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AGENDA ITEM 21

Celebration of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations (*continued*)**

1. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear a statement by the President of the Republic of Zambia, His Excellency Mr. Kenneth David Kaunda.

2. President KAUNDA: It is an honour for me to have this opportunity to address this commemorative session of the General Assembly as we celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

3. In November 1966 [1464th meeting] I addressed the General Assembly as a spokesman of the young Republic of Zambia. Since then Zambia has assumed new tasks in its commitment to the world. Today, however, I am a messenger for over half the world's population, whose leaders have entrusted me with the responsibility that I now have the honour to discharge on their behalf.

4. In the tradition adopted by the African countries I come as Chairman of the Organization of African Unity to lay before this august Assembly the Organization of African Unity's Declaration of 1970 [A/8121]. I also come as Chairman of the third summit of non-aligned countries to present the Lusaka Declaration,¹ adopted last September by the summit, which it was our greatest honour and pleasure to host in our capital.

* The 1865th to 1870th, 1872nd to 1879th and 1881st to 1883rd meetings contain the speeches made during the twenty-fifth anniversary commemorative session.

** Resumed from the 1870th meeting

¹ Adopted by the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Lusaka from 8 to 10 September 1970.

Our readiness, as a country, to co-operate with our friends or partners in building genuine and more secure peace, our readiness to part with some of our resources in this great task—these are an expression of our commitment to the world; a world of equality, a world of equal opportunity for all men in freedom and justice, a peaceful and happy world.

5. The seventh summit of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa and the third summit of non-aligned countries in Lusaka, together representing the peoples of Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, Europe and Latin America, the growing identity of views on the need and importance of peace and security, on development strategy among developing countries, on the basic principles of international law concerning the promotion of friendly relations and co-operation among States and on the value of exchanging views and information on an ever widening spectrum of problems—all signify the development of a new understanding and a wider brotherhood of man. They give expression to a new phenomenon in human development peculiar to this era in man's history. They give expression to the determination of developing and non-aligned countries to play a positive role in shaping the events of the future, in reforming the international machinery for the preservation of peace and security, and for the furtherance of the aims and objectives of freedom and independence in which they all have a vital and enduring interest.

6. In the growth of the international system the main trend has been the dominance of big-Power influence in determining the major events of the world, in deciding on the issues of war or peace. Vital decisions have always been made in the major capitals of the world and changes in international relations have always been determined in relation to policies designed to preserve and further great-Power interests regardless of those of other nations.

7. The Berlin Conference of 1884 to 1885, which decided on the partition of Africa, largely determined the shape of Africa as it is today. Alliances among the major Powers in Europe led to the 1914-1918 war. The Treaty of Versailles, negotiated by major Powers, which put a seal to the end of the First World War, ushered in a new era of international relations dominated, *inter alia*, by the League of Nations, an institution created to serve principally the interests of the major Powers. The end of the First World War also brought in its train revolutionary changes in Europe. The relative peace that followed the Treaty of Versailles was destroyed by the decision of European nations to go to war for a second time in 20 years.

Africa and Asia were brought into the cockpit of battle so that the world might be safe for the democracy that the peoples of those continents themselves could not enjoy under the colonial system and which to this day is still denied to millions.

8. The end of the Second World War in 1945 saw the birth of a new system of international relations in which the United Nations, the twenty-fifth anniversary of which we are now celebrating, replaced the League of Nations. The last 25 years have similarly witnessed the growth of patterns of international relations characterized by tensions and local conflicts, created or encouraged or supported by major Powers. The cold war was the creation of big Powers. The world felt the grip of threats and counter-threats of destruction of one Power by another. The mushrooming of local conflicts in Indo-China, in Africa, in the Middle East and Latin America, has not been the work of local forces, but has been principally motivated by major Powers who have fanned the flames of death and destruction. Even today the international system continues, unhappily, to be determined by decisions made in the major capitals of the world. Major Powers still largely determine the pace of decolonization, the proliferation of military weapons and the arms race, the reduction or intensification of tension in the Middle East, and the end or escalation of war in Indo-China. They are still determining whether a rebel Government in Rhodesia should be crushed or sheltered in defiance of United Nations decisions. They determine when and where human rights are inviolable; they even decide which Government, however progressive, should be brought down in the name of civilization—often another name for exploitation and oppression.

9. Decisions on these issues affect countries big and small, old and young, rich and poor.

10. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations happily coincides with the opening of a new decade. Already African and non-aligned countries have met to review the events of the past and to map out courses of action in pursuit of peace and security in freedom and justice for all peoples and nations. Indeed, this is the best way to commemorate, in a positive manner, an event such as the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. It is a time to renew our commitments to the path of peace which the Members of the United Nations must tread.

11. A mere reaffirmation of faith in the United Nations is not enough. We must give expression of our faith in the world body by action calculated to resolve problems which have bedevilled international relations. For, while there has not been a world war for the past 25 years, the world has not enjoyed peace. The thaw in the cold war may have reduced the dangers of a big Power confrontation, but there are many hot fronts. Everywhere peace is under attack; the danger of its collapse on a larger scale is real.

12. In Indo-China, the war that was confined to Viet-Nam has threatened to engulf the whole region. The continuation and escalation of the war is a source of

grave concern to a peace-loving and freedom-loving international community. For many years the people of these regions have not enjoyed peace, which is basic for human development and spiritual fulfilment. There must be an end to this killing, to the untold suffering and the loss of property. To achieve this, outside interference must end as a prerequisite to the creation of conditions for peace in the area. Non-aligned countries are united in expressing their hope that the Paris peace talks will lead to a lasting and just settlement which will enable the people of Viet-Nam to decide their own destiny by themselves and also help in the search for a peaceful solution to the problems of Laos and Cambodia.

13. We appreciate and welcome the decision of the United States to withdraw its forces from Viet-Nam. We urge that the process of withdrawal be speeded up. We call upon other countries which maintain military forces to join the United States of America and completely withdraw all foreign troops from the area. This is vital to the success of the current and future international efforts to restore just and lasting peace and stability in Indo-China.

14. A credible programme of reducing foreign intervention will make a cease-fire a practical possibility, followed by the formation of a broad-based administration. We are convinced that under these circumstances the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam will consider more positively the proposal of a coalition government. It is in the interest of the United States and peace-loving nations to study the eight-point proposal put forward by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam.

15. The Middle East crisis continues to pose a threat to international peace and security. War should not be allowed to break out again. We therefore stand by the resolution 242 (1967) of the United Nations Security Council of 22 November 1967. We call upon Israel to accept the provisions of the resolution, which provides the best framework for stable peace and relations among the peoples and nations in that area. We welcome the cease-fire now in force and we hope that it will enable the United Nations to build a strong platform for a lasting and meaningful peace based on justice for all the people. We ask the big Powers to agree on reciprocal abstention from unilateral involvement in the Middle East. The presence of big-Power influence in the area will continue to impede the efforts of peace missions.

16. We appeal to the parties concerned to co-operate and to give all necessary support to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, in order to enable him to complete his peace mission successfully.

17. The mere end of war in the Middle East will not achieve peace and stability in that area. The question of Palestinian refugees must be tackled with realism. All men are entitled to enjoy human dignity and the conditions necessary for its exercise in freedom. Statelessness means the absence of such conditions. The

United Nations cannot restore permanent and just peace without removing the fundamental causes of war. Future initiatives should therefore take into account the rights of all peoples, including Palestinians.

18. In southern Africa another hot front is in the making. In this region minority régimes in South Africa, Namibia, Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique are committing barbaric acts of aggression against humanity, giving rise to the increasing tension and violent conflicts which we experience today.

19. Portugal, a NATO member, has for the last nine years been fighting the freedom-fighters in its bid to retain the colonial status of the peoples in the area. Lives and property have been lost and there is no end to the war in sight. In Rhodesia the Smith régime has got away with its rebellion, and the prohibitive refusal of the British Government to take swift and effective measures to bring about an end to the rebellion has resulted in the Smith régime taking more repressive measures against the indigenous people. In South Africa the Vorster racist régime is becoming increasingly confident about its capabilities to continue with its inhuman policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

20. In response to this situation the United Nations has made verbal declarations about the right of all peoples to self-determination, but major Powers have on many occasions, through vetoes and abstentions or, indeed, sheer indifference, frustrated actions calculated to put the millions of indigenous people in southern Africa on the road to majority rule by peaceful means in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

21. On many occasions the British Government has for very good reasons been condemned for its negative attitude towards Rhodesia; the Portuguese and South African régimes have been condemned for their oppressive policies. The United Nations has not been able to get further than verbal condemnation because of complete lack of authority to take positive action.

22. Britain, for example, is the administering Power in Rhodesia. In 1967, South African troops entered Rhodesia illegally. The British Government should have broken diplomatic relations with South Africa. It did not. It could have told the Vorster régime to keep its hands off Rhodesia. It did not. Instead, it adopted a policy of no confrontation with the Vorster régime. It argued that the security forces were policemen and not soldiers, thereby implying tacit approval for an illegal act and opening the door for more economic, political and military involvement by the South Africans in rebel Rhodesia. This paradox continues, for the British Government, which ought to break diplomatic relations with South Africa, is now intent on arming the Vorster régime, thereby giving it not only the strength to carry out acts of aggression and repression internally, but also a stamp of recognition of its policies and the strength to carry out its intentions in the rest of southern Africa and independent Africa. The question of Rhodesia is deliberately pushed out of focus.

