if the well-endowed nations do not find the basis for a peace that would be equitable for all, especially as their interests are involved in this interminable conflict. The Security Council resolution [242 (1967)] of 22 November 1967 should by now have borne fruit.

94. In Viet-Nam an important step forward has been taken, leading to the current Paris negotiations. But death still strikes blindly in Viet-Nam. The people of Viet-Nam, whose sufferings have lasted far too long, must now be allowed to choose their own form of government; this would in no way diminish the power of either side.

95. In Africa, colonialism in its most unspeakable form still reigns in the Portuguese territories. The delegation of Chad urges the great Powers which are allies of Portugal and support and sustain it to help the United Nations to bring about a speedy application of the principle of decolonization in those territories.

96. The African peoples now under colonial rule ask only to exercise their right to self-determination. The African lands of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) can welcome future African citizens from Portugal or elsewhere, but they cannot be overseas provinces of Portugal. Once again we address an urgent appeal to Portugal's allies to persuade that country to listen to reason before it is too late to start a dialogue in Africa.

97. The Rhodesia of Ian Smith is a disguised creation of the United Kingdom which it will one day have cause to regret, because human rights cannot be violated with impunity, even if the people of Zimbabwe have not attained the necessary degree of development. We believe that short-term profits are the sole reason for this adventurism on the part of the United Kingdom.

Mr. Dugersuren (Mongolia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

98. The problem of Namibia remains unchanged, and we wonder what method the great Powers will propose to enable the United Nations to resume its trusteeship over that part of the African heritage and lead it to independence.

99. As for *apartheid*, that monstrosity begotten by a so-called civilized society in South Africa, the position of Chad is widely known. Furthermore, Chad subscribed some months ago to the Manifesto on Southern Africa,² paragraph 7 of which reads:

"Our objectives in southern Africa stem from our commitment to this principle of human equality. We are not hostile to the administrations of these States because they are manned and controlled by white people. We are hostile to them because they are systems of minority control which exist as a result of, and in the pursuance of, doctrines of human inequality. What we are working for is the right of self-determination for the people of those territories. We are working for a rule in those countries which is based on the will of all the people and an acceptance of the equality of every citizen."

100. In other words, Africa ardently desires independence with strict respect for the right of peoples to self-determination, so that they can participate in the work of peace. Africa has no wish to become the scene of disturbance, violence, hatred or war. But that is what we must expect if there is no change in the situation in southern Africa.

101. In fact, despite the sincere desire of Africans to create a new, progressive and just society, in which every man will have the right to work, live and acquire an education, the retrograde forces of neo-colonialism are busy once again. Everything has been set in motion to frustrate the attempts to unify Africa, of whatever nature.

102. Concerning the part that could be played by the great Powers in our present-day societies, for good or for ill, the President of the Republic of Chad made the following statement on 7 October 1968 from this very rostrum:

"Several times in history, dominant nations incapable of allowing their reason to control them have dragged all mankind into insensate and dangerous adventures merely to satisfy the whims of their pride or their passions. The very genius with which they were endowed did not give them light enough, for they regarded it as an instrument with which the more easily to dominate others." [1684th meeting, para. 16.]

103. Thus, neo-colonialism and imperialism can be contained if we wish it. As we have seen, everything depends on the will of man. But instead of that, we are witnessing the manifestation of the will of certain champions of foreign interests to set Africa aflame, at a time when it has only just emerged from the horrors of its grim past.

104. Even Chad, where, according to the classic manuals of colonial days, there is nothing but "wind and sand", has not been spared. To quote once again what the President of the Republic of Chad said from this rostrum last year, speaking of Chad:

"In the eyes of a certain press, that country is rather poorly understood; it has its detractors, who address it in highly unfavourable terms." [Ibid., para. 34.]

Despite the attempts to discredit us, despite the organized campaign of lies, Chad will continue along the path of

² Subsequently distributed as document A/7754.

progress and maintain its policies of peace and good-neighbourliness.

105. In Nigeria the civil war continues to occasion great suffering, as we all know. But the leaders of Chad are also aware of the efforts made by the Federal Government to spare and assist the civilian population of the region of Nigeria occupied by the secessionists. If this civil war had really been an internal Nigerian affair, it would not have lasted so long. But the involvement of foreign interests in Nigeria prevented the *ad hoc* Committee of the Organization of African Unity³ from working objectively and effectively for peace.

