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President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAQ (Afghanistan).

AGENDA ITEM 20

Admission of new Members to the United Nations
(continued)*

1. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will take action this morning on the recommendation of the Security Council that Botswana and Lesotho be admitted to membership of the United Nations.

2. We turn first to the consideration of the draft resolution which recommends the admission of Botswana to membership of the United Nations [A/L.484]. That draft resolution is sponsored by twenty-three Members.

3. In the absence of a request for a vote, may I take it that the General Assembly decides by acclamation to admit Botswana as a Member of the United Nations?

The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.

4. The PRESIDENT: I declare Botswana admitted to membership of the United Nations.

The delegation of Botswana was escorted to its place in the General Assembly Hall.

5. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the draft resolution recommending the admission of Lesotho to membership of the United Nations [A/L.485]. That draft resolution is sponsored by twenty-three Members.

6. In the absence of a request for a vote, may I take it that the General Assembly wishes to admit Lesotho by acclamation to membership of the United Nations?

The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.

7. The PRESIDENT: I declare Lesotho admitted to membership of the United Nations.

The delegation of Lesotho was escorted to its place in the General Assembly Hall.

8. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I am extremely happy to welcome Botswana and Lesotho as Members of the United Nations. I wish to extend to their Governments and peoples the warm congratulations of the Assembly on this great occasion, together with our best wishes for the future.

9. I now call on the representative of the United Kingdom, who has asked to make a statement.

10. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): It is a joyful duty I have to perform in welcoming as new Members of the United Nations the African countries of Botswana and Lesotho, bringing the number of Commonwealth States to twenty-five. We are constantly proud to say that the Commonwealth represents something like one quarter of the population of the whole world.

11. I extend the warmest greetings to His Majesty the King of Lesotho and his Prime Minister, and to the Minister of State for External Affairs of Botswana, who are here with us today.

12. As we rejoice on the attainment of their independence, all of us are very conscious, I am sure, that these two new countries face serious obstacles and special difficulties. All of us can join in wholeheartedly, wishing that they will triumph over these obstacles and difficulties.

13. All of us, too, will join together today not only in good wishes but also in a determination to help these new States, and on behalf of my Government I am glad to give the pledge that we shall continue to provide economic and financial assistance to them now that they are independent.

14. Permit me, in the presence of His Majesty the King of Lesotho, to repeat his words when his country celebrated independence earlier this month. This is what he said:

"We trust that, given your good will and our own resolution to uphold the basic principles of humanity and international morality, we shall be able to play a not unworthy part in that community of free nations which we now join."

15. Let me also quote the words of the President of Botswana, Sir Seretse Khama, in an independence message:

"Nevertheless, knowing the grave difficulties which lie ahead for us, we take this present step forward with confidence and with a determination that so soon as is possible we will stand on our own feet economically. We believe that through the very fact of independence and its effect upon ourselves, we will be able to develop within ourselves the will and the ability to make our own way in the world."

*Resumed from the 1409th meeting.

16. As these new States now embark on the adventure of independence, they do so in a spirit of courage and determination. It is a courage and determination which must excite the admiration of us all.

17. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea) (translated from French): In my dual capacity as Chairman of the African Group and Chairman of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, I have very special pleasure in welcoming to our great family our two brother States of Botswana and Lesotho.

18. The admission of new Members to the United Nations has become an Assembly ritual over the last ten years. From the original fifty-one at the signing of the Charter in San Francisco in June 1946, the number of Member States has grown until it stands today at 120. One might even say that the ceremonial of the admission of new States has become routine because it conforms to the nature of things and to the vocation of the United Nations.

19. Nevertheless, our satisfaction has greater significance on this occasion because the independence of Botswana and Lesotho, while representing one more victory in Africa's stubborn fight to affirm the rights and dignity of its peoples, also constitutes an important breach in the conspiracy of racist and colonialist forces which, south of the Zambezi River, struggle vainly to build a wall to bar the way to the wind of freedom, whose breath is shaking the entire African continent.

20. At bay in their detestable bastion, the proponents of apartheid look upon the liberation of this part of southern Africa with immense fear and savage lust, regardless of their hypocritical statements intended to deceive the vigilance of the African peoples and the international community.

21. The neo-nazis of South Africa, Messrs. Vorster, Miller, and the rest of the Boers, dream of making these new independent States an outlet for the so-called Bantu peoples, whom they plan to pen up in reservations more or less contiguous to these territories which they hope to turn into economic if not political Bantustans. But Africa knows the spirit of independence and the will to freedom of the peoples of Botswana and Lesotho, who have always been able to thwart the Machiavellian plans designed to thrust them back into the hands of the South African colonialist mercenaries.

22. We are also particularly pleased by Botswana's statement expressing its horror of apartheid. This country's effort to build a non-racial society will serve as a powerful example, showing that Africa refuses to succumb to racism and that its chosen way is that of universal brotherhood among men inspired by love and solidarity.

23. We extend our warmest greetings to President Seretse Khama and to the people of Botswana, who are acting in this crucial part of the African continent as wise apostles of those human values which are proclaimed by so many Western Governments but which a certain United Kingdom Government denied in the face of racist pressure, and which the people of Botswana were able to defend with courage and dignity.

24. We recall in fact that Seretse Khama was banished from his country and declared an "undesirable immigrant" in South Africa simply for having married the woman he loved, who happened to be English. Today this African nationalist is the President of an independent country which is striving to build its nationhood on the basis of the principles of the Charter and of universally recognized values.

25. The people of Lesotho for their part have in their past a great tradition of independence which they maintained against wind and tide, against pressure of all sorts, and every kind of economic, social and political difficulty. The King of Lesotho is a fitting symbol of this tradition. Even in the jaws of the South African racist wolf, Lesotho has proclaimed its hatred of racism. We admit that we have been made anxious by certain statements and certain untimely demonstrations which have taken place recently in Lesotho and in South Africa. We make a fraternal appeal to the people of this brother country to close ranks with a view to preserving their heritage of pride and independence in the face of their many difficulties, the serious and threatening nature of which we are the first to recognize.

26. We wish to assure the peoples of Botswana and Lesotho that all Africans are aware of the difficulties with which they have to contend and will spare no effort, with the support of the international community, to help them as far as possible not only to develop their nations but also to preserve the independence and territorial integrity of their countries.

27. We have no doubt that these proud and indomitable peoples can count on international solidarity to help them to wipe out the consequences of poverty and slavery left by decades of colonialist negligence and exploitation.

28. Whatever the intentions of the South African colonialists, we want our brothers in Botswana and Lesotho to know that they can count on their brothers and friends. Let there be no doubt that they will watch to see that it is not the destiny of these nations to become mere appendages to nearby racist countries, or reservoirs of endlessly available cheap labour, but is on the contrary in accordance with the aspirations of their peoples, which are those of all African peoples.

29. We have no doubt that there will never be any question of our brothers in Botswana and Lesotho yielding to South African blackmail. We are convinced that they will be able to preserve the honour and dignity inherent in the status of sovereign countries.

30. On this memorable occasion, even as we welcome Botswana and Lesotho, we cherish the fervent hope and the profound conviction that the day is not far off when our brothers in Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, and in other colonies, not forgetting the greatest of them all, South Africa, will come together to join the great family of the free nations of Africa, to work together, in harmony with the free nations of the entire world, for the realization of a better world, in peace and brotherhood.

31. Mayibuyé Africa! Rise again, Africa! This is the watchword, the revolutionary cry of the oppressed

peoples of southern Africa, for dignity, freedom and truth for all Africans, regardless of their race, colour, or religion. Mayibuyé Africa!