23. To supply arms to South Africa is to cast a vote for *apartheid*; it means supporting South African expansionism and dominance; it also gives it authority to establish its military presence in the rest of southern Africa. The military argument in defence of British intentions to supply arms to South Africa is ridiculous, to say the least. The Vorster régime, according to British policy, is to be the custodian of Western interests in the Indian Ocean. The threat of the Soviet naval presence in the Indian Ocean is, according to British defence doctrine, to be countered by South African maritime power. But the supply of a handful of frigates by Britain will not meet the challenge of the Soviet naval power, if one were established. The United States, the custodian of Western interests, does not recognize the existence of any such threat. We must therefore conclude that the so-called threat is a bogey and a rationalization of a policy by Britain based on racialism and a peculiar greed for revenue from the sale of arms.

24. Any sale of arms to South Africa is dangerous. First, those who profess support for the principles of the right of all peoples to self-determination must not at the same time create conditions which make self-determination impossible of attainment. Second, the indigenous people of South Africa and many Africans on the continent have no quarrels with the Soviet Union. They have nothing to do with the quarrels between major Powers. They only want their rights to freedom and independence; they want peace based on justice. They will not allow themselves to be pawns in the power game. The Vorster régime does not really want to be the defender of Western interests in the Indian Ocean. It wants to use Western power to further its own interest in southern Africa and north of the Zambezi.

25. The Vorster régime doctrine has the following important elements.

26. The first is white supremacy forever. This is based on the 1963 declaration of aims by the late Prime Minister of South Africa, Mr. Verwoerd:

"Reduced to its simplest form the problem is nothing else than this: we want to keep South Africa white . . . 'keeping it white' can only mean one thing, namely white domination, not 'leadership', not 'guidance', but control, 'supremacy'. If we are agreed that it is the desire of the people that the white man should be able to continue to protect himself by retaining white domination . . . we say that it can be achieved by separate development".

27. The second is the establishment of satellite States with Pretoria as capital. The outward-looking policy and the creation of the so-called "area of co-prosperity" are part and parcel of this endeavour. The outward-looking policy is not for African consumption, it is designed to hoodwink the West about Pretoria's new "reasonableness" in order to achieve for the white minority a degree of credibility about their intentions. South Africa believes that the path to Europe lies through Africa.

28. The third element is that South Africa will fight freedom fighters wherever it is allowed to do so. The extension of its lines of defence further north and beyond the Zambezi is a very fundamental aspect of this doctrine. The South African régime considers its military presence in Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique, and its refusal to give up Namibia, as vital in its strategy. It is against this background that the Cabora Bassa hydro-electric scheme is a political project with grave security implications for neighbouring independent States.

29. *Apartheid* is aggression against humanity. The South African régime, with the support of some Western countries, wants to extend this aggression to other parts of Africa. Western-supplied weapons have already been used against certain independent African States by minority régimes. A crisis exists in southern Africa and it is a threat to international peace and security.

30. So far as Portuguese colonies are concerned, we have made our position quite clear. We are prepared to assist the Portuguese authorities in any efforts designed to prepare the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) for self-determination and independence. We have offered the good offices of African countries in any discussions between the Portuguese Government and the leaders of nationalist movements which will pave the way to independence. The onus is on the Portuguese Government. But if it persists with its present inflexible and inhuman policy, Africa has no choice but to continue to support the freedom fighters in their struggle for freedom, peace and justice. Portugal has allowed the colonial territories to come under the influence of South Africa. Recently the Portuguese Defence Minister offered the three African territories, namely Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), to NATO for military purposes without the consent of the majority of the people.

31. It is clear, however, that the strength of freedom fighters, far from decreasing, will increase both in intensity and magnitude, and Portugal is bound to lose the war. One of the stumbling blocks remains the Western countries—the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in particular.

32. In the Treaty, the Parties reaffirmed:

“... their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments. They are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law.”

Article 2 of the Treaty provides that:

“The Parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being.”

33. The Portuguese colonial system constitutes a violation of these principles. There are no free institutions, no individual liberty, the law that exists is the law of the jungle in which the strong prey upon the weak. In terms of oppression the Portuguese colonial system is identical with that of South Africa. Hence the collaboration between Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon.

34. To bring an end to this perfidious system NATO countries must act in accordance with their obligation under the United Nations Charter.

35. Firstly, they must give political support to those who are fighting for peace and their rights in southern Africa. The NATO countries, together with other members of the international community who believe in the principles and ideals of the United Nations Charter, should recognize the nationalist liberation movements as legitimate forces for freedom and peace with justice. They must give them political, moral and material support.

36. Secondly, NATO members should together exert increasing diplomatic pressure on Portugal to negotiate independence with the indigenous population. There should, if necessary, be a referendum to be supervised by the United Nations to enable the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) to express their desires regarding the future of their respective countries.

37. Thirdly, NATO countries should take common action with the rest of the international community to convince Portugal of the economic benefits which would accrue from the independence of her colonies.

38. Fourthly, NATO countries should cut military supplies to Portugal in view of her continued violation of human rights in defiance of the Charter of the United Nations, and indeed of the North Atlantic Treaty itself. Portugal alone cannot sustain her colonial wars. She has succeeded in doing so only because of the support she enjoys from her NATO allies and now from South Africa.

39. Western countries who profess belief in democracy, individual liberty and all the other principles and ideals of the United Nations are now the agents of oppression in southern Africa. Unless there is a change of attitude and policy there will be an escalation of violence in this part of the world.

40. The arms race has been one of the most disheartening features in the last 25 years. The proliferation of weapons of war has increased the dangers of localized conflicts. The development of nuclear weapons has threatened the complete destruction of man and his heritage. The protection of outer space and of land has been one of the biggest problems of our time. Neither is safe enough at the present moment. The protection of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction against the placing of deadly weapons is now the concern of all nations big and small. Non-aligned countries have pledged themselves not to use the sea-bed and the

ocean floor for military purposes; they have united in their agreement that they should be exploited for peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind as a whole. They have declared that the area shall not be subject to national appropriation by any means. No State shall exercise or claim sovereign rights with respect to the area or its resources without regard to these basic principles and to the international régime to be established.

41. To this end the non-aligned countries support the convening of a conference on the law of the sea as soon as possible.

42. The non-aligned countries are also concerned about the use of biological and chemical weapons in war. It is unfortunate that so far the major Powers are only concerned about the destructive nature of biological weapons which the United States, for example, has agreed to ban. The use of chemical weapons and other lethal gases is equally objectionable to us. The Portuguese régime, for example, is already conducting chemical warfare in its colonial wars to destroy human and natural life in areas under the control of freedom-fighters. It is our sincere hope that at this commemorative session of the United Nations due attention will be paid to conventions barring completely biological and chemical warfare.

43. So far as general and complete disarmament is concerned, our desire is that the whole world should engage in genuine action to make complete disarmament a practical possibility. It is our hope that Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and Latin America will be nuclear-free zones. The non-aligned nations do not wish to be brought into the cockpit of battle in defence of western or eastern bloc interests. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)] is not enough. What is needed is the destruction of all weapons of war. We cannot have any confidence in any exercise on disarmament unless the western countries, for example, stop aiding the minority régimes by arming them.

44. We will support a policy of disarmament if it is based on justice and fair play.

45. These are the problems which confront the United Nations. But the world Organization is itself in dire need of reform if it is to cope with the new and complex international community.

46. Firstly, there is need to improve the peace-keeping machinery in order to ensure that the maintenance of international peace and security is guaranteed. The Security Council in particular requires strengthening but, unfortunately, it has suffered greatly from the ambivalence of Member States and their lack of commitment to the principles and ideals of the United Nations Charter. Vetoes, abstentions, a defiant attitude on the part of some members to decisions made by the Security Council when it is not in their interests to conform, and general indifference to the problems facing the small countries have adversely affected the authority of the United Nations and the seriousness

with which international crises are viewed. Concrete steps must, therefore, be taken to strengthen the United Nations peace-keeping machinery. All of us, regardless of our status, have long-term interests in preserving peace and strengthening the machinery for its maintenance. The United States and the Soviet Union and their respective allies have, at one time or another, in the last 25 years experienced the perils of unilateral involvement. The major Powers must agree on a policy of reciprocal abstention from local conflicts. They should help to increase the capacity of the United Nations to deal with a variety of problems, from patrolling borders where conflicts occur to the enforcement of peace measures where these are necessary. Peace-keeping operations, which are authorized by the Security Council, must be fully supported by all Members.

47. Coupled with the above, it is necessary for the United Nations to examine new measures to strengthen the procedures for peaceful settlement of disputes, for the function of the United Nations is, *inter alia*, that of an instrument for the settlement of international disputes, not merely a forum for deliberating issues. Consideration should be given to the permanent members to avoid misusing their veto powers to prevent the Council from discharging its responsibilities in order to achieve peaceful settlement in particular disputes where threats to peace and security exist.

48. Furthermore, the United Nations has, in the past, tended to become only wise after the event. Member States not only should seek corrective measures but should take preventive measures. There are a number of cases where it is quite clear that conflicts could have been prevented but polemics and big-Power interests have tended to delay action until threats to peace turned into war.

