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## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (continued)

1. Mr. BAROUM (Chad) (translated from French): Mr. President, the delegation of the Republic of Chad salutes your impressive election to the Presidency of the twenty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly.

2. The reputation of Romanian diplomacy, of which you are one of the leading representatives, is well known in Chad, even though our two countries do not as yet maintain diplomatic relations. The significance of your election was highlighted by you yourself in your statement of 19 September 1967, when you said:

"The General Assembly's decision to elect the representative of a socialist country as President of the current session is a recognition of the need for equal participation by the various regions and systems in the work of the United Nations." [1560th meeting, para. 61.]

3. Your personal experience of international life is common knowledge; and in spite of the disenchantment characteristic of the twenty-second session, the delegation of Chad trusts that under your Presidency the United Nations will spotlight more closely the major, burning issues confronting all mankind, with a view to resolving them in the interests of the whole world.

4. During the past twelve months, the Organization has met three times in General Assembly, and Mr. Abdul Rahman Pazhwak, the outgoing President, to whom my delegation pays a tribute for the competence and patience with which he guided the wide variety of deliberations, speaking at the opening of the present session, pointed out the significance for the world of these additional labours placed on the shoulders of the United Nations in the following words:

"Few, if any, calamities in our time have befallen the world without some advance notice from the

collective utterance from this rostrum." [Ibid., para. 7.]

And a little further on in his statement, Mr. Pazhwak added:

"The failure of Governments to heed them [the warnings] is another matter. This is often and wrongly referred to as 'the shortcoming of the United Nations'. It would be more accurate to state that it is the shortcoming of Governments which have failed to bring the deliberations of this supreme organ to their peoples." [Ibid., para. 9.]

5. What international diplomacy in all its ramifications has been unable to achieve during these twelve months, weapons and shootings are equally incapable of achieving. This is the situation with which the nations of the world find themselves confronted at this twenty-second session. The confusion which reigns today is such that nations large and small are caught up in a kind of bewilderment and lassitude. The prospects for peace are receding further and further, to the point where calm has given way to a kind of frenzy of diplomatic acrobatics.

6. As U Thant, the Secretary-General, who has done so much and given so much to help the Organization, put it with admirable lucidity:

"When force and military competitiveness displace co-operation, negotiations, law and diplomacy as the natural elements of the relations between States, the nightmare of a third world war comes steadily nearer to the world of reality." [A/6701/Add.1, para. 151.]

7. But in the face of this pessimistic view, we ask ourselves what contribution the Republic of Chad can make to the cause of peace when everything has been said and re-said without any of it bringing the slightest glimmer of hope to the world. The essential and constant contribution of the people of Chad, of its party and its Government, is its stronger and stronger allegiance to the Charter of the United Nations and its unbounded faith in the Organization. We cannot help but feel that, whatever fate has in store for the world, such survivors as there may be from a general conflagration will realize better than anyone ever did the need to achieve and strengthen the idea of universal organization which our generation was able to bring to fruition.

8. The paralysis and demise of the United Nations would mean war. And we know that our weaknesses and our vacillations would be to blame. When certain influential Members of this Organization countenance the crimes perpetrated by South Africa against mankind; when they have acquiesced in Portugal's deliberate violations of the decisions of the United Nations;

when they have accepted, and at times assisted, the Government of the racist minority in Southern Rhodesia; when the Fifth Special Session of the General Assembly on South West Africa ended in indecision and non-commitment, it is only logical to expect that other United Nations decisions will be trampled underfoot from one day to the next.

9. The crowning irony was when the news agencies gave out on 2 October 1967 that the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Mr. Nogueira, had sent a letter to the President of the Security Council in which the Portuguese Government claimed compensation under Article 50 of the United Nations Charter for the damage suffered by the economy of Mozambique as a result of the implementation of the Security Council resolution imposing economic sanctions on Rhodesia.

10. This attitude calls for no comment, but it is a definite sign that a kind of confusion and discouragement hovers over the Organization. International justice and morality are fading and the spectre of war looms larger. Thus U Thant was right in stating in the introduction to his annual report that

"We now again see violence, threats, incitement, intimidation and even hatred being used as weapons of policy in increasingly numerous areas of the world." [*Ibid.*, para. 150.]

11. The truth is that the Organization stands at the crossroads, that is to say nothing is as yet beyond recall, and there is an urgent need to restore international morality: the colonized and oppressed peoples must be released from their shackles; permanent and just norms must govern the mutual relations of nations, and safeguard their interests.