32. Mr. FOSTER (United States): My Government had the privilege last Friday, 14 October, of voting in the Security Council in favour of the applications for membership of the United Nations of the two newly independent States which we welcome into full membership today, Botswana and Lesotho. The United States representative in the Security Council, in supporting the applications of Botswana and Lesotho, noted their demographic and territorial importance, recognized their successful political viewpoint and development as representative democratic Governments, and acknowledged the efforts of the United Kingdom to bring about their self-government and independence. He then said:

"My Government is especially pleased that Botswana and Lesotho share with the United States the strong conviction that governments, to be effective and strong, must be based on the consent of those they govern. My Government is well aware, also, of the many obstacles that Botswana and Lesotho have overcome in their praiseworthy drive to build nations where a man's dignity and worth are not determined by race. This is indeed a victory in the world-wide struggle for the realization of equal rights and opportunities for all. This achievement brings Botswana and Lesotho to our membership with substantial contributions already in hand." ^{1/}

33. Today, I reaffirm the words of the United States representative in the Security Council and formally welcome the representatives of Botswana and Lesotho to the United Nations family, secure in the knowledge that they will be worthy collaborators in our joint efforts to achieve the high hopes and ideals of our Organization.

34. Mr. MULLER (South Africa): It is my pleasure and privilege today to join in publicly welcoming Botswana and Lesotho to membership of this Organization. Our relations with these two neighbouring countries, the latest from our continent to be granted independence, have always been extremely close, and we shall do whatever is possible to continue and develop this friendly relationship.

35. This sentiment was expressed in messages which I conveyed from the South African Government and people to the Governments and peoples of the two new States when I attended their recent independence celebrations. It is a sentiment which I wish to repeat here today.

36. As neighbours in southern Africa, our countries naturally have many common interests, one of the most important being that our sub-continent may continue to enjoy the peace that is so essential for the material prosperity and political well-being of us all. In a broadcast to the South African nation last month, my Prime Minister stated:

"We do not seek hostility with anyone. We do not cast envious eyes on any neighbouring or other State. We do not wish to and will not interfere in

the affairs of others. We offer assistance where necessary, in the knowledge that the only real help is that which does not violate the self-respect of the recipient or impair his honour."

37. My Prime Minister has since given the further assurance in Parliament that South Africa will never allow itself to be used as a breeding place for conspiracy against or a springboard for attacks on any other territory. This reflects South Africa's attitude also towards Botswana and Lesotho.

38. Regarding the material advancement and prosperity which, as I said, we hope and trust these countries will enjoy, I should like to add that my Government has traditionally co-operated fully with them in the past in the economic and technical spheres, to our mutual benefit. Their peoples, as well as their Governments, have become familiar with this and are also aware of our common interests which have inspired such co-operation. My Government is prepared to continue to co-operate in these fields and to afford such assistance as it may be able to render. Such co-operation and assistance will not be influenced by any intention or wish to exercise economic or any other form of domination over these countries, but simply by a desire to continue to live together as friendly good neighbours. And it is in this spirit that I today express my congratulations to Botswana and Lesotho.

39. The PRESIDENT: I take pleasure in inviting Mr. Nwako, Minister of State for External Affairs of Botswana, to address the General Assembly.

40. Mr. NWAKO (Botswana): Mr. President, on behalf of the Republic of Botswana, which regained its complete independence on 30 September 1966, I bring to the General Assembly the personal greetings of the President, Sir Seretse Khama, the Government and the people of Botswana. I use the word "regained" advisedly because, throughout the eighty years or more of their association with the United Kingdom as a Protectorate, the people of Botswana never lost their sense of independence and never became British subjects in the ordinary sense of the word. Hence the amicable atmosphere in which the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of the Republic of Botswana have now placed their relationship on a new basis.

41. It had been the wish of the President of Botswana to be present here in person on this occasion, since he carries primary responsibility for external affairs. I assure you that it was a matter of deep regret to him that he was prevented from doing so by urgent affairs of State. When it became clear that it would be impossible for him to attend in person, he delegated to me in my capacity as Minister of State for External Affairs the duty and the honour of attendance when application was made by Botswana for membership of the United Nations. It is a matter of gratification to me that I should be present here today to accept membership of the United Nations on behalf of my country. I need hardly say that we consider it a signal honour to have been accorded membership of this Organization, on which the peace and therefore the future of the world and mankind so largely depend. I trust that it will be possible for me to convey adequately to the President and the Government and

^{1/} See Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-first year, 1306th meeting.

people of Botswana something of the warmth and kindness with which you, Mr. President, and the representatives of this august Assembly have received us.

42. Botswana can be counted among the small nations of the world, covering an area of 222,000 square miles with a population of approximately 600,000, but it is our conviction that this does not imply that it can be discounted in the councils of the world. We believe that it represents a significant portion of a vital part of the continent of Africa and could play a vital role in the affairs of that region.

43. We are not unmindful of the special interest which this Organization has already shown in our country. I refer to the United Nations Mission which, in pursuance of a resolution of the United Nations, visited my country to study its problems and to make recommendations regarding economic assistance. We are indebted to all those countries which have given evidence of their practical interest in our welfare by their contributions to the United Nations Fund for the economic development of the High Commission Territories and to other schemes of economic assistance for those Territories, and we dare to express the hope that, as our needs and problems become better known among Member States, that interest will grow. In this session also we have noted that the affairs of our country have already received some attention.

44. A perusal of the Constitution of Botswana will show that our Republic is dedicated to the preservation, protection and promotion of the fundamental rights and freedoms of all its people and to a democratic form of government free from any discrimination based on colour, race or creed. It is our firm intention to build up a non-racial State in which different groups can live together in peace and harmony on a basis of equal opportunity, equal rights and equal responsibilities.

45. We are aware that in the carrying out of the task on which we have embarked—the building up of an independent non-racial State—we shall encounter great difficulties and obstacles, especially having regard to our geographical position, our limited resources and our unfavourable climatic conditions, but we take courage from the knowledge that we have the good wishes of so many nations and may count on the massive support, both moral and otherwise, of the more developed nations of the world represented here.

46. It is our resolve to maintain harmonious relations with all friendly States both in Africa and in other parts of the world. It is our belief that, though small in terms of population and in terms of developed material resources, the Republic of Botswana, by building up a non-racial State, can make a significant contribution, by way of precept as well as example, to the solution of a problem of major concern to the peoples of the world.

47. We firmly support the United Nations in its peace-keeping role and its practical interest in the economic and social development of all peoples in all parts of the world. It is our humble hope that, as an active Member of the United Nations and its various specialized agencies, we may be able to share in the great tasks which it has set itself.

48. On behalf of the Republic of Botswana, I should like to say that my Government has learned with deep concern about the possibility of the Secretary-General relinquishing the office which he has held with such distinction. My Government would like to add its voice to those which have been raised in earnestly requesting him to reconsider his decision and to continue to place his distinguished services at the disposal of the nations and the peoples of the world.

49. I should also like to take the opportunity of congratulating you, Mr. President, on your election as President of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly. I have no doubt that you will bring to this office the distinguished qualities with which you have already served your country and this Organization in the past.

50. May I in conclusion, Sir, on behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Botswana, express our deep appreciation of the friendly reception we have been accorded and assure you that it will be the earnest endeavour of our delegation to be loyal to the principles laid down in the United Nations Charter and so prove to be worthy Members of this Organization.

51. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Minister of State for External Affairs of Botswana.

52. It gives me great pleasure to invite Chief Leabua Jonathan, the Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs of Lesotho, to address the General Assembly.

53. Mr. JONATHAN (Lesotho): It is my honour and privilege as Prime Minister of Lesotho to express to this Assembly the appreciation of His Majesty the King of Lesotho, of His Majesty's Government and of the people of my country upon the admission of the Kingdom of Lesotho to the United Nations. We are deeply grateful that the General Assembly has this morning confirmed the decision of the Security Council to have Lesotho accepted as the 121st Member of this Organization. We accept fully our new obligations and solemnly undertake to discharge faithfully those obligations which we have assumed upon admission and which are embodied in the Charter to which all Members of the world body subscribe.

54. In terms of size, population and resources, our country is small and poor, but we are confident that with God's help, with the goodwill of the community of nations and with the courage and industry of our own people, we shall overcome the difficulties which certainly lie ahead of us. We have no illusions about those difficulties, and in surmounting them we shall rely upon our sympathy and your understanding of the particular problems that beset us.

55. As a nation, we believe in a democratic way of life and we have a profound respect for the dignity and freedom of the individual—regardless of race, sex or creed. We are proud that in our country all men are treated with respect regardless of colour and that our Constitution contains specific safeguards for the protection of fundamental human rights and freedoms.