49. Secondly, the United Nations should, during the rest of this century, devote its attention to the improvement of the machinery for the implementation of human rights which has become a very urgent and desperate problem in many parts of the world. While the United Nations has so far focused its attention on the rights of peoples to self-determination and while millions have been freed through the process of decolonization, that process is far from being completed. Many nations represented in this Assembly have, at one time or another, declared their support for universal human rights. Membership of the United Nations itself means acceptance of the basic principles. However, the conduct of some nations leaves much to be desired for while supporting these principles, they are at the same time agents for their violation. The overt support *apartheid* enjoys is a case in point. Human rights laws, which the United Nations has adopted in the form of conventions and human rights covenants, are dishonoured with impunity. Therefore what is needed now is not more law but an effective system of implementing all the conventions which have been adopted. There is need to give the United Nations agencies enforcement powers. To this end the establishment of an international crime register must be decided as a matter of priority so that those who commit crimes against humanity do not get away with it. In addition, the

creation of an international tribunal to deal with complaints against violation of human rights must be given serious consideration. *Apartheid* is a crime against humanity and the United Nations requires adequate power and means to deal with it effectively. While this is the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, it is also the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Let us honour our obligations under this Declaration.

50. Thirdly, the United Nations should realize as quickly as possible its own principle of the universality of its membership. It is necessary to include nations which are now being excluded from the membership of the world body as it is the protector of the rights of all peoples and nations regardless of race, colour, creed or ideology. The nature of the political and social systems must not hinder some people from joining the march of nations as members of one human family. The basic consideration for exclusion must be the defiance of a Member State in the continued breach of the peace or the contravention of the United Nations Charter. For example, the minority régimes in southern Africa cannot make a legitimate claim to the right of representation in the United Nations unless the principle of majority rule is accepted and implemented. However, the People's Republic of China has, indeed, more than met the criteria for membership of the international community and has demonstrated the legitimacy of its lawful rights. The restoration of its lawful rights is overdue and its continued exclusion is incompatible with international democracy and fair play.

51. A reformed United Nations should also offer admission to divided States like Germany, Korea and Viet-Nam. This would give representation to the millions who have, in the past, been excluded. Their status is often not of their own making, nor in their interests. The seating of these States need not prejudice the possibility of unification by peaceful means. Such an approach would greatly increase the capacity of the United Nations to assist in the peaceful settlement of disputes which are still outstanding. The United Nations deals with global problems and it must have global representation.

52. Along with this proposal should be the clarification of the position of the so-called mini-States. There are proposals in some quarters to deny mini-States full membership. There are arguments about the need to differentiate the big Powers from the medium and small States with regard to their voting power so that there is a relationship between voting power and real power in the world body. This suggestion should be rejected. The responsibility for keeping the peace and for maintaining security is not a monopoly of powerful States alone. Peace is no longer the exclusive concern of a few but the inclusive concern of all States big and small, old and young, rich and poor. Recent history has shown that major Powers have been at the root of the conflicts in the world. The victims of all the hardships that go with war have not been the nationals of powerful States, but those of small States which

are pawns in the power game. As long as the consequences of disagreement between major Powers affect the young and weak nations, the latter have a responsibility to maintain peace and security for themselves.

53. Fourthly, as we enter the Second United Nations Development Decade, there is need to improve the economic development strategy and to liberalize trade so that improved economic and social conditions among all Members of the international community will increase the chances for the maintenance of peace and security, while at the same time raising immensely the standards of living of all peoples. To achieve this there is need for institutional reforms in the United Nations so that the Organization can respond successfully to the new challenges which science and technology have thrust upon it. The exploitation of the achievements of outer space and the sea-bed, of the natural and human resources all over the world, requires very careful handling, indeed. These reforms are impossible of achievement unless there is a desire and a willingness on the part of Member States to bring about the necessary changes.

54. Development assistance is vital, but we in developing countries have experienced its negative effects and know how much more it tends to benefit the donor nations. Urgent consideration should be given to improvement of the United Nations machinery, to the streamlining of its various procedures, including the United Nations administration itself, to meet the challenges of development. In the final analysis, the success of our United Nations depends upon what we want it to be now and in the future.

55. Peace is vital. Peace is indivisible. So are human rights. The creation of a world order in which peace and security will be guaranteed is the concern of each and every member of the international community, be they Members of the United Nations or not.

56. The outlook for the 1970s is bleak. While the major Powers may continue to enjoy peace, there will be no peace for small and young countries. We will continue to play the role of pawns in power politics in which major Powers continue to secure peace for themselves at the expense of the smaller nations. Universal peace must be our objective; but it is quite clear that unless countries which are not major Powers unite to defend their own interests by strengthening the United Nations we will fall victim to regional conflicts, the flames of which will be fanned from the major capitals of the world.

57. In the rest of the century there will continue to be people and nations that glorify war as an important instrument of state policy, as playing a positive role, and as a central organizing force of international society. Indeed, some countries have benefited from war in terms of high employment, industrial progress, and scientific and technological research. But we reject war, in whatever shape or form, and Members of the General Assembly should join hands in condemning, for whatever purpose, the glorification of war as an

instrument of state policy. While we have made tremendous progress in science and technology, while the scientists have succeeded in landing space ships on the moon and bringing back moon rock, we still have a long way to go towards the successful creation of conditions in which this scientific progress is matched by greater human understanding for peace and development so that man can enjoy forever the achievements of his efforts.

58. It is against that background that non-aligned countries, noting with regret the failure of the United Nations framework to provide for them genuine peace and just settlement of international disputes, witnessing the major Powers bypass the international machinery in issues such as Viet-Nam, noting with regret the failure to reach a settlement in the Middle East and the refusal of major Powers to take effective measures to end the oppression and racist minority rule in southern Africa, now find it imperative to reconsider their own interests in future.

59. Non-aligned countries have a tremendous contribution to make towards the establishment of a better international system based on freedom and justice. They have basic characteristics which make the achievement of their objectives possible. They are underdeveloped, not powerful; the majority of them are still young, and almost all the products of a struggle for freedom and independence. They are marked by different social, economic and political systems and cultural backgrounds; they vary in size. The non-aligned movement is a movement of equals, with no one of them claiming to have more authority than others with no one claiming the right to leadership, or to have greater responsibility for peace-making than the rest of the members. Individually they cannot influence the course of events as the United States and the Soviet Union can, but collectively they can provide tremendous force which can help them bring about world peace and security in which they can develop freely. The Lusaka Declaration on Peace, Independence, Development, Co-operation and Democratization of International Relations gives expression to their anxieties, their desires in this world and their commitment to a world order which will guarantee peace and security for all peoples and nations deriving, from justice and contentment, not force of arms.

60. The Declaration of the Organization of African Unity similarly gives expression to the desires and commitments of the countries of the African continent which have enjoyed independence and which value independent nationhood as the best instrument for guaranteeing economic and social improvement, justice and progress for their respective peoples. The United Nations machinery will always receive the greatest possible support from the non-aligned countries. It is the only hope—I repeat, the only hope—for a happy and more secure future for mankind, the only hope for a peaceful and more decent world order. The alternative is war, war not necessarily between major Powers but largely among small countries whose populations have suffered long enough from exploitation, oppression and fratricidal strife.

61. The Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned countries have expressed their commitment to make a better world order through their respective Declarations. I, in my dual capacity as Chairman of both organizations, have the honour to present to this commemorative session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, first, the Declaration of the contribution by the Organization of African Unity to the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations and of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; second, the Lusaka Declaration on Peace, Independence, Development, Co-operation and Democratization of International Relations.

62. I recommend that these Declarations should become official documents of the General Assembly and the Security Council and should be circulated in the normal way to all Members of the United Nations.

63. In conclusion, as we celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of this Organization, let us remember that this is also a time for rededicating ourselves to the principles by which man may be enabled to live a fuller and more human life.

64. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now hear a statement by His Excellency Mr. Nicolae Ceaușescu, President of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

65. President CEAUȘESCU:² The anniversary of the founding, a quarter of a century ago, of the United Nations invites us to consider in retrospect the international developments and transformations which have occurred in the world over the past 25 years, and provides at the same time an opportunity to review the activities of the United Nations during this period. Concurrently, in order to come up to the expectations of mankind, this session is called upon to outline more clearly the direction of the future work of the United Nations and the ways to achieve multilateral co-operation among nations and to safeguard world peace.

66. As is well known, the United Nations Organization was founded in the aftermath of the Second World War, before the blood of the scores of millions of victims in the devastating conflagration caused by Hitlerite Germany had dried, before the deep wound inflicted on mankind by their loss had healed. The very name United Nations is a reminder of the fact that, upon its foundation, it was envisaged that all the nations of the globe would pool their efforts with a view to achieving a lasting peace which would secure the free development of each and every people.

67. We have to admit, in all frankness, before the peoples of the world that the noble principles enshrined in the Charter of the Organization are not yet fully established in relations between all States of the world. No doubt, our Organization has played a significant role in international affairs. The most important events of this past period have indeed drawn the attention

² President Ceaușescu spoke in Romanian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

of the United Nations; a number of highly significant decisions and resolutions have been adopted. However, many of these decisions have, unfortunately, not been put into effect or have only been partially implemented. At the same time, it should be pointed out that with regard to some major problems and a series of conflicts which have occurred, the United Nations has adopted unjust decisions which have marred its prestige and had negative consequences on the development of international life.

