

United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION

Official Records



**1585th
PLENARY MEETING**

Tuesday, 10 October 1967,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

Page

Agenda item 9:

General debate (continued)

Speech by Mr. Fakhreddine (Sudan)	1
Speech by Mr. Kyprianou (Cyprus)	4
Speech by Mr. Amadou Thiam (Mali)	8
Speech by Mr. Bishti (Libya)	9
Speech by Mr. Laraki (Morocco)	13
Statement by the representative of Pakistan	17
Statement by the representative of India	17
Statement by the representative of Somalia	17

President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. FAKHREDDINE (Sudan): Mr. President, I had occasion to extend to you the congratulations of my delegation on your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its twenty-second session when I spoke here for the first time [1572nd meeting], expressing the confidence of my delegation that your personal qualifications as a statesman and your wide experience will ensure the success of our deliberations in this session.

2. May I now pay special tribute to your distinguished predecessor, Ambassador Pazhwak of Afghanistan, who had the rare distinction of presiding over three sessions of the General Assembly in one year. The exemplary manner in which he conducted the work of those sessions, his wisdom and dedication, have earned the admiration of all the Members of this Assembly.

3. The United Nations has been trying, within the limitations under which we have conducted our work here, to be true to the values and principles of its Charter and to uphold the cause of world peace. Regrettably, this effort has often been unsuccessful. Perhaps part of the reason for this lack of success lies in the restricted nature of collective action undertaken by an Assembly of sovereign States whose national interests are sometimes widely disparate and conflicting. The disparity of those interests and the need for compromise and accommodation have in turn led us to accept the gradual erosion of the principles of the Charter, for considerations of expediency. We have also come to allow the primacy of the great Powers to hold sway not only in issues of war and peace where the Charter provides for this primacy, but in almost every issue that has come before the United Nations. United Nations action has thus con-

tinued to fall short of the aspirations of those who saw in this Organization an embodiment of the collective conscience of mankind. The smaller, newly independent countries have been particularly prone to expect more of the United Nations than it has been able to achieve.

4. The Prime Minister of the Sudan, in addressing the fifth emergency special session earlier this year, was expressing this resurgent faith when he said:

"The United Nations should be a forum where the smallest nation could speak its mind and state its position without fear, a forum where the highest ideals are proclaimed and defended. We know that it has not always been such a forum because many times the realities of political life and international relations have imposed their own logic. The present case, however, is not one of these instances. We are dealing here with fundamental principles about which there should be no compromise. This is a clear case of aggression which should be condemned in the clearest terms. This is a case of usurpation which should be remedied by, and through, the United Nations." [1530th meeting, para. 98.]

5. The first Article of the first Chapter of the Charter calls upon the Members of this Organization "to maintain international peace and security, and to that end; to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression".

6. This is a solemn undertaking to which we are all bound in equal measure. It is our firm conviction that if the United Nations had acted in accordance with the principles of the Charter, it would not have failed to condemn Israel's aggression and demand the unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli troops of occupation. The fact that the United Nations failed to take this decision provides an example of the limited and restricted scope for action that the Members of this Organization have come to accept. This was a question on which the great Powers were divided; and since the great Powers were divided the Security Council was not able to exercise its responsibility for determining that aggression had been committed and deciding upon measures for securing the withdrawal of the aggressive Israeli armies and the restoration of peace. All that the fifth emergency special session of the General Assembly succeeded in doing was to call upon Israel to refrain from changing the status of Jerusalem and seek to accommodate the victims of its aggressive war. The major issues of aggression and occupation were avoided. Israel proceeded to consolidate its conquest of Jerusalem and to obstruct by every means the return of the refugees.

7. In addressing ourselves to the United Nations yet again in the case of the Israeli occupation of the Arab lands, we are appealing to the principles of justice and equity which must be upheld by the United Nations. The Israeli aggression and occupation is a test of the will of the United Nations to repudiate the thesis that it is powerless to restore the rule of law. The Foreign Minister of Israel, however, rejects this role of the United Nations. Speaking before this Assembly on 25 September, he said:

"The fact that the United Nations was unable to prevent the war has a direct bearing on the question of its capacity and title to impose a peace. The interests of the parties and of the Organization itself require that United Nations action must be realistically adapted to United Nations capacities." [1566th meeting, para. 146.]

8. But while on the one hand, Israel declares its lack of confidence in the United Nations, on the other it bases part of its refutation of the charge of aggression on the fact that the United Nations did not condemn its action as aggression.

9. The fact that the Assembly did not condemn Israel as an aggressor does not alter the situation. Israel's whole history is an attestation of this charge. The Israeli spokesmen who have blandly stated that Israel came into being as a result of a decision by the United Nations must be reminded that the area taken by Israel by force of arms was, even in 1948, more than one third of the area assigned to the "Jewish State" by the United Nations. More than one half of the dispossessed Palestinians came from those areas. Israel's acts of aggression, many of which were condemned by the United Nations—including its major campaign in 1956—have further consolidated its usurpation.

10. The Israeli Government now declares that Israel will not agree to return to the positions established by the General Armistice Agreements of 1949, which represent in its view a return to a condition of instability. The Israeli Foreign Minister, in his address to the Assembly quoted above, maintained that there is no valid choice before the international community except to endorse Israel's policy of what he called "a transition from the cease-fire to a negotiated peace settlement" [1566th meeting, para. 128]. This line of reasoning ignores some basic facts about the present situation in the Middle East, namely, that the Arabs will not engage in negotiations with Israel under duress and the threat of continued occupation, nor are they ever likely to recognize an Israeli State with expanded frontiers that cut through the heart of their lands.

11. This question of recognition of Israel by the Arabs, which has been made so much of in Zionist propaganda to prove that the Arabs are living in an atmosphere of unreality, must be put in the proper perspective. It is not the fact of the existence of Israel as a State that the Arabs do not recognize. Such an assertion is so patently absurd that one wonders how it has ever come to be part of the equipment of the Zionist propaganda arsenal. Israel exists and is part of our world in the same way that injustice exists and is part of our world. How can the Arabs deny the existence of Israel when it has occupied their lands

and made millions in their nation homeless? What the Arabs do not recognize is a State that bases its claim to existence and status as a nation on the obliteration of another nation. The Jews have lived in Palestine for centuries—so have the Arabs. But when the Zionists decided to establish a Jewish State in Palestine it was part of their decision to displace and dispossess the Arabs. For Israel is not a country or a State like any other; it was conceived and established as an exclusive State of the Jewish people and for the Jewish people. The Palestinian Arabs had no place in the Israeli scheme. Those of us who are seeking an equitable and just solution should, in fairness, think of the status and of the existence, and of the right to live, of the Palestinian people.

12. Almost all speakers from this rostrum have stated that they would not accept or concede that any right of possession can be asserted as a result of military occupation. The inevitable corollary of this statement is that the troops of occupation must vacate the occupied territory without conditions or reservations. To make withdrawal conditional and contingent upon negotiation about frontiers is to assert a right for the Israeli armies to remain in occupation of the Arab lands until these conditions are met. But if no right can be claimed as a result of military occupation, it logically follows that the occupying troops must withdraw before any claims for guarantees or concessions can be made. The Arabs will certainly not accept the right of Israel to expand its frontiers until it is satisfied that its security is not longer in jeopardy. Thus, if by insisting on direct negotiations with the Arabs Israel is seeking to repudiate the validity of the Armistice Agreements and to adjust its borders in order to include more Arab territory and consecrate by agreement what it has acquired by force, its hopes for negotiation will be disappointed and its dream of achieving stability is not likely to be realized. Israel's continued occupation of Arab territory creates the very conditions that it is seeking to avoid—Arab resistance to Israel's usurpation is likely to be intensified rather than diminished. The threat to peace will ever be present. Israel must therefore be warned against its cavalier dismissal of the United Nations and its claim that the United Nations is incapable of bringing about conditions where peace can prevail by ensuring withdrawal of the Israeli troops.

13. Perhaps the shock of the Israeli defiance of world opinion and its increasingly rigid attitude in relation to the question of withdrawal and the status of Jerusalem will lead some of the Members of this Organization to reconsider their acceptance of the facile contention that Israel's engagement in war with the Arabs was in defence of its existence. No further evidence is needed of its expansionist policies beyond its recent decisions about Jerusalem and the establishment of Jewish settlements in the occupied territories. The United Nations cannot ignore the defiance implicit in those actions, and it is not too late for justice to be done.

14. The United Nations, as we know, faces other challenges in other areas—notably in southern Africa. The Government of South Africa has denied that the United Nations has the right to assert the will of the

majority of the population to be free and has even accused this Assembly of committing an illegal act in deciding [resolution 2145 (XXI)] to end South Africa's Mandate over South West Africa.

15. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of South Africa, in his letter of 26 September 1967 [A/6822] to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, states that South Africa has no intention of handing over the administration of the Territory to the United Nations. It is claimed by the South African Foreign Minister that the people of South West Africa have made progress in all spheres of life, and are living in a haven of peace and tranquillity in the midst of the turmoil of the African continent. The facts, however, as we all know, tell a different story.

16. The people of South West Africa, like the peoples of Mozambique and Angola and the people of South Africa itself, has represented nothing to the advocates of white supremacy except a reservoir of cheap labour. They have had to endure for so long the degradation of their humanity under a system that considers them less than human, merely to be able to work for a living. All this is well known, and yet South Africa cynically maintains that it is leading these people to self-realization. That claim is made in defiance of the facts, and the cruel policy of apartheid continues without regard to the United Nations and its Charter. In all that, South Africa is sustained by its allies and trading partners. It is time that those allies and partners were warned that in the long run it is in their best interest to be on the side of the just cause of African freedom in South West Africa, as well as in the Territories under Portuguese administration.