56. Peace we prize above all things, and it is not in our nature to reject friendship and goodwill offered in good faith, wherever we find it. We do not look for difficulties, nor do we wish to perpetuate old antagonisms. We believe that these are things that mankind in its shrinking world cannot afford. Somewhat innocently, perhaps we still believe that, in these times of such rapid scientific and technical change, the common interests of the nations of the world far outweigh their differences.

57. The Assembly will understand from what I have already said that we in Lesotho have no illusions about the limitations of our material strength and importance, but we promise that our contribution to the work of the United Nations will, within the limits of our modest resources, be as constructive and as positive as we can make it. We pledge ourselves to do all we can to further the cause of international peace and security. In conclusion, I give you the traditional salutation of my country: Khotso—which, being interpreted, means "Peace".

58. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs of Lesotho. The flags of the two new Member States will be raised in a ceremony which is to take place at 2.45 p.m. today in front of the delegates' entrance.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

59. Mr. HUOT SAMBATH (Cambodia) (translated from French): Several distinguished speakers have already been to this rostrum to tell the Assembly of the problems confronting their countries and also to state their views on a number of international questions which are of concern to us all. For its part, the Cambodian delegation intends to make its position known as briefly as possible, in the hope that the voice of a country and people much preoccupied by the present situation will receive your full attention.

60. Cambodia is an essentially and fundamentally peaceful country. While the young great Powers of today may be discovering the intoxication of military glory, a country with a civilization as old as ours knows how vain it all is. Like the nations of Europe, the Khmer empire for several centuries made great use of armed force. But times have changed.

61. We do not turn our backs on our past. Yet, it seems to us that in this twentieth century international relations must be based exclusively on law, as was solemnly proclaimed when the United Nations was established. Unfortunately, there are still some countries which retain an anachronistic thirst for conquest and domination. Cambodia is at present experiencing this from its neighbours on the West and on the East, supported and encouraged by the United States of America.

62. In this connexion, I should like to draw attention to the real policy of Thailand towards my country. All the protestations of good faith of the Bangkok leaders cannot in fact camouflage an attitude and overt acts which the Members of this Assembly will appreciate at their true worth.

63. First of all, there is the direct military intervention of the Thai army against Khmer territory. Our frontier posts and villages are regularly attacked by the Thai armed forces, which are as regularly repulsed by our covering troops. Indeed, these attacks are not a great source of anxiety. What is more serious is the placing of mines by small groups of Thais who infiltrate into Khmer territory. These American-made mines, of the latest undetectable model, are scattered over vast areas, which the rural population is then forced to leave.

64. The Government of Thailand attributes this particularly base terrorist activity to so-called "rebels", self-styled "free" Khmers. It is true that some bands of mercenaries participate in this activity, but we have the clearest proof that they are permanently installed in Thai territory and depend totally on Thai and United States services.

65. Nevertheless, we gave favourable consideration to the mediation of Mr. Herbert de Ribbing, U Thant's personal representative, and made it clear that Cambodia was ready to renew diplomatic relations with Thailand immediately, subject only to the prior signature of a joint declaration proclaiming respect for the present frontier between the two countries. It will recall that this frontier was fixed long ago by international treaties and confirmed in 1962 by a judgement of the International Court of Justice.

66. However, to this day, the Government of Thailand has not seen fit to assent to our proposal and the information available to us indicates that it intends to challenge the boundary line and even the judgement of the International Court of Justice concerning Préah Vihear.^{2/} How, in these circumstances, could we give any credence to Thailand's protestations of good faith?

67. The pseudo-Government of Saigon for its part maintains an insane claim to nearly all the Cambodian coastal islands. However, no serious-minded country attaches the slightest importance to the diplomatic activities of authorities who represent nobody but themselves.

68. The military situation on the Khmer-South Vietnamese frontier is far more serious. In effect, the United States Air Force is continuing its terrorist bombing of our frontier villages, sowing death and destruction among peaceful civilian populations. In some cases, the United States Command in South Viet-Nam claims to have attacked units of the Viet-Cong which have taken refuge with us. This is completely untrue, for all the observers from the International Commission for Supervision and Control have been able to see for themselves that the only victims of these aggressive acts have been harmless Khmer peasants. In other cases, the same United States authorities maintain, against all verisimilitude, that the bombed villages were in South Viet-Nam.

69. Lastly, I may add that these attacks by United States aircraft are being supplemented by those of Saigon's land forces, which are increasing their incursions into our territory. Thus, in the East as

^{2/} Case concerning the Temple of Préah Vihear (Cambodia v. Thailand), Merits, Judgement of 15 June 1962. I.C.J. Reports 1962, p. 6.

well as in the West, we must face co-ordinated aggression which is obviously intended to destroy our independence and territorial integrity.

70. Nevertheless, Cambodia's only ambition is to live at peace within its frontiers, practicing the policy of its choice and pursuing with universally recognized success its national development in every field. Unfortunately, it does not appear that the United Nations is in a position today to ensure that its Members' most sacred rights, set forth moreover in the Charter, will be respected and guaranteed.

71. I should like now to take up the problem which is in the forefront of all our minds and takes precedence over all the others with which the Assembly is called upon to deal: namely, the war in Viet-Nam. We have heard the head of the United States delegation [1412th meeting] give a rather special version of that war and put forward what he describes as a plan for the restoration of peace in Viet-Nam. We have also listened without surprise to certain other speakers offering him their unconditional support.

72. The Cambodian delegation for its part believes that it is essential to state the burning question of Viet-Nam as it really is, in other words, the assassination of a people by a foreign Power. The so-called justifications of the Administration in Washington will never be able to wipe out from our minds the horror and brutality of the United States military action in North and South Viet-Nam. In this connexion, we in Cambodia are better placed than anyone to denounce to the representatives of the entire world crimes which are the shame of all civilized countries.

73. The United States is solely responsible for the martyrdom of the Viet-Nameese people, and it will have to answer for it to history. It was the United States which gave the dictator Ngo Dinh Diem the support, means and advice which enabled him to impose his bloody régime on the Viet-Nameese people. It was the United States, as General de Gaulle has so rightly pointed out, which then imposed its political and military authority on South Viet-Nam and made the war break out again in the form of a national resistance. All these are facts and the so-called explanations of the United States representatives will deceive no impartial person.

74. The colonialists of the past had at least the merit of frankness when they sought to impose their rule on other countries. Today, however, the United States imperialists think they can hide their ambitions under hypocritical formulae. Need we add that no colonial conquest of the last century was as brutal as the invasion of South Viet-Nam by the United States.

75. Attempts are made to place this invasion by 350,000 United States soldiers, and the indiscriminate daily bombings, on an ideological plane, namely, the fight against communism. This is merely an attempt to deceive international opinion. In fact, the Viet-Nameese people are fighting for their independence, just as the Cambodian people and the people of the United States themselves would fight if they were attacked and invaded. Such great nationalist countries as France are not deceived.

76. The United States representative has tried to persuade this Assembly of the United States' will for peace. We do not think that these fine words will make us forget that at this very moment United States aircraft are pouring bombs, napalm, chemical poisons, into Viet-Nameese villages.

77. The United States Government is deceiving world opinion in proposing what it calls a peace plan. What it is really asking for is the capitulation of the Viet-Nameese national resistance movement and the recognition of the right of the United States to maintain in Saigon a Government of its choice which the people of South Viet-Nam do not want. The recent farce of elections, which our Secretary-General described very aptly as neither free nor fair, could not of course given any appearance of legality to the occupation of South Viet-Nam by the United States army.

78. Lastly, we regard as an affront to intelligence and common sense the argument that Viet-Nam is the victim of aggression by the Viet-Nameese and is being defended by the United States. The truth is that Viet-Nam is the victim of aggression of which the United States alone is guilty. This guilt is still further compounded by the despatch of Asian mercenaries to the battle fields of Viet-Nam.