106. In any case, all the African countries have inherited frontiers artificially created by the former colonial Powers, and none of them can afford to fall prey to vultures through acts of secession. Peace in Nigeria, as today in the Congo, is inseparable from peace in Africa, and therefore from world peace. Friends of Africa, help us to have peace. Civil war must be stopped.

107. Every year the reports of the United Nations emphasize the growing gap between the rich and the poor nations. Everything has been attempted here to persuade the wealthier countries to show more generosity. Even though this situation contains the seeds of a possible catastrophe for mankind, the developed countries have no intention of making any substantial concessions in the name of world solidarity. Nevertheless, Chad believes firmly in international co-operation. The United Nations Development Programme has just started in our country; some surveys and projects are being carried out.

108. Although the introduction to the Secretary-General's annual report seems to be far from optimistic, the Republic of Chad hopes that the Second United Nations Development Decade will be more successful than the First and welcomes the creation of a Centre for Economic and Social Information as a necessary means of support for the Second Decade [see A/760/Add.1, para. 85].

109. On many occasions in this Assembly the delegation of the Republic of Chad has expressed its unflagging devotion to the United Nations, despite the growing practice of dealing with the world's most urgent problems outside the Organization. Once again, my country reaffirms its deep faith and full confidence in the United Nations.

110. Mr. AL-JABER (Kuwait):⁴ It gives me great pleasure to congratulate the President on her unanimous election to the presidency of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly. This is a fitting tribute to the struggle for the emancipation of women in Africa and other parts of the third world. I should also like to congratulate her on the manner in which she has been directing the proceedings of this session, which is a proof of her ability and skill.

111. I should also like to pay a tribute to the memory of the late Mr. Emilio Arenales, who presided over the twenty-third session of the General Assembly. His untimely

death shocked us all and was a loss to his country and people.

112. Of all the international questions on the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly, none concerns Kuwait as intensely as what it has become customary of late to call the "Middle East crisis".

113. This special concern is caused not only by the fact that that issue affects the existence, survival and entire destiny of an Arab people, the Palestinian people, as well as the territorial integrity of three Arab States adjacent to Palestine, some of whose lands are presently under Israeli occupation. Besides the national bonds tying us to the peoples and States concerned, there is another reason for our special concern; all the elements which occur in the persistent international problems of today may be found together in the Middle East crisis, as interrelated and interactive ingredients thereof.

114. In the first place, the heavy burden of colonialism, which still weighs oppressively on some areas of the world, is felt in the Middle East. For the Middle East crisis is, in one of its aspects, a colonial crisis, where colonialism clearly reveals itself in all its classical manifestations: the occupation of the land of others, the subjugation of its inhabitants, the exploitation of its resources and the introduction of foreign settlements on its soil. The only difference between the *residua* of die-hard colonialism still existing in some pockets which have thus far defied purification and the Israeli colonial presence since 1967 in the territories of three sovereign States, Members of the United Nations, is this: the Israeli colonial presence was accomplished in an era in which the conscience of the civilized world had totally repudiated the logic of colonialism, and the international community had established an alternative international system on the anti-colonial foundation of what the charter of decolonization calls "the principles of equal rights and self-determination of all peoples".⁵ Nothing is worse than the colonialism which refuses to disappear in the era of the liquidation of colonialism, save that which comes into being in the heyday of decolonization.

115. In the second place, the influence of racism, from which some parts of the world still suffer, is also present in the Middle East crisis which, in one of its aspects, is a crisis caused by the existence of a racist régime; racist in its doctrinal presuppositions, racist in its inspiration and racist in its programmes and actions. The quintessence of Zionism is the call for the Jews of the world to segregate themselves by withdrawing from the countries of their residence and citizenship and to isolate themselves in one country which would become "Jewish", through the displacement of its non-Jewish indigenous population. Accordingly, its programmes and policies have been racist in inspiration and their practical application has manifested all the familiar features of racism; including racial hatred, racial self-segregation and isolation, belief in intrinsic racial superiority, resulting in the right for racial supremacy and the exercise of racial discrimination in all fields.

