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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. ELBEIDH (Southern Yemen):¹ It is my great pleasure to convey to the President, in the name of the people and the Government of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen and of my delegation, our heartfelt congratulations on her election to the esteemed office of President of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly. We, the Arab people, belong to two continents simultaneously. As an Afro-Asian nation, we consider her election to this office a tribute to the Afro-Asian people. Her long experience in the affairs of this international Organization will enable her to lead and guide the deliberations of the General Assembly at its present session with energy, devotion and justice.

2. I should also like to express our deepest sorrow at the death of her predecessor, Mr. Emilio Arenales, the late Foreign Minister of Guatemala. We share the sorrow of the people of Guatemala in his untimely death.

3. Nearly two years have passed since the independence of Southern Yemen, which is still suffering from the remains of the colonial occupation that lasted for almost one hundred and thirty years. Southern Yemen therefore knows fully the bitterness of foreign domination, exploitation and the humiliation of colonial occupation. We also believe in the inevitability of the struggle for freedom and independence of all peoples.

4. As a small and developing country, Southern Yemen is fully aware of the menace to small and developing countries in this era when imperialist and neo-colonialist forces have intensified and expanded their greedy aspirations. We therefore work to preserve the United Nations and respect its Charter as a hope of avoiding a reversion to the rule of the jungle.

¹ Mr. Elbeidh spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

5. Naturally we share with you, Madam President, the anxiety you expressed in your opening statement [*1753rd meeting*] about the role of the United Nations in world events. The Arab people have faced a series of treacherous aggressions since the United Nations was established. We fully understand the perils that face humanity because of the indifference and the obvious inability to act against oppression, domination, aggression and expansion.

6. We hardly need refer to the first experiment in international organizations, the League of Nations, which came at the end of a world war, and which disintegrated and vanished because of its failure to oppose tyranny, facism, nazism and colonialism. The United Nations was also born at the end of a world war, the Second World War, and I wonder whether this Organization is repeating the same deadly mistakes committed earlier by the League of Nations. Wishes and hopes as well as sterile discussions were of no avail to prevent the occurrence of the Second World War—the war which the League of Nations was meant to prevent.

7. The creation of the League of Nations was accompanied by a division of the territory of countries thereby creating spheres of influence for the victorious Powers of the First World War. The Arab land was among those that suffered oppression and domination through such unjust divisions. The Palestine tragedy, which can be traced to such a division, came as a result of one of the most abominable acts of colonialism. It is perhaps the most tragic incident in human history; and the most grievous to be borne by an aware conscience. It is a tragedy of a small nation that has been overwhelmed by evil and masked allies supported by great and expansionist Powers that deprived it of its most fundamental human rights and of its natural right to exist.

8. The question of the people of Palestine did not fare better in the United Nations than in its predecessor, the League of Nations. The people of Palestine were exposed to mass murder and violent expulsion from their homeland by force of arms; and they were replaced by a scattered group of nationalities from the four corners of the world that have nothing in common except their desire for domination and exploitation and their belief, which is unjustified, in their superiority, based on racist and religious fanaticism. The United Nations has not been able to enforce a just solution of this abominable crime, because of its impotence and because of the support and encouragement of the crime committed by some of the great Powers.

9. It is a mockery that this obviously simple, racist and foreign colonization, which has no parallel apart from the minority racist régime in Southern Rhodesia, becomes complicated in the view of some who refer to it as "a return to the land of destiny". This is an utter hypocrisy. Those

expelled from their property are called refugees. It is necessary to ask where these refugees have come from. Where were they living before they became refugees?

10. The Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan has stated [1761st meeting] eloquently and in detail, the historical background and the development of the Palestinian question. His explanation has undoubtedly refuted the imaginary claims of international Zionism in Palestine that are based on racist and religious fanaticism whose goal is the domination and exploitation of the economic resources of nations, through its influence on major capitalistic and monopolistic corporations which embody the political interests of world imperialism and Zionism.

11. The Palestinian people have been forced to take arms and to sacrifice their lives to regain their usurped homeland from the Zionist colonialists. We cannot but salute their just and honorable struggle as a national liberation movement because one cannot deny the right of expelled people to fight in order to return to their homeland. We support the armed Palestinian struggle, and the call to return to a normal life in the Holy Land and the coexistence of the adherents of the three religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, as equal citizens in a free and democratic Palestine. This is the only fair, civilized and humanitarian solution. Any other solution would be uncivilized, barbaric and racist; and it would not be lasting. History has taught us that only just solutions are lasting solutions.

12. The importance we attach to the Palestine question is a manifestation of our belief that all peoples have the right to self-determination and the right to live freely and peacefully in their homelands. Our belief in this will never be shaken, even though world Zionism enjoys tremendous influence and control over the imperialistic news media, which persistently distort facts and prevent honest information on Palestine because of Zionist intimidation and bribery. The news media are attempting to conceal one of the most horrible crimes committed against humanity today—one that even surpasses the well-known Nazi crimes. We shall continue firmly to support the armed struggle of the Palestinians for the liberation of their homeland from Zionist occupation. We also firmly believe that the Palestinian people alone possess the right to self-determination.

13. The Middle East problem arose in June 1967 as a result of Israeli aggression and occupation of the territories of three Arab States which are Members of the United Nations. We are also all familiar with the well-known Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)], which was adopted unanimously. Israel is still defying that resolution by continuing to keep its army in the occupied Arab territories and by its repeated provocative raids which are intended to escalate into a new and devastating war.

14. By its continued occupation and provocation, Israel defies the Charter of the United Nations and the world community at large. Its *de facto* occupation is in defiance of one of the agreed principles of international law, which is the non-acquisition of territory by force. Israel has done this with the open encouragement of imperialist circles.

15. The United States has not hesitated to supply destructive arms and weapons to Israel. The most recent were the

Phantom jets. The United States obviously has never seriously contemplated the following facts: it was Israel that started the aggressive war in June 1967 against the Arab States; it is Israel that still occupies the territories of three States Members of the United Nations; it is Israel that has not yet complied with Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967; it is Israel that has declared its intention of annexing the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, while ignoring world public opinion; it is Israeli planes supplied by the United States that daily bomb and raid peaceful cities and villages, economic establishments and civil airports; it is Israeli napalm bombs that daily burn refugee camps, and innocent women and children who were expelled from their homes by Israel. One wonders what the Arabs have done to make the United States harbour this blind malice against them.

16. Statements are often heard about the establishment of peace in the Middle East but rarely is a voice raised about the establishment of justice in Palestine, as if peace can ever be established on the basis of injustice.

17. We expected that President Nixon, in his speech in the General Assembly last month [1755th meeting], would announce that the position of the United States was that Israel would withdraw its military forces from occupied Arab territories in compliance with the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)], which the Security Council adopted unanimously and for which his Government also voted. However, he ignored the resolution and suggested instead a limitation on arms shipments to the area, after he had already ordered the shipment of Phantom jets to Israel in a manner far from even-handed. So the United States Government first acted to achieve Israeli military superiority by shipping the Phantom jets and then called for an arms limitation to maintain and ensure that superiority over the Arabs.

18. The world conflict that we witness today, in which the United States plays a major role, represents the attempt of the imperialist Powers to dominate the destinies of small, developing nations by limiting the independence of such small countries, which they had achieved by their sacrifice and blood. The small nations, however, which were made to suffer under-development for a long period have awakened to discover the plots being hatched against them. They have gradually discovered the ways and means of helping to guarantee and maintain their own progress and freedom. Some of these ways and means are: the establishment of national democratic institutions based on a wide range of public support; the elimination of exploitative capitalist interest, whose purpose is to keep small developing nations subservient to imperialist domination, thereby obstructing the development of a truly national economy; the pursuit of scientific socialist planning as the basis for economic development and the fair distribution of the nation's wealth; the rejection of foreign assistance of a conditional nature, whose purpose is to enhance foreign influence and the diversion of the destiny of small nations; the firm and open support of the progressive forces in the world; the bolstering of national liberation movements in the world, and the endorsement of armed resistance as the best means of confronting the colonialist challenges.

19. The People's Republic of Southern Yemen, which recently emerged from the ashes of colonialism and has

taken its place among the free and developing countries, bases its domestic and foreign policies on the same principles adhered to by the developing and struggling nations that we have mentioned above. When we achieved our independence, the Arab nation was already suffering from the consequences of the June 1967 war and the world was preoccupied by this crisis which threatened world peace and security. Britain took advantage of those circumstances and relinquished its responsibilities to the people of Southern Yemen. Those responsibilities were based upon its 129 years of occupation, during which it exploited our resources for its own interests and without any regard to local interests. Britain did not establish a unified administration, nor an adequate road system linking the entire country, nor a single factory; nor did it complete one significant project. It based local development on an economy of services linked to its economy and its military base. It inflated the local budget, in the last years of its reign, to the unrealistic level of more than £30 million, whereas the State's revenue does not exceed £8 million. When Britain was preparing to withdraw, it made an effort to empty our treasury by encouraging a large number of foreign employees to leave the service and hence to pay them severance and any balance due under their contracts. Yet, in contrast, after two years, Britain has not yet paid severance and retirement benefits to its local Yemeni ex-employees, who gave it the prime of their youth.