17. The failure of peaceful measures against the entrenched interests of the white supremacists of southern African is nowhere more clearly demonstrated than in the failure of economic sanctions against Smith's rebel régime in Southern Rhodesia. It is time that this Organization identified itself more closely with the cause of the oppressed and extended to them all the assistance that they need. The United Nations must support the struggle for liberation with every means at its disposal.

18. The threat that is inherent in the possibility of local wars developing in the context of great-Power antagonism into major wars remains a present and grave danger. The great Powers, whose nuclear arsenals already contain weapons capable of reducing the whole world to ruin, are not restricting further development and sophistication of those destructive devices; and the fear that the small nations may put themselves completely at the mercy of the great nuclear Powers is not completely dispelled by the fact that those Powers agree to establish for themselves a monopoly of the means of destruction. We recall that not so long ago it was firmly believed that the mere possession of nuclear weapons was in itself a deterrent to any aggression, as such an aggression would have invited immediate retaliation and intolerable destruction.

19. Apparently that situation has now changed. Now it is thought that the deterrent capability of nuclear weapons must be enforced by defensive anti-ballistic missile systems developed under what the United

States Secretary of Defense, Mr. McNamara, called "a kind of mad momentum intrinsic to the development of new nuclear weaponry". We hope that we have misread the signs that the super-Powers are now—or shortly will be—in the throes of this new madness. If that turns out to be the case, there will be less reason to rejoice over their agreement on a treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. That advancement of the cause of peace which we all hailed would be nullified if another arms race were about to begin. Peace is possible only through general and complete disarmament, and our efforts towards the achievement of that end must never flag or falter.

20. Our hopes for a peaceful world are not encouraged by the persistent failure of this Organization to allow the Government of the People's Republic of China to exercise its lawful right to join this Organization. The People's Republic of China, a founding Member of the United Nations, is now a great nuclear Power. It is not only wrong to exclude it from world councils, but it is now perilous to continue to do so. We believe that this situation must be remedied if the United Nations is to achieve the true universality that forms the very basis of its Charter. Nor can the international community continue to ignore the suffering and havoc which the valiant people of Viet-Nam has endured for so long. The people of Viet-Nam, which fought so heroically against colonialism, is certainly capable of shaping its own destiny; it should be allowed to do so without foreign intervention. We all have a duty to condemn this unjust and brutal war and call for a halt to the bombing of North Viet-Nam as a first and necessary condition for negotiation of a peaceful settlement.

21. The developing countries can prosper only in a context of peace. Their anxieties about war and the wasteful expenditure on armaments are real and understandable. There has been a marked reverse flow of resources from the developing to the developed countries in recent years. The terms of trade have continued to function in favour of the developed countries. Hence the necessity becomes more pressing for the fulfilment of the targets of the United Nations Development Decade. In this respect, the work undertaken by the Committee for Development Planning in drawing up a charter for the second Development Decade is a step in the right direction. However, two basic factors need special emphasis.

22. First, international action for attaining the target set in the Charter must be channelled as far as possible through multilateral institutions. Secondly, the special needs of the developing countries should form the basis of the targets for international action with aid continuing to be the focal point, followed closely by trade, while the movement of commerce must be facilitated through the relaxation of barriers.

23. In the coming session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) to be held at New Delhi, the developing countries have agreed to concentrate the activities of the conference on some commercial and financial issues considered by the Secretary-General of UNCTAD to be ripe for negotiation. The developing countries realize, one hopes, that a holding strategy of attrition in relation

to these issues may prove detrimental to their own best interests.

24. The launching of the United Nations Capital Development Fund [resolution 2186 (XXI)] will mark an important event in the history of multilateral economic co-operation. It is our hope that the Secretary-General will henceforth proceed with the appointment of the Managing Director in time for the General Assembly to confirm the appointment and elect the Executive Board. The developing countries have indicated their strong support of the Fund in the hope that it will insulate the process of development from the vagaries of capital markets and the vicissitudes of balance-of-payments conditions of which they have been victims for so long.

25. It is commendable and heartening to see the United Nations genuinely trying to meet the challenge of economic development where its efforts in many areas have been effective and forward-looking. It is our sincere hope that the Organization will meet the challenge of establishing and defending peace in the world. To this end we must renew our pledge and determination to unite our strength to maintain peace and reaffirm our faith in freedom and justice.

26. Mr. KYPRIANOU (Cyprus): Although this general debate may appear to be of a somewhat academic nature, in that whatever we almost unanimously declare every year we seldom see implemented in practice, I fully share the view, already expressed, that this does not diminish in any way the usefulness of our deliberations. The fact that in many important respects nothing, or very little, has been achieved does not mean that we should not once again state our views, register our apprehension of the existing dangers, and reiterate our convictions regarding the international situation and the various issues, general or specific, which are before us.

27. Last year all of us, in our own different ways, made no secret of our disappointment and our frustration at our collective inability to make any substantial progress towards solving the many serious problems which undermine and jeopardize international peace and security. And we all entertained the hope that some important progress would be made in our common effort to eliminate those sources of danger, and thus promote the cause of peace. But that hope has not been realized. There have been, true, some fruitful efforts in certain fields which deserve our praise, and in particular in the field of disarmament; but whatever the significance of those achievements, it is easily overshadowed by the considerable deterioration of the over-all international situation. It is indeed obvious that the frustration and the disappointment which marked our debates last year have, in fact, this year reached an agonizing degree.

28. We should not, however, allow our frustration and our disappointment to destroy the possibilities for a new and more vigorous drive in the pursuit of our goal, whatever the difficulties and the shortcomings, mostly due to our collective failures of the past. On the contrary, our frustration and our disappointment should make us, at long last, realize that time is not on our side. We must try, wherever we have failed to try or not tried enough, to fulfil our collective and

individual obligations. Let us not hesitate, therefore, to express the same hope which we express every year, and let this renewed expression of hope be accompanied by a new determined effort to break through the barriers of the perilous stagnation. For one must, by now, have come to realize the imperative need to solve the problems and not merely to be content with living with them. It has been said that time is the great healer, but let us face it that it is not always so.

29. I do, therefore, express the hope, which is so obviously shared by everyone in this Assembly, that we shall be able this year to go forward and make effective progress. Your experience and knowledge, Mr. President, will prove, I am confident, to be most useful in our great task which lies ahead, and it is in this spirit that I should like to join with all the other colleagues who have preceded me to this rostrum in expressing our satisfaction at your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly. The assumption of this high office by you at this present juncture may well prove to be not so coincidental—not only because of your own personality, but also because of the contribution which your country is in a position to make in our concerted effort. Before I proceed any further I should also like to pay tribute to your predecessor, the representative of Afghanistan, Ambassador Pazhwak, for the exemplary way in which he discharged his heavy duties in most difficult and delicate circumstances.

30. The current international situation has been very aptly and accurately presented by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report. At the beginning he states:

"During the period under review the international political situation has not only not improved; it has in fact deteriorated considerably. It was only recently that I noted how the war in Viet-Nam has been progressively intensified during the last two and half years, how the number of men and the amount of war material involved in the actual fighting have immensely increased, how the savagery of the war has steadily escalated, and the casualties on the part of all parties involved in the fighting have reached frightening proportions. In addition, the flare-up in the Middle East in June of this year, which was sudden though not surprising, has led to a further deterioration of the international scene. The war in the Middle East has tended to overshadow the situation in Cyprus, which has shown no great improvement during this period." [A/6701/Add.1, para. 1.]

31. Last year the attention of all of us was mainly focused on the situation in Viet-Nam. Without the war in Viet-Nam being any nearer to an end, we are led this year, by the events, to focus our attention also on the situation in the Middle East. The recent war in the Middle East, and the situation which has developed as a result of that war, should lead us irrevocably to conclude that we must not be content to live with the problems. In my statement last year before this Assembly [1435th meeting], I ventured to suggest that we would deceive ourselves if we were to believe that the unresolved problems in that area no longer presented a threat to peace.

32. We are all aware of the history and the background of the Middle East crisis. The relevant facts are especially well known to this Assembly. However, we must admit that, despite our long debates over the years, we have not made any effective contribution towards the solution of the underlying problems. The Secretary-General in this respect states:

"There has been no enduring, persistent effort in any United Nations organ to find solutions for them. In my view, the failure of the United Nations over these years to come to grips with the deep-seated and angrily festering problems in that area has to be considered as a major contributing factor to the war of last June." [*Ibid.*, para. 45.]

33. How true this is. And how wrong have proved to be those, if any, who believed that the problems of the Middle East would be solved by themselves, as time went by. But it is not enough simply to take cognizance of the facts of a situation. We must also determine what can and what should be done. My delegation has had the opportunity to state fully our views on the situation in the Middle East in the course of the fifth emergency special session of this Assembly. I do not, therefore, propose to go again into the details, but there are certain basic aspects to which I should like to refer.

34. Has the problem been approached in the proper manner? Have we learned from our past failures that problems cannot be solved unless we apply to them those principles and criteria which we have ourselves established as the corner-stone of the United Nations and of international relations, and which we all every year fervently uphold in this general debate? I do not suppose that there is anyone in this Hall who does not genuinely wish to see peace prevailing on a lasting basis in that troubled part of the world. I am convinced that we can be true to our principles and at the same time realistic.

35. Would any State be prepared to consider regulating its relations with another State when part of its territory had been occupied, through war, by that other State? Is any Government represented here prepared to accept, in its own case, the thesis that the international community could tolerate and sanction, directly or indirectly, the retention by a State of another State's territory, even if retained temporarily for bargaining purposes? Because if we take the view that a complete withdrawal of the occupying forces to the positions they held before the war of last June should not necessarily take place before an over-all settlement is achieved, it will surely mean that we are neither realistic nor true to the principles which we profess to cherish. We may, in this Assembly, hold different views on the positions taken by the parties to the dispute. But whatever our views on the merits of the problem, we are not entitled to different views on the question of unconditional withdrawal.