68. It is my considered opinion that this occasion calls for a review of both the positive and negative aspects of the world Organization's history over the last quarter of a century, so that all its lessons may be learned with a view to enhancing its role in the settlement of outstanding issues and ensuring co-operation among peoples and the safeguarding of world peace.

69. The great social and national changes of the past twenty-five years are well known. When the United Nations was founded there was only one socialist State—the Soviet Union. Today, there are fourteen socialist States in the world, representing more than one-third of the world's population. Other peoples are also orientating their economic and social development along socialist lines. The emergence and development of a large number of socialist countries has forcefully brought to the fore the question of peaceful co-existence of States having different social systems.

70. In the past decades we have witnessed the powerful national awakening of scores of peoples which had been kept under colonial bondage and imperialist domination. As an outcome of the struggle waged by the peoples to recover their national independence, the colonial system collapsed and on the ruins of the colonial empires scores of new States arose. Today these States are playing an important role in the United Nations and in international affairs as a whole.

71. The technical and scientific revolution of our time, man's odyssey into outer space and the tremendous advance of culture have brought about far-reaching changes in the mind and conscience of man. Peoples and individuals are becoming more and more aware of their own force and of their ability to achieve on our planet a world of co-operation among free and equal nations, to put an end to wars among States, and to secure a lasting peace which would make possible the attainment of well-being for all mankind.

72. Our session is taking place in a complex international situation in which the peoples still find many reasons for anxiety. More than 25 years after the end of the Second World War, conflagrations in different parts of the world continue to cause the death of many thousands of men and women, young and old, and to do a tremendous amount of material and cultural damage.

73. There are still peoples which are kept under the yoke of colonial domination and have to fight with arms in their hands for the sacred right to live in free-

dom as independent nations, to use their natural resources and the fruits of their labour for their own welfare, to decide their destiny according to their own wishes.

74. The world still witnesses imperialist and colonialist forces in international life which want to continue the old practice of domination over the peoples, forces which pursue a policy of force and *diktat*, interfering in the internal affairs of other States, trying to impose their will on them and to subject them to their own interests.

75. It is true that the peoples, broad social forces and a powerful trend of international democratic opinion are rising more and more powerfully in all the continents against imperialist policies. The course of international events is a telling demonstration of the fact that when the peoples are truly determined to defend their freedom and independence they enjoy international support and solidarity, and there is no power in the world capable of robbing them of these invaluable gains.

76. May I now be allowed to elaborate on some aspects of my country's domestic and foreign policy?

77. Romania has experienced centuries of foreign domination. It embarked upon a course of free and independent development a quarter of a century ago, at the same time as the United Nations was being founded.

78. Taking charge of its own future and devoting its efforts to building a new social system—the socialist system—the Romanian people have, in a historically short period of time, outstanding achievements and cultural advancement to its credit. The leaders and other representatives of many States who have visited Romania have been able to acquire an eloquent picture of our people's progress.

79. However great our successes of the past 25 years, we still have much to do, considering the state of backwardness from which we started, in order to achieve the level of the developed countries. Romania intends to make further whole-hearted efforts to increase its economic potential and to achieve a many-sided flourishing of social life, the advancement of science, education and culture—which are important factors in the building of a new civilized life—and to raise the material and spiritual level of the entire people. We never forget that the real freedom and independence of a people is to be measured only by the extent to which it can secure for itself a strong economic, scientific and cultural base.

80. Romania is also concerned with developing co-operation with all nations of the world, regardless of their social systems. To illustrate the way in which this policy is being implemented, I would only mention the fact that at present Romania maintains diplomatic relations with 97 States and has economic exchanges with more than a 100 countries.

81. Of course, as a socialist country, Romania attaches special importance to co-operation with the other socialist States; at the same time it tries to expand its relations in many areas with all the countries of the world. We believe that it is only by taking an active part in the international division of labour and in the universal traffic of material and spiritual assets that we can ensure the progress of our own country and, at the same time, make our contribution to the cause of peace throughout the world.

82. Having for a long time in the past undergone foreign oppression, the Romanian people are highly sympathetic with the peoples struggling for their liberation from imperialist domination, for independent development and for the preservation and consolidation of their national independence and sovereignty. My country pursues a policy of broad contacts with the newly independent States and is developing and determined to extend even further mutually advantageous co-operation with these States.

83. Proceeding as it does from the fact that peace is indivisible and that any conflict, in one way or another, brings its influence to bear on all the States of the world, Romania is deeply concerned about the continuation of the war in Viet-Nam and the perpetuation of the Middle East conflict.

84. Along with broad circles of world opinion, Romania believes that it is necessary to put an end to the war in Viet-Nam and foreign intervention in Indo-China, and to proceed to the complete withdrawal of the troops of the United States and its allies from Viet-Nam. The Viet-Nameese people, like the other peoples of Indo-China, should be allowed to settle the problems of their own existence without any outside interference. In this respect we believe that the proposals of the National Liberation Front provide a reasonable basis for a political settlement of the conflict.

85. As to the Middle East, we believe that the resolution of the Security Council of November 1967 [242 (1967)] represents a sensible basis for the political settlement of the conflict in that region. This presupposes the withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied Arab territories, the settlement of other problems in accordance with the interests of all the States in the area, and the guarantee of their independence and territorial integrity. At the same time, we believe that in order to establish a lasting peace in the Middle East a solution must, of necessity, be found with regard to the situation of the Palestine population so as to take into account the wishes and the national aspirations of that people.

86. Of great significance for the peace of the world would be the withdrawal of United States troops from Korea so as to ensure for the Korean people the possibility of achieving its aspiration of unification by peaceful means.

87. Romania, as a European country, is vitally interested in seeing a climate of respect and confidence among nations established on our continent and in see-

ing that a new style of relations and co-operation among all nations be developed. We believe that favourable conditions for this exist in Europe so that Europe—this cradle of civilization which has given mankind great material and spiritual treasures, but which has also caused two world wars in our century—can become an area of peace and co-operation. This is in keeping not only with the interests of the peoples of the continent but also with the interests of all the peoples of the world.

88. The consolidation of security in Europe certainly implies the elimination of the sequel of the Second World War and of the cold-war period, the recognition of the inviolability of the existing frontiers and, in general, of the historic changes which have occurred in the continent in the post-war period. In this context all States ought to recognize the German Democratic Republic and secure the participation of both German States in world political affairs, including the United Nations and other international bodies. We hold the view that the achievement of an all-European conference on security would be of particular importance for the settlement of the outstanding issues of our continent.

89. Romania is developing extensively its diplomatic relations and promotes many-sided relations with all European countries. We attach particular importance to the bilateral contacts and agreements among States, regardless of their social system. In this context the conclusion of the Soviet-West German Treaty³ is an important step forward on the road towards normalizing inter-State relations in the continent.

90. We also believe that the attainment of regional understandings is particularly significant for international *détente*. That is why Romania acts consistently to develop broad good-neighbourly relations, understanding and many-sided co-operation with all the Balkan countries, regardless of their social system, with a view to turning that part of the world into an area of co-operation and peace, free from nuclear weapons.

91. Proceeding from the premise that international organizations can play an important part in the observance of the principles of international law and the development of relations among States, my country is making an active contribution to the whole work of the United Nations and of the other international bodies. It is well known that on the initiative of Romania and other States, the United Nations has adopted a number of important resolutions, namely the resolution on the development of actions on the regional level with a view to improving good neighbourly relations among European States having different social and political systems [resolution 2129 (XX)] and the Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples [resolution 2037 (XX)]. The working agenda of this session of the United Nations General Assembly also includes such Romanian proposals as "Economic and social consequences of the armaments race and its extremely harmful effects

³ Signed in Moscow on 12 August 1970.

on world peace and security" and "The role of modern science and technology in the development of nations and the need to strengthen economic and technico-scientific co-operation among States".

92. The agenda of this session of the Assembly also includes a number of items of great international significance, including disarmament, development of co-operation among States, liquidation of colonialism and underdevelopment, safeguarding and observance of the norms of international law, and the guaranteeing of world security. We hope that the resolutions to be adopted in connexion with these problems of vital consequence for mankind will be such as to exert a favourable influence on international events and to serve in actual fact the cause of peace and *détente* in the world.

93. This commemorative session of the United Nations is, in my opinion, called upon to give a fresh impetus to international co-operation, to contribute to the achievement of new steps towards solving outstanding issues and conflicts between States, to the establishment of a lasting peace. Of course, these objectives can be achieved only by the joint action of all States and peoples. In this respect I draw the Assembly's attention to the considerations and views of the Romanian Government concerning the principal directions in which our efforts should be combined with a view to solving the urgent problems facing mankind today and upon whose solution international progress, peace and security depend.

94. A central objective in international affairs of our time is that of putting an early end to wars and armed conflicts which are at present going on and which pose a serious danger to the peace of mankind as a whole, of halting all acts of aggression and interference in the internal affairs of other States, and ensuring complete observance of the right of peoples to self-determination.

95. In that respect it is of particular importance for all Governments to recognize and unflinchingly apply the principles of peaceful coexistence among States with different social systems. It is in that spirit that all States are called upon to undertake the solemn obligation of refraining from any threat or use of force in the settlement of disputes and to work towards the settlement of their conflicts exclusively by political means, in a peaceful way, through negotiations.