20. It appears, therefore, that Britain made deliberate plans in Southern Yemen on the eve of our independence. It took advantage of the economic dislocation and the Middle East crisis which affected one of our major sources of income, the port of Aden, after the closure of the Suez Canal following the June 1967 war, so as to cause a financial and economic crisis and thus reduced the significance of our independence, which our people had won after a bitter and heroic struggle.

21. But in spite of this ugly picture and the numerous odds and chronic difficulties experienced, our people, who fought patiently in the struggle for independence, are still able to continue their struggle to build the nation under the leadership of the National Liberation Front.

22. In the field of administration, in place of numerous scattered local emirates, created by the colonialists, we established a unified progressive State with local administrative bodies responsible to the centre of government for the first time in more than a century. We extended services to remote areas that were never served before. Within our limited resources, and thanks to the initiative of the National Liberation Front, we were able to open roads and to develop education, which has been increased by over 30 per cent, in the first year of our independence, and made equal opportunities possible for all our citizens, in urban as well as rural areas which had been deprived for a long time. At the same time we were able to increase the number of medical units in the hinterland with the help of friendly and sister countries. In the desert areas, where our people live in desperate conditions, deprived of the most elementary necessities, particularly water, we have begun drilling artesian wells, hoping that this will assist them to settle and improve their standard of living.

23. In the field of economic development we have concentrated our efforts in two sectors, namely agriculture

and fisheries. Agriculture, in our opinion, is the basis for the introduction of industrialization in the future.

24. At the same time, we have passed the necessary laws to encourage local and foreign investments. Among these was the Investment Law, which presents and described the necessary guarantees and facilities for investors.

25. In the intensive efforts we have made in the fields of human and economic development, in spite of the difficulties we face, such as limited financial resources and a shortage of experts—problems which have been neglected—we are also continuously faced with reactionary and imperialistic plots. The reactionary and imperialistic Powers involved believe that a progressive socialist régime in Southern Yemen is a threat to their interests, and they would like to see us waste our limited resources on the defence of our independence and territory, thereby preventing our economic development.

26. On our eastern borders, under the tutelage of Britain, there exists one of the worst and ugliest régimes in the world, that of the puppet Sultan Saeed bin Taimur, the so-called Sultan of Muscat and Oman. In this region the people have been waging a war of liberation since 1965; the war started in Dhofar, under the leadership of the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Arabian Gulf. That revolution is the object of a strict and severe world-wide information black-out, to keep it from the eyes and ears of world public opinion; but that revolution, like others, will succeed in breaking through the "no-news barrier" by its daily accomplishments in the liberation of territory. The signs of its victory have begun to appear in the stories of some world journalists who have visited those liberated territories. It is high time that this Organization showed more interest in supporting this popular revolution in that region against the feudalistic rule of Britain and the Sultan. It is our concern too; and I would like to point out that Britain's continued presence in the Arabian Gulf, as shown by its military bases there, is a threat to the Arab countries in particular, and to progressive States in general. Let us not be deceived by what the British Government says about its intention to withdraw its forces from the Gulf, for while they are there there is a danger that they will remain, as the Conservative Party always threatens at every opportunity. The British presence has been accompanied by a continual change in the ethnic structure of the Gulf by the encouragement of Iranian infiltration and the containment of Arabs in the Gulf, which makes us apprehensive for the future of the Arabian Gulf. No wonder, for it was the British presence in Palestine, as we all well know, that led to the Palestine problem. The British presence is represented by their colonial domination and their military bases, and by Iranian ambitions manifested in their baseless claim to Bahrein, and by the opening of a front on the Shatt-al-Arab, all of which are signs of impending trouble about which we cannot remain silent. Because of their greedy interest in petroleum in the area, the colonialists will not easily agree to give the people their right of self-determination. They will, therefore, find an excuse to remain there in one form or another. If they are finally compelled to withdraw, they will leave behind an explosive situation. The world community will then awaken to find itself confronted with another situation that endangers world peace and security. The question of Oman and the crucial

States has for many years been on the agenda of the United Nations and the time has now come to treat this vital question with firmness and seriousness.

27. The question of peace in the world is one and indivisible. Peace can only be built on justice. Justice can never prevail so long as any form of colonialism, direct or indirect, remains alive. Peace cannot be built while there are destructive weapons threatening small nations, hindering their development through the presence of imperialistic bases spread like an octopus over the lands of small nations everywhere.

28. It is a mockery to speak of peace in the absence of the country that represents one quarter of the world's population: I refer to the People's Republic of China. About a quarter of a century has elapsed since the establishment of this Organization but the seat of that great socialist Power is still vacant. Those who are concerned with international co-operation, peace and security for humanity will never accept such a disgraceful and illogical situation. In the name of peace and for the sake of peace, we would like to see the rightful representative of the great Chinese people here among us as soon as possible.

29. The People's Republic of Southern Yemen strongly supports the struggle of the Viet-Nameese people for the liberation of its homeland from American colonialism. We also condemn the continuous American aggression against the people of Viet-Nam and urge the United Nations to use its influence to have the aggressive American forces withdraw without any conditions. This, we believe, is the only way to achieve peace in that part of the world. My Government has recognized the provisional Government of South Viet-Nam as the only legitimate government for the people of South Viet-Nam. My Government believes that this will allow the people of South Viet-Nam to decide its own future.

30. We regret to see the name and flag of the United Nations being used as a deceptive cover by the American aggressors against the people of Korea. The United States, in the name of the United Nations, is using the territory of South Korea as a colonial and military base for destructive intelligence operations against the people of Korea. The People's Republic of Southern Yemen calls for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea and the restoration of all rights to the people of Korea to decide their own destiny.

31. We call also for the elimination of the barbaric racist régime which prevails openly in its ugliest barbaric forms against the peoples of Africa in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, and in the so-called Portuguese colonies and in Namibia. We stand firmly, without any reservation, with the African majority in those territories and we call for their liberation from white colonialism and from rule by the white minority régimes.

32. We also declare our continued support for the struggling peoples of Latin America in their fight against the influence of United States imperialism.

33. We salute the friendly people of the German Democratic Republic, with which we enjoy full diplomatic

relations, in appreciation of the honourable, courageous and just stand they have taken with regard to the struggle of oppressed peoples for liberation, among them the struggling people of Palestine. We hope that the German Democratic Republic will take its rightful place in the United Nations.

34. At this juncture we would like to salute the revolution of 25 May of the Arab people in the sisterly State of the Sudan, and the revolution of 1 September and the emergence of the Libyan Arab Republic, as two progressive revolutions reaffirming the inevitability of progress in the Arab world.

35. Lastly, we should like to express our hope that the twenty-fifth anniversary of this Organization will not pass without seeing a reduction of the wide gap between the developed and the developing countries; and we hope to have a celebration when the world is liberated from imperialism and military bases. We hope that nuclear disarmament will be accomplished, and that nuclear and atomic energy will be used for peaceful purposes and for the benefit of all mankind. We hope that the People's Republic of China will join in the celebration after it has taken its rightful seat in this Organization. We urge that a special session be called to review the structure and future of this Organization, including the relocation of its Headquarters. We hope to celebrate when mankind has been liberated from all forms of domination and exploitation, and we hope that man will himself pave the way to peace and security.

36. Such a celebration would be a real celebration for the United Nations itself.

37. Mr. LUNS (Netherlands): I should like to convey to the President, on behalf of the Netherlands delegation and on my own behalf, our warm congratulations on her election to the Presidency. I am convinced that her wisdom, perseverance and long experience in United Nations affairs will enable her to shoulder, with great distinction, the heavy responsibilities of her high office.

38. I cannot forgo this opportunity of expressing to the delegation of Guatemala our feelings of sympathy and deep sorrow at the demise, earlier this year, of Señor Emilio Arenales. As our previous President, he left the image of great perspicacity in United Nations affairs and of unfailing devotion to the cause of peace. May his example of yesterday provide us with a new impetus for the faithful performance of our tasks of today.

39. The road on which the United Nations embarked now almost twenty-five years ago, has been long and arduous. The vistas of a better and more peaceful world, which appeared to be within reaching distance when the Charter was signed, turned out to be more remote than we had hoped and expected. How far away we still are from an attainment of the high objectives enunciated in the Charter has been shown by the feelings of preoccupation and at times grave concern expressed by many colleagues who spoke before me.

40. We have to recognize that in many cases the endeavours of the United Nations have failed to be successful, in

particular where the maintenance of peace and security is at stake. Is it surprising, therefore, that people all over the world—in my country no less than elsewhere—are becoming somewhat disillusioned and are wondering whether the United Nations has proved worthy of their trust and hope?

41. These doubts are voiced especially where questions of war and peace are involved. There are indeed important questions which appear with unfailing regularity on the Assembly's agenda without much prospect of solution. Among these are issues affecting the life and death of millions, threatening even the survival of the human race, to which no other answer seems to be forthcoming than prolonged and inconclusive debate. Finally, there are burning questions which do not even appear on the Assembly's agenda.

42. A full year has elapsed since I expressed in this hall [1681st meeting], on behalf of the Netherlands Government and people, our deep concern about developments in the eastern region of Nigeria. The armed conflict in that area has continued without abatement, inflicting untold suffering and sorrow on the civilian population. Hundreds of thousands of women and children are faced with imminent starvation and death.