36. This should be the starting point for a persistent effort, so much lacking in the past, for a satisfactory settlement of the underlying issues, foremost among which is that of the Palestinian Arab refugees—which has been further aggravated as a result of the recent developments. Such an effort must be guided by the principles of the Charter and directed towards secur-

ing lasting peace in the area. The lesson we must have derived from the recent war in the Middle East should make us realize that we cannot any more afford to take the attitude of employing time to work on our behalf. This should, in particular, be taken into serious consideration by the great Powers, which bear the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

37. The same lesson must by now have been derived from the steadily worsening situation in Viet-Nam. Shall we go on merely expressing our sympathy for the sufferings of those involved in the conflict, whether it be South or North Viet-Nameese or American? Is it really too difficult to make a start in tackling this seemingly intractable problem? There seems to be unanimity that the war must stop, and that for this purpose a start must be made towards de-escalation; there seems to be complete agreement that the battlefield should be replaced by the conference table. There seems to be a general consensus that the Geneva Agreements should constitute the basis upon which to build a peaceful future. Where, therefore, does the difficulty lie in making a start?

38. The United States, while reiterating its genuine willingness to negotiate, takes the view that there should be some concrete evidence of a positive response prior to the cessation of the bombing of North Viet-Nam. A number of other States, friends and allies of the United States among them, believe that there is a very good chance that the road to negotiations may open if the bombing of North Viet-Nam is stopped. Irrespective of whether the cessation of the bombing of North Viet-Nam might by itself pave the way to the conference room, such action seems to be the obvious first step in the process of de-escalation. Someone has to take a really positive initiative, without any qualifications or conditions which would destroy its very essence. The initiative in such circumstances must come from those who are in a better position to take it. The Secretary-General, in his concluding observations contained in the introduction to the annual report, states:

"I continue to feel that it is within the bounds of possibility, provided certain first steps could be taken, to bring this problem to the conference table." [*Ibid.*, para. 148.]

39. We are convinced that the United States has very little to lose and a great deal to gain if it decides to take the initiative, even if no positive response were to be readily forthcoming from the other side after the first step is unconditionally taken. Many, however, are confident that such an initiative will be followed by other positive steps. This view we should also not ignore.

40. In the part of the Secretary-General's statement which I quoted at the opening of my speech, there was a reference to the question of Cyprus to the effect that no great improvement has been made during the last year. The situation on the island itself has been, I am glad to say, on the whole quiet, without any major incidents. But, again, we cannot take the view that we should learn to live indefinitely with the problem.

41. Our position on the Cyprus problem has been repeatedly stated in this Assembly, and it is fully on

record. I do not, therefore, propose to go into the details again. The General Assembly has had the opportunity to discuss and consider all the aspects of this question at its twentieth session, and as a result of its deliberations the Assembly pronounced itself upon the merits of the case in its resolution 2077 (XX) of 18 December 1965.

42. As was reported to the General Assembly last year [1426th meeting, paras. 40-43], an effort was undertaken, on a bilateral basis, between the Governments of Greece and Turkey, with a view to improving the relations between the two countries and facilitating the finding of a solution to the Cyprus problem. Despite the fact that our position has always been, and continues to be, that the problem of Cyprus is not a dispute between Greece and Turkey, we did not raise any objections to these bilateral talks being carried out; we, in fact, did our utmost not to create any obstacles or undermine them in any way. We have patiently awaited the outcome of this effort, and we sincerely regret that it did not succeed.

43. In the light of the outcome of the recent meeting between the Prime Ministers of Greece and Turkey, we are at present in the process of reappraising the situation and considering what should be done next in the pursuit of a peaceful solution. We are, as I have often said in this Assembly, in so far as it depends upon us, committed to a peaceful solution. We do not want war and we do not want bloodshed. This does not, of course, mean that we shall not defend ourselves if the necessity arises.

44. As far as the substance of the problem is concerned, the position of the Cyprus Government remains unchanged, namely, that the future of Cyprus must be, and can only be, determined in accordance with the wishes of the people of Cyprus, without any foreign intervention or interference and in conformity with the universally accepted democratic principles enshrined in the Charter, as spelled out in General Assembly resolution 2077 (XX) of 18 December 1965.

45. During the past year, as it has done since March 1964 when it was set up [Security Council resolution 186 (1964)], the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus has performed a useful role in the discharge of its functions as laid down in the Security Council resolutions. In this connexion, I wish to express our sincere appreciation to the countries which make the functioning of this force possible through their contributions in men and finances. Our appreciation goes also to the Secretary-General's Special Representative in Cyprus, Dr. Osorio-Tafall, and to the Commander of the Force, General Martola, and those serving under them, as well as to the officials in the Secretariat who deal with the peace-keeping operation in Cyprus. It is, finally, my duty to pay tribute to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts and the keen interest and deep understanding he has always shown towards Cyprus and its problems.

46. In view of the present situation, it is evident that the presence in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force continues to be necessary, but I quite agree with the Secretary-General that "a United Nations force ... should not be called upon to maintain indefinitely an obviously unsatisfactory status quo"

[A/6701/Add.1, para. 40]. This statement by the Secretary-General, I am sure, represents the wish of all in this Assembly that a new, determined effort should be undertaken for peace-making parallel to that for peace-keeping.

47. As long as peace-making is not possible or successful, whether in Cyprus or in the Middle East, or in other parts of the world, the United Nations must be in a position to discharge effectively its peace-keeping mission and responsibilities. A way must very soon be found for the United Nations to overcome its financial and other difficulties in this respect. It is disheartening to see that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations has not been successful in its efforts to find a solution to the problems connected with peace-keeping. Is this failure due to the existence of technical difficulties, or does it represent a political conflict? If the former, a way should easily be found to overcome the difficulties; if the latter, we must all strive hard to resolve that conflict. I must, in this connexion, and without underestimating in any way the valuable efforts of many others, praise the admirable determination with which my distinguished friend the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Ireland has been endeavouring conscientiously to promote a solution to this important problem.

48. Having dealt specifically with the Middle East crisis, the war in Viet-Nam and the problem of Cyprus, it is not my intention to minimize the importance of nor underrate the dangers involved in other existing problems which continue to be high on our agenda. On the contrary, it is essential that we not belittle the existence of these problems, nor overlook the potential dangers inherent in them.

49. In Europe there is a *détente*. But this reduction of tension should not make us forget the realities nor overlook the still-existing dangers. On the problem of Germany we find ourselves in agreement with the views expressed by the distinguished Foreign Minister of France [1571st meeting]. It is a problem that once presented an even greater threat to international peace and security than Viet-Nam and the Middle East do today. The possibilities for a recurrence have not been eliminated. And the *détente* should not make us believe that the solution to this problem can wait indefinitely. In Asia there are other unresolved problems in addition to Viet-Nam. We cannot deceive ourselves that we can permanently live with them, though they may not at present appear to be sources of imminent danger.

50. In Africa too there are unresolved problems which are a permanent threat to peace and security. It is in Africa that we see clearly that the process of decolonization has not yet been completed and that, therefore, one of our basic objectives has not been achieved. It is mostly, though not exclusively, in Africa that racial discrimination is still being exercised and human rights have not yet become the basis of human relations, despite our declarations, to which we have recently given the concrete form of covenants. The situation in South Africa, despite the declarations and the resolutions of the United Nations, is still unchanged. It is not enough to express our sympathy and give assistance to the victims of the policy of apartheid. Similarly, we must not forget the question

of freedom for the territories under Portuguese administration, because unless all territories become free, the United Nations will not have completed its task of decolonization and a major source of danger in the world will not have been removed. The problem of Southern Rhodesia, let us remember, remains unresolved. We should not, as time goes on, tend to minimize in our minds the dangers inherent in this situation. Those of us who did not believe in the effectiveness of economic sanctions have unfortunately been proved to be right.

51. Do we honestly believe that we can, or that we must, indefinitely live with these problems? Can we convince ourselves that these problems will not, sooner or later, erupt and destroy, to some degree if not completely, what we have been working for and hoping for? We must all resolutely agree—for there is no alternative—on practical steps to implement our principles if we are to secure the prerequisites which we all agree are necessary for the attainment of our goal of lasting peace.

52. Against this gloomy and frustrating background we would not be presenting a completely correct picture if we were to ignore the progress which has been made in certain fields, in particular in the economic field and in that of disarmament. Although we are not in a position to hail any great achievements in the economic field in this United Nations Development Decade, we must, however, be satisfied that, despite the grave political situation, some not unimportant progress has been made. We are all hoping that the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at New Delhi will prove successful and contribute towards greater progress in this field. Furthermore, we should not underestimate the importance of the success of the Kennedy Round negotiations, despite the fact that we cannot but admit that the outcome has not been as satisfactory in certain respects as it should have been to the less-developed countries. Finally, the United Nations Development Programme has been working more effectively than in the past, and with more tangible results. This, I might add, has strengthened our beliefs in multilateral assistance through the United Nations, which, among other advantages, is free from the implications of political considerations. What has been achieved in this respect, although not striking, is an example of what can be accomplished through a determined and collective effort. Any progress towards our targets in the economic field is by no means unrelated to the cause of peace. It is, on the contrary, one of the most important factors.

53. With regard to disarmament, there have been some important steps towards our goal. In addition to the test-ban Treaty, which was signed in Moscow four years ago, it is hoped that we are now near a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and it should not be beyond our expectations that this present session of the General Assembly may find itself in the happy position of welcoming such an event. The conclusion of the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies [resolution 2222 (XXI)], as well as the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America

[see A/6663], are achievements of no less significance. Despite the fact that we are still far from the point of controlling the arms race, we should get some encouragement from these successes. In fact, instead of minimizing their importance, in view of the existing over-all explosive and dangerous international situation, we should emphasize them.