96. We also believe that it is of primary importance for all States to assume the obligation of basing their relations on fully equal rights, on mutual observance of national independence and sovereignty, on non-interference in internal affairs and on mutual advantage. Only if those principles are safeguarded and strictly observed by all States can sound international co-operation be ensured, international affairs be protected from further convulsions and the security of each State be fully guaranteed. In the settlement of international problems it is necessary to bear in mind the interests of all peoples and to ensure the equal participation of all States, great and small, in the elaboration and implementation of measures concerning

general peace and security. Naturally, we never forget the special responsibility incumbent upon the large States in international affairs. At the same time we believe that the small and medium-sized countries have an important part to play in the modern world and that they should actively participate in the settlement of all problems facing mankind. That presupposes that they also hold a more important place in the United Nations and in other international organizations.

97. In our time, peace is indissolubly linked with the progress of society, with the democratic, economic and social development of mankind and with the creation of conditions that would allow the masses a part in directing the destinies of their nation. The world towards which we are inevitably advancing is one in which each and every people will genuinely become master of its own fate and will be able to decide its own future and act in peaceful concert with other peoples. It is, therefore, objectively necessary to put an end to the policies of interference in the internal affairs of other States and the support of reactionary social forces which oppose the aspirations of nations to shape their own development in accordance with their will and vital interests.

98. We believe it is imperative to act resolutely to ensure the final elimination of colonialism, a shameful anachronism that flagrantly contravenes international ethics and principles unanimously proclaimed today by the peoples of the world. It is no longer conceivable to allow the resurgence in any form of the domination of one State by another. It is necessary to take determined action to abolish neo-colonialism, which reenacts the plundering of the peoples in a disguised form.

99. Considering the important role of the nation in the evolution of society, and bearing in mind the fact that dozens of peoples are still in the initial stages of their development as nations and their achievement of national unity, we should do everything in our power to support the struggle for the establishment of independent national States and for the defence and consolidation of the independence and sovereignty of the emerging States. Past events in the international sphere prove that any infringement of the national independence of a people seriously affects not only its own vital interests, progress and development but also the cause of universal peace and civilization.

100. Events have confirmed that the time of the policy of domination and *diktat* is gone for ever and that people can no longer be subjected by force. This new state of affairs requires the establishment of inter-State relations on new bases, on equality and mutual esteem. It demands that the will of each people and its national interests be taken into account in the settlement of international issues. The nation, the national State, will have an important part to play for a long time to come in the development of human society. It is only through co-operation, among free and independent nations such as to ensure the economic and social progress of each country, that international peace and security can be guaranteed.

101. The arms race has assumed huge proportions. Military expenditure has exceeded \$200,000 million annually, producing a deeply harmful effect on the economic and social progress and on the levels of living of many peoples. Nuclear weapons are a serious danger to the very future of mankind. Under the circumstances, we believe that it is both imperative and urgent for the United Nations and all States to take most resolute action to achieve general disarmament and, first and foremost, nuclear disarmament.

102. The United Nations, the leaders of all States and all Statesmen bear a very heavy responsibility towards mankind, towards the future of human civilization, to free the world from the burden of armaments and the nightmare of an atomic war. We must say a categorical no to the arms race and to nuclear weapons.

103. In our opinion, the Disarmament Committee in Geneva should be given the task of taking effective action with a real sense of responsibility to achieve the goals for which it has been created. We believe it to be necessary to ensure appropriate procedures whereby all interested States could participate in the work of the Committee. It is high time to proceed from words to deeds, from discussions to concrete measures leading to disarmament.

104. Romania believes that the promotion of measures designed to lead to the abolition of military blocs, whose existence is incompatible with the principles of the United Nations, would have a welcome effect on efforts for disarmament, and would also favour the cause of general peace. Can we really speak about united nations as long as the world is divided in military blocs confronting each other?

105. The dismantling of military bases on the territory of other States and the withdrawal of the foreign troops within their national borders are also necessary as important measures towards disarmament.

106. In the belief that one of the fundamental tasks incumbent on all States is to undertake concrete action with a view to achieving general and complete disarmament, the Romanian Government is determined to fight most firmly for the realization of this vital desideratum of mankind.

107. Tremendous material and spiritual assets, and epoch-making achievements in the realm of knowledge have been accumulated in the world today, the fruit of mankind's endeavours over the centuries. The primary task of the human community is to see to it that these achievements should serve not the destruction of civilization but progress and peace, they should be used to change nature for the benefit of man and to improve the living conditions of the inhabitants of our planet. This is precisely the key question of the future of human society which is of utmost concern to the peoples and, above all, to the younger generation.

108. The desire to build a world in which human beings, having been liberated from the spectre of war,

would be in a position to enjoy the fruits of modern civilization, is the main source of the present-day vast movements of the young people. Conditions should be created for youth to take a more active part in the life of society, to be able to devote their energies to the task of improving human society and to the triumph of the ideals of justice, liberty and the well-being of mankind.

109. The elimination of under-development is one of the most pressing problems facing the world today. As is known, entire regions of our planet are lagging behind in respect of productive forces and the levels of civilization, consumption, health protection and public education. Hundreds of millions of people suffer from malnutrition; in this century of material, technological and scientific progress, they lack the necessary means to meet their elementary material and spiritual requirements. The perpetuation of this situation, the maintenance, and even the widening of the gap between the advanced countries and those which are still lagging behind, is hampering the general evolution of civilization; moreover, it continues to be a source of rancour, mistrust and conflict in international affairs. It is high time to proceed from general resolutions about the elimination of under-development to practical measures, to a many-sided programme designed to support the efforts towards progress of the less-developed States—a programme to which the advanced countries should make a substantial contribution.

110. In order to accelerate general progress, it is necessary that all States should undertake to favour the free development of international, economic, scientific, technological and cultural exchanges, and to eliminate all barriers, restrictions and discrimination which now hinder co-operation between peoples. Every nation is capable of making its own valuable contribution to the cause of progress and civilization in the world. That is why the conditions should be created to enable the nations to work more closely with a view to solving the problems raised by their material as well as spiritual advancement. To ensure to all the peoples wide access to the achievements of modern science and culture and to the great discoveries of human intelligence in our time is now a prerequisite for the further progress of mankind.

111. In this connexion we believe that the United Nations and all its agencies should act more vigorously in order to stimulate international co-operation and to facilitate opportunities for all the peoples of the world to benefit from the advantages of modern civilization.

112. In order to solve all these great and urgent problems confronting mankind today, the concerted efforts of all nations are required. To this end, the United Nations, which now has 127 Members, should play a more important part and contribute more efficiently to the rapprochement of States, to the promotion of a policy of peace and *détente*; at the same time, it should act more firmly to prevent war, to thwart any aggression, to bring about the political settlement of disputes between States, and to defend the principles

enshrined in the Charter. This calls for a substantial improvement in the activities of the United Nations and, above all, for the realization of the principle of universality. The United Nations should provide the vehicle for the expression of the views of all States in the settlement of the problems pertaining to international affairs in the interest of co-operation among peoples and of *détente* and peace.

113. It is quite abnormal that 25 years after the founding of the United Nations one of its founders, the great Chinese people, should be prevented from occupying its rightful place in the Organization. Romania believes that it is absolutely essential to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and its agencies; such a step would be in keeping with the interests of all the peoples, of the cause of co-operation and peace in the world. Moreover, other States which are now being kept outside the Organization should also take their place in the United Nations. The United Nations should faithfully mirror the new international realities and become a true forum of the world community as a whole.

114. Let us inaugurate the new quarter of a century in the life of the United Nations by still greater efforts to unite peoples—whatever the size of their territory, their economic and military power and their social system—in the new struggle for the triumph of world peace and progress.

115. I have outlined the Romanian Government's views on some of the major problems of international life. Their solution, we think, might lead States to a climate of understanding and co-operation, to *détente* and peace. Surely, no one can deceive himself that problems of such complexity can be solved miraculously overnight. Patient and persevering work in a spirit of responsibility for the solution of these problems is the sole alternative to a new war, to new suffering and destruction.

116. Let us not forget that history will judge how we, the statesmen of today, have paved the way for the future of the generations to come, how we have grasped the aspirations and the will of the peoples, how we have served progress, civilization and peace.

117. In the name of the Romanian people, which I am representing at this important international gathering, I am empowered to state that Romania will always work untiringly and firmly for the attainment of mankind's ideals of peace, progress and co-operation and for the assertion and observance of all the principles underlying a sound international coexistence. My country is determined to make its full contribution to the success of all the actions which the United Nations will undertake for peace, co-operation and *détente*.

118. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on His Excellency Mr. Abdou Diouf, Prime Minister of the Republic of Senegal.

119. Mr. DIOUF (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the congratulations which my delegation

addresses to you on your election to the presidency of this General Assembly are not mere formalities. Their sincerity and their warmth are based on the respect we have for you and for the country which you represent. At a time when we are drawing up a balance-sheet and looking to the future; at a time when, after a quarter of a century of vicissitudes, failures and successes, our Organization reflects on its past actions in order to make a new start, it is fortunate that we should have chosen you to direct our discussions. You are an outstanding jurist; what is more you are a fervent disciple of law and justice and humanism. Furthermore, you come from a country which has a very rich cultural background, which is socially generous and greatly devoted to the ideals of our Charter. All these advantages together with your great ability achieved through broad experience should enable you—and, indeed, have already enabled you—to guide very effectively this commemorative session, which is taking place under the hallmark of peace, justice and progress.