43. The cause for our anxiety, I regret to say, has not been removed. It is true, of course, that the almost desperate food situation has been slightly relieved. But, while the fighting continues, the need for humanitarian assistance for the stricken population seems to be as urgent as before. For several months now the flow of foodstuffs and medical supplies has stagnated. Ways have been sought, in particular through the International Red Cross and inter-church action, to resume relief flights. It is most regrettable that the local authorities in the eastern region have seen fit, at the last moment, to withhold their consent to an arrangement for the resumption of such flights. In this respect my Government is willing, nay eager, to provide inspection teams in order to allay apprehensions on both sides as to the *bona fide* contents of the planes.

44. At the same time, there may be a spark of hope for the future. My Government views the resolution adopted by the summit conference of the Organization of African Unity as such a spark, at least. We can but welcome a development that creates the possibility of conversations between the parties in the conflict. Although we do understand the wish of the African States to seek a solution to the conflict without outside interference, my Government still regrets that the issue does not appear on our agenda.

45. Yet we see it as our duty—not only as a Member nation of the United Nations, but also as human beings—to continue to do all we can to assist in elaborating effective measures for relief.

46. Since we last met the situation in the Middle East has changed for the worse. The deteriorating conditions in the area do not offer consolation nor do they allay our fears. We cannot but share the feeling of gloom of the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report and we agree with his conclusion that "it is imperative and urgent that some way be found to reverse the present trend

towards catastrophe" [A/7601/Add.1, para. 75]. We ask ourselves: "What way?" Have the numerous approaches so far not turned out to be blind alleys?

47. Surely both parties should show the utmost restraint. The way to arrive at a lasting settlement is not on the battlefield nor on the demarcation line nor far behind these lines, but at the conference table, whether through Ambassador Jarring, through the four big Powers, or through other procedures. Whatever the procedures, it is clear that a final settlement should be based on clear and unequivocal agreement between the parties.

48. In this respect, I would like to remind the Assembly of the contents of the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)] which clearly outlines the conditions for a settlement. It is not only the important wording of this resolution, but even more its spirit which should guide the parties.

49. If a settlement should be reached and if it should provide for a renewed United Nations military presence in the region, I repeat, this time publicly, our willingness to provide the Organization with specially trained units for that task.

50. It is not only because of the great dangers to peace inherent in the present tense situation which prompts our active interest. It is also—and no less—because of our deep sympathy for the Jewish people, so cruelly decimated during the Second World War, and our strong links of friendship with the Arab nations; these links have existed for many centuries and are based on admiration for their unique culture and proud traditions.

51. I cannot end my few remarks on the situation in the Middle East without recalling the sad fate of the many refugees. It has really become a problem which should finally and by the common effort of all the countries directly or indirectly concerned be solved in a lasting and just manner. The relevant part of the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)] stresses that need.

52. Within the next few weeks the Assembly will be called upon to consider an item on its agenda, which is of immediate interest to my country. It is included under the heading: "Agreement between the Republic of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands concerning West New Guinea (West Irian)".

53. It is not my intention to dwell at length on this matter—I might come back to it later. But, although the reports on the Act of Free Choice are not yet available,² I feel it my duty to point out that in the Netherlands some doubts have been expressed on the system chosen to consult the Papuans and on the manner in which it was carried out. The Secretary-General has already reported on the results. Looking to the future, we have noted with satisfaction, however, that the Indonesian Government will, in close co-operation with its friends—and we count ourselves among them—develop the territory, taking fully into account the very particular character of its inhabitants.

² The report of the Secretary-General regarding the act of self-determination in West Irian was subsequently circulated as document A/7723.

54. My Government attaches great importance to effective steps for the creation of a safer world by means of control, limitation and reduction of armaments. Efforts in that direction are necessary because of the almost inconceivable destructive power of the weapons developed since the last war—and the weapons used during that last war were not so nice either.

55. I recognize, of course, that the "balance of terror" between the nuclear super-Powers has, in past years, led to an element of stability in international affairs. On the other hand, we know that lately new developments in the technology of armaments are taking shape which, unless checked in time, could lead to a new escalation in the strategic nuclear arms race and even upset the existing precarious equilibrium of mutual deterrence.

56. In the light of that conceivable danger, it is of particular importance that the United States and the Soviet Union should conduct talks to prevent such an escalation. No effort should be spared to work out mutually acceptable arrangements in the field of nuclear weapon systems, both offensive and defensive.

57. It is hardly necessary to add that the numerous and complicated problems to be faced in trying to restrict the armaments race cannot be solved exclusively by bilateral talks between those two major Powers.

58. For that reason my Government has, right from the start, shown great interest in the consultations of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva. I am happy, and my Government is happy, that we are now able to participate in the deliberations of that central organ for international consultations on disarmament and I am aware of the special responsibility which that membership entails. We hope to contribute constructively to a fruitful exchange of views and effective steps in that crucial field.

59. To a large extent our present efforts in the field of arms control and disarmament are focused on reducing the risks and dangers of the nuclear arms race. We should, however, be no less mindful of problems arising from the spread of conventional armaments. Stockpiles of those weapons in many regions of the world tend to increase political tensions and aggravate warlike situations. Furthermore, large sums of money are used for the acquisition of conventional arms, money which might better have been employed for other than destructive purposes.

60. The Netherlands Government will study all proposals to curb the conventional arms race and will welcome and support constructive proposals in that field. Surely, we are aware of the many obstacles but, in view of the importance of achieving results, we should really not adopt an attitude of resignation.

61. If it is true and desirable that the United Nations should be revitalized and its role in the political sphere strengthened, co-operation under United Nations auspices in the economic and social field has fortunately proved to be more effective. I have here in mind, in particular, the co-operation between developed and developing countries. The Netherlands Government strongly supports the efforts of various United Nations organs and United Nations

commissions in mapping out the so-called development strategy.

62. There is a close link between questions of peace and security, and the economic and social situation in developing countries and regions; or, one might say, conversely, when economic and social development in large areas of the world are lagging, peace and security are in danger to the detriment of all. Awareness of this form of interaction has led my Government to regard its policy of co-operation with developing nations as a cornerstone of our over-all foreign policy. My colleague, the Minister in charge of Development Aid, who works at the Foreign Office and with the best of my officials, will, no doubt, elaborate on that theme further when, in a few weeks' time—when I will be back working in The Hague—he will be addressing this Assembly.

63. In the order of priorities, we consider it one of our prime responsibilities to strive for a better understanding between the peoples of Eastern and Western Europe. It is our sincere hope that one day the grim barrier still dividing Europe will be removed. To bring that about it is essential for both parties carefully to prepare the way. Ways and means should be explored of arriving at a stage where discussions are likely to lead to fruitful results and to acceptable solutions of European problems which have so far eluded any form of settlement.

64. My Government is ready to do its part to bring about a lessening of tension in our part of the world. Numerous contacts in the economic, scientific and cultural fields have already been established. Also, it has been possible to enter into an exchange of views on the more controversial political issues. Yet it would be wrong to suppose that differences of opinion on a number of fundamental issues no longer exist. As soon as there are indications that a conference on European security matters as envisaged by the Government of Finland will be assured of some measure of success, my Government will actively promote it and take part in the deliberations.

65. In that connexion, however, I feel obliged to refer to one matter in particular which continues to give us grave concern. This feeling of concern, which I voiced at last year's session of the Assembly [1681st meeting] on account of the situation in Czechoslovakia, is due to the fact that the Soviet Union has made it clear in word and deed that it is not considering itself bound by one of the fundamental principles of international law: that is to say, the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs and respect for the sovereignty of other nations. That applies, in the view of the Soviet Union, especially to countries which enjoy the same form of government as the Soviet Union itself.

66. In Europe the creation of the European Economic Community, now in its twelfth year—and I am rather happy to remind my fellow representatives that they see before them one of its founding fathers; I was, as you know, at the cradle of the European Economic Community baby, which is now in its puberty years—is a development of major importance. As members of that Community, six industrialized countries have succeeded in establishing a customs union and in removing all trade barriers between them. An

economic union is in the making, not without pains, but we have every hope that it will become a reality within the not-too-distant future.

67. Common policies have been or are being developed and applied in such complex and sensitive fields as agriculture, taxes, subsidies, transport, trade, social security, employment, health, and many others. I will spare you an enumeration of the rest. All this calls for almost weekly meetings of the Council of Ministers of the Community, where the competent Ministers, with the aid of the European Commission, thoroughly discuss their problems—and very late at night, I may tell you—and take the necessary decisions. Now I do not propose to enter here into the details of those discussions and decisions, but I mention them as evidence that, given a firm political will, even the most difficult and complicated problems can be solved. I stress the word “political”, for the creation of the European Economic Community is not confined to purely economic aspects. It had and has first of all a political meaning. It means the final and definitive reconciliation of century-old enemies. It also means the gradual elimination, not only of economic barriers, but also of political differences. It aims at the emergence of a political unity, where for generations and generations energy has been wasted in political strife, and often in wars.