54. As I said at the beginning of my statement, this general debate may appear to be of an academic nature, because whatever we declare to be right and just and proper we seldom see it implemented in practice. This is, in fact, the basic reason and the gist of the anomaly of the international scene. If we are to solve the problems and ensure world order we must translate our declarations and our principles into a living reality. Otherwise we are bound to continue failing, and our failure, as time goes on, will have graver and graver consequences.

55. Our declarations are not academic in themselves. They are, on the contrary, very real conclusions which we have reached as a result of wars and destruction and of the suffering of the past and of the present. Our declarations are lessons—not lessons that we teach but lessons that have been taught by these realities. What makes them sound academic or theoretical is our own failure and inability to be realistic.

56. If we apply in practice, and without unnecessary delay, the principles in which we believe, it is only then that we shall be realistic. A realistic approach is often referred to in contradistinction to an approach based upon principles and ideals. This represents nothing else but a tendency to run away from our real task and our responsibilities. It is, therefore, high time that we became truly realistic, and in so doing we cannot, in relation to any problem, turn our backs on our principles. We must apply them in all cases, and in this effort, however hard and difficult, we must utilize to the greatest possible degree our collective strength, the United Nations.

57. Taking advantage of the occasion, I ventured to express my views on the general international situation and on some of the specific issues. I have done that not because I have any illusions as to the very limited role that my country can play in our collective efforts; nor has it been my intention to give advice to others who can speak with more authority. I have done it with the conviction that we all, irrespective of the degree of importance of the countries which we represent, can contribute to the strengthening of the United Nations. In fact, we have a duty to do so.

58. The United Nations is not only a forum in which to express our views freely; it is our collective organ in our endeavour to secure peace. We all have our share of responsibility, which may lie either in our strength or in our weakness, in our smallness or in our greatness. Whether our responsibility is great or small, it is still our responsibility, which we are committed to discharge. It is only then that the United Nations will succeed, and it must succeed. If it fails it will be our collective as well as individual failure, and not necessarily in proportion to the degree of our responsibility. But what is worse is that the failure of the United Nations might mean disaster, whereas

its success will mean the happiness and the prosperity of humanity in peace.

59. Mr. AMADOU THIAM (Mali) (translated from French): It is with very special pleasure, Mr. President, that the delegation of the Republic of Mali offers you its sincere congratulations on your resounding election to the Presidency of this twenty-second session of the General Assembly. In so doing, our intention is to invest this event with deep significance, inasmuch as we all recognize that the United Nations cannot respond to the hopes and aspirations of man unless it is itself, first of all, the mirror of today's world.

60. When the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Mali, Mr. Ousman Bâ, spoke from this rostrum [1443rd meeting] of the unusually gloomy circumstances in which the work of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly had opened, he described the international situation at the time as the inescapable consequence of a more general crisis, which is simply and solely the system of imperialism.

61. A year has gone by since then. In the introduction to his annual report, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, speaks of the grave misgivings he feels at the worsening of the international situation. He says for example:

"When unbridled use of force is accepted and intimidation and threats go unchallenged, the hopes of a world order such as the one outlined in the Charter become dim and hollow. When prejudice and hatred dominate the relations of nations or groups of nations, the whole world takes a step backward towards the dark ages ... When force and military competitiveness displace co-operation, negotiation, law and diplomacy as the natural elements of the relations between States, the nightmare of a third world war comes steadily nearer to the world of reality." [A/6701/Add.1, para. 151.]

62. This scathing indictment of international relations reveals how the United Nations is more than ever living in a fool's paradise. For the pattern of the world today is one of imperialist conquests and wars of aggression. A rapid survey of the problems of today presents us with the sobering spectacle of the steadily growing challenge of imperialism and the worsening of international relations.

63. In Asia, a barbaric war, based on a deliberate policy of extermination, is being waged against the gallant, brave people of Viet-Nam, destroying houses and schools, hospitals and health centres, bringing havoc and mourning to a people whose only pretention has been its resolve to fight in order to free itself from foreign domination and its agents, and to achieve complete independence. Faced with the horrors of aggression, the world is unanimous in its call for peace in Viet-Nam. Need one produce evidence of this? It can be found even in the statements of American politicians and in the American Press. Senators and Congressmen, echoing the feelings of millions of Americans, today condemn the war in Viet-Nam and call for an end to it.

64. In The New York Times of 24 September 1967, we read that Mr. Don Luce, the head of an American

civil volunteer organization in Saigon, resigned in protest against the policy of his Government. In his letter of protest and resignation he wrote that he had witnessed the destruction of a people he loved. He could no longer participate in its destruction, the outcome of a policy and a war whose purpose, as proclaimed in Washington, was to save the Viet-Nameese people from foreign danger.

65. We have been told here of a previous offer of peace which elicited no response. Here is what The New York Times of 22 September 1967 had to say about the offer: "The world cannot be expected to take seriously American talk of peace unless it is joined with an act of peace ...".

66. One eminent representative has said here in the Assembly that the greater the power of a nation, the greater its responsibility towards peace. This view is acceptable to us so long as it is not intended solely for the records of the United Nations debates. If the nation concerned wants peace in Viet-Nam, let it announce this new and decisive fact, and declare roundly: "We are stopping the bombing of North Viet-Nam; we are beginning the evacuation of the military forces based in South Viet-Nam; and we propose a round-table conference with the National Liberation Front, North Viet-Nam and all the signatories of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962." In our opinion, that is the best way to win the battle of peace in South-East Asia, and perhaps in the world.

67. Once we rule out the vain desire for military victory over a people fiercely determined to survive, realistic political solutions are the only alternative. My delegation considers that the four-point programme of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the five-point programme of the National Liberation Front are perfectly sound. Discussions could thus begin in the framework of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962.

68. At this twenty-second session the Assembly will once again have to deal with another drama, tragic in the extreme because of its political consequences, and for that reason creating an explosive situation. The fifth emergency special session was disappointing and disheartening in its failure to cope with the consequences of Israel's aggression against the Arab countries. The Assembly accepted the fait accompli, thereby creating a dangerous precedent which must inevitably lead to anarchy and chaos in international relations.

69. The delegation of Mali had hoped that Israel would rise above its military victory and co-operate in seeking a peaceful solution by ordering the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of its troops behind the cease-fire line existing before the outbreak of hostilities, that it would hand over the administration of the occupied territories, and that it would recognize that the Arab people of Palestine too have a right to live in peace in the land of their forefathers.

70. Today the aggressor would fix the price for removing the traces of his aggression. The right of the State of Israel to exist does not depend on the will of the Arab countries, and the fact that the latter are not prepared to recognize it does not, in our opinion, constitute a belligerent act. To accept such

a premise would be to create a state of hypertension in Europe and Asia, where States today carry on normal relations with certain Members of this Assembly without any prior recognition.

71. We in Mali do not harbour any anti-Semitic feelings. But we do consider that no territorial gain is admissible where it results from military action. In solemnly reaffirming our adherence to the principle of respect for the sovereignty and integrity of every State, we condemn imperialist wars of annexation. In the interests of peace and security in the Middle East and in the world, my delegation would like to see the Assembly stop dragging its feet and so prevent new conflicts from emerging in this highly charged area. We will support unreservedly any realistic and just proposal to that end.

72. In its concern for the establishment of peace in Asia, in the Middle East, and throughout the world, and for the strengthening of this Organization, my delegation has never ceased to advocate the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The presence of the People's Republic in the Organization is universally recognized. It is impossible to discuss any problem whatever at the international level today without sensing the need for the participation of China. If the primary purpose of the Organization is to preserve peace; it must ensure that there can be a dialogue between all peoples, without any restriction whatever. Every day brings evidence of the need to tackle the real problems of peace together with the People's Republic of China.

73. Still on the subject of Asia, another world issue which does not serve the cause of peace results from the automatic inclusion in the Assembly's agenda, year after year, of the so-called Korean question in the absence of the Koreans. In the opinion of my delegation, to prevent the possibility of any recurrence of conflict in that part of the world, it would be necessary forthwith to withdraw the foreign troops occupying South Korea under the aegis of the United Nations and to dissolve the United Nations Commission for the Unification of Korea. The inalienable rights of the Korean people must be respected. The maintenance of peace in the Far East likewise depends on this.

74. Analysis of the gloomy outlook of the present international situation, marked by interference in the internal affairs of States, the substitution of might for right and of violence for negotiation, does not blind me to the universal nature and the irreplaceable value of the ideals of the United Nations. It is on the strength of these ideals that in this Hall men of goodwill adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in resolution 1514 (XV). This historic declaration has been hailed by all peoples still under colonial domination. But we are bound to admit, alas, with the Secretary-General, that seven years after the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) colonialism is still rampant in its most brutal form in southern Africa, South Arabia and the Pacific Islands.

75. In southern Africa Ian Smith continues to defy the United Nations, with the complicity of the United Kingdom and the support of the capitalist monopolies.

The champions of apartheid, encouraged by the Western Powers, are trampling underfoot the basic rights of the Bantu peoples, refusing to implement the decisions of the Security Council and the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Special Committee on Decolonization. There is serious tension in that part of the world.

76. In Aden reason has not prevailed. The United Kingdom, deaf to all proposals, has imposed a puppet government on the people of South Arabia. The refusal of the administering Power was met by a just revolution on the part of the people of South Arabia, under the leadership of the national liberation movements. At the price of unnecessary suffering, the United Kingdom today bows to the evidence that it is impossible to impose on a people a régime of domination which rides roughshod over its fundamental and inalienable rights.

77. I have tried in the course of this statement to define the views of the Republic of Mali on the problems which divide the Organization. The United Nations can only survive in so far as we prevent it from becoming involved in tense situations and confrontations, and make use of it to preserve the peace of the world.