79. The United Nations is an organization which was created so that the world should no longer be ruled by the use of force and so that all countries should be entitled to settle their domestic affairs without foreign intervention or interference. It is not, as is thought in some quarters, its duty to impose mediation in the Viet-Nameese war, because the violations of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 on Indochina, of the United Nations Charter and of international law as a whole, are purely unilateral.

80. It should simply demand an end to United States aggression in Viet-Nam and the evacuation of its troops from a country which they have invaded with no other justification than an out-dated will to dominate. As for the arrangements for the withdrawal of these troops, it rests with the Government of the United States and it alone to discuss the matter with the authentic representatives of the Viet-Nameese people, that is to say with the National Front for the Liberation of South Viet-Nam and with the Hanoi Government of the North.

81. Of course we know perfectly well that the United States Administration has chosen to turn a deaf ear to all the condemnations of world public opinion, and to use the power of its arms where and when it sees fit. There can be no doubt that this policy of force will lead to a world war, and at the present rate of escalation, we may well imagine that this General Assembly may be our last. In this planetary conflict we shall all share the responsibility, unless we try every means at our disposal to compel the United States to obey to the letter the Charter which it has signed.

82. There is another question of major importance which this year again the General Assembly is called upon to examine: the restoration to the People's Republic of China of its seat in the United Nations and in all its dependent agencies. However, this year again, the United States has decided to use

every means in its power to perpetuate the farce of the presence in China's place of the representatives of the Chiang Kai-Shek clique.

83. For years now, the arguments put forward by the United States and the countries it controls have not changed. For years, the Cambodian delegation has felt obliged to draw the Assembly's attention to the denial of justice constituted by the refusal to give China the place to which it is entitled. But we know that our appeals to reason, like those of all truly independent countries, are blocked by a United States imperialism exerted more and more openly in the United Nations.

84. Nevertheless, the Cambodian delegation appeals once more to all the delegations subject to United States blackmail on this matter of re-establishing the rights of China in the United Nations. The United States never stops proclaiming that China is a war-monger and threatens the peace of the world. Yet, is there a single Chinese soldier outside China, a single Chinese military base in foreign territory? In fact, the only wars being waged in the world at present are being waged by the United States, and the only bases which encircle and threaten China and all the socialist countries are those of the United States.

85. Responsible United States generals no longer hesitate to proclaim that their objective is to push China and Viet-Nam back to the stone age. A hysterical campaign is developing throughout the United States in favour of using force, including atomic force, to break the resistance of those countries which refuse to bow to its domination. And they dare claim that China threatens the peace of the world!

86. The truth, the truth which we hope will one day triumph, is that the People's Republic of China, a nation of 700 million, is being kept out of the United Nations in flagrant violation of the principles on which our Organization was founded. We should wake up to a fact often recalled by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Cambodian Chief of State, namely, that the United Nations needs the presence of China much more than China needs to sit in the United Nations.

87. Above all, the United States must give back to China that Chinese province of Taiwan which it is occupying and administering through the Chiang kai-Shek clique.

88. We also believe that it is the duty of the United Nations to ask the United States troops to leave South Korea, after first removing the Korean question from its agenda and dissolving the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. It is indeed a sorry fact that United Nations interference in the domestic affairs of this country is in reality support for the colonialist policy of the United States, which no longer even hesitates to use tens of thousands of South Korean soldiers in the Viet-Nam war. The Korean people are entitled to peace and reunification; such reunification, by peaceful means, is their own business.

89. The Cambodian delegation notes with regret that the United Nations has shown itself powerless or

unable to solve problems which become graver and more complex every year. We are forced even to recognize that its acceptance of violations of the Charter by the Western great Powers the United States in particular, is leading the world inevitably into a general war.

90. In this respect we would like to pay a glowing tribute to the efforts of U Thant to save the United Nations and the peace of the world. Unfortunately, his warnings, his appeals, his advice have gone unheeded by those responsible for the present situation. We understand his anguish and his discouragement. At the same time, we shall go on fervently hoping that he will accept another term, for he has our full and complete confidence.

91. The crisis which the United Nations is at present going through undoubtedly has many causes; neo-colonialism in some quarters, economic and political imperialism in others, chauvinism on the part of the great Powers, ideological rivalry, and so forth. One of the fundamental causes, however, is and continues to be racism.

92. Throughout the world we are witnessing savage demonstrations of that racism which is the shame of certain countries and certain civilized societies. In South Africa, the African population undergoes the most cruel oppression at the hands of a white Government whose representatives sit here among us. In Rhodesia, despite resolutions which have remained a dead letter, the Government of Ian Smith is still in power at Salisbury. In the United States, 25 million Negroes are fighting for their dignity and the recognition of the fundamental rights which are refused them.

93. Why could we not imagine the United States one day committing against a white race the atrocities of which it is guilty every day in Viet-Nam? Even before the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, we knew that certain Western Powers had nothing but contempt for the so-called coloured peoples. Present developments confirm that this attitude persists and is growing stronger in the self-styled free world. The Cambodian delegation hopes that all its brother countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America will become aware of this question, which will become more crucial every year.

94. In conclusion, may I stress the pleasure with which we welcomed the election of Mr. Abdul Rahman Pazhwak, the leading representative of a friendly Asian country and a universally respected international figure. The Cambodian delegation asks him to accept its hearty congratulations and its best wishes for the complete success of the noble task entrusted to him.

95. Mr. ZUAYTER (Jordan):^{3/} On behalf of Jordan and myself, allow me, Mr. President, to express heartfelt felicitations and congratulations on the occasion of your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly, and on attaining this position of world-wide trust.

^{3/} Mr. Zuayter spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

96. The cordial bonds between our two countries and our Arab and Afghan peoples have their roots in early history when you penetrated into the East, shouldering the task of spreading and propagating the ideals of Islam with faith, bravery and sacrifice. Your people have contributed greatly to the development of the Islamic civilization and to the service of the Koran language, and this has manifested itself in our many outstanding geniuses in the fields of Imamat, literature, philosophy and jurisprudence. And you have enriched us with Jamal Al Deen Al-Afghan, who established a new movement in the East which enlightened our minds and hearts and sharpened our creativity and became the vanguard of our first Islamic renaissance.

97. Our gratification at your Presidency is assured also by our recognition of your rare qualifications and experience. This Organization has known you as a capable, eminent and tactful diplomat with greatly appreciated contributions in various fields, especially those related to human rights and freedom of information and to the events in Viet-Nam. You, Mr. President, have distinguished yourself as the champion of justice and peace. The qualities of manliness, straight-forwardness and courage in righteousness and in justice of our brotherly Afghan people, are incarnated in the person of our President. Indeed, our Organization is fortunate to have you as President.

98. May I take this opportunity to welcome the return of our sister country Indonesia to the United Nations. Indonesia has always been the advocate of justice and has always defended our position in the United Nations with vigour and determination.

99. We also welcome the admission of Guyana, Botswana and Lesotho to the United Nations, which has brought the Organization closer to the implementation of the principle of universality. We are confident that Guyana, Botswana and Lesotho will join the procession of countries that uphold righteousness and defend justice, thereby playing an effective role in the international arena.

100. We have joined with all other countries in expressing our confidence in the Secretary-General, U Thant, and in his wisdom and ability and our desire that he should continue in office as Secretary-General. Our common endeavour is based on our firm belief in his dedication to the ideals and principles, both in the letter and the spirit, of the Charter. I should like to add here that U Thant cannot fulfil his mission unless each Member State of this Organization recognizes its obligation to work towards the achievement of the goals of the United Nations, and its responsibilities for any failure that concerns this Organization. U Thant cannot serve this Organization if the majority of the States which have the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace are facing that responsibility with apathy and indifference. We nurture the hope that the stand of U Thant will shake the conscience of the United Nations, thus prompting it to play an effective role in resolving the problems that he has referred to, such as those of Viet-Nam and the financing of the Organization. This should go hand in hand with the strengthening of the Executive Office and other organs of the United Nations.