68. Of course, we have to admit that much remains to be done. For instance, the Community must be enlarged to include all European countries that are willing and ready to abide by its rules and objectives, and, I might add, that are of the same state of mind. On the other hand, the existence of the Community still poses many problems, not only to its own members, but also to the world at large. We recognize those difficulties and are aware of the need to find acceptable solutions.

69. As you know, the Community has decided to meet on 17 and 18 November 1969 at The Hague for a meeting “at the top”, to be attended by Heads of Governments or Prime Ministers, as well as by the Foreign Ministers of the six countries. My French colleague, Mr. Maurice Schumann, has already in this Assembly [1763rd meeting] mentioned that important meeting and given his comments. For my part I should like to confine myself to stating that, in the view of my Government, the three main subjects to be discussed—to wit, the completion, the deepening as well as the enlargement, of the Community—are equally important and should be solved more or less simultaneously. In other words, they are strongly and politically linked. It is therefore difficult to imagine the Conference making real progress in one of those sectors while neglecting another. We sincerely hope that a new start of the European idea will be made at that Conference of the Six.

70. In the course of this address I have pointed out how much importance we attach to the maintenance of peace and security. Our efforts in this respect would be of little avail if we did not make progress on the road towards the establishment of an international legal order. In this connexion I should like to dwell for a moment on a very important development concerning the law of treaties. The Convention on the Law of Treaties drawn up at Vienna during the second session of the United Nations Conference on the Law of Treaties³ is perhaps the most vast and the

most difficult piece of work in which the United Nations has successfully contributed to the codification and progressive development of international law. At this point I should like to express to the International Law Commission my profound appreciation of its invaluable preparatory work. Our thanks are also due, however, to the courage and perseverance of some delegations—and I am thinking especially of the delegation of Nigeria—in finding commonly acceptable compromise solutions. Without that timely action, the absence of agreement on a most important aspect, the settlement of disputes, might well have placed the realization of the entire Convention in jeopardy. As it is, we welcome the new Convention, albeit the codification of the law of treaties is not yet complete. In particular, the aspect of treaties between States and international organizations is awaiting further study and action.

71. Unprecedented developments in science and technology have enabled man to move into new fields which, not so very long ago, appeared to be the exclusive domain of science fiction. Visions which a short time ago were still regarded as sheer fantasies, born from fertile brains such as that of Jules Verne—I might say, I myself have dabbled in them from time to time but with less success than that famous French writer—have become a reality.

72. It is appropriate, therefore, that we pay a well-deserved tribute to all those who made it possible for man to venture out into space and to set foot on the surface of the moon. That tremendous event will forever mark 1969 in the history of mankind, just as 1492 is the year of Columbus. In particular, the crew of Apollo 11 and all those who contributed to its success should receive our undisguised admiration. May the courage and the stamina shown by the three astronauts be an incentive to us in our efforts to conduct global matters with tenacity and vision for the benefit of mankind.

73. Not only space and the planets, but also the ocean depths have become increasingly accessible for exploration and exploitation by man. It is clear that all these developments, exciting as they are, could easily lead to confusion and chaos unless new rules of international law can be worked out. Moreover, as far as the ocean floor is concerned, there may be danger of an unequal race for the areas with potentially the greatest natural resources. Such a race might render the equitable distribution of the world's wealth even more difficult.

74. The fact that the exploitation of mineral resources of the ocean floor is still in a very early stage affords an opportunity to discuss and draw up an international instrument governing that exploitation. With this in mind and in order to stimulate thinking in that direction, last year the Netherlands Government presented a memorandum with some provisional ideas about an international régime.

75. We follow the discussions of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction with keen interest. We hope that the discussions during this Assembly may assist the Committee in making rapid progress on such essential questions as the nature of an international régime for the

³ Held from 29 April to 22 May 1969.

ocean floor and the delimitation of the area beyond national jurisdiction.

76. On more than one occasion in the past Assembly Presidents, committee chairmen and members of individual delegations have drawn our attention to the necessity of strengthening the organization of the Assembly's work. An initiative in that direction was undertaken last year by the Second Committee. We welcomed that initiative and are gratified to note that the action recommended⁴ is already being put into effect this year. We are looking with great confidence to you, Madam President, to broaden these first steps during your tenure of office.

77. Although there is a link between organization and functioning, it goes without saying that the functioning of the United Nations is an entirely different, a vastly more complicated and delicate chapter. It touches on fundamental issues and, in particular, on the way in which the United Nations discharges its functions in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. Moreover, as I had occasion to mention briefly at the beginning of my address, it opens a field which touches on the attitude we ourselves are prepared to adopt in respect of action by the United Nations as a whole.

78. No easy suggestions concerning this problem come to my mind. I just wonder whether this problem might bear looking into at the time we are celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization itself. Might not the Committee entrusted with the task of preparing that celebration,⁵ upon the completion of its work, be invited to continue its activities in the direction I indicated?

79. My fellow representatives may remember that even last year I mentioned during my intervention in the general debate [*1681st meeting*] the desirability of seeking by common action ways and means of reinforcing the Organization's efficacy. My delegation is willing, together with like-minded delegations, to take initiatives in this direction if the need should arise. My predecessor on this rostrum, the representative of Southern Yemen, has just made a most interesting suggestion in this connexion.

80. In the course of this general debate a number of delegations have referred to a practice which has become a growing menace to commercial air transport in recent years. The increase in incidents involving the hijacking of planes is shown clearly in a few figures published recently by the International Civil Aviation Organization. Up to 1966 only a few cases were reported. In 1967 the number was five; in 1968 it was twenty-seven and in 1969, this year, up to the middle of September it has shot up to no less than fifty. In several instances and in various parts of the world passengers have been detained for shorter or longer periods by the Governments of the countries to which the planes were diverted. As a matter of fact there are still a number of passengers—I believe two—waiting to be liberated.

81. It goes without saying that the practice of hijacking, as well as the practice not to liberate all the passengers at

once, is in a way comparable to piracy on the high seas and is not only reprehensible in itself, but also endangers air traffic. Aware of the great dangers involved, ICAO has taken steps to curb this kind of piracy in the air. Under its auspices the Convention on offences and certain other acts committed on board aircraft⁶ was drawn up in 1963. It will enter into force before the end of this year.

82. In the light of humanitarian considerations and in order to ensure safety in air transport, my Government has decided to request, as a matter of urgency under rule 15 of our rules of procedure, the inclusion of a new item on the agenda. Together with a number of other delegations we shall shortly address this request to the Secretary-General. In doing so we are motivated by two considerations: first, that the United Nations, aware of this problem, should recommend measures for the safety of air traffic and of passengers travelling by air. Secondly, that steps be taken to see that the perpetrators of these acts will no longer go free. It is the intention of my delegation to enter into greater detail when we are in a position to express our views before the General Committee.

83. When we subscribed to the United Nations Charter and undertook to pursue the realization of its lofty principles, we had in mind not only what conditions in this world were at that time, but also what—with sustained and combined effort—they might be in the future. Since then we have been working together, often by trial and error, to create conditions where the peoples of the world can live in peace and freedom—peace and freedom in their broadest sense.

84. We do realize that the task we set ourselves is an enormous one and that it is impossible to fulfil it without the co-operation of all. In this, there should be a role for everyone, not only for statesmen and experts in international affairs, but for people from all walks of life, men and women, old and young. In this respect I was greatly impressed, Madam President, by what you said about youth in your opening address [*1753rd meeting*]. I also share the views of the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report, where he points to the need to involve the younger generation "usefully and wisely in world-wide development efforts" [*A/7601/Add.1, para. 87*]. Indeed, youth should be enabled to play an increasing role in the planning of their and our future.

85. In my own country and in many other countries, we witness, fortunately, an increasing interest among young people in the work and objectives of the United Nations. It will be our duty to find ways in which they can actively and constructively participate in our efforts. In doing so, the United Nations may, under the Lord's guidance, well acquire new strength, new energy and new incentives to strive for a world which will be a better and safer place for everyone to live in.

86. Mr. KHOMAN (Thailand): Madam President, in my official capacity as leader of the delegation of Thailand and in my personal capacity as a former colleague of yours in the Trusteeship Committee, I have great pleasure in offering you our heartfelt congratulations. It has been my proud privilege to have been associated with you as representative

⁴ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session, Annexes, agenda item 12, document A/7426, para. 40.*

⁵ Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations.

⁶ Signed at Tokyo on 14 September 1963.

of your great country, Liberia, and an illustrious daughter of Africa, as well as with your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Arenales of Guatemala, in the worthy endeavour to help dependent peoples enjoy the inherent right to lead the life of freedom. This Organization, the people of Guatemala, and all of us who were his friends mourn the untimely and grievous loss of Mr. Arenales, whose eminent qualities of moral courage and remarkable intellectual competence will be long remembered. Today, however, we are gratified that your high feminine merits, Madam President, and your outstanding ability and dedication have been recognized by this august Assembly. We wish you complete success in your momentous task which lies ahead.

87. As the General Assembly of the United Nations once again begins its annual deliberations, there seem to be few signs of improvement in the tense international situation. The war in Viet-Nam is still raging, interrupted, however, by a few occasional lulls during which the pace of fighting slows down relatively. Likewise, some fifty thousand North Vietnamese regular troops, in flagrant violation of the Geneva Agreement of 1962, continue to wage a war of destruction and attrition against the legitimate Government of Laos, whose only desire is to live in peace and neutrality.