78. Like the tribe at the dawn of civilization which fiercely guarded the smouldering embers of the dying fire, we must work untiringly to preserve a world peace predicated on the liquidation of imperialist wars of aggression and the suppression of mercenaries, and on vindication of the right of peoples to self-determination; in a word, a peace predicated on international justice and morals.

79. Mr. BISHTI (Libya):^{1/} Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to commence my address by conveying to Your Excellency the congratulations of the Libyan delegation on the occasion of your unanimous election as President of the General Assembly at its twenty-second session. The trust that the Assembly has shown in you, Sir, is the best testimony to your distinguished qualifications and experience which are admired by all. Your election also bears witness to the great respect that our Organization has for the friendly country of Romania.

80. I should also like to take this occasion to pay a tribute to your election as the first President of the General Assembly from the socialist countries, which is a welcome sign for the promotion of understanding and co-operation between the different political and ideological blocs. This will also strengthen the universality and effectiveness of this Organization.

81. The Libyan delegation trusts, Mr. President, that, thanks to your well-known sagacity and tact, the deliberations of this session will be conducted to a successful conclusion. We earnestly hope that under your leadership the Assembly will be able to deal with the crucial and delicate questions inscribed on its agenda, reaching sound and equitable solutions in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and the principles of peace and justice.

82. I also wish to seize this opportunity to extend the Libyan delegation's sincere greetings to your predecessor, Ambassador Abdul Rahman Pazhwak of

^{1/} Mr. Bishti spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

Afghanistan, and pay him a well-deserved tribute for his outstanding competence in conducting the deliberations of the twenty-first session as well as the last two special sessions, and for his objectivity and dedication to the principles and purposes of our Organization.

83. It also gives me great pleasure to extend our thanks to the Secretary-General, U Thant, for his dedication to the service of this Organization and for his sincere efforts to promote the implementation of the principles of its Charter.

84. When the twenty-first session adjourned, it was our hope that the twenty-second session would be convened under more auspicious circumstances and in an international atmosphere bearing greater promise for peace, which is the first aspiration of the peoples of the world. We had hoped that world tensions would abate, placing the Assembly in a better position to deal with international issues and to move forward on the road to peace, justice and freedom, and opening wider horizons for sincere co-operative efforts between all peoples for the welfare of all, for raising the standards of our human society and for safeguarding its progress and prosperity.

85. But, alas, the twenty-second session is now convening in extremely adverse circumstances and in an atmosphere of tension and anxiety marked by the spread of wrong-doing and aggression in various parts of the world. Needless to say, the world situation has been seriously aggravated by the ominous events and tragic developments of last summer which led to the convening of the Security Council and the General Assembly in the fifth emergency special session in the wake of the treacherous aggression engineered and carried out against our Arab homeland by the forces of Zionist colonialism.

86. The Arabs of Palestine have been struggling for half a century to safeguard their legitimate rights and defend their country in the face of brutal Zionist colonialism. They have sought to lay bare the truth before the world and to reveal the true objectives of the Zionist conspiracy in Palestine, but all their efforts have unfortunately gone unheeded. The General Assembly was misled by interests of aggressive colonialist Powers, sponsoring the Zionist aggression and having common cause with it, into adopting a partition resolution [181 (II)] acquiescing to the establishment in the midst of our Arab homeland of an artificial entity founded on conquest and aggression and whose purpose is to satisfy the insatiable ambitions of world Zionism. We had sought to find various excuses for the General Assembly when it committed that grave injustice to the Palestinian people in the pressures exerted on it by the great Powers. Today we cannot but regret to see the United Nations continue on a course that was forced upon it under certain historical circumstances. Such a course is indeed all the more regrettable, now that the majority is formed by the nations of the Third World, by peoples who have themselves thrown off the yoke of colonialism, and at a time when the Assembly has already adopted historic decisions on the elimination of the last vestiges of imperialism and exploitation, notably the historic resolution 1514 (XV) on the liquidation of colonialism.

87. If, despite the calamity and endless suffering entailed, a single positive aspect is to be found in the events of last June, it is that they have exposed to world opinion the true objectives of Zionism and its expansionist designs. These tragic events have undoubtedly contributed to a clarity of vision in the United Nations so that there can no longer be any excuse for this Organization in the eyes of peace-loving peoples and in the judgement of history if it continues to evaluate the Palestine question and handle it in the same framework and through the same distorted perspective which caused the catastrophe twenty years ago. For any repetition by the United Nations of the same mistake today would be tantamount to renunciation of its grave responsibilities and abandonment of the principles of peace, justice and freedom embodied in its Charter, principles to which it owes its very existence.

88. Whatever the situation obtaining in the General Assembly, and no matter how slow the turning of world opinion with regard to the Palestine question might be, one thing remains certain, and that is that neither the pressure of the forces of domination and exploitation nor the outpourings of Zionist information media can succeed indefinitely in covering up aggression and in distorting the truth. For, as Abraham Lincoln said, "You can fool some of the people all of the time and all of the people some of the time, but you can't fool all of the people all of the time." The world will surely awake one day to the realization of what has been taking place in the Arab East, and the smoke-screen of falsehood and deceit raised by Zionist propaganda will ultimately vanish into thin air.

89. The General Assembly was convened in emergency special session at the request of the Soviet Union in the wake of the brutal Zionist aggression against the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan. It was our hope that the special session would be able to take positive action to eliminate the consequences of an aggression perpetrated against three Member States by forcing the aggressors to respect the principles of international justice; but after lengthy discussions and arduous consultations, the Assembly failed to reach a just solution. That had the effect of encouraging the forces of domination and aggression to persist in their arrogance and conceit; the Israeli occupation authorities have thus shamelessly refused to implement even the two partial resolutions adopted on Jerusalem and the refugees. The events of the last few months in the occupied Arab territories clearly indicate that the Israeli authorities are determined to continue to ignore the United Nations resolutions, and to persist in their flagrant defiance of world public opinion and in their violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter.

90. If the United Nations yields to the pressure of Zionism or acquiesces to those pressures directly or indirectly, it will have moved the world backwards by establishing the dangerous precedent that might make right in international relations and that the aggressor can reap and enjoy the fruits of his aggression.

91. I do not hesitate at this point to address myself in all sincerity to the adherents of the Jewish faith in order to remind them of the injustice which is perpetuated in their name against the Arab people,

which in all its history was, and still is, free of any racial prejudice. The Arabs, Moslems and Christians, whose land is the birthplace of religions, cannot but have every respect, esteem and reverence for Judaism as a great religion. The Arabs have never been against the presence of Jews in their midst. On the contrary, history tells us that they have lived in great harmony with their Arab brethren and that a number of them assumed high public office in some Arab States. It is indeed the Zionist movement which has sought and is still seeking to create barriers between religions and to use them as a vehicle for the realization of its expansionist designs. For this fanatical movement, which came into being under peculiar historical circumstances, has seized upon anti-Semitism as a means to rally Jews under its banner and to implicate them in its adventures and in the execution of its conspiracy against the people of Palestine in particular, and against the Arabs in general.

92. The General Assembly, at this twenty-second session, has agreed to discuss the question of the recent aggression in its entirety. For as we meet here, the forces of Zionist aggression are occupying the territories of three Member States and are carrying on their acts of intimidation and oppression against the unarmed Palestinian people. Israel has also insulted sacred religious values and damaged Moslem and Christian places of worship. We read reports of Israeli atrocities against the nationalists in the occupied areas and hear news of arrests, deportations, imprisonments without trial, and various other forms of intimidation.

93. Moreover, Israel has undertaken certain basic measures designed to change the administrative and educational structure of the occupied areas. I may mention here that even the property and personnel of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force did not escape Israeli aggression and arrogance. We read in the Secretary-General's report on the United Nations Emergency Force [A/6672] how United Nations property was looted and its personnel molested by the Israeli troops. The latest news of Israeli settlements in the illegally occupied areas, in defiance of the United Nations Charter, testifies to their expansionist and territorial ambitions. In this connexion, I would invite all Members of this Assembly to compare these facts with the statements we all heard from various Israeli leaders at the beginning of the present crisis—that their war was purely defensive and that they sought neither territorial expansion nor conquest. But the facts speak for themselves and reveal once again the true character and ambitions of the Zionist forces in Palestine.

94. Unless the United Nations adopts, promptly and before it is too late, adequate measures for the cessation of aggression and the elimination of its consequences by demanding and enforcing the immediate withdrawal of the troops of aggression from the territories which they illegally occupy, the state of tension and war prevailing in the Middle East, which is a threat to world peace and security, could have far-reaching and unpredictable consequences and could lead to a disaster encompassing all mankind. We appeal to the General Assembly to rise to the level

of its responsibilities and not to frustrate once more the expectations of peace-loving peoples and their hope of finding a solution consistent with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

95. We resolutely support the struggle of the Arab people in South Arabia, as well as the rights of the Arab people in Oman, and call upon the United Nations to take more effective action for the speedy granting of independence to that region. We also oppose all attempts to internationalize the island of Perim and other off-shore islands, as those are Arab lands falling within the territorial sovereignty of the occupied South.

96. While Zionist aggression has reached its peak in the Middle East, forces of colonialism and aggression are still entrenched in a last-ditch battle in various parts of the world where they face the revolt of the enslaved peoples who are struggling for their liberation from foreign domination.