116. In the third place, the Middle East crisis reflects certain forms of international conduct which have come to

³ Consultative Committee on Nigeria of the Organization of African Unity.

⁴ Mr. Al-Jaber spoke in Arabic. The English version of his text was supplied by the delegation.

⁵ See Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (resolution 1514 (XV)).

be considered discreditable by the civilized world. These forms of conduct constitute in their totality an integral behavioural pattern which, if followed by all States in their international relations, would lead only to global chaos and perpetual turmoil. I shall now discuss, by way of illustration, three facets of this Israeli behavioural pattern. First, clear and thoughtless violation of some established rules of public international law which are also fundamental principles of the Charter; foremost among these is the principle of inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war or military conquest, a principle which has been reaffirmed four times by the Security Council in the past two years. Nevertheless, Israel has, in fact, formally annexed a portion of the territories it occupied by war in 1967, and has proceeded to create in other portions new situations which, as some Israeli leaders have candidly and clearly explained, aim at creating new "accomplished facts", the ultimate effect of which would be to render annexation by Israel inescapable and irresistible.

117. The determination of Israel to retain, under all circumstances, its possession of at least some of the lands it occupied by war from the territories of three Arab States, Members of the United Nations, is no longer a secret. Nor can sophistic reasoning and semantic acrobatics, however skilfully practised by some of Israel's spokesmen, succeed in concealing the following facts: that retaining possession of any part of territories occupied by war is an act of annexation, whatever the pretext put forward or the name applied; that such annexation constitutes a flagrant violation of a basic principle of the Charter and the rule of international law, which has been repeatedly reaffirmed by the Security Council; and that such unlawful annexation is, in fact, an application of the principle of territorial expansion through violence, which is an essential ingredient of the Zionist-Israeli programme.

118. Secondly, respect for the international conventions and treaties to which it is a party, application of their provisions and fulfilment of the obligations arising from them, are elementary ingredients of the pattern of conduct of a civilized State. Yet, in the two years and four months which have elapsed since Israel occupied militarily territories belonging to Arab States, the world has witnessed a continuing, obstinate refusal by Israel to put into effect the Geneva Convention of 1949 relative to the protection of civilian persons in occupied territories, to which Israel and the three Arab States immediately concerned are parties. Even though the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Commission on Human Rights and the International Conference on Human Rights have all reminded Israel of its obligations under that Convention and called upon it to comply with its provisions, in no less than 11 formal resolutions, adopted since June 1967, Israel has persisted in its disregard of the Convention, by its refusal to apply it to the situation at hand, and in its flagrant violation of some of its most important provisions.

119. Nor has this been the sole instance of Israel's disregard of international agreements to which it is a party. On the contrary, the fate of the Protocol of Lausanne and the four General Armistice Agreements of 1949 eloquently testifies to the fact that Israel has generally displayed little reluctance to abrogate international agreements uni-

laterally, tearing them up at will as though they were worthless scraps of paper.

120. Thirdly, thoughtless violation of the fundamental rules of international law and the habitual breaking of international contracts are appropriately accompanied by disdain for, and non-compliance with, the resolutions adopted by United Nations organs. Israel has gone so far as to wage an organized campaign against the United Nations and its principal organs for adopting some of those resolutions, even in cases where they were adopted by unanimous votes.

121. Israeli leadership evinces no embarrassment at the glaring inconsistency of official Israeli attacks on the authority of the United Nations, and the persistent Israeli contempt for dozens of resolutions adopted by its competent principal organs. Their claim to legitimacy is based on the authority of one recommendation contained in one resolution adopted by one of those organs, even though that single resolution was suspended by the same organ less than six months after it was adopted.

122. There is little need here to cite individually the provisions of all those resolutions, including many which were adopted by unanimous or near-unanimous votes, with which Israel has continuously refused to comply. Suffice it to refer to those adopted since the summer of 1967, which include the following:

(a) Ten resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council and other organs, calling upon Israel to facilitate promptly the return of all inhabitants of the occupied territories displaced since the war of June 1967;

(b) Three resolutions, adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Commission on Human Rights, calling upon Israel to facilitate international investigation of the conditions of the civilian inhabitants of Arab territories occupied by Israel;

(c) Five resolutions, two adopted by the Assembly and three by the Security Council, enjoining Israel to rescind all measures taken by it purporting to alter the status of the City of Jerusalem.