88. In the Middle East the conflict is still smouldering while frequent clashes and outbursts threaten to erupt at any time into a more prolonged and widespread conflict. Meanwhile, even places of worship have not been spared and the burning of the Al Aqsa Mosque by fanatics should be deeply deplored.

89. In Nigeria the civil war in the eastern part continues to bring misery and suffering to a vast number of people—a fact which has been of increasing concern to the international community.

90. In other parts of the world not directly affected by armed confrontation, disturbances and unrest break the peace between persons of differing races or religious faiths. Confusion has become widespread too among an increasing number of people who seem to have lost their mental and psychological balance, reversing normal values of good and evil, right and wrong, justice and injustice. Although the majority of people confronted with the burning issues of our time have not succumbed to such impairment of the reasoning faculty, not a few of them have reached the extreme aberration of not knowing who their friends are. They have come to worship their foes and tread on those who work closely with them for mutual interests in attaining the cherished goals of freedom and human dignity.

91. However, in our part of the world we strive with all the physical and spiritual strength at our command to dissipate the clouds in our skies as well as in our minds, to keep our heads clear of illusion as well as disillusionment. Our compass is pointed towards the objectives of restoring the shattered peace, strengthening the threatened freedom and independence, and realizing the maximum benefits for the well-being of millions of impoverished people.

92. We are not disheartened, and still less alarmed, by those who are frustrated by the lack of decisive and constructive results of their efforts or fatigued by responsi-

bilities which they feel they have shouldered for too long and, therefore, aspire to withdraw into their quieter parochial corners. Now, more than ever, we realize in the depth of our hearts and minds that our strength lies within ourselves, our nations and our ancient lands. Outsiders come and go; they do not take roots, while we, the people of Asia, are anchored unalterably to our eternal soil. We, and we alone, have and will always have the primary responsibility for making it fertile, peaceful and prosperous. This is exactly what we have set ourselves to do and what we intend to do to the best of our ability. That is why we have devoted our time, energy and dedication to forge a much needed sense of solidarity and cohesiveness, to lay the basis for working positively together, and to replace the outmoded imperialistic concepts of domination and subjection by the humane and progressive philosophy of co-operation and partnership.

93. As a result of these efforts a number of organizations for regional co-operation, such as the Asian and Pacific Council and the Association of South-East Asian Nations, have sprung up. Undoubtedly, they are still in their initial and almost experimental stage. However, with the passage of time and accumulation of experience, they will gradually gain strength and will be consolidated to offer maximum benefits and services to member nations. These regional groupings stress a close working relationship between the participants who share similar ideas and aspirations. Ultimately, they aim at encompassing all nations of the area even though they may have dissimilar international and domestic policies as well as different political, economic and social systems. They also envisage co-operation with nations outside the area provided that the latter agree to work with them on the basis of equality and partnership, sharing equitably advantages and obligations.

94. While it is true that the countries of Asia, as indeed those of Europe, Africa and the Western Hemisphere, are increasingly concentrating their efforts and attention on their own immediate problems, they do not shut their eyes to the outside world and to issues and difficulties confronting the international community. On the contrary, they are following with varying degrees of interest the developments unfolding in various parts of the earth. In this connexion, I wish to offer the views and suggestions of my delegation concerning various questions affecting this Organization and its Members which come from the four corners of this planet.

95. In Asia, as indeed in the rest of the world, Viet-Nam still remains a harrowing problem which not only continues to cost far too many human lives and valuable material resources but also presents a danger to the tenuous fabric of international peace and the national freedom of smaller nations. Had it not been for this conflict, instigated by the new imperialists seeking to prolong the outmoded form of domination, the nations of South-East Asia would have been moving further along the road of greater freedom and more secure independence. For these reasons, nations like Thailand with an uninterrupted tradition of sovereign statehood could not remain indifferent before the onslaught to subjugate a small nation struggling to remain free to follow its own destiny. The role that Thailand has been playing, either on its own or in concert with other like-minded nations, has been solely motivated by the

desire to stem the tide of aggression and to ensure for the nations of South-East Asia the prospect of leading a peaceful and progressive life with freedom and dignity. In so doing, the Thai people have endured grievous sacrifices in the loss of human lives and material resources and have had to undergo too many regrettable experiences, less at the hands of the enemy than at the hands of those within friendly ranks whose judgement has been corrupted by mental aberrations as well as by devious propaganda. The sooner the Viet-Nam war can be brought to a just and satisfactory conclusion and the traumatic effects on many nations removed, the better for all concerned. At this juncture, although many conciliatory and concrete measures to de-escalate the war have been taken by the defending side, the North Viet-Name and their allies, who are stubbornly bent on consummating their conquest, have shown themselves to be unyielding and uncompromising.

96. As in the case of Viet-Nam, Laos has been suffering for many long years from the expansionist North Viet-Name aggressors who have relentlessly been waging an illegal and immoral war on the peace-loving Laotian people, in complete contravention of the Geneva Agreements which their representatives duly signed in 1954 and 1962. Indeed, all the nations and peoples of the world that are dedicated to peace and freedom, and particularly the co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, who are entrusted with the duty of ensuring the observance of the said agreements, should exert more meaningful efforts to enjoin the Hanoi régime to respect the obligations it has voluntarily accepted and withdraw its military forces from the Kingdom of Laos.

97. The situation in the Middle East still offers a gloomy picture on the international scene. A series of violent and prolonged skirmishes which the Secretary-General has qualified as a virtual state of war continues to inflame passions, and a new round of hostilities does not seem too remote a possibility. Furthermore, the quiet and patient efforts of Ambassador Jarring and the flurry of political consultations, both multilateral and bilateral, between representatives of the major Powers here in New York and elsewhere appear to have produced little, if any, concrete result. No significant headway has in fact been made towards uncovering a procedure for defusing the explosive situation. In our view, prompt adherence to the spirit and letter of the United Nations resolutions, particularly that of the Security Council of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)], would seem to afford the only plausible way out of the present dangerous impasse.

98. The delegation of Thailand is gratified at the recent completion of the Act of Free Choice in the territory of West Irian, which marked the implementation of the final part of the Agreement between the Republic of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands concerning West New Guinea (West Irian) signed in New York on 15 August 1962 under the aegis of the United Nations. The nations concerned, as well as the United Nations, are to be congratulated on having successfully demonstrated their determination to settle this complex matter in such a smooth and constructive manner. The Government of Indonesia, in particular, has shown its good faith towards the obligations incumbent upon it as a member of the international community and has accordingly upheld and strengthened the principle of self-determination for all people.

99. Although the circumstances are different, the German question—a central problem of the East-West confrontation in Europe—is primarily the concern of the German people themselves. Any settlement of the question must necessarily be found on the basis of the right of self-determination and within the framework of the efforts to safeguard European security and to create an equitable and lasting peace arrangement.

100. As we salute the success of the American nation in realizing the age-old dream of landing a man on the moon, perhaps it is also time to express our hope that such technological advancement and peaceful co-operation may be brought down from space to prevail on earth for more palpable benefits to mankind. Sophisticated science and technology should now be turned away from purely theoretical and especially destructive purposes and channelled instead into more peaceful pursuits to serve the needs of countless millions of people everywhere.

101. While we are realistic enough to admit that, in the final analysis, significant steps to achieve disarmament must depend on the decisions of the great Powers concerning the level of their own security, we regret that the long-awaited talks between the United States and the Soviet Union on strategic arms limitation have not started or even definitely been scheduled.

102. We also consider it necessary to join the rising chorus of developing nations which demand that the industrially advanced nations should concurrently dedicate a substantial part of their efforts towards the betterment of human conditions, rather than the glorification of their scientific, industrial or technological achievements, they should indeed devote greater attention and resources to help improve the appallingly low standard of living of a large part of humanity.

103. That is why, of all the various questions of disarmament on the agenda, the delegation of Thailand places the sea-bed item on its priority list, for it typifies the kind of technological co-operation that is needed and which, given a reasonable amount of general goodwill, could lead to the implementation of the concept of "common heritage of mankind". We regret, therefore, the slow progress of the deliberations of the United Nations sea-bed Committee.⁷ We certainly hope to contribute our energy and will actively participate in the efforts to bring about worthwhile progress on this item during the present session of the General Assembly.

104. Ever since the disruption of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly caused by the basic disagreement on the principles directly related to the peace-keeping function of the United Nations, the delegation of Thailand has often had occasion to point out candidly that progress seems abnormally slow in finding a satisfactory solution to this vital problem in the United Nations. We are therefore gratified that at last some small progress seems to have been made by the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations; it has attempted to present a detailed study of observer missions as set up by the Security Council, as well as agreed in principle to undertake an even more important

⁷ Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction.

study of the United Nations military units established or authorized by the Security Council for peace-keeping purposes pursuant to Council resolutions.