97. The war raging in Viet-Nam has only increased in intensity, in spite of the great efforts made by peace-loving forces to put an end to that devastation which is causing so much suffering to the Viet-Nameese people, and which constitutes a menace to the peace and security of the Far East and of the entire world. We had expected that the heavy losses suffered by both parties, together with the pressure of world opinion, would result in a lessening of the intensity of that conflict, and that both sides would show a greater inclination to peace. But, to our great disappointment, we see the war growing fiercer and more inter-necine, and the prospects of peace growing dimmer every day. We earnestly hope that the necessary reconciliation and essential environment for a just solution in Viet-Nam will be created in accordance with the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

98. The Libyan delegation wishes to express its grave concern regarding the situation prevailing in those African lands which are still suffering under the yoke of colonialism and regarding the persistence of the Government of the Republic of South Africa in its policies of apartheid and racial discrimination. Despite numerous United Nations resolutions condemning those policies and calling for the safeguarding of the fundamental rights of the people of South Africa, the South African Government is still acting in complete disregard of those resolutions and in flagrant violation of the most fundamental principles of human rights, both in South Africa and South West Africa.

99. The people of Mozambique have been struggling for years to expel colonialism from their land, and the people of Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea are struggling to exercise the most fundamental of those human rights proclaimed in the Charter of this Organization.

100. In Southern Rhodesia the white minority is practicing all forms of oppression against the nationalist elements, in complete disregard for all the resolutions adopted by the United Nations confirming the legitimate rights of the Zimbabwe people. We strongly denounce the intrigues of foreign economic interests seeking to impede the granting of

independence to those colonial Territories and lending assistance and support to all the racist régimes in the southern part of Africa.

101. International peace and security are still in danger in various parts of the world. The establishment of stability will necessarily depend upon the settlement of disputes and international problems in accordance with the principles of justice enshrined in the Charter.

102. Libya is following with keen interest the meetings taking place in Geneva in order to reach agreement on general disarmament. We support these endeavours aiming at disarmament, the cessation of nuclear tests and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The great advantage of such an achievement could be weighed in terms of the immense progress made if the resources now spent on war purposes were diverted to peaceful endeavours and to economic development of the many regions of this world where poverty and ignorance still prevail.

103. While the present political situation in the world calls for dedication, resolve and fruitful co-operation on the part of the world community at both official and private levels, in order to solve the most urgent problems menacing the future of mankind as a whole, the economic and social situation makes it incumbent upon us all, and more especially the economically advanced countries, to pursue an economic policy designed to meet some of the essential development requirements of the developing countries. The work accomplished by the United Nations Secretariat and the specialized agencies has provided us with many valuable studies and research findings on the current situation of the developing countries and their economic and social development needs. These studies have defined responsibilities in this respect on the national level and stressed the need to give developing countries the benefits of wider economic co-operation, better terms of trade, and an adequate financial assistance so as to enable them to build the necessary infrastructure for sustainable growth. These studies have also emphasized the importance of the development of these countries as an effective means to expand the volume of international trade in the interests of both developed and developing countries alike.

104. A major problem which has assumed acute proportions in many developing countries in recent years is the shortage of food production in relation to population and income growth. The Economic and Social Council discussed this question in some detail at its forty-third session and made constructive proposals dealing with its various aspects [see A/6703, paras. 112-122]. The Council also supported the efforts of the World Food Programme and the Food and Agriculture Organization, aiming at helping the developing countries to raise the quantity and improve the quality of their agricultural products and to develop new sources of nutrition through research and the application of modern scientific methods.

105. It is indeed a most regrettable fact that while man is embarked on conquering outer space and is literally reaching for the moon and other planets, he has not yet succeeded in conquering hunger, disease

and ignorance on our planet. This great discrepancy between the needs of developing countries on the one hand and the adventures and goals of the developed countries on the other, simply reflects the tragedy which besets the world today. At a time when certain advanced nations are seeking to settle the planets and are spending huge sums of money for this purpose, the vast majority of the nations of the world are suffering from famine, disease and mass illiteracy. This gap is an obvious challenge to the human mind and the human conscience, especially at an age when distances have shrunk and when all nations must live together in one world.

106. This grave situation leads me to speak of the need for further action in order to contribute to the achievement of higher levels of economic and social growth in developing countries. We know only too well that the Development Decade proclaimed by this Assembly seven years ago has failed to reach its goal because its most important conditions and prerequisites have not been met. To cite one example, namely, the volume of transfer of funds from the advanced to the developing countries, we find that this transfer has not even reached half the amount of the fixed target of 1 per cent annually of the national income of the advanced countries. At the same time there is a clear trend for capital movement from developing to developed countries in the form of profits and repayments of foreign debts.

107. The strong relationship between the development needs of the developing countries and their terms of trade has become evident for many years. The losses incurred by these countries as a result of the deterioration of their terms of trade have been analysed and clearly defined. The falling of prices of primary commodities which constitute the bulk of exports from the developing countries, together with the increase in the prices of manufactures imported by them, are costing these countries heavy financial losses every year.

108. The trade restrictions imposed by advanced countries on the developing countries' exports of manufactured goods further compound the difficulties encountered by the latter in the process of industrial development. We do hope, therefore, that the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development will concentrate on these problems in order to find adequate solutions, including the granting by the developed countries of concrete preferences to the exports of developing countries in general and manufactured goods in particular. Agreement on such action would enable developing countries to create modern industries utilizing domestic resources and would make available to them the foreign exchange needed to import their requirements of capital goods from the developed countries. Such an industrial development would also provide a strong incentive for the development of the agricultural sector, as both sectors are closely linked in structure and have complementary economic functions.

109. Speaking of industry, I wish to express our great satisfaction at the establishment of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization and at its valuable accomplishments in spite of the various difficulties besetting it. We sincerely hope that the

organization will be able to perform its role in the service of industrial development in the developing countries.

110. A carefully conceived and well-oriented social development programme is an essential condition for the success of the economic development process.

111. In addition to the more common social problems, such as the problems of over-population and widespread illiteracy in many developing countries, human society still pays a heavy toll of suffering and undergoes serious difficulties and crises as a result of social complexes such as those underlying the problem of racial discrimination, which is contrary to the requirements of economic and social development.

112. The Libyan delegation supports the efforts of the Human Rights Commission aiming at the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women. We firmly believe that these efforts will bring us closer to the noble and long-cherished ideals of justice. We also believe that these efforts are of great value to economic and social development in view of the prospects they open up for the development and better utilization of human resources. The proclamation of 1968 as an International Year for Human Rights should contribute to better awareness of human rights problems and the launching of greater efforts in this field. The Libyan delegation fully supports this action and wishes the Commission on Human Rights every success in its noble endeavours.

113. The question of co-ordination between United Nations bodies, the specialized agencies and other international organizations has become extremely complex and has aroused much talk but little action. Fortunately, indications of some progress in this direction can be found in the conclusions reached by the Economic and Social Council at its forty-third session. The guidelines approved by the Council tend to strengthen the role of the regional Commissions and the Resident Representatives of the United Nations Development Programme, and also to lessen the duplication and promote specialization in the agencies while emphasizing co-ordination at the Secretariat level and in the work of the Economic and Social Council itself. Our delegation believes that the efforts could enhance the effectiveness of our Organization and the specialized agencies in the service of both the developing and the developed countries.

114. Mr. President, in conclusion, I wish to express our earnest hope that the United Nations will move forward in the realization of the aspirations of the peoples of the world for a better life. I also wish to assure you of the Libyan delegation's willingness to co-operate in every possible way in the achievement of our common goals and to contribute to the fullest measure in the success of this Organization's efforts in the cause of peace, security and justice for all.

115. Mr. LARAKI (Morocco) (translated from French): The international situation has never, perhaps, been more dangerous than it is today. There are highly dangerous crises in a number of places in the world; colonialist domination is still rife in Africa and elsewhere; and economic and social underdevelopment is still the lot of many peoples.

116. It is in this highly charged atmosphere that the present session of the General Assembly is being held. The responsibilities thus resting on our shoulders are enormous, and our obligations overwhelming.

117. Your election to the Presidency in these circumstances, Mr. President, places a very heavy burden on your shoulders. The Moroccan delegation is convinced that your abilities and your long experience of international problems are ample guarantees of the success of the work of the Assembly; and in congratulating you heartily on your impressive election, it wishes to assure you of its complete co-operation.

118. It is likewise a pleasure for me, on behalf of my delegation and in my own name, to pay a warm tribute to your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Abdul Rahman Pazhwak, for the deep understanding, the wisdom and the competence with which he steered the extremely arduous work of three successive sessions of the General Assembly.

119. As I say, the international community is at present beset by a number of crises. The most recent of these crises, which is still as acute as when it erupted, and which endangered and continues to endanger world peace, is that brought on by Israel's aggression against the Arab countries.

120. The emergency special session of the General Assembly which met to examine that crisis closed on a note of helplessness, leaving all the Arab countries, and peace-loving and fair-minded peoples everywhere, with a depressing sense of disillusionment and frustration. In thus showing itself incapable of condemning the aggressor and forcing him to withdraw his troops from the occupied territories, the United Nations revealed a dangerous powerlessness in the face of a problem of the utmost importance for international peace and security.

121. It is of course not the first time that the Organization has had brought home to it the limitations on its powers when it has to settle crucial issues. But it seems to us that the Member States would be driving the United Nations still further along the road to disaster if they did not see to it that it assumed its full responsibilities under the Charter, whose primary concern is the safeguarding of international peace.

122. Premeditated aggression against three States Members of this Organization; the occupation and exploitation of vast sectors of their territories, seriously curtailing their economic potential; annexation of the City of Jerusalem, which enjoyed the respect and tranquillity essential to its spiritual status as a Holy Place sacred to all confessions; these are violations both of international law and of the principles of the Charter. In addition, hundreds of thousands of new refugees have been prevented from returning to their homes, thus aggravating a human and social problem that has been discussed here in the Assembly for years without any solution whatsoever being forthcoming.