Israel has complied with none of these resolutions and it has continuously violated their respective provisions.

123. Much talk about international ethics by Israeli leaders, and extravagant boasting about the excellence of the moral values alleged to be inherent in Israel's international conduct, are powerless to disguise the truth that Israel, colonial to the core in its reality and racist in its ideology, system and policies, has, since its birth, followed a course of action which desecrates those standards of international morality enshrined in the Charter and which civilized States aspire to achieve.

124. At the opening of my remarks on the Middle East crisis a short while ago, I intimated that it was a three-dimensional crisis, of which the conflict between the Arab States and Israel is only one aspect. It is most unfortunate that the general view of that crisis focuses upon this conflict and is oblivious of the other aspects and

dimensions. Such distorted vision and conception would in practice make for erroneous approaches. Efforts are exerted to find a settlement for the conflict between the Arab States and Israel without attempting to redress the wrongs done to, or remedy the unjust conditions imposed upon, the Palestinian people, prior to or since the establishment of Israel.

125. The essence of the problem is the dispossession and displacement of the bulk of the Palestinian people, the subjugation and plunder of the rest, the deprivation of the Palestinian people, as a whole, of the opportunity to exercise its inalienable right to self-determination on the soil of its homeland, and the deprivation of Palestinians as individuals of many of their other fundamental human rights. It is this that is the cause of the conflict between the Arab States and Israel. How then can this conflict be settled as long as those conditions which gave rise to it remain?

126. The experience of the past 21 years, and in particular of the past year, shows that forgetting or ignoring the existence of the Palestinian people cannot serve to simplify the Middle East crisis or facilitate its settlement, but, in fact, renders it more intricate and its settlement more remote. People do not vanish just because others prefer to forget that they exist; nor are their rights lost simply because they are forcibly deprived of them for some time.

127. These are truisms which the international community can ill afford to forget or neglect, least of all the major Powers which have endeavoured, since the beginning of the year, to reach a settlement of the problem by way of consultations among themselves. No formula for a settlement which affects the fate of Palestine or its people can have the slightest chance of working, or be just and therefore worthy of working, if it neglects those people's rights or ignores their national will and legitimate aspirations.

128. At this stage, I cannot but note with much regret that such neglect of the Palestinian people is at the root of the policy of one of the major Powers towards the problems of Palestine and the Middle East. I refer to the United States of America. This is particularly sad, inasmuch as the United States, which now views with disdain the national right of the people of Palestine to self-determination in its homeland, was once the foremost champion for the principle of self-determination and played a leading role in introducing it into the contemporary international system.

129. The faults and dangers of American policy towards the Middle East, however, go beyond ignoring the existence of the Palestinian people as a people and rejecting its national rights as such, as well as many of the human rights of its individuals.

130. How strange it is for the question of the Middle East to be raised and discussed entirely within the context of the analysis of American-Soviet relations, as was done in the statement made before the present session of the Assembly by the President of the United States [1755th meeting], as though the situation in the Middle East had no objective reality or character of its own, independently of the vicissitudes of American-Soviet relations.

131. How strange it was for the statement of the American President to raise once more the question of "the limitation of the shipment of arms to the Middle East" [*ibid.*, para. 56] so soon after the United States itself had brought the situation of armaments to a new and grave stage by beginning to supply Israel with Phantom jets.

132. To further the military capabilities of the occupying Power, particularly after it had made unmistakably clear its determination to retain possession, under all circumstances, of much of what it now occupies, can only embolden it to maintain the occupation and indeed nourish its avaricious, expansionist desire to annex more of the territories it now occupies.

133. We find cause for anxiety in the failure of the statement, made by the President of the United States, to emphasize the obligation to withdraw, indeed, its failure to use that word at all. Nor was that anxiety allayed—perhaps it was aggravated—by the statement that "peace cannot be achieved on the basis of substantial alterations in the map of the Middle East" [*ibid.*, para. 65]. This statement, in reality, envisages and condones territorial alterations which may be deemed "insubstantial", in the course of expressing disapproval of "substantial" alterations. By so doing, it opens the door for acquisition of territory by military conquest, which is precisely what the United States, on more than one occasion, had joined other States in declaring to be "inadmissible".