101. The subject of disarmament is an important issue that the General Assembly has to deal with at every session and we regret that the great Powers, which are primarily responsible for the maintenance of peace, have not reached a constructive agreement in regard to this important question. We recognize that disarmament amongst the great Powers cannot be attained except in an atmosphere of mutual confidence. It is unreasonable for those Powers to continue spending huge sums of money on armaments for the maintenance of peace, while spending meagrely for peace building. This matter is of primary importance to the developing countries. There is no doubt that the countries concerned bear a heavy responsibility in assuming this course of action, which leads to complications that are repugnant to the goals and aims of the Organization.

102. We must admit that our Organization has achieved some of its goals. I should like to underline the word "some", since the way ahead is still a long one, and since the goals that have not been achieved are still many.

Mr. Kaberuka (Rwanda), Vice-President, took the Chair.

103. The Organization has made significant strides in decolonization and has stressed the principle of self-determination, as is evidenced by the fact that the number of countries that had signed the Charter at the inception of the United Nations was only 51, and today that number has reached 121. This involves an increase of 70 new nations whose independence, sovereignty and membership in the United Nations have been recognized. Furthermore, the United Nations made valuable contributions in the cessation of hostilities in Cyprus, the Congo, the Dominican Republic, and between India and Pakistan. We do not minimize the magnitude of the success achieved by the United Nations in the development and social fields. It suffices here to point out the achievements in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization and the United Nations Institute for Training and Research. The effect of all those achievements, if adequately implemented, would raise the standard of living and would bridge the gap between the developed and the developing countries. It is an imperative duty of the United Nations to reassess the media of information in the light of the significant modern discoveries such as Telstar.

104. Despite all this, the Organization faces many problems and issues that cannot be neglected, since their solution is a basic necessity and constitutes an integral part of the functions of the United Nations. Indeed, the United Nations has been created for this purpose.

105. Consequently, I cannot touch on each item on the agenda at this session. We reserve the right to express our views at the appropriate time when they are discussed in the various committees. However, at this juncture, I should like to outline the position of Jordan regarding some of these items.

106. We are deeply disturbed at the escalation of the war in Viet-Nam and the tremendous human and

material losses of the people of Viet-Nam and the threat this poses to international peace. This has prompted us to support all endeavours and efforts leading to a cease-fire, and the attempts to find a peaceful settlement on the basis of the Geneva Agreements of 1954. We believe that the United Nations should play its part in bringing this war to an end on the basis of non-interference from any quarter. In addition to the most valuable efforts of the Secretary-General, it might be possible to encourage the International Control Commission to create an atmosphere conducive to negotiations among all the parties concerned. It has become evident that the problem of Viet-Nam cannot be solved by a military victory on one side, or a complete surrender on the other.

107. Our position regarding Kashmir is quite clear. We have supported the need to find a peaceful solution to this problem on the basis of self-determination. We wish to pay tribute to the USSR for its efforts in promoting the Tashkent Conference. In view of the fact that the implementation of the Tashkent Agreement^{4/} has lately been facing some difficulties, we appeal to the parties concerned to resume negotiations in the spirit of that Agreement.

108. As to the Cyprus issue, we advocate a cordial agreement guaranteeing peace and tranquillity to the people of Cyprus and safeguarding the rights of the minority, and at the same time not ignoring the rights of the majority.

109. Our positions in the Security Council and in all the sessions of the General Assembly are clear. We oppose and condemn colonialism in all its forms, and we call for its final liquidation. We also absolutely condemn the policy of apartheid and our position in the Security Council has upheld the Africans' struggle against discrimination and their efforts for liberation.

110. We condemned the illegal seizure of authority by the Ian Smith régime in Rhodesia and we called for the establishment of a government representing all the peoples of that country. We have opposed strongly the domination of the majority by the minority, and we have confronted the United Kingdom with its responsibility. We hereby declare our regret that the measures taken so far have not been sufficient to put an end to the vicious minority rule in Rhodesia, and we further declare that there is an urgent need to continue the efforts for abolishing the oppression of the majority of the people.

111. That was also our position with regard to the cases of South Africa, Angola and Mozambique. We are dismayed by the decision of the International Court of Justice on the question of South West Africa^{5/} and by the manner in which the case has handled. Therefore, we believe it is imperative that the General Assembly assume all its responsibilities towards that case. We also believe that the Mandate in South West Africa must come to an end, and that the United Nations must take the necessary measures

to secure that Territory's independence, lest the catastrophe of the Mandate in Palestine be repeated. That Mandate over Palestine was meant to provide a transitory period towards achieving independence, but instead it was applied in the most vicious and savage manner, and systematically led to the liquidation of its Arab character and the disintegration of its identity, and the expulsion of its population. It is not strange, therefore, that Jordan does not distinguish between the manner in which it handles the cases of Angola, Rhodesia and South Africa, on one hand, and the Palestine question on the other, since all these cases are basically colonial issues which started with the emigration of a minority group and ended by expelling or oppressing the majority—or both—and depriving it of its most basic human and political rights.

112. The cases of Rhodesia, South Africa and Palestine constitute a challenge to the United Nations and its Charter and ideals. It is saddening to witness the great Powers encouraging such a challenge, either directly or by their indifference to their obligations or by their reluctance to halt aggression. It is the duty of all other countries candidly to urge the great Powers to exercise their responsibilities.

113. It is only natural for Jordan to be in the forefront of the countries which are calling for the liberation of South Arabia, Aden and Oman, and to demand the evacuation of the British forces and the liquidation of British colonialism. This accords with our policy, which opposes colonialism wherever it exists. Furthermore, it is a response to the demand of the Arab nation.

114. The report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East [A/6313] is being presented today to the Special Political Committee, where the Arab representatives will be engaged in a full discussion of the Palestine question. It is therefore my duty to declare the following from this international rostrum:

115. First, the tragedy of Palestine is more than a vicious colonialist catastrophe. It is more wicked than apartheid. It is more evil than oppression. It is more tragic than poverty. It is the liquidation of the indigenous people of Palestine through their oppression by, and the transplantation of, an invading alien people. It is the liquidation of an identity and the destruction of a homeland.

116. Second, Jordan will consider its independence incomplete and its security and peace in jeopardy so long as the rights of the Palestinians are usurped. The greatest responsibility for restoring their rights rests on Jordan, in view of the fact that the majority of the refugees are in Jordan.

117. Third, in spite of the fact that the case of Palestine is discussed as a marginal issue, to the UNRWA report, we solemnly declare that the Palestine case is not a refugee question that can be resolved by the provision of food, shelter and employment. In other words, it is not a case of food and shelter requested from others, but a case of usurped land and usurped rights. Its solution can be found only in the restoration of the homeland to its rightful

^{4/} Tashkent Declaration of 10 January 1966.

^{5/} South West Africa, Second Phase, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 1966, p. 6.

owners. First and foremost, it is a political issue, directly and firmly linked with the soil and the homeland. The refugees will continue to be refugees until they return to their homeland and their land is restored to them. Nothing is more wrong than to imagine the solution to be in the nature of the provision of their food, shelter and compensation, while in fact it lies in the restoration of their rights and in their repatriation.

118. Fourth, as we have stated earlier, the case of the Palestinian refugees is not a case of the few cents which UNRWA distributes to them as alms and which do not sustain them. Although such assistance cannot compensate them for the loss of their country, nevertheless the responsibility of the United Nations—which was led by some of the great Powers at its very inception to ratify the catastrophe—in shouldering the burden of the refugees and their relief, is a legal, political and humanitarian responsibility which must continue until the refugees are repatriated. We consider the attempts to scale down the relief and services as foreshadowing a plan to liquidate the whole case. We shall resist any attempt of that kind and shall be on guard to keep the Palestine issue alive until the restoration of the usurped homeland to the refugees.

119. Fifth, the maintenance of peace is of primary importance to the United Nations. However, not every peace which is imposed at the expense of justice is a lasting peace. Such a peace carries within its womb the seeds of its own destruction. When oppression is associated with peace, that is a bad omen for peace. The indifference with which the United Nations has been facing the Palestine case, coupled with the feelings of the Palestinians that the gates of international justice are closed to them while opened to the frauds of others, prompts the Palestinians to think that the solution lies outside the United Nations. What can be expected of them when they see before their own eyes their farms and gardens and the fruit of their soil within their reach but being exploited by usurpers, while their only compensation is the few cents doled out to them? Their demand that their rights be protected and their dignity sustained, that they be spared the humiliation of international charity, through the appointment of a custodian for their property, so that it may be supervised and they may be compensated from the proceeds thereof, in place of the meagre assistance they are now receiving, has fallen on deaf ears. Some of the great Powers which were responsible for their catastrophe have been the most adamant in opposition to the appointment of such a custodian; they justify their opposition by the principle of sovereignty, when there is no sovereignty for a usurper.