123. In the face of all these crimes, all these grave infringements of human rights by a Member of this Assembly, what has the United Nations done? Alas, very little. It has stood by, a helpless spectator,

watching these manifest violations of the Charter take place. Intoxicated by the success of its aggression and encouraged by the inaction of the United Nations, Israel has refused, and continues to refuse, to implement the resolutions of the Assembly, adopted unanimously though they were, calling upon it to repeal the measures taken to annex Jerusalem. This defiance on the part of the aggressor, coupled with the passive attitude of the Organization, has considerably shaken the confidence placed in the United Nations by the small countries unable to equip themselves with powerful means of defence and still looking to its authority as their mainstay and the guarantee of their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

124. Does not the failure of the Organization in the face of such a problem constitute a dangerous precedent? Will it not encourage this or that bellicose State one of these days to embark with bold impunity on plans for conquest? Does not Israel set us with an ungodly example as it goes on violating the cease-fire time after time and announcing through certain of its leaders new invasions and new destructions to come?

125. On this point, I should like to furnish the Assembly with striking proof of the premeditated character of the aggressive and expansionist policy of the Israel leaders by quoting a passage from an article published in July 1965 in the United States magazine *Foreign Affairs* and signed by the Israel Foreign Minister. He states as follows:

"It is not absurd to imagine Arab leaders ardently urging 'a return to the frontier of 1966 or 1967', just as they now urge a return to the frontier of 1947."

126. Such facts are deeply disturbing; they shake our faith in an Organization whose international reputation we are anxious to safeguard, and they augur a gloomy and uncertain future for mankind unless really effective remedies are rapidly found and applied.

127. We earnestly hope that the work of the present session will help to allay the disquiet felt by the majority of Members of the Organization. This can only be done through fairness and firmness of decision in the settlement of international differences. More specifically, it is the Assembly's duty to study the situation created in the Middle East by Israel's aggression and to secure, in accordance with the principles of the Charter, the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel's troops from the occupied Arab territories. There can be no doubt that any solution or decision to this effect is bound to help to re-establish the authority of the Organization and call forth a favourable and beneficial reaction from all peace-loving peoples.

128. We feel sure that the international community, aware as it is of the dangers and the consequences inherent in the situation prevailing in the Middle East today, cannot in all justice accept this fait accompli or acquiesce in it.

129. How is it possible, in fact, to remain indifferent when the aggressor, only a month or two after his invasion of the Arab territories, reveals his true designs by openly proclaiming the irreversibility of the annexation of Jerusalem and by continuing to occupy

the conquered areas, transforming occupation into annexation pure and simple by overturning the demographic structure lock, stock and barrel to further Israel's colonization policy? And in such circumstances, what is to be the attitude of the countries that are the victims of this aggression? Should they bow down, turning their backs on their history, their culture and their dignity, before the brutality and arrogance of an aggressor who no longer even makes a secret of his plans for expansion? Should they abandon hundreds of thousands of refugees to the horrors of destitution and exile, forced to beg their daily bread while the foreigner exploits their wealth? How can anyone honestly expect this of the Arab countries or of any other Member of the Organization? This Assembly is in duty bound to give us satisfactory answers to these questions and to take the necessary firm decisions.

130. Another problem that likewise causes international public opinion constant concern is the conflict in Viet-Nam. For over a quarter of a century the country has been ravaged by war, and unfortunately no solution implying the restoration of peace to the area has as yet been found. My own country has at all times expressed heartfelt sympathy for the Viet-Nameese people and the courage and patience with which they have endured such suffering and such sacrifices. But we cannot humanly expect them to go on much longer suffering the cruel trials of this war. For this reason, my Government supports and will continue to support all initiatives and all efforts calculated to put an end to the hostilities in that part of South-East Asia. Acceptance by all the parties involved of the 1954 Geneva Agreements as a basis for a settlement would, in the opinion of my Government, constitute an important step towards a satisfactory solution of the conflict.

131. We have noted with interest that both in this Assembly and elsewhere, the idea has been mooted that a halt in the bombing of North Viet-Nam might also constitute a stepping-stone toward peace negotiations. In any case, whatever ultimately may be the procedures for bringing the war to an end and restoring peace to the region, my Government believes that the Viet-Nameese people as a whole are entitled to choose whatever political and social régime they wish, of their own accord and without interference from outside.

132. The conditions conducive to a genuine and lasting peace cannot be effectively established unless an attack is made at the same time on another evil, colonialism, which is still one of the main obstacles to genuine understanding between peoples and to open and sincere co-operation. We are in fact firmly convinced that the persistence of colonialism and its ideological appendages in certain parts of the world is definitely a source of tension and disturbance which sooner or later may well degenerate into dangerous conflict.

133. Here, of course, we have in mind particularly our own continent of Africa, where in one or two places, in defiance of all good sense and in spite of the lessons of quite recent history, foreign Powers still maintain colonial and racial domination, two phenomena not only anachronistic but dangerously explosive.

134. Needless to say, we are thinking first and foremost of the problem of South West Africa, to which the last regular session and the fifth special session devoted particular attention. Here is a Territory still held fast in the colonial grip. To be consistent with itself and with its historic resolution of 27 October 1966 [resolution 2145 (XXI)] which brought to an end South Africa's Mandate over the Territory and made the United Nations responsible henceforth for its administration, the Assembly must now redouble its efforts to liberate South West Africa. To this end, it must overcome all obstacles, all vacillation, all opposition, whether overt or disguised, and find practical and effective means of bringing the people of South West Africa to independence.

135. Elsewhere, another part of southern Africa, Southern Rhodesia, continues to be the scene of a further racist adventure which neither universal condemnation nor the sanctions imposed have succeeded in halting. We would like to think that it is not yet too late for the Organization to intervene, more energetically and effectively, so as to put an end to the unlawful régime of Ian Smith, as well as to the colonial oppression that continues to thrive unpunished in Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea.

136. While the dominant note in the African situation is more often than not one of intransigence of the colonial régimes, we are still ready to welcome any sign likely to lead to the emancipation of the territories under foreign domination.

137. On this point I should like to refer to a problem that concerns my country, namely that of the Territories of Ifni and Sahara, with which the Organization has been concerned for some years. I am happy to inform the Assembly that His Majesty the King of Morocco and the Spanish Chief of State, bearing in mind the many points our peoples have in common and the traditional links between the two countries, and taking account of the provisions of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-first session [2229 (XXI)], have exchanged correspondence on this problem. An agreement in principle has just been concluded between the two Governments on the practical application of the resolution concerning the Territory of Ifni. May I in this connexion express the hope that this constructive episode will be the prelude to the settlement of all the other problems of decolonization.

138. While on this subject, there is another problem area very close to my country, on the other side of the Strait, namely Gibraltar. My Government believes that the fate of Gibraltar should be decided in a sensible manner through negotiations between the parties concerned.

139. Yet another problem closely linked with the preceding ones and no less tragic is that of the development of the military potential in the world. In the face of this problem the Assembly cannot, short of betraying the spirit of the Charter, continue to be content with declarations of intent or recommendations of principle. All here are aware of the true nature of this problem. We all recognize in our heart of hearts how absurd and dangerous is the frenzied arms race going on in

various parts of the world, and particularly between the great Powers. We all know of the vast technical and financial resources being devoted to the production and increase of conventional and nuclear weapons and the potential economic aid that the cessation of the arms race would release for the benefit of the developing countries.

140. But the role of the Organization in this field must not be confined to compiling information and reports while weapons are being stockpiled. Its role, we believe, is to find common ground likely to lead to agreements acceptable to all, to bring about a gradual reduction of arms production, and to establish confidence among States, a matter of vital necessity for international relations.

141. In this respect my country has always given full support to United Nations action in the sphere of general and complete disarmament and in that of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the suspension of nuclear tests. In this respect too, though in a regional context and in the interests of preserving the brotherly relations existing between Morocco and Algeria, my Government felt it opportune to put an end to the arms race in North Africa. In this connexion I should like to refer to the letter sent by His Majesty the King of Morocco on 28 February 1967 to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. In it His Majesty stated that:

"The objective of our country is peace, which it wishes to extend and consolidate through mutual co-operation and coexistence."

The letter went on to say:

"[Morocco] believes that such a choice could be its contribution to general prosperity, to international stability and to the security of all peoples who sincerely believe in the principles of the United Nations, of peaceful coexistence and of international co-operation."

142. The ultimate aim of this coexistence and this dynamic co-operation we are seeking is more specifically the all-round development of man. The folly of social, economic and technical under-development is perhaps the greatest tragedy of our century. After being for ages subject to the colonial yoke, vast sectors of mankind are now a prey to all manner of difficulties which prevent them from pursuing their development, and at times jeopardize their very right to exist. The bitter truth of what I say is no longer familiar only to a handful of experts; it has become a known fact shared by all men. No one can be unaware any longer that at a time when a minority of mankind is enjoying over-development, millions of human beings in Asia, Africa and Latin America are living in inhuman conditions.

143. There was a time when we spoke only of the evils of ignorance; when we felt that the "transfer of know-how" was enough to transform sluggish economies into dynamic ones; when we thought that a few gifts handed out to two thirds of mankind would be a decisive contribution. But the crisis, instead of abating, has worsened, and the danger has increased with the spectre of the population explosion, the scarcity of food, the imbalance in the terms of trade, and the falling-off in productivity and national income.

144. Of course, the more prosperous countries have never ignored these dangers and have even shown some solidarity vis-à-vis the more hard-pressed countries. But objectively speaking, can it be contended that this awareness and this expression of solidarity have always been commensurate with the needs? That is a primary question we have the right to ask.

145. The United Nations has had the virtue of giving the problems of development of the Third World countries the attention they deserve in the present state of the world by declaring the 1960s the United Nations Development Decade. This well-timed initiative was reinforced by the creation of new organizations such as the UNCTAD Trade and Development Board and UNIDO, which have breathed new life into the struggle against the obstacles to development.

146. While some have argued, justifiably, that the Decade has been one not of development but of frustration, we cannot but recognize that it has greatly contributed to international awareness of the problems. Clearly the assessment of the results at the accounting level is somewhat disappointing. But the body of knowledge and experience gathered over the last few years will undoubtedly give a strong fillip to the next Decade, for which the Committee for Development Planning is already preparing guidelines and proposals.