134. This would indicate that the United States position towards this vital aspect of the Middle East crisis has now undergone an important change. Two years ago, the United States position was one of the decisive factors which prevented either the Security Council or the General Assembly from issuing a call for complete and unconditional Israeli withdrawal, and contributed instead to a call for complete, though not unconditional, withdrawal. While that position displayed disregard of the principle that military invasion shall not be rewarded in the course of reaching a pacific settlement, it did at the same time evince respect for the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by military conquest. Now, however, the doctrine of the admissibility of making "alterations in the map of the Middle East" provided only that they are not "substantial"—implicit in the statement [*ibid.*] of the United States President—amounts to a violation of the second principle as well as the first.

135. The world today is burdened with problems that jeopardize the future of humanity. We must find a solution to these problems if we are to enjoy the blessings of stability and peace.

136. In Viet-Nam peace can only prevail when all foreign troops are withdrawn and the people of Viet-Nam are allowed to decide their own future.

137. In the colonized territories of Africa there can be no stability and progress until the people there exercise their inalienable right to freedom and independence.

138. Human conscience can only rest easy when the *apartheid* practised in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia is totally eliminated and the right of the majority to live in freedom and dignity is respected.

139. Peace and prosperity are closely linked. The developed countries should shoulder their responsibilities towards the developing countries. It is a source of great regret that the First United Nations Development Decade has failed to achieve its main objectives. The gap between the developing and developed countries is steadily widening. The developed countries have been reluctant to fulfil their obligations, particularly in the field of aid and trade.

140. We are now on the threshold of the Second United Nations Development Decade. Poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance have been the lot of the ordinary people in the developing countries for centuries past. This poverty and the craving for a better life that it engenders have now become a source of active political discontent. It is the duty of both developing and developed countries to agree on concerted measures for solving this problem.

141. My Government believes that the sea-bed and the ocean floor, and the subsoil thereof, underlying the high seas beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, should be reserved exclusively for peaceful purposes. We have consistently advocated establishing an international legal régime for the area, beyond the limits of national jurisdiction based on the concept that the area and its resources are the common heritage of mankind. We are also in favour of establishing an international machinery to promote the exploration and exploitation of the resources of the area, beyond the limits of national jurisdiction for the benefit of mankind as a whole, taking into account the special interests and needs of the developing countries. We believe that only such an international machinery will be able to exploit the resources of the area in a rational and complementary manner, and distribute the income derived therefrom equitably among all countries and other parties concerned, while allocating a certain percentage to increase United Nations resources, particularly in the field of international development.

142. Almost a quarter of a century has elapsed since the establishment of the United Nations as an international organization, entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security and the regulation of international relations on an equitable and legal basis. In spite of this lapse of time, the United Nations still does not enjoy the unreserved and complete support of the Member States which will enable it to discharge its duties and fulfil its objectives. It is incumbent upon all States to respect the provisions of the United Nations Charter, to desist from the practice of colonialism in all its forms and to renounce the use of aggression as a means of imposing *de facto* solutions and the acquisition of territorial gains. Whenever any Member violates the Charter and persists in a policy of aggression and expansion, the international community should not hesitate to act in a clear and decisive manner against the offender. This is the only way in which the United Nations can fulfil its mission and discharge its duties according to the Charter.

143. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Venezuela has expressed the wish to exercise the right of reply, and I give him the floor.

144. Mr. AGUILAR (Venezuela) (*translated from Spanish*): The representative of Guyana has used his

eloquence to present a dramatic picture to the General Assembly: little Guyana as the object of acts of political, military and economic aggression by Venezuela, on the point of being invaded, and in the meantime compelled to spend on defence the resources it would prefer to use for development.

145. Let us see, however, what the facts are. In the first place, in the last century the United Kingdom seized from what was then its colony of Guiana one seventh of the territory of Venezuela. This action was so flagrant that the United States felt it necessary to intervene to enforce the Monroe Doctrine. In order to avoid a confrontation which might have led to war, both countries—super-Powers in an unscrupulous era—came to a political agreement entitling Great Britain to retain the occupied territory provided that it desisted from further conquest.