105. As a member of the aforesaid Special Committee, the delegation of Thailand fully realizes that such an advance does not mean the narrowing of the gap between fundamental differences. This is testified to by the fact that an atmosphere of rising optimism in the Committee was dashed at the last moment by the failure of conflicting parties to come to an agreement on the presentation of the first and relatively uncomplicated model. It thus becomes apparent that unless interested parties are prepared to let established positions evolve and to come to perceive that national interests could be made compatible with international obligations in some ways, there could not be any substantial progress in this matter.

106. Just as we are all looking forward to the significant celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, it is highly appropriate that at the same time we should look forward to celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, for, with all its much publicized virtues and loopholes, nobody could fail to be impressed by the record of the United Nations in its decolonizing efforts, and among the many milestones in the United Nations history a very high place must be reserved for the Declaration.

107. In the early years after its inception, the Declaration on decolonization was an effective instrument in pressuring the governing Powers to liberate their colonial Territories and peoples. However, progress in that direction has become slower in the past few years, despite the fact that at least one major area of an important continent still remains under a blatant form of colonialism and continuous efforts by the United Nations to decolonize it seem to have had very little practical consequences. Therefore, as we approach the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on decolonization, the obvious focal point of our efforts should rest on the situation still obtaining in the southern part of Africa.

108. During the general debate of the last session [1689th meeting], I indicated the views of the Government of Thailand that the colonial situation in the southern part of Africa was closely linked with, as well as aided and abetted by, the *apartheid* policy. Having deplored and condemned that racist policy as being contrary to the norms of humanity and human nature, the Government of Thailand is further saddened to see no significant change in the attitude of its proponents.

109. The delegation of Thailand is particularly concerned in this direction with the plight of the people of Namibia. Thailand has taken a keen interest in this case from the very beginning as its representative served for many years in the five-nation Committee set up by the General Assembly [resolution 449 (V)] to implement an Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice in 1950, and was Chairman of the seven-member Committee established by General Assembly resolution 749 (VIII) in 1953. The delegation of Thailand also took an active part in all subsequent United Nations efforts to restore supervision of

that unfortunate nation to the United Nations, with the ultimate objective of placing it in the hands of its rightful and sovereign people. We have been gratified by the various United Nations resolutions relating to this matter and the United Nations Council for Namibia established to guide the nation towards full sovereignty and independence. It is with great regret, therefore, that we see this task still unfinished.

110. In the same area, the illegitimate régime of Ian Smith also continues to breathe the air of insubordination in Southern Rhodesia, and that unruly white minority, having usurped governmental authority and unconstitutionally arrogated to itself the means to dominate the larger segments of the population, has now gone on to commit other excesses in order to strengthen the yoke of its racist minority rule. It is thus seen to follow closely the policy of *apartheid*, which may eventually be used more and more as the main weapon for perpetuating and extending this deplorable form of colonialism over a large part of southern Africa. The crux of the problem is whether the Ian Smith régime and others wish to continue to adhere to their dogmatic isolationism and racialism of old or whether their policies should be adapted in an attempt to bring them in line with the realities and demands of the contemporary world.

111. As for the Government of Thailand, it has faithfully carried out all the sanctions by the United Nations in connexion with those régimes and their policies, despite the reluctance of many important commercial Powers to observe the United Nations resolutions. Though we cannot help feeling somewhat dismayed that these sanctions have so far not achieved the desired result, we continue to be firmly convinced of their values and will continue to fulfil all our existing obligations, as well as to support any other similar measures which the General Assembly may agree upon in future.

112. The world economic situation, regrettably, still remains a matter of serious and constant concern to all Members of the United Nations, and, in particular, to those countries which, like my own, are engaged in the perennial struggle for self-sustaining economic growth. They have to cope with the numerous and complex problems of under-development. In fact, the need for rapid development has never been more urgent or more desperate than at the present time. Despite persistent and organized efforts on a global scale, progress towards development and modernization by the less-privileged two thirds of mankind—over two thousand million people—has been, to say the least, disappointing. These poorer people still remain caught in a tragic web of circumstances that drastically restrict their legitimate right to a more decent life. They are trapped in the grip of hunger, malnutrition, inadequate education, dwindling opportunity and deepening poverty, while the other third of mankind lives in countries which have advanced economies and in an environment of priority and abundance.

113. These goals which were set for the First United Nations Development Decade, as is now well known to all, seemed modest and within reach at the time when the Decade was launched. Apart from setting the target of a 5 per cent annual growth-rate in national income for the

developing countries by 1970, the goals of the Decade also called for an annual contribution by the rich nations of merely 1 per cent of their gross national product to make it possible. Indeed, we had, at the beginning of the 1960s, entertained a confident hope that a global campaign to bridge the chasm between the rich and the poor nations would lead to success. The rich nations then seemed willing and prepared to help while the poor nations themselves seemed determined to make a stride within the limited resources at their disposal.

114. Unfortunately, the United Nations Development Decade, which began on a note of glorious hope, is drawing to a close on a note of disenchantment, and it is now often being referred to as the "decade of disillusionment". The 5 per cent rate of growth of national income has been achieved by only a handful of nations, including Thailand, and not by the majority of the developing countries. The rich nations do not seem to be exerting maximum efforts to adopt all the necessary measures likely to help the developing nations in their efforts towards economic progress and social well-being. Further endeavours must therefore be pursued by both the developed and the developing countries to carry on preparatory work for the Second United Nations Development Decade, with the hope of doing better in the future.

115. We particularly trust that the more affluent nations will demonstrate both farsightedness and genuine political will, and that the developing countries, for their part, will also show a greater sense of realism, so that the Second United Nations Development Decade can be a decade of practical success. We believe that the next Development Decade, to which the Third World is looking with renewed hope and confidence, should not become only a matter of drawing up commitments. It should, in equal terms, be a question of how to put into practical effect the means and resources at the disposal of the international community. Of equal importance is our realization that the preparations for the new Decade must be made in a harmonious atmosphere of active co-operation between the developed and the developing countries. It is only through the genuinely co-operative endeavour of both groups that fruitful results can be expected and achieved.

116. I need hardly emphasize again that the widening gap between the developed nations on the one hand, and the developing world comprising Asia, Africa and Latin America on the other, continues to be a matter of grave concern to every nation on earth. Such a sad state of affairs cannot fail to have unfavourable repercussions on international relations. International stability can hardly be achieved unless concrete and positive measures are taken to bridge the gap between those two groups of nations sharing the same world. It is true that the national efforts of the developing countries are of primary significance. Such efforts alone are not and can never be sufficient to make those differences disappear; what is needed is the co-operation of all concerned.

117. In this connexion the delegation of Thailand welcomes the programme of international co-operation in the survey of natural resources by earth satellites, as proposed by His Excellency the President of the United States of America before this Assembly the other day [1755th

meeting]. The project may be regarded as one of the many possible areas of peaceful collaboration on a worldwide scale in the exploration, exploitation and utilization of the abundant wealth lying untapped on our own planet, and as a promising initiative by a technologically more advanced nation for the benefit of the common people the world over.

118. It is apparent from the foregoing that what the present troubled world lacks most is perhaps not so much a purely materialistic advancement in science and technology as a more human consciousness of co-operation and harmony among nations and peoples. Our Organization, as can readily be seen, can provide a sufficiently efficient and effective machinery for peace. If it cannot do better to resolve the conflicts and disturbances among nations, the cause may be found not so much in the inadequacy of the machinery as in the unwillingness and unreadiness on the part of nations to accept necessary adjustments of their divergent national interests. The course for all of us to pursue in the future seems to be that, while persevering in working out the strategy of the Second Development Decade, we should likewise initiate a new decade of co-operation and harmonization among nations. In the realm of peace-building, our efforts should be directed towards instilling the urgency of reasonable compromises and adjustments, of a worldwide give-and-take, and of forging the will to live in harmony with one another, bearing in mind the differences in human nature and characteristics and the political and social creations of the human mind. If steps are taken in that direction, the nations of this earth may be embarking not only on a periodic peace, not on a passing *pax romana*, but on an enduring *pax orbis* for the present and future generations of human beings.

119. Mr. ARIKPO (Nigeria): Madam President, I offer you the spontaneous felicitations of the Nigerian delegation on your richly deserved elevation to the Presidency of this Assembly. Your election to that exalted office is a fitting tribute to your own personal qualities and to our sister Republic of Liberia of which you are an illustrious daughter. Your election represents a shining testimony to African renaissance and to the emancipation of African womanhood. The Government and people of Nigeria salute you on this outstanding achievement.

120. The delegation of Nigeria joins in the tributes which have been paid from this rostrum to the memory of the late Emilio Arenales, the President of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly. We share in the grief of the Government and people of Guatemala whom your eminent predecessor served with distinction in many offices. We mourn the death of Mr. Emilio Arenales as an accomplished international statesman.

121. I wish also, on behalf of my delegation and Government, to express deep appreciation of the outstanding qualities of leadership and dedication to duty of our Secretary-General, U Thant. His firm grasp and clear understanding of the problems of the world, particularly those of the new nations, as shown in the introduction to his annual report [A/7601/Add.1], have renewed my Government's unfailing admiration for him and enhanced our confidence in his sound judgement and integrity.