147. Morocco associates itself wholeheartedly with all efforts made along these lines in the United Nations, and supports the suggestion of the Committee for Development Planning that a charter should be adopted for the Second Development Decade. However, my country stresses the need for the charter to be in keeping with the means available and not merely a text filled with lofty ideals but devoid of realism. In this connexion we note with everyday that passes that the volume of assistance is declining, that lending conditions are becoming more and more rigid and that domestic savings and available foreign currency are below the level needed to purchase the equipment essential for the development of the countries of the Third World.

148. The aid policy of the industrialized countries is tending to harden in a way which leaves the shaky economies of countries with modest revenues helpless; and we observe with some concern the growth of an international economic malaise which, if not remedied in time, might well involve the international community in a crisis of which it is difficult to envisage all the repercussions.

149. Hence, without wishing to pillory any particular rich country or to criticize the meagreness of this or that form of aid, we must point out that it would be more useful if the developed countries, instead of harking back to selfish theories of domestic balance, were to recognize the inevitable interaction of economic phenomena in the world.

150. The need for a reappraisal of the international balance of economic forces is no longer in doubt. Without this there can be no true and lasting economic expansion for anyone. The question is no longer that of ascertaining whether the vast market offered by the Third World for products from the developed countries can be dropped without danger for the latter, but rather that of recognizing the common destiny of all nations,

whose prosperity, when all is said and done, is interdependent.

151. When the Third World countries plead for more equitable treatment in respect of trade in their products, the lifting of measures hampering the movement of capital, and improvement of the conditions of both multilateral and bilateral assistance, they are only claiming what is their due. This claim is the expression of their awareness that they are fully-fledged members of an international community in a constant state of growth, a community whose prosperity they have actively helped to create by their natural resources, their consumer capacity and even their skilled personnel.

152. Here we must reject the allegation that the countries of the Third World make less effort than their under-development necessitates; on the contrary. No sooner were they freed from the colonial system than they have had to enter the race to achieve progress with all the handicap of their age-long backwardness. The task involved is Herculean; in other words a realistic policy based on an objective appraisal of the situation is essential. My own country has decided to pursue this task resolutely, concentrating on the vital, priority sectors of the national economy such as agriculture, the training of skilled personnel, population policy and industrial development geared to local possibilities.

153. This sectoral approach to development is the fruit of our conviction that with the limited means a developing country is likely to possess, it is more efficient to focus them on priorities which will engender fruitful activities for the population than to spread them thinly over several sectors and not be sure that any of them will really get off the ground.

154. I cannot conclude this statement without reverting to what we believe to be a crucial problem for the future of the United Nations and appealing to all the Members of the Assembly to examine, as objectively and conscientiously as they can, the tragic situation created in the Middle East by the Israel aggression against the Arab States, and to reflect on the serious effect which failure to condemn an overt and flagrant act of aggression followed by occupation would be bound to have on the very existence of the Organization, and hence on the international situation.

155. The United Nations must put an end to this explosive situation brought about by Israel's aggression. The evacuation of the occupied Arab territories and the return of hundreds of thousands of refugees to their countries which have been despoiled for more than twenty years constitute the basic prerequisite for stability in that region.

156. Nor is there any need to stress that the recurrence of acts of violence in the region will inevitably lead in the long run to further armed conflict, for no country can tolerate the installation of occupation troops on its soil in defiance of all morality and of all international law.

157. We hope and trust that the present session of the Assembly will put an end to this flagrant injustice and thus restore the faith of the peoples of the world in the efficacy and the future of the United Nations.

158. We have been pleased to observe of late a growing awareness on the part of international public opinion, which, after being misled at the outset by massive Zionist propaganda, is beginning to understand Israel's true objectives, its policy of invasion and annexation, and all the destruction, suffering and ruin that go with them.

159. We are convinced that the Assembly will do its duty, soberly and justly. The tasks before it today are heavy indeed, and call for the understanding and goodwill of all. Every one of us must give proof of his desire for peace, his sense of international responsibility and of the realities of our world today. The Moroccan delegation will spare no effort, as far as its means permit, to ensure the success of our work.

160. Twenty years of existence and experience, a number of crises satisfactorily overcome, constitute a good beginning and could make this Organization the ideal instrument of progress and understanding among nations. In the spirit of the Charter, this tribune is destined to be the meeting-point for a peaceful and dynamic dialogue between ideas and men of all complexions and all continents.

161. Despite the convulsions which shake the world today, Morocco would like once again to express its confidence in the United Nations and to voice the hope that the Organization will fulfil the aspiration of all men and become the hub of a responsible policy at world level, without ever betraying or distorting the goals of the Charter.

162. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of Pakistan, who has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

163. Mr. PIRZADA (Pakistan): The Defence Minister of India thought it necessary to reply to the statement I made this morning [1584th meeting]. I note that he did not refute anything I said on the substance of the India-Pakistan question or the situation in Jammu and Kashmir. He claims to have exercised restraint in not referring to the Kashmir dispute in the course of his statement during the general debate.

164. May I suggest that it was not restraint on his part which prompted that silence. Obviously India would prefer that the United Nations forget Kashmir. The people of Jammu and Kashmir have no means of making their voices heard here; it is, therefore, Pakistan that has to remind the world of the continuing denial of the right of self-determination to them.

165. I did not refer to anything which could even remotely be considered an internal affair of India. If India is willing to discuss all disputes—I repeat "all disputes"—with Pakistan, then why is it that India is not prepared to enter into negotiations with Pakistan for a settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute? This is a very simple question; it admits of no evasion. Let us have a forthright answer. Let the Defence Minister of India clearly tell us that India is prepared to have meaningful negotiations with Pakistan so that the dispute that has twice led to fighting may speedily reach a just and final solution. Then all arguments would cease and all polemics would become irrelevant.

166. It is the difference between genuine negotiations and purposeless talks that reflects the gap between

our position and India's. India claims that it is prepared for discussions on all subjects, including Kashmir, at any time, at any level and at any place. Yet it does everything to ensure that the discussions, contrary to the Tashkent Declaration, do not relate to the basic cause of the India-Pakistan tension.

167. The Defence Minister of India quoted from a statement of his Prime Minister of 5 April 1967. Unfortunately it was the same Prime Minister who, at the same time, said that India had nothing to negotiate with Pakistan on Kashmir. I put the question: how does one reconcile the two statements? Is it not natural that such contradictions should paralyse all progress? These are not rhetorical questions. I am putting them to the representative of India because it is by answering them that a meaningful dialogue can develop between the two countries.

168. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of India, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

169. Mr. CHOWDHURY (India): My delegation has no intention of using this august forum for polemical purposes. The representative of Pakistan, however, has again come to the rostrum to make charges, the mere repetition of which cannot make them any more valid. But I should like to make our basic position clear. Our willingness to discuss all differences with Pakistan on the basis of the Tashkent Declaration and to resolve those differences exclusively by peaceful means does not amount to giving up our stand in regard to Jammu and Kashmir, which is a constituent state of the Indian Union. As the Foreign Minister of India had the occasion to point out in the General Assembly debate last year:

"If each side were to insist on preconditions, would we not be entitled to say to Pakistan that it must first not only give up its point of view on Kashmir, but also, as a prior condition for talks, vacate two fifths of the Indian territory in Jammu and Kashmir that it illegally occupied, and still occupies?" [1423rd meeting, para. 249.]

170. The Government of India has always expressed its willingness to talk to Pakistan on any and all issues—I repeat, on any and all issues—at any place, at any time and at any level. We believe that the two countries must do everything to normalize their relations and to promote friendship between the two peoples. We believe further that India-Pakistan relations, irrespective of any dispute, must be developed peacefully, without resort to force, and that lack of agreement on any one issue should not hold up restoration of friendly relations between the two countries. That is our basic policy, and we shall continue to persevere in it.

171. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of Somalia, who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

172. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): I wish to exercise the right of reply of my delegation to refer briefly to a statement made in this general debate last week by the Foreign Minister of Ethiopia [1579th meeting]. Expressing his own concern at what he called the "serious confusion" about what constitutes aggression, he has

compounded that confusion. The Foreign Minister virtually accused my country of aggression, the most serious of all international offences, by claiming that our support of the general right of self-determination, and, in particular, our support of that right for the Somali people in the areas adjacent to the Somali Republic, was a form of aggression. He presented this support of self-determination as a pretext for "the design" of Somalia "for territorial annexation of a part of" Ethiopia.

173. That charge constitutes an unfortunate misrepresentation not only of my statement in this Assembly but also of the basic policies of my country. Earlier in this debate, to be precise on 27 September, I explained in unequivocal terms the policy of my Government. This is what I said:

"The Somali Republic harbours no intention to annex the territory of any State whatsoever, nor to expand into any territory. Moreover, while the Somali Government supports the desire for self-determination of Somalis living in the areas bordering the Somali Republic, it is animated by the sincere desire to leave no avenue unused which will

improve mutual relations with the Governments directly concerned." [1569th meeting, para. 160.]

That is a desire, of which Ethiopia knows from concrete steps and deeds by my Government.

174. In accordance with a proper interpretation and application of the right of self-determination, my delegation agrees that once a people have duly exercised that right, not only should their desire be respected but the issue should no longer be raised again. However, contrary to the statement made before this Assembly last week by the Foreign Minister of Ethiopia, it is a historic and incontrovertible fact that the Somali people who were forcibly incorporated into Ethiopia at the height of imperialism never did exercise their right of self-determination.

175. I considered it necessary to correct the misleading statement of my distinguished friend on this matter. It was all the more painful to my delegation because at present active efforts are under way between our two Governments to improve relations between our two countries.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.