120. It is also very pleasant for me, on behalf of my delegation, to extend to Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph, a representative of a brother country, Liberia, our warmest congratulations for the excellent way in which she conducted our discussions at the last session. It is with pride and gratitude that we express these sentiments, convinced that the results obtained at the last session are due in large measure to her great ability and the intelligent authority which she displayed in discharging her delicate task.

121. My country places the greatest hopes in this commemorative twenty-fifth anniversary session of our Organization and it hopes that we shall not shrink from a clear analysis of the vital problems facing our international community nor from the courageous decisions that must be taken to ensure future peace and prosperity for mankind. It is in the conviction that the hopes of the Senegalese people will not be in vain that I am speaking here on behalf of President Léopold Sédar Senghor, who has been detained elsewhere in the service of international co-operation and rapprochement among people.

Mr. Kibinge (Kenya), Vice-President, took the Chair.

122. I shall not endeavour to draw up a balance-sheet of the 25 years of our Organization's life. While opinions are divided on the true effectiveness of its actions, they do converge about the fact that the results obtained have been uneven. Our own estimation regarding this balance sheet can be summed up as follows: action by the United Nations has made it possible for mankind to survive, but it has not been able to improve the quality of life of the majority of people. Today we must recognize our common failure in the face of the great problem of the development of young nations. I say that it is our failure because the strength of the Organization is but the sum total of our own individual strength, and its weakness represents our own individual deficiencies, the fundamental imperfections of a perplexing world torn between hope and

despair. In today's world reasons for hope are opposed by reasons for despair, in a kind of struggle in which grandeur and misfortune seem to vie for mankind's destiny.

123. Our grandeur lies in our great scientific and technical achievements, which each day are enriched by some new discovery or some new fact, thus testifying to our infinite creativity and suggesting that life will become better and more beautiful.

124. Our misfortune lies in the absence of moral progress and even in the recession of certain values. One might have thought that the extraordinary cultural wealth of our world—the result of so many civilizations which throughout the centuries have demonstrated man's creative genius and the purpose of his existence—by throwing more light on the objectives of our destiny—would rationalize moral conduct and lead to the building of a more just and more peaceful world. We are deeply grieved to note that, especially in the richest countries, culture is restricted almost exclusively to the needs of intelligence and aesthetics and has not succeeded in achieving its human vocation by helping in the creation of ethics for the modern world. How can we explain otherwise the fact that there is so much selfishness and so little generosity, so many violations of human rights and the rights of peoples and so few positive acts to prevent or combat such violations; how can we explain the inability to solve the fundamental problems of peace and, above all, development? And yet, we know that this inability to solve these problems is not of an intellectual nature but rather of a moral nature. What is lacking is the true will to solve these problems. And when we say the "will", we are not speaking of some vague goodwill that is more lip-service than positive action, but of a true political determination based on the moral courage to take the true decisions that our intelligence is perfectly capable of conceiving.

125. For us, the Senegalese, this commemorative session must also be a session that will be remembered for the boldness of its decisions, a session that will allow for the raising of the true problems in order to provide true solutions to them.

126. In that spirit my country wishes to make a modest but at the same time ambitious contribution. We must be modest because we are a small country. We shall therefore not be so presumptuous as to speak on every subject, believing that representatives of larger countries that are more concerned will do so better than we could. However, Senegal does not forget that it is part of the great African nation and also part of the universal family, and, therefore, it wishes the world to survive in a harmonious balance of its diverse components—all of which gives us the right and the duty to be ambitious. That ambition will be reflected in the fact that I shall openly voice our opinion on what we consider to be the central problem, that of development, which is inseparable from international peace and security.

127. We can indeed consider the problem of international peace and security from a very narrow, conven-

tional and short-sighted point of view. That is exactly what the international community has done up to now by trying to deal with its effects without touching upon its causes. We can also consider the problem of peace from a more original and broader standpoint by trying to penetrate the surface of apparent reality and get at the deeply-rooted true causes. Then we shall see that the most serious threat to peace and security is the ever-widening gap between the rich countries and the poor countries, and if we do not take appropriate action this gap will produce terrifying consequences.

128. My delegation which holds this second concept of peace is also giving all due consideration to the many problems that exist in various parts of the world.

129. We have already proved this by expressing our views through our president on the Israeli-Arab conflict on several occasions. Senegal reaffirms its support for the Security Council resolution adopted on 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)] as the basis for the settlement of the conflict. We encourage the parties concerned to extend the present cease-fire, which should be utilized to find a solution to the basic problem—the national rights of the Palestinian people. We feel that if the great Powers are truly desirous of settling this problem of the Palestinian people it will appear less insoluble than is generally supposed.

130. Another subject of concern for my country is the conflict in which South-East Asia has been involved since the end of the war. Everyone hopes for an end to the bloodshed there so that a fine and generous people can develop in peace. Should we be optimistic on this score? I believe that we should be. My delegation would like to see in the various proposals that have been made on both sides the evidence of a true desire to put an end to this conflict and to respect the self-determination of the peoples concerned.

131. Senegal is also interested in the other efforts which are being undertaken at present by the great Powers to strengthen international security. Senegal supports all efforts towards general disarmament and we deplore the slowness of negotiations that have been undertaken to this end. The balance of terror is truly a desperate and absurd solution especially in the face of the risks and costs involved. Is it not frustrating to see so many resources wasted on terrifying armaments in the hope that they will never be used while the problems of development lack adequate financing at this time?

132. On all these matters so vital for the world's future, we, the small Powers can only try to persuade the great Powers who hold in their hands the keys to our destiny. We could cry out against this situation but we are not sure that we would be heard.

133. Our bitterness is indeed great when we note that the indifference shown to our appeals becomes almost deafness when problems directly concerning the freedom and dignity of the peoples of the Third World are involved; when we see Portugal, South Africa and the racist minority in Southern Rhodesia defying all

resolutions of our Organization and brazenly flouting the principles of our Charter, without any effective action being taken by the great Powers. Furthermore, we note the non-application of the decisions taken by our Organization and, still worse, the reinforcement and strengthening of the destructive powers of some of these countries by some of those countries to which our Charter has given the authority within the Security Council, to maintain peace. Fortunately, with respect to the latter, we have noted among certain great Powers some reassuring signs of a change that we can only welcome since it seems to us to be in the order of things and in keeping with the humanist tradition of those Powers.

134. In the light of these developments, my delegation feels that our present session should endeavour to define a global strategy for the struggle against colonialism and racism which should carry on from the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. A document of concrete proposals based on the lessons of the past and containing sanctions against recalcitrant Members should be voted on. It is inconceivable that 25 years after the defeat of Hitlerism, oppressive, barbarian régimes should be allowed to force millions of black people on the African continent to live in conditions of slavery and poverty. We are sure the great nations will follow their own example in defeating Nazism by taking all measures to emancipate our oppressed brothers and will agree to rectify a situation which represents an affront to common-sense and which will leave a stain on our époque regardless of our other successes.

135. As will be seen, I have commented on some of the most burning political problems of our times. My delegation, although it did not go into details could not dissociate itself from these problems since their solution will make it possible to apply means and resources to the solution of the fundamental problem we mentioned, namely the problem of development. We are unstinting in praise of efforts to make the canons stop firing, to stop the fighting and quench the hotbeds of tension. However, even as we ardently desire—if the present conflict were to end tomorrow—the world would still be on the brink of war so long as the gap between rich and poor continues to grow and to plunge into despair people who are making gallant efforts to recover.

136. In the literature of the rich countries the third world countries are represented as responsible for their own backwardness and for many political, psychosociological and administrative faults which prevent more rapid growth like that of the advanced countries. But what do we see when we glance at the picture? Certain countries desirous of progress in defining their priorities and their own lines of development have tried to obtain from the developed countries assistance in public financing, technical assistance and investment, and, by increasing and diversifying their production have sought to achieve a normal rate of growth, and yet, in the end they were almost as poor as before. Why? Because the industrialized countries decided to buy their commodities at a lower price than

in the past. And because the industrialized countries decided to sell their manufactured goods at a higher price than in the past. This is the phenomenon of deterioration of the terms of trade that has been the subject of warnings issued by Senegal as well as other countries of the third world. With such a system all efforts will be of no avail and the resulting pauperization may well lead to violence going far beyond the most pessimistic predictions of Marx.

137. It is for that reason that this phenomenon requires the close and careful analysis we recommend.

138. A moment ago I advocated an increase in financial assistance to the third world countries and an improvement in the conditions of such financial assistance. But it must be clear to each and everyone that these measures will not supply an absolute solution to our development problem as long as the deterioration which I mentioned a moment ago is not halted.

139. Each year our imports of manufactured goods increase because of various factors, change in monetary parities, higher wages in industrialized countries, while the prices of our commodities either stagnate or drop—except for a few occasional upsurges influenced by the great Powers in their own interests. Thus our capacity to import the capital goods required for our development effort decreases despite our attempts to compensate for this by increasing our exports. Thus the gap continues to widen and the assistance granted us in the form of subsidies just compensates for the disastrous effects of this deterioration in our trade relations which is called "laws of the market economy".