122. I wish to reaffirm my country's strong belief that the Charter of the United Nations has laid down the basic principles and objectives which should regulate and promote friendly relations between countries. But the noble goals and objectives enshrined in the Charter will never be attained if States, and particularly the big Powers, find these goals and objectives too restrictive, indeed obstructive, in their practice and pursuit of unbridled power politics. Our Charter is a clarion call to all the nations of the world to work for international peace and security; to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, large and small; to abstain from interference in the domestic affairs of other countries; to eradicate all forms of domination, colonialism and racialism; and to promote viable economic and social development throughout the world. Indeed, the principle of the inviolability of the territorial integrity of each Member State is so central to the essence of our Charter that in 1963 the African Heads of States and Government consciously and without qualification made it the cornerstone of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity.

123. I regret to observe, however, that in spite of the strict and mandatory injunctions enshrined in its Charter, the United Nations appears to accept double standards in its operations. Perhaps for historical reasons, our Organization appears continually to look at the rear mirror while attempting to pilot and drive forward the world's vehicle of time and destiny. It is significant that our Secretary-General began his introduction to his annual report with a sentence which you, Madam President, have also invoked in your address, stating that: "During the past twelve months, the deterioration of the international situation . . . has continued" [*ibid.*, para. 1].

124. No major area of the world is free from dissidence and division, from crises and confrontations, from ideological conflicts, from privations and violence, from bias and bigotry. This sorry state of affairs demands that all the Member States of our Organization should dedicate themselves anew to the principles of our Charter to which they freely subscribed as the basis of world peace and security.

125. Last year, I expressed the encouragement which my Government drew from the Paris talks on Viet-Nam. These talks have, unfortunately, not yet brought the prospects of peace in that unhappy country any nearer. Nevertheless, the hope for peace is not lost. The parties to the conflict have continued to profess their desire to bring it to an end. We, in Nigeria, fervently hope that the people of Viet-Nam will soon be delivered from a war which has ravished their homeland for so long.

126. Nigeria is attached to the Middle East by authentic bonds of history and culture. It was primarily because of these considerations that Nigeria, then a member of the Security Council, spared no effort and time, first, to achieve a cease-fire during the June 1967 war between the Arab States and Israel and, subsequently, to assist in the negotiations which led to the adoption of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967. My Government remains convinced that the resolution clearly points the way towards a fair and just solution of the problems of the Middle East.

127. As reported by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report there is at present a marked

deterioration of the situation in the Middle East. My delegation agrees with the Secretary-General's remarks that the "situation also creates, to a considerable extent, a crisis of effectiveness for the United Nations and its Members" [*ibid.*, para. 65], and that "a will to attain peace by the parties themselves is the decisive factor" [*ibid.*, para. 69].

128. It is the considered opinion of my Government that Israel would not be unduly handicapped if it took the first step within the framework of the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)] towards a settlement, particularly of the questions of the termination of its continuing occupation of Arab territories and of the amelioration on humanitarian grounds of the living conditions of Arab refugees.

129. Nigeria recognizes the existence of Israel as a fact, and has diplomatic and economic relations with it. It is therefore as a friend that we counsel it that the occupation by force of the territories of Member States of our Organization is incompatible with the Charter of the Organization.

130. The existence of colonial oppression and racial domination is utterly alien to the international order for which the United Nations stands. In the ten years since the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the United Nations has established an impressive record in the process of decolonization. But, significant as the past achievement has been, there are increasing signs of a half-hearted handling of the remaining problems of decolonization, particularly in southern Africa. The oppressed millions of southern Africa now seem condemned to the absurd doctrine of white supremacy rule with its concomitant intolerable colonial domination. The *apartheid* régime in South Africa remains unyielding in its tyrannical rule which reduces the black population of the country to the status of mere chattels.

131. South Africa clings defiantly to its criminal usurpation of the sacred rights of the people of Namibia and obstructs the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people. In Zimbabwe, the rebel régime of Ian Smith has recently placed the crowning piece of its dangerous edifice of racial tyranny, the foundation stone of which was laid almost four years ago in its unilateral and illegal declaration of independence. The racist minority régime has now proclaimed a "constitution" for Zimbabwe which violates all the tenets of the rule of law and the universally accepted standards of human and political rights. It is planning to declare itself a republic in the expectation that it can thus secure the necessary international recognition to ensure its survival. Portugal—the third force in the "unholy alliance" in southern Africa—maintains its grotesque colonial doctrine which claims that Guinea (Bissau), Angola, Mozambique and the so-called Portuguese possessions off the coast of the African continent, are mere entities of a long moribund Lusitanian Empire. Portugal is consequently exerting itself and the resources made available to it by its partners to combat the righteous forces of African freedom committed to the liberation of those portions of the African soil still under Portuguese domination.

132. In blind pursuit of their nefarious designs, South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal are now concerting their

resources to subvert the political independence of sovereign African States. Independent Africa now stands in danger of the disruptive efforts which the régimes of racial supremacy are actively promoting in that continent. In the face of those disruptive influences, the United Nations appears impotent. It is no wonder that the oppressed people of southern Africa are beginning to lose faith in the ability of the international community to assist them in their legitimate struggle to secure the enjoyment of liberty and human dignity in the land of their birth. They have thus decided on armed struggle for the attainment of their liberty, a struggle which our Organization ought to support. The Nigerian delegation fears that we cannot hope to win the race against time in southern Africa as long as the régimes in that region can count on the shelter and protection of their friends who afford them the political, economic and military collaboration aimed at truncating the growth of independent Africa.

133. At the same time, there are a large number of far-flung and isolated colonial dependencies, whose future in the international context cannot be lightly dismissed by this Organization. The destiny to which the "small Territories" popularly referred to as "mini-States" will aspire is a matter which weighs on the international conscience and calls for the highest demonstration of a sense of international justice and responsibility. My Government does not advocate a dogmatic or self-righteous solution for the future of those small Territories. We are gratified that the studies which have been undertaken on the status and future positions of those Territories have been, on the whole, thoughtful though tentative. We are anxious that the rights of the peoples of those Territories should not be breached and that in the final analysis their future will not be dictated mainly by the adjudication of imperial interests.

134. We had hoped—and frequently advocated—that the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament would proceed expeditiously with the elaboration and conclusion of substantive disarmament measures in the nuclear field following the agreement on the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)]. This, regrettably, has not been the case. The Treaty itself seeks to maintain the *status quo* in regard to the nuclear-weapon Powers on the one hand and the non-nuclear-weapon Powers on the other. It is not a nuclear disarmament treaty but a treaty intended to clear the ground for the nuclear weapon Powers, in accordance with Article VI of the Treaty, to:

"Pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament . . .".

This important provision of the Treaty was intended to give the agreement a reciprocal balance of rights and its signatories, that is, the nuclear-weapon Powers on the one hand and the non-nuclear-weapon parties to the Treaty on the other. It is therefore disappointing to note that not all the major nuclear Powers have yet deposited their instruments of ratification of the Treaty. There are still no clear signs about when the long-awaited bilateral negotiations on the limitation of offensive strategic nuclear weapons delivery systems and systems of defence against ballistic missiles will commence. It is our view that meaningful

progress on a comprehensive test ban treaty can only be made if these talks begin at an early date and result in satisfactory progress.

135. It would be disconcerting indeed if the pursuit of other related efforts diverts attention from issues concerning nuclear disarmament which have become more urgent with the approval of the non-proliferation Treaty. The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament must not confine its activities only to non-nuclear and less urgent disarmament measures. Nigeria has made its views known in the Disarmament Committee regarding the manner of priorities with which the Committee ought to proceed with its work. My delegation also feels that it is extremely vital to ensure that the balanced structure of the membership of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament is preserved if its effectiveness as an appropriate negotiating machinery for delicate disarmament issues is not to be unduly prejudiced.

136. Our respected Secretary-General has proposed, in the introduction to his annual report, that this Assembly should agree to dedicate the 1970s as a disarmament decade [A/7601/Add.1, para. 42]. While endorsing that proposal, my delegation would be glad to see that the proposed disarmament decade relates to the Second United Nations Development Decade. We approach the end of the First Development Decade with the goals and targets prescribed for the period far outside the reach of the developing countries. The aggregate rate of economic growth of more than two-thirds of the world is today little more than half of the rate of 5 per cent envisaged at the launching of the present Development Decade. The richer nations of the world have yet to assume the decisive universal role which awaits them for enhancing the effectiveness and impact of the United Nations agencies of international development. There are still strong inhibitions against the dismantling of imperial patterns of trade.

137. There has been no perceptible advance from the position of allotting to the developing countries the status of recipients of aid and technical assistance. There has been little effort to accept the concept that the developing nations should not suffer from unfavourable terms of trade and should be assisted to stand on their own feet economically, paying their own way in an equitable international economic order.

138. On a practical level, we still await the fulfilment of the long-standing promise that the developed countries as a whole will pledge one per cent of their gross national product for development assistance to the poorer countries; the decisions mutually agreed to at the second session of UNCTAD⁸ in New Delhi over eighteen months ago, regarding non-discriminatory and non-reciprocal preferences in favour of developing countries, have yet to be implemented.