120. It might be said that this sovereignty is a gift of the United Nations, or rather the gift of the thirty-two nations that approved the partition of Palestine, when the United Nations itself had no jurisdiction to bequeath a country to aliens. A few days ago I heard a representative of the authorities that usurped my country, confiscated the land of my forefathers, desecrated their graves and exiled my people, speaking about high ideals and ideologies, shedding crocodile tears over the Charter of the United Nations and calling for the creation of the post of United Nations High

Commissioner for Human Rights. If you were to ask him his opinion concerning the appointment of a custodian to protect the property and rights of the Palestinian refugees and to distribute the revenue therefrom among the rightful owners, he would be the first to object—as if those people were not human beings who had natural rights since their creation on this earth, and as if they did not have rights to their property. It seems that the people who cry most for human rights are the first to undermine them, and, similarly, the people who speak most about human ideals are those who are the first to destroy them. Likewise, those who speak most about United Nations resolutions are the first to defy them. Their opposition to the repatriation of the refugees and the annexation of areas in addition to those given to them unjustly by the thirty-two nations has compounded the refugee calamity. The adoption of a policy of racial discrimination and their treatment of the Arab minority are just other manifestations of the intentions of the authorities that occupy my country.

121. Sixth, I would like to declare from this international rostrum that Jordan bears its full responsibility for the liberation of Palestine and refuses any appeasement that leads to its liquidation and it shares the view of the rest of the Arab countries in putting the question of Palestine above differences between one Arab country and another.

122. Seventh, in spite of the fact that most of the refugees are concentrated within Jordan, it does not consider itself alone in dealing with the question but considers that the responsibility of the Arabs in regard to it is joint and collective. Since all Arabs are concerned with the Palestine question, whether they are Algerians in the West or Iraqis in the East, we should like our friends here to know that their stand towards this issue will define to us their stand towards the rest of the Arab world. We have supported every liberation movement in this Organization and defended every legitimate right and associated ourselves with the oppressed until oppression has ceased. The same principles require others to take a similar stand towards our problems, a stand that is predicated upon the principles of the Charter. Some of our friends have suggested in previous sessions that we undertake negotiations with the usurper authorities. We certainly hope that during this session they will not drift into such an attitude, and we hope that they will be aware that we absolutely refuse any appeasement or negotiations. We absolutely reject any substitute for our usurped rights. Therefore we were saddened to hear that some of our friends are opposed to the appointment of a custodian for the property of the refugees. We interpret that opposition as support for the acts of pillage committed by the usurpers and as willingness to perpetuate the humiliation and indignity inflicted on the refugees.

123. Eighth, I should like to declare that the passing of time, indifference and decreased material assistance will not solve the problem of Palestine. On the contrary, they will only increase the complexity of the case and inflame it. We shall never forget Palestine. Those who have died in exile have charged their sons, before their death, with the duty of seeking revenge. It is in the interest of international peace to accord the Palestine case its due importance.

124. Finally, Jordan will continue to adhere to the principles of the United Nations and to insist on the implementation of its Charter. We shall always call for justice and support respect for human rights and international peace based on honourable justice.

125. When the day comes when the aggrieved and innocent on this earth can call upon the United Nations and rely on it to redress their grievances and restore their rights, when this Organization truly believes in its mission to combat injustice and endeavours most earnestly to implement its goals, then—and only then—will it bestow on mankind and civilization a lofty ideal that will rise to a level close to those heavenly creeds that brought the peoples out of darkness into the light.

126. Mr. SHEARER (Jamaica): I have already had the opportunity to express to Mr. Pazhwak the Jamaican delegation's sincere congratulations on his election to the office of President of this Assembly. We know of no one whose dedication to the good of the United Nations is greater than his, and we are confident that under his guidance the activities of this session of the Assembly will prove to be fruitful for the welfare and peace of mankind.

127. I would also request the delegation of Italy to convey my delegation's thanks and appreciation to its distinguished Foreign Minister, Mr. Fanfani, whose able direction of the business of the twentieth session earned the respect and admiration of all delegations.

128. The Jamaican delegation has noted with satisfaction the emergence to independence of Botswana and Lesotho, formerly the British Protected Territories of Bechuanaland and Basutoland. We are pleased that they have taken their places among us as sovereign and equal Member States of the United Nations. My delegation is also particularly pleased to welcome Indonesia, one of the great countries of Asia, which has resumed its participation in the work of the United Nations. We entertain high hopes of the special contribution which, by reason of its wealth, its geographical location, its large population and the genius of its vigorous people, Indonesia can make to the general effort towards international co-operation through the United Nations.

129. Jamaica looks forward also to the coming independence of Barbados, and my Government is pleased that the date for that independence has been set. The people of Barbados are lovers of freedom and independent in outlook and have a deep dedication to the highest principles of parliamentary democracy. There will be a gain to the United Nations from the participation of that nation in our future activities.

130. As for the other territories of the former West Indian Federation, my Government understands that arrangements suited to each territory's circumstances are being worked out which will enable all the islands, if they wish, to continue in a form of association with the United Kingdom. Our information is that the arrangements are acceptable to the political leaders in those territories, who, let us remember, are all leaders elected in the free exercise of a popular franchise and enjoy the full confidence of their own people.

131. At the other end of the Caribbean Sea is the territory of British Honduras, which is soon to enter the community of independent nations. Many of its people are linked with the people of my country by ties of kinship. My Government is concerned that the citizens of that territory should not be denied any of the means of self-determination which are internationally recognized as their inalienable right since resolution 1514 (XV) was adopted by the Assembly. It is essential, in our view, that no arrangements should be imposed upon them which are dictated by interests other than their own; and we welcome the firm assurance the United Kingdom has given us that no settlement of their future will be reached which is not in accordance with the wishes of the people of British Honduras.

132. Our Caribbean region is an area of growing importance in the political, strategic and economic affairs of the Western Hemisphere, and the former British territories will have a powerful influence on the direction which the political evolution of this region eventually takes. Our non-racial societies and our belief in the superiority of the democratic way of life are elements of genuine stability in a world in which stability is at a premium.

133. In order to play the part we can in the political evolution of the region, however, we must find real solutions to our internal economic problems which, though not very grave when compared with those of many other countries, are nevertheless real. Jamaica welcomes the interest which the economic organs of the United Nations have now begun to show in the needs of the Caribbean region. These organs and agencies of the United Nations must now do for our region what they have done successfully for other parts of the world and must enlarge and intensify those programmes which are aimed at improving the general level of social and economic development in the Caribbean area.

134. Uppermost in our minds at present is the urgent problem which has been presented to the Security Council and to us by the Secretary-General's intimation that he is unwilling to be available for a second term of office. Soon after his decision was announced, our Prime Minister, speaking in the name of our Government, personally urged the Secretary-General, in the interest of world peace and of the future strength of the United Nations, to reconsider this decision. My Government continues to associate itself with the warm expressions of confidence which, formally and informally, have reached the Secretary-General in recent weeks and with the insistent though delicate pressure being exerted upon him from all sides to consider serving for a further period.

135. At the same time, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the considerations which have influenced U Thant's decision were not entirely personal. He has made it clear that his view of his functions is different from that of a section of the membership, and that he had experienced increasing restrictions on the legitimate prerogatives of his office. He was careful to stress, it is true, that we ought not to assume that if certain conditions were met he would be able to change his decision. One thing however is obvious: the Secretary-General can scarcely be

expected to permit our entreaties and expressions of confidence to persuade him to serve on, if they are not accompanied by assurances in regard to the future functioning of his office. There are no small or middle-sized States which would wish to restrict the Secretary-General in his diplomatic and political initiatives. None of us among the small States would wish to place restrictions on the legitimate exercise of the functions of his office. I refer to this matter, therefore, with the object of exhorting my colleagues, the representatives of small and medium-sized Powers, to recognize the responsibility which rests upon us to see to it that the restrictions of which he has complained are removed.