140. It would suffice to illustrate this by the example of my country. In 1968—I have exact data for that year—Senegal lost 6,500 million CFA francs as compared to 1967 because of the drop in the price of peanuts. If we add the increase in prices of our main manufactured imports amounting to 1,800 million we obtain an over-all loss of 8,300 million due solely to the deterioration in the terms of trade between our main agricultural export and the main manufactured imports. During the same period, Senegal received 10,300 million in subsidies and technical assistance. If we bear in mind that a good proportion of the resources devoted to technical assistance never leaves the donor country, it can be seen that Senegal derived practically no profit from this assistance.

141. I would add that during the same year 1968 the growth rate of our domestic commodity production was 6 per cent at current prices of 5.5 per cent at fixed prices. We have estimated that this rate would have been 10 per cent at current prices or 9.5 per cent at fixed prices if there were no losses due to deterioration in the terms of trade. Those are the facts.

142. In the face of the seriousness of the problem and the lack of progress towards a solution achieved during the First United Nations Development Decade, despite the efforts of the Economic and Social Council, the Bretton Woods bodies and UNCTAD, the United Nations must take the necessary steps to improve the

situation, because this is a prerequisite to the success of the Second Development Decade. Our session should come out unequivocally in favour of stabilizing commodity prices and of establishing a kind of link between the prices of these products and those of industrial products. Within the frontiers of the developed countries, systems have been proposed to remunerate properly the work of the farmer. We are in favour of solutions based on this philosophy. My delegation feels that this session should take decisions of principle and it should establish for the technical bodies specific time-limits for the working out of executive procedures.

143. All this does not mean that we underestimate the other problems affecting development. I am quite aware that a great deal remains to be done in order to ensure for the poorer countries a higher rate of growth.

144. We for our part must define our priorities more accurately. We must apply greater austerity, better administrative organization and greater popular participation in development activities and we must also adopt a more realistic policy of industrialization whose prerequisite is greater economic integration of the poorer countries through regional organization.

145. As regards the rich countries, there must be a change in thinking. It has already been recognized that aid for development is not charity, but it should be more clearly understood that this aid should be conceived of as a duty which is based on the responsibility that all nations have for the harmonious development of all parts of the world, and of all men. No man should consider himself happy as long as a single man elsewhere is dying of hunger. No nation can consider that development problems are solved, when other nations are exposed to poverty and misery. A great deal is said about the policy of land improvement. This idea should be applied to all countries as a whole. The entire globe should be developed rationally and methodically. All men must be given their opportunity within a new international division of labour which will not be a fool's bargain.

146. The international community, during this session, should define those priorities clearly and concretely.

147. I think that no developed country would hesitate to take practical measures to assist the poor countries in the amount of 1 per cent of gross national product, or even more. Some countries have already done this—they should be thanked and encouraged to continue. But what is equally important is that the rich countries should accelerate the study of the reports that are submitted by our countries and should give due assistance for improvement of these reports. Enough has already been said about "tied assistance" so that I hardly need dwell on it here.

148. It is also important that this duty of providing assistance not be linked to any conditions or counterpart. Loans in certain conditions can no longer be con-

sidered as helpful for development, because of the heavy financial charges that are attached to such loans. It must be agreed that only a small part of the gross national product intended for assistance should be granted in the form of loans and even those at very favourable rates and maturity dates.

149. Finally, in order to promote more private investment in our countries, the United Nations should encourage efforts to set up a detailed system for guaranteeing private investments.

150. The United Nations should continue its own efforts towards rationalizing the work of the international organizations and the specialized agencies, in order to avoid any duplication of effort, simplify procedures and to achieve greater efficiency.

151. At this stage my delegation would like to comment on a question which is of primary importance for my country, as for many others. I am speaking of the problem concerning the resources of the sea. Although it is recognized by everybody that we should promote the exploration and exploitation by the developing countries of all their potentialities, it does seem to us that here is an area where we must try to reconcile economic interests and the difficulties involved should not be insurmountable if the problem is correctly approached. The coastal countries of the Third World must have defined fishing areas, scientifically determined, that would give them possibilities for developing their industries in co-operation with the developed countries who would supply them with shipping and industrial equipment and would purchase the finished product. Such a policy presupposes the conservation of our ocean resources and regulation of fishing. These problems are so important that they require very careful study. Our Head of State has communicated recently with the Secretary-General of the United Nations with respect to the Central and Southern Atlantic area in this connexion. This wish expressed by my delegation is the culmination of studies made on this subject.

152. Perhaps I have dwelt somewhat at length on economic problems. However, my delegation feels that if we are to build a balanced society and if we want to construct a permanently peaceful and secure world, then our concerns must of necessity be economic ones. I have the feeling that the truly memorable solutions at the close of this session must be radical ones if they are to be effective and if we are to achieve success in dealing with these problems. The juridical form of the decisions we take is of secondary importance; whether they be in the form of declarations or treaties, the essential point is that they should reflect a sense of responsibility which should motivate each Member of our Organization.

153. This Organization is our sole chance for survival and for progress. We must realize that it cannot be replaced—we must therefore endeavour to preserve it by adhering more closely to the noble ideals of our Charter. We therefore wish to thank all those who have enabled the United Nations to operate so far and

who have strengthened it: the former Secretary-General Trygve Lie, whose intelligent action made it possible for this Organization to embark correctly on its course; his successor Dag Hammarskjöld, a man of great faith and courage who was passionately devoted to his very death to the cause of the international community; the present Secretary-General, U Thant, whose amiable firmness, patience, tenacity and serenity have done so much to enhance the prestige of our Organization. We should like to pay a special tribute to him and to express to him our deep gratitude for the services he has rendered to mankind. We should also like to thank all the staff members of the United Nations system, particularly those of the technical bodies and the specialized agencies, who have done so much for the economic and social progress of the young countries. Although we deplore the inadequacy of the results achieved in the economic and social fields, we should, however not be unjust towards those who have given the best of themselves.

154. The deficiencies of our Organization are merely the reflection of an inadequate commitment of the part of the members of the international community. Senegal wishes to reiterate here that, although it is non-aligned with respect to the various blocs, it is resolutely committed, juridically and practically, to the principles defined in our Charter. We reiterate our support for the struggle against colonialism and racism and our support for the principle of self-determination and for the safeguard of human rights. We plead for respect for the principle of universality in the United Nations and we attach the greatest value to the maintenance of peace and security and we are gratified by the continued efforts made by our Organization in this field. We stress the priority nature of our fundamental objective, namely, the objective of economic development which should be the subject of the strongest commitments on the part of all members of the international community.

155. In the developed countries a great deal has been said about the problem of youth, which apparently has rejected the goals of the so-called consumer society and has plunged headlong into a destructive challenge to that society—a challenge leading to physical degradation.

156. Our own assessment of the situation is the following. These young people are seeking an ideal and find that their elders no longer offer any. In their quest for perfection, they wish for more generosity in the societies in which they live. Thus, in the present state of disharmony in the world, what better activity could the rich countries undertake than to promote the development of the poor countries? If the national policies of the developed countries were to give greater importance to this factor of maintaining a balance in the world, reconciliation between youth and the older generation would become easier by satisfying youth's desire for perfection.

157. In ending this plea for the young nations, which are the true disinherited of the earth, and for youth which is the hope of our world, I should like to reiterate

my country's faith in our Organization as a means of establishing a future of peace, progress and justice.

158. The PRESIDENT: I now call on His Excellency Mr. Ali Salem Al-Beidh, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Special Envoy of the Chairman of the Presidential Council of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen.

159. Mr. AL-BEIDH⁴: Mr. President, it gives me pleasure to express to Ambassador Hambro, in the name of the Government of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen, sincere congratulations on the occasion of his election as President of this session, which coincides with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations. We share in the unanimous conviction that he is most worthy of the great task he is undertaking and we take this opportunity to greet, in his person, the friendly people of Norway for whom we wish all progress and prosperity.

160. A few weeks ago the cause of peace and the struggle of peoples for self-determination suffered a grievous loss in the death of a courageous fighter, whose every effort—until the very last breath of life—was in the service of peace and justice everywhere. I speak of a great humanitarian Arab leader: the late Gamal Abdel Nasser. On this occasion it is fitting that we recall his untiring efforts with appreciation and respect.

161. This anniversary, which happens to mark the passage 10 years ago of the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, lends special significance to this session. It reminds us that, as active Members of this Organization, we are called upon to shoulder our responsibilities fully, in order that we may lay the cornerstones of freedom, justice, equality, and peace for all peoples. At this juncture of history, a brief review of the work of this Organization during the first twenty-five years of its life underlines the following.

162. First, that the United Nations, established to maintain peace and security, and to save humanity from the scourge of war, has not yet accomplished that noble goal. We have witnessed and are still witnessing—in the shadow of the United Nations and sometimes under its flag—small wars which are no less destructive or savage than big wars.

163. Secondly, despite the fact that the Second World War marked the end of Nazi and Fascist tyranny, and that many peoples were later to break off the chains of colonial imperialism, today we face an imperialist domination, led by the United States of America, and a new colonialism not less dangerous than its predecessor. Bearing different forms of economic and political subjugation, it is bound to destroy the aspirations of peoples to achieve true economic and political independence, and tends to perpetuate conditions of poverty and underdevelopment.