139. Those are the inadequacies for which we must formulate urgent reforms as we finalize the preparations for the Second United Nations Development Decade. The Nigerian delegation is participating actively in the technical

⁸ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Second Session*, vol. I and Corr.1 and Add.1, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.68.II.D.14).

work of the Preparatory Committee for the Second United Nations Development Decade established last session [*resolution 2411 (XXIII)*]. My delegation believes that existing United Nations development institutions must be reorganized and reoriented to enable them to promote effectively the social and economic objectives of the Second Development Decade.

140. While the United Nations must increase its role in promoting international economic co-operation and social progress, its central influence as an instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security must not be diminished. In this regard, the Nigerian delegation notes with interest and approbation that, at the instance of the Government of the USSR, an item on "the strengthening of international security" is now on the agenda of this Assembly.

141. Permit me now to turn to the painful conflict in my country to which some delegations have referred in their statements before this Assembly, despite the prohibitive provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7, of our Charter. First of all, I wish to pay most respectful tribute to the good sense, rich experience and the transcendent sense of history, so characteristically African, which the Organization of African Unity Consultative Committee on Nigeria, as well as the Assembly of African Heads of State and Government, demonstrated in their resolution 58 (VI) of 10 September 1969 adopted at Addis Ababa.

142. I wish to pay special tribute to His Imperial Majesty Emperor Haile Selassie I and the other members of the Committee, whose efforts should have been crowned with success by now, but for the intransigence of the secessionist leadership, which is financed and sustained by neo-colonialist Powers outside Africa. To those leaders of Africa, the conflict in my country is a real tragedy, not only for Nigeria but for all Africa. Those non-Africans who on the basis of unsubstantiated press reports and grotesque propaganda merely discuss the conflict as an intellectual exercise or out of naked self-interest deserve understanding, not condemnation. For it is too much to expect that they should change so soon their historical habits of over two hundred years of exploiting Africa and of telling Africans that they believe, in their own selfish interests, to be good for the African.

143. To those representatives who have expressed genuine concern and sympathy on humanitarian grounds for the victims of our conflict, and whose countries—legally, and without ill motives—have provided relief supplies, I wish to express the most sincere thanks of my Government. I also wish to thank the relief agencies, such as UNICEF and the International Committee of the Red Cross, for their help and assistance.

144. As I stated last year [*1692nd meeting*], I reaffirm that my Government has never, and will never, stand in the way of relief supplies and succour to the civilian victims of this tragic conflict. Our Secretary-General, U Thant, knows this as a fact and has confirmed it in several statements. It must however remain the understanding of my Government that humanitarianism concerns itself primarily with human beings, with the sufferings of individuals, and not with States and Governments. To translate humanitarian consid-

erations into political concepts, to convert them into an acceptance or recognition of a rebel régime which threatens the very existence of a Member State of this Organization, is a blatant and crude violation of all standards of civilized international conduct and practice.

145. It is interesting to read from a report in *The New York Times* of 25 September 1969, by one Eric Pace, that a rebel representative had indicated to him: "that private creditors in France, Britain, United States and elsewhere had helped to finance the commercial imports" of the rebel régime. Mr. Pace went on to report that the same rebel representative—I quote again here—"also contended that operations of foreign relief agencies here brought the so-called Biafra roughly \$100,000 a month in hard currency".

146. One must read the above report in *The New York Times* along with an editorial which appeared in the *The Times* of London of 24 September 1969. Three significant points were made in that editorial:

1. "[General] Ojukwu has put himself in the wrong by his refusal to accept the scheme for daylight relief flights worked out between the International Red Cross and the Nigerian Government. He had opened himself to serious question from humanitarian bodies whether he is sincere in his appeals for help for his starving children, sick and aged folk, or sees in their plight just another weapon to maintain Biafra's struggle for independence.

2. "At the same time, [General] Ojukwu has turned down General Gowon's offer of peace talks within the framework of the OAU resolution this month. It, too, embodies big concessions. The resolution now only asks both parties to accept 'the suspension of hostilities and the opening of negotiations intended to preserve the unity of Nigeria'.

3. "The conclusion can only be that, failing new action, the war will go on. But as Western pressure has forced Lagos to adopt a reasonable position, the time has come to seek in turn some leverage against Ojukwu's intransigence. It can only be applied by France. France is 'Biafra's' main supplier of arms . . . France should press [General] Ojukwu for a sensible attitude to relief and peace talks. A word from France would very possibly make him meet reason with reason now. The terrible sufferings of the Biafran people can only be mitigated by relief or ended by negotiation".

147. From the foregoing quotation, one begins to doubt the sincerity of some of those delegations which have spoken so lyrically about the humanitarian causes they claim to be serving in Nigeria. From these quotations it should no longer be difficult to identify the "villains of the piece", the countries which are preventing the achievement of peace in Nigeria, a peace which is so necessary for the national unity and territorial integrity of Nigeria. From the collective wisdom of the African Heads of State and Government, consistently reflected in all their resolutions aimed at the restoration of peace and unity in Nigeria, from the unexampled agreement which my Government has concluded with the International Committee of the Red Cross to ensure the unimpeded flow of relief supplies to the

civilians in the secessionist enclave and from the reports of several independent observers, including those of the international team of observers, which have been eloquently confirmed by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, the most outstanding Nigerian of Ibo extraction and former President of Nigeria, I challenge any delegation in this Assembly to deny that it is the secessionist leaders who stand in the way of relief supply to civilian victims and of peaceful negotiations. As for the few African countries which act in defiance of the nearly unanimous decisions of the Organization for African Unity, one can only liken them to the undisciplined soldier who believes that everyone else in his marching column, except himself, is out of step.

148. There is no longer any secret from where the rebel régime, which has no economic resources and which for over two years had no export trade whatsoever, continues to obtain the hard currency to pay for the modern weapons it uses against its fatherland and with which it pays those mercenaries from Sweden, France, Canada, Portugal, Belgium, South Africa, Rhodesia, the United States of America and other Western countries—mercenaries who have been branded and condemned by the United Nations in its resolutions as international bandits and criminal outlaws. That these racist renegades and their compeers brazenly and openly raise funds in their own countries with which they wage a war, often an aerial war against Nigeria, and with which they finance and conduct a campaign of vilification aimed at the dismemberment of that country, is a travesty of the much vaunted humanitarianism of the Western world.

149. My Government remains unflinching in its conviction that in the final analysis the cause of one integral Nigeria will triumph. The people of my country are enduring a painful spell in their national history. As has happened in the history of other countries involved in civil wars, we are confident that national reconciliation will follow this bitter experience of civil conflict.

150. In the past three years my Government has been dismayed by declining propriety in the international conduct of certain Governments. There have been unwarranted assaults on the sovereignty of Nigeria; external subversion has been directed against the political independence of my country. Naturally, we cannot dismiss these experiences from the national memory. Nevertheless, I wish to reaffirm that today, the ninth anniversary of Nigeria's independence and admission to the United Nations as one united entity, Nigeria, faithful to the United Nations Charter, will not depart from its traditional respect for the highest standards of orderly international relations. We shall continue our policy of friendship and goodwill towards all nations which wish to maintain such relations with Nigeria. This is a responsibility which every Member of the United Nations has assumed and to which we must all demonstrate our continuing commitment.

151. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Iran in exercise of his right of reply.

152. Mr. VAKIL (Iran): Madam President, the leader of my delegation will tell you tomorrow, when he is to participate in the general debate, of the satisfaction of my Government at your election to the Presidency of this Assembly, but because of my long association with you in this Organization, particularly in the field of decolonization, I should like to say on a personal note how happy I am to work at this session under your wise guidance.

153. Now I should like to say a word about the comments and observations of one of the speakers this morning concerning my country. The Foreign Minister of the Republic of Southern Yemen in his statement this morning made certain assertions about Iran which have no basis in either fact or logic. He spoke of Iranian ambitions in the Persian Gulf, implying expansionist tendencies. Any fair-minded person who is familiar with recent events and developments in the Persian Gulf area could tell the Foreign Minister that only the contrary is true. We have redoubled our efforts in recent years to rid the area of all vestiges of colonialism. To this end we have tried to promote better understanding with our Arab neighbours by solving outstanding problems and differences. There can be no doubt in anyone's mind that the situations in Shatt El-Arab and Bahrein are legacies of colonialism.

154. Rather than resort to unilateral action we have stretched out our hands to our Arab neighbours, our Arab brothers in the south, to join us in a common effort to eradicate colonialism and to solve those problems on the basis of justice and equity and the recognized principles of international law. Our hands are still outstretched. Can you, Mr. Foreign Minister, label this an expansionist ambition?

155. On the other hand, when one hears a responsible official, the Foreign Minister of a country, distort in this august body the time-honoured name of the Persian Gulf and give it an Arab surname, one begins to wonder who is in fact entertaining expansionist ambitions. After all, "Persian Gulf" is a name used not only by everyone in this hall, but in particular by all Arab scholars and historians from the beginning of recorded history. Bandyng around established names at this stage of the game represents nothing less than a frustrated wish for expansion.

156. By way of conclusion, I should like to quote to the Foreign Minister of Southern Yemen a Persian proverb, which says that one cannot get a sweet taste in one's mouth by pronouncing the word "halvah".

157. The PRESIDENT: I should like to take this opportunity of thanking the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Southern Yemen, the Netherlands and Thailand and the Commissioner for External Affairs of Nigeria for the compliments which they have paid to me.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.