136. If U Thant is not persuaded to continue in office, there is a very grave risk that his successor will have to take these restrictions as part of the normal conditions in which the functions of his office must be discharged in the future. I need not add that those who would lose most by any such development would be the small and medium-sized Member States. If we act concertedly, we have the means to ensure that the Secretary-General is indeed left free to take whatever initiatives the Charter permits or authorizes him to take, and that there is no interference with his administrative or executive responsibilities. I am confident that we shall be sufficiently alive to our own interest to give positive support to the Secretary-General in his determination to maintain the independence of his office.

137. In the sphere of international political relations and the maintenance of peace there are two questions on which my Government considers it desirable at this time to state or re-state its position. I shall refer later on to one of these subjects: the grave situation in Viet-Nam. The other question, a domestic matter, is fraught with even more fateful consequences for the peace of the world and the future existence of our Organization. I refer, of course, to the present disagreement about the respective powers of the Security Council and the General Assembly in the maintenance of international peace and security. This disagreement is still not resolved and it is important, in my Government's opinion, for the Assembly to recognize that the current impasse is in fact a situation of crisis. As the impasse continues without being resolved, it is alarming to note how dramatically our general expectations about peace-keeping have diminished between the seventeenth session, when the Assembly, by its resolution 1854 (XVII), accepted the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on certain expenses of the United Nations,^{9/} and the present time. The whole United Nations is being rapidly enfeebled, and it is already being taken for granted in some quarters that the Assembly will not dare to order another peace-keeping operation either now or in the future.

138. We keep on saying to each other that the impasse concerns not really a financial but a political disagreement. Unfortunately, this is not the whole truth. It is both financial and political; which means of course that it is all the more serious. A determined effort is immediately required on the part of

all Member States to revive the strength of our Organization and infuse new life into its peace-keeping functions; and the evidence suggests that only concerted action by the small and the middle-sized States offers any hope of setting this effort in motion.

139. Earlier in this debate, as we pondered over the financial stringencies in which the Organization now finds itself, my delegation listened with keen anticipation to the addresses of the Foreign Ministers of France and the Soviet Union. I confess that we were profoundly disappointed to discover that they had no announcement to make about voluntary contributions towards the budgetary deficit. Was this the understanding on which the consensus was reached so that the nineteenth session could resume normal business? Were the voluntary contributions to be made only by those countries which had already paid up their assessments in full? My Government hopes that all countries which have not yet contributed may find it possible to reconsider their refusal and to help the United Nations to dispose of this unfortunate deficit.

140. On the question of jurisdiction and the relative powers of the two main organs of the United Nations, the issue which goes to the root of the impasse, I believe it is useful that my Government should once more state its position. Essentially my Government's views are the following:

(a) There is no essential conflict between the powers of the Security Council and the General Assembly in regard to the maintenance of peace and security. The powers were intended to complement each other;

(b) In Article 24 of the Charter, it is laid down that the Members of the United Nations confer on the Security Council "primary responsibility" for the maintenance of international peace and security; and "primary responsibility" ought not to be construed—indeed it cannot be construed—as though it had the same meaning as "exclusive responsibility";

(c) This primary responsibility was conferred on the Council for a purpose—and that purpose was specifically set out "in order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations". The Council is accordingly accountable to the general membership for the promptness and effectiveness of its action in this field;

(d) This account should be rendered to the general membership through the Council's annual report to the Assembly, and the Assembly ought to consider and to debate this report;

(e) The Council has the power under Article 45 of the Charter to apportion amongst allies who participate in a military enforcement action the tasks which each should undertake and the facilities which each should provide; but this power should not be confused with the power of the Assembly to make financial assessments on the whole membership in order to defray the expenses of an operation for the maintenance of international peace. This taxing power of the Assembly is in fact exclusive.

This is a summary of my Government's views on this issue.

^{9/} Certain expenses of the United Nations (Article 17, paragraph 2 of the Charter), Advisory Opinion of 20 July 1962; I.C.J. Reports 1962, p. 151.

141. As this general debate now draws to its close, the immediate question which confronts the Assembly is what should be done at this twenty-first session about this difficult problem of peace-keeping operations. It is tempting to conclude that, as events have shown, the time is not ripe to pursue this matter further; it is tempting to conclude that, left for a while, things will work themselves out and to take the attitude that the Organization has survived other crises and will weather and survive this crisis also. My Government disagrees with this line of reasoning. In our judgement it is essential that the whole subject should be kept alive and under continuing analysis and examination. We conclude with regret that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, composed as it is, is unlikely to reach agreement on any aspect of the problem. So we believe that the time has come to widen and break down the subject and to revise our machinery for the conduct of our study, giving to each of a number of smaller committees one or two aspects of the problem to examine. The subject should be broadened to cover any aspect of "the maintenance of international peace and security", and separate study should be devoted to such aspects as the arrangements envisaged under Article 43 of the Charter; planning for the use of such facilities and forces as may be held at the disposal of the United Nations; the command of United Nations forces; the relationship of the Assembly to the Council in matters of peace and security; and the financing of operations undertaken in the maintenance of international peace and security.

142. My delegation will co-operate in committee with those delegations which, like ourselves, see the claims being advanced by certain Member States as a serious threat to the system of collective security through the United Nations and to the effectiveness of the General Assembly, and which believe it is unwise to postpone for any period the further study of the problem.

143. I have dealt at some length with this important internal issue affecting international peace and security. But peace cannot prevail in a world where a few wealthy countries can continue to spend every year on weapons of war almost as much as all the goods which the poorer countries together can manage to produce. Nor can we expect that the purposes of the Charter will continue to be fulfilled as its authors intended when the trend of developments and the practical result of all the measures we can summon up the courage to adopt is only to widen further the gap between the economically advanced and the developing countries. It is time for the highly developed countries to take practical measures in order to adapt their economic relations with the less advanced countries to accepted changes in world opinion.

144. No one disputes that the ultimate responsibility for economic and social progress in the developing countries rests with these countries themselves, but it is equally to be recognized that low income levels set rigorous limits to the rate of growth which developing countries can at their best achieve by their own unaided efforts. The rising expectations of their own nationals would not tolerate the rigid limitations on consumption that they would be obliged to impose.

Moreover, developing countries must give high priority to social investment which is not productive in the short run and which can have little effect in terms of immediate expansion in the national income.

145. Low export prices for the commodities we of the developing countries have to sell set limits to our farmers' income and limits on our workers' earnings. At low wage levels, agricultural employment grows every day less and less attractive. The drift of population to our urban areas is accelerated, creating new overcrowding and new urban unemployment with all their attendant problems. The rate at which these problems accumulate puts an intolerable strain on our meagre capital resources. While the prices of the commodities we sell are declining, developing countries are obliged to buy capital goods, heavy equipment and machinery at prices which keep on rising. For example, the average price of a certain type of farm tractor we buy was £1,500 in 1960; it required sixty tons of sugar at the free world market price to pay for that machine at that time. At the prices prevailing now—for both tractors and sugar, however—it would require as much as 131 tons of sugar to pay for a tractor of that same type. This is a frustrating and untenable situation for developing countries and is full of danger to stable international relations.

146. It is useful to remember that two important principles underlying the body of recommendations by the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development—recommendations endorsed by all States Members represented in this Assembly—were, first, that steps had to be taken to expand the export earnings of developing countries, and second, that the flow of investment resources to these countries must be stimulated, the investment moving on terms they can afford to pay. The most important of these two principles was the need to expand export earnings. Although the great nations which dominate world trade know the crucial significance of such earnings to developing countries, they have paid that principle little more than lip service. Two years have passed since the Conference dispersed. And what do we find? What positive steps can we point to as having been taken by these advanced countries to help sustain the purchasing power of exports from developing countries? Not a single new international commodity agreement has in fact been negotiated in the interval. We have failed up to now, for example, to work out an agreement on sugar, concerning which the problems of organizing an international agreement, if not the least intractable, are certainly the most fully analysed and widely understood. In short, we have managed to do little towards securing a guarantee of steady market prices for sugar, for cocoa, for citrus products, for bananas—to name some commodities my country produces—or for any of the commodities on which our countries depend for the maintenance of their export income. Steps have yet to be taken to stabilize and guarantee the import purchasing power of developing countries.