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

164. Thirdly, power politics still exert a negative influence on the progress of the United Nations. Several resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, dealing with the causes of peoples victimized by persecution or aggression, remain unimplemented because of obstacles placed in their path by world imperialist forces which enjoy special privileges that make such a situation possible, while the rest of the Member nations, which form the majority, are powerless to bring about the implementation of those resolutions.

165. Fourthly, a quarter of the world's population today remains unrepresented in this Organization, because colonialist Powers have successfully used their influence to obstruct and prevent the Chinese People's Republic from occupying its legitimate seat in this Organization. In our opinion, negotiations and talks on disarmament are meaningless in the absence of the Chinese People's Republic which is, itself, a nuclear Power.

166. While this is the situation in the Organization a quarter of a century after its establishment, and despite the fact that this is but a reflection of the contest between warring forces on the world stage that has found its way into this body, yet the need for preserving the Organization, and the necessity for turning it into an effective instrument for achieving freedom, justice and peace, remain undiminished. To attain these ends, some conditions must be met, among which I cite the following: firstly, a review of the United Nations Charter, in order that all Members may enjoy equal rights; secondly, eradication of colonialism in all its forms, new and old, and effective support for liberation movements against foreign occupation; thirdly, a narrowing of the economic gap between developing and developed nations; fourthly, achievements of truly universal and equal representation in this international organization for all peoples, by inviting the Chinese People's Republic to occupy its legitimate place in the United Nations.

167. There is another matter to which we alluded last year. That concerns the location of our Organization, which was intended to be a free forum for all peoples. In addition to the practical difficulties caused by the remoteness of the Organization's geographic location, another dangerous and recently worsening phenomenon intrudes itself in the form of pressures and threats by certain groups against Members of this Organization and their delegations in an effort to intimidate them and bend their will. This is taking place under the eyes of the authorities of the United States of America, the host country.

168. Since independence, our people have had to face many foreign intrigues, while at the same time working to find solutions to the problems of economic underdevelopment inherited from the decadent colonialist era. Despite all this, our people are determined to rebuild our economic, political and social foundations in such a way as to bring about complete liberation from various forms of economic, political and social dependency. Towards that end the National Front—the leading revolutionary organization—has

declared and recently put forward for discussion by the people a draft constitution for the national democratic revolutionary phase, to benefit the masses of people who had long been deprived of their natural rights under the tyranny of colonialism and feudalism. But imperialist forces, having lost their political and military bases in the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula, are attempting desperately to encircle and abort our national democratic system, since the latter presents a danger to imperialist monopolies and interests in the occupied Arabian Gulf.

169. As it faces the tasks of economic and social reconstruction in the shadow of vicious imperialist challenges and intrigues, the People's Republic of Southern Yemen retains its faith in the right of peoples to struggle for freedom and independence, and believes that they are entitled to full support and backing in their struggle against colonialism and in their efforts to achieve progress.

170. British colonialism is still a dominant factor in the occupied Arabian Gulf, which borders our eastern frontiers. Colonialism retains its aggressive military bases to protect its petroleum monopolies, to drain the riches which rightfully belong to the people of the Gulf and to bolster the Zionist imperialist presence in the Arab homeland. In doing all this, it hides behind flimsy entities of its own making and takes refuge in invalid agreements imposed by military force. Despite the fact that the Arabian Gulf area boasts vast petroleum deposits, the majority of its people suffer from low standards of living, because those riches are exploited by colonialism and imperialism and their agents—rulers, sultans and sheikhs. As a result of this state of affairs and the accompanying colonialist methods of cruel suppression and subjugation, the Arab people of the Gulf have been engaged for the past five years in an armed struggle for liberation under the leadership of the People's Front for the Liberation of the occupied Arabian Gulf. The Front has been able to liberate some parts in the western area and has extended the armed struggle against colonialism to other parts of the Arabian Gulf.

171. In the face of the rising revolutionary tide, the British authorities have escalated their tactics of suppression and brutality—even genocide—against unarmed civilians, burning farms and cattle, and employing their air force, tanks and the most modern weapons of destruction.

172. When recourse to all these methods failed to suppress the armed revolution, British colonialism resorted to a flimsy political-theatrical production when it replaced Said Ben Taimur, the reactionary puppet ruler of Muscat and Oman, by his son, Qabus Said Ben Taimur, the new British puppet. By so doing, colonialism sought to impress the world with the illusion that a fundamental change had taken place in that land. The fact is that Qabus and his father are but two sides of one coin minted by British colonialism.

173. Of late we have heard the United Kingdom discuss the future and destiny of the Arabian Gulf area,

while at the same time seeking to continue and safeguard its exploitation of the Gulf's riches, through various schemes which deprive the people even of the right to determine their own destiny. It thus repeats the same methods and even uses the same colonialist figures which suffered defeat in the armed struggle in Southern Yemen.

174. The Arab people of the Gulf are waging a struggle for freedom and independence, and for the integrity of their territory. The People's Republic of Southern Yemen believes in the rightness of this struggle and will oppose all efforts by colonialism to falsify the will of the people, to bolster invalid claims and set up flimsy figurative entities which in no way represent the will of the people. It is our conviction that, in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the United Nations should lend its full support to the people of the Gulf in their effort to determine their own destiny, free from all methods of colonialist coercion and falsification.

175. In another part of the Arab homeland—in Palestine—a form of colonialism created by racist settlers in 1948 as a result of Zionist aggression, has driven over one million and a half Palestinians from their homes. This people has been subjected to massacres, terrorism and the loss of its homes for a period exceeding 20 years. But the repeated and savage attacks strengthened the Palestinian people's determination, and stiffened its resolve, until finally the Palestinian people's resistance movement came into being.

176. If world Zionism, backed by its ally, American imperialism and colonialist monopolies, has for a time succeeded by means of propaganda in falsifying the facts, world public opinion and all peoples who believe in peace and justice now see the racist minority rule in Palestine as no different from the minority rule in South Africa, with the exception that Zionist colonialism practices religious fanaticism, in addition to racial fanaticism, and commits all types of reprisals against the legal inhabitants of the land.

177. It is indeed regrettable that the most heinous crime of genocide against a peaceful people is being committed while the international community, represented in this Organization, takes no action beyond the approval of more and more resolutions that remain unimplemented.

178. We support armed Palestinian resistance as the only remaining recourse for the Palestinian people against the usurpers of its land and the persecutors of its brethren. Support for armed Palestinian resistance stems from our belief in the inherent right of peoples to liberate themselves and to determine their own destiny. We support the humanitarian solution called for by the Palestinian resistance—that all Palestinians, be they Christians, Jews or Moslems, should live as equal citizens in a democratic Palestinian state—because any solution that ignores the existence of the Palestinian people, who are the crux of the problem, has no chance of success.

179. Three years have elapsed since the latest Zionist aggression of June 1967, yet Israel continues to occupy territories of three Arab States that are Members of our Organization, defying international law and the Charter of the United Nations, which underlines the inadmissibility of acquiring territory by force. This state of affairs prevails because the United States, with the influence and means at its disposal, has condoned Zionist aggression—sometimes justifying it and at other times defending it—and at all times bolstering it by the export of weapons and planes subsequently used in raids against innocent civilians. Over and above all this, the United States facilitates, and even encourages, the participation of American citizens with a dual nationality in the aggressive Israeli war and utilizes its Sixth Fleet to support Israeli aggression.

180. It is now time to put an end to this disdain of international norms and of world peace and security. There is no way to achieve this end except by total, unconditional Israeli withdrawal from Arab territories, and by permitting the return of all Palestinians to their homes.

181. As in the Middle East, millions of human beings in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia are subjected to humiliation and the cruellest forms of racial segregation, subjected by the force of arms to the rule of the white minority. The racial rule practised by the white minority in this part of the world not only deprives man of his inherent human rights but also threatens the security of the whole African continent. We therefore call upon this Organization to take deterrent measures against the minority white rule in Africa. We insist that measures guaranteeing the ban of arms exports to the white minority rulers in these areas should be taken. My Government deplores the colonial presence in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau).

182. The security of the Asian continent is threatened, in the same manner, by American imperialist aggression, which has spread to include Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos. The People's Republic of Southern Yemen, while saluting the resistance of the revolutionary forces in these areas in their struggle against the imperialist presence, demands complete withdrawal of all aggressive forces, and that the people there be free to determine their own destiny.

183. It is regrettable, indeed, that American imperialist aggression is practised in the Korean territories under the flag of the United Nations, thus dividing that country by means of force. The People's Republic of Southern Yemen demands the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the Korean territories so that the Korean people may be free to determine their own destiny.

184. The peace to which the masses aspire is one based on justice and equality. It cannot be attained unless their aggressors are compelled to put an end to their acts of aggression, unless resolutions adopted by this Organization are coupled with measures to guarantee their implementation and unless the just struggle of oppressed peoples is supported. Unim-

plemented resolutions, as in the case of Palestine, do not help in safeguarding peace and security. On the contrary, they set precedents, encouraging aggressors seduced by their own strength.

the peoples in the face of all aggressors who deny them security and freedom, so that the nations can achieve freedom, eliminate underdevelopment and enjoy prosperity.

185. It is high time that the international community, represented in this Organization, enforced the will of

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.