146. To seal the compact, both countries connived at an unpardonable farce: an arbitration with British, Russian and American judges but no Venezuelan judge. In 1899, in the heyday of imperialism, Venezuela was obliged to submit to the *diktat* of that tribunal, which was so full of defects as to be null and void, as we have often pointed out.

147. After making inquiries to collect the necessary evidence and in a different international political climate, Venezuela presented a claim to the United Kingdom for the return of the territory seized from it. Venezuela took special pains to ensure that its claim could not be used as a pretext for delaying Guiana's independence. As the Member States of this Organization are well aware, it firmly supported the process of Guiana's decolonization, immediately recognized the new State and supported its admission to the United Nations, while reserving its own rights.

148. Guyana expressly and freely accepted the agreement reached between Venezuela and the United Kingdom at Geneva in 1966⁶ to seek a peaceful solution to the territorial controversy. So far, 18 meetings of the Guyanese-Venezuelan Mixed Commission have been held under the terms of that agreement, the last in Port of Spain, Trinidad, at the end of September—that is, only a few days ago.

149. As the solution to this controversy is pending, Venezuela has not only the right but also the duty to warn all those who plan to make investments in the territory it claims that it does not intend, when that territory is again within its sovereignty, to recognize any titles or rights they may have acquired under the laws of Guyana.

150. These warnings are necessary because Venezuelan laws are strict in protecting the country's natural resources and careful about the terms on which they permit the extraction of its wealth. As we are not permissive in this respect like Guyana, we may find ourselves facing, when we have restored our territorial integrity, unacceptable claims by large foreign consortia whose power must not be underestimated.

151. Secondly, our historical tradition is clear and well known. Although Venezuela played a decisive part and lost

⁶ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Annexes, agenda item 23, document A/6325.

its best men in the continent's struggle for independence, it claimed not a single inch of territory for itself after victory was won.

152. Venezuela has never since its independence waged war or borne arms against any of its neighbours, or indeed against any country in the world. Its territorial boundaries with its other neighbours have been established by friendly negotiation or arbitration, whose conclusions have always been accepted although in some cases they have meant ceding large tracts of territory from its possession.

153. Guyana and Venezuela maintain normal diplomatic relations. The controversy between them is subject to an agreement freely accepted by both. Talks are held at every level, including that of Ministers of State. The Foreign Minister of Venezuela held cordial talks in Santo Domingo in June, and in New York only a few days ago, with the same Mr. Ramphal who attacked Venezuela yesterday [1780th meeting].

154. Venezuela has formally declared and demonstrated in practice that it seeks a solution to the territorial controversy by purely legal and peaceful means. What then is the object of presenting Venezuela as an imminent aggressor? The only explanation that commends itself is that the Government of Guyana is attempting to distract its own public opinion.

155. We realize that Guyana has serious domestic problems. Racial hostility, a legacy of British colonial policy, has become worse instead of dying down, and the economic situation is difficult. We also realize that to depict

Venezuela as a threat also serves to justify the high proportion of expenditure on the armed forces, which are not meant to defend Guyana against Venezuela, since Guyana knows very well that Venezuela will never be an aggressor. The real reason for the armed forces is Guyana's internal situation.

156. This was demonstrated in the brutal repression of the movement led by the Amerindian inhabitants of the territory of Rupununi, who were driven to despair by persecution. Venezuela categorically rejects the unfounded accusations that it took part in that movement.

157. We believe, however, that Guyana should reflect a little before using the United Nations for these purposes. The Organization faces genuinely serious peace-keeping problems. At this very moment men are dying in different wars in different parts of the world. To bring before the United Nations a tale of invented aggression, to use it as an instrument for internal political purposes, is to render a disservice to an organization which is the greatest hope and guarantee for small and weak countries such as Guyana and Venezuela.

158. The PRESIDENT: In the name of the President of the General Assembly, I should like to take this opportunity of thanking the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Malaysia, and the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Upper Volta, Chad and Kuwait for the compliments they have paid her.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.