147. The conditions of trade in goods other than primary products are even more difficult. The industrially advanced countries cannot claim to be helping our development effectively if at the same time they frustrate our attempts to expand produc-

tion in simpler industries such as textile manufacture and food processing, by keeping their markets closed against us and by accelerating substitution with synthetics. If they wish to stimulate the long-term growth of the whole world economy, they must carry out structural changes and adopt a new orientation in their industry. They ought to be willing to shift the emphasis in industrial expansion to capital-intensive industry, leaving to us, the developing countries, the fields where the units of capital required are smaller. It is my hope that the advanced countries will recognize their moral obligation to our people and will agree to forego a small part of the benefit which the size and strength of their economies could bring them if market forces were allowed free play.

148. They all know that we must have a continuing expansion in our export earnings; they know that this expansion cannot be assured us except at some small conscious sacrifice on their part; and it is time that they let their own people know that these are the realities of international trade and development in our decade. We expect them to come to the second Conference prepared to make effective concessions. We expect them to agree upon a global trade policy involving a lowering of tariffs on a selective basis and a removal of restrictions on imports from our countries which will allow our producers, so long as they are efficient, to compete in their markets on terms approaching equality.

149. With problems of such gravity demanding attention in the sphere of trade, it is distressing to observe that the international flow of investment funds is stagnating despite the expanding capacity of developed countries to supply such funds. What is more, the terms on which investment capital is moving into the developing countries are becoming most rigid and burdensome. It is time that the capital-exporting countries were prepared to get together to contain the rise in international interest rates. It seems to my delegation that the best prospects of securing a general containment of this rise lies in expanding the supply of capital on a multilateral basis and in a willingness to explore new and imaginative means of limiting the influence of internal market movements on the price of international investment capital. It is our hope that serious attention will be given to these problems by the Economic and Social Council, by the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and by the International Monetary Fund. I trust that the tenor of the discussion in the appropriate Committee at this twenty-first session of the Assembly will be such as to impress upon these organizations the urgent need to find acceptable solutions.

150. This world community, with Member States proud in the achievement of almost impossible feats of scientific endeavour, is demonstrating a conspicuous lack of ability to deal with these practical, day-to-day problems of human existence. Although it professes the knowledge that the existence of our peoples depends on the rewards for their labours, there is a chronic incapability to act together in maintaining or improving their condition. I submit that the situation calls for increased concerted action on the part of countries in dealing with the problem of the eco-

nomic development of the emerging nations as their collective responsibility. This collective responsibility does not end with the creation of new bodies, the holding of special meetings and conferences to define the problems, and suggestions for measures to cope with the problems. Mere talk without action is meaningless. As we prepare for the second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, these are the things we should bear in mind, and they should condition our attitude so that the next Conference may be fruitful in yielding positive decisions for immediate implementation. It will be no great achievement if the decisions are of a type which leads merely to further negotiation.

151. It is a source of personal satisfaction to me that the Secretary-General, in the introduction to his annual report [A/6301/Add.1], could refer to the increasing interest being shown in the protection and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms as one of the most encouraging developments of recent times. My Government is pleased that the proclamation of 1968 as the International Year for Human Rights is serving to encourage Member States to intensify their efforts and undertakings in the field of human rights. As for the measures and activities which will be carried on in celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Assembly now has before it the report [A/6354] from our Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on Human Rights which has the full support of the Commission on Human Rights and the Economic and Social Council. I am confident that each Member State will find in that report interesting ideas that may influence the form which its national celebrations will take. My Government is pleased that preparations are proceeding apace for the International Conference on Human Rights in 1968, and I renew my appeal to the Members of this Assembly to make this Conference a signal contribution to the cause of promoting respect for, and observance of, human rights. Having taken the decision that the Conference should be called, we should allow no trifling considerations to stand in the way of its success.

152. Last year in the debate on the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, the Jamaican delegation expressed its considered views on the question of the representation of China in the United Nations. We urge that the issue be not resolved by a margin of numbers in the hazards of a final vote taken after lengthy and acrimonious debate. Rather, we considered that a concerted effort should be made to achieve an understanding about the future of China's participation in the work of our Organization.

153. In the period since the twentieth session of the General Assembly, Jamaica has observed no effort to proceed on the course commended to the Assembly by my delegation. There has been no effort by those nations which bear the major responsibility for the present situation, those nations from which an initiative in the right direction would be most likely to meet with success. Instead, the People's Republic of China is today perhaps more isolated from the international community than it was a year ago—isolated by its own

actions, it is true, but also by our inaction. So long as China's relationship with the rest of the community of nations remains unsettled, all hopes for peace and stability in Asia are unreal, and the capacity of this Organization to function in accord with its Charter is gravely impaired.

154. My delegation will be prepared during this session of the Assembly, if the circumstances are favourable, to enlarge on the ideas we expressed at the twentieth session of the Assembly. Should it be clear, however, that Members are in the main concerned only to reaffirm unyielding positions, and to vote on resolutions which fail to take into account differences that are genuinely held, then my delegation will be compelled to adhere to the position it adopted last year until more favourable developments encourage it to join in initiatives that are likely to be well received.

155. I said earlier that I would state my Government's position on the war in Viet-Nam, which carries a heavy share of the responsibility for the recent revival of international tension, and I will now do so in closing this address. This widening struggle is poisoning relations among the great Powers, damaging the prestige of the United Nations, and frustrating the efforts to enlarge the membership of our Organization further towards the goal of universality.

156. Humanitarian considerations, if no other, impel my delegation to express in this forum our deep concern with the sad plight of the people of Viet-Nam, of both North and South, who have suffered the horrors of war for over a generation, whose national assets are being daily destroyed and for whom torture and other inhumanities have become events of everyday occurrence. My Government deplores the continued fighting in Viet-Nam, and appeals to all those engaged in the present conflict to agree, in the interest of the suffering people, to negotiate their differences without pre-conditions. In the view of my Government, the solution to the problem in Viet-Nam can be sought most profitably within the context of the Geneva Agreements of 1954. My Government therefore appeals particularly to the Soviet Union as Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference to co-operate with the United Kingdom in an immediate initiative towards the convening of a new Geneva conference.

157. My Government accepts as genuine the United States Government's expressed desire to put an end to that conflict. I would appeal to the Government in

Washington to go a few steps further and to name a date and a place at which it proposes that the conference should begin, and to name the period within which the withdrawal of its forces would be carried out if the progress of the conference proved satisfactory.

158. I would appeal to the Government in Hanoi to discard its suspicions of American intentions and, on its side also, to agree to come to the conference table. It was a great European statesman of a past generation who said:

"It is an error to suppose that the wisdom of statesmen can discover a magic recipe for the maintenance of peace; whereas peace can in fact be assured only if one or more of the interested Powers will make concessions to each other by lowering their demands or discarding their mutual suspicions."

159. The Jamaican people have a vital interest in the United Nations and are concerned to see this Organization achieve and maintain the highest level of effectiveness as an instrument of international peace. My delegation takes this opportunity to renew our resolve to co-operate with other delegations in the effort to ensure that this session of the Assembly will contribute to the easing of international conflicts and to the building of a world in which justice and prosperity will prevail.

160. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of Guatemala, who has asked to exercise the right of reply.

161. Mr. CADENA (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): In connexion with the reference made by the representative of Jamaica to the Guatemala territory of Belize, also known as British Honduras, the Government of Guatemala wishes once again to place on record the reservation which it has consistently made in respect of this territory. The territory of Belize is a disputed territory and consequently General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) does not apply to it, by virtue of the exception laid down in paragraph 6 of that resolution.

162. The policy of Guatemala in respect of this territory and its people was laid down by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country in his recent statement to this Assembly during the general debate (1413th meeting).

The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.