12. This is not beyond the capacity of the great Powers—the ones referred to in this context—for the same is true of nations as of men: the more powerful and wealthy they are, the greater their obligations towards the community. Narrow selfishness does not befit great Powers. It might even be said that it diminishes their greatness and gradually whittles it away.

13. In the light of these hasty considerations, the delegation of Chad points out that its vote in favour of the Latin American resolution<sup>1/</sup> at the fifth emergency special session of the General Assembly was based on its abiding will to respect the Charter of the Organization and to help the Member States to find a more or less enduring solution to the problem of the Middle East. The people of Chad believe that when hot passions have cooled, it is reasonable to hope for a permanent restoration of peace in the Middle East, based on the goodwill of all the States in the region.

14. With regard to Viet-Nam, the lesson to be drawn from the situation there is that if the United States Government were to stop the bombing of North Viet-Nam at once, unilaterally, and return to the 1954 Geneva Agreements as a basis for the solution of the problem in that region, the United States would win prestige and hold out to the coming generations of Americans a future free from dilemma and rancour. That at any rate is the deep conviction of my delegation.

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Emergency Special Session, Annexes, agenda item 5 (A/L.523/Rev.1).

15. Meanwhile the African States continue to be the victims of the conflict, official or unofficial, of powerful vested interests. Subversion takes a variety of forms. Zones of influence are well defined. We often hear of subversion, but it is hard to unmask the perpetrators. Some African countries have in fact allowed themselves to be beguiled by the pipe-dream of becoming in their turn neo-colonialist Powers. But all this is merely the aftermath of long years of brainwashing and exploitation.

16. Peace, as we have said, is still possible. But in saying this we also had in mind the urgent need to eliminate all possible sources of conflict. The problems of divided nations and countries should be accorded special attention by the Organization.

17. World economy is a source of possible friction over the short or long term, because of the grave injustice it engenders. It must be rethought out on new foundations. Despite past efforts, the results to date are meagre.

18. A final concern of the Government of the Republic of Chad is disarmament, and on several occasions we have spoken in this Assembly denouncing the proliferation of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, and the arms race.

19. If, after much hesitation, the delegation of Chad has spoken in this great Assembly, it is because it sincerely believes that its statement, modest though it is, is a contribution to the cause of universal peace.

20. Mr. SHEARER (Jamaica): Mr. President, my delegation congratulates you on your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its twenty-second session. It is an honour to you, Sir, personally and to your country, and we are particularly happy that it has been bestowed on you at this time. May your tenure in office be rewarded with a lessening of world tensions. You may be assured of the full support of my Government in all efforts to reduce conflict and to further the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

21. On behalf of my Government, I take this opportunity to pay tribute to your distinguished predecessor, Ambassador Abdul Rahman Pazhwak of Afghanistan. During his term of office as President of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, of the fifth special session and of the fifth emergency special session, his tact, wisdom and guidance helped all of us and contributed greatly to such measure of success as our efforts achieved. May I also express the gratitude of my Government to the Secretary-General, U Thant, for his untiring endeavours in the quest for peace.

22. In reviewing the world situation, my Government notes that there are a number of issues with which the United Nations has not been able to cope, either effectively or at all. The division of territories and peoples, the undeclared war in South-East Asia, the headlong race to acquire more modern and destructive armaments, the poverty of the developing countries, are but a few of the subjects that are of grave concern to my Government.

23. A major aspect of contemporary society is the discrepancy between the clamour by each and

every nation for peace and the failure to achieve this goal—a goal so urgent, so essential and yet so elusive. Is peace a mirage? It surely is not. Yet those Member nations that are today all powerful seem deadlocked in a game which, as long as it lasts, can only bring death and destruction. Without co-operation and accommodation there can be no peace—either in a family or a nation or in the society of nations.

24. There is need for co-operation and accommodation in Viet-Nam. My country is gravely concerned about the implications and possible consequences of the situation there, and about the plight of the unfortunate people of the North and the South. The representative of the United States, at the beginning of this general debate [1562nd meeting], stated that there could be no military settlement of this conflict. Our esteemed Secretary-General has more than once stated that a halt in the bombing of North Viet-Nam might lead to discussions and negotiations. My Government is convinced that the problem of Viet-Nam can be solved through negotiations based on the Geneva Agreements of 1954 rather than by force by arms. We believe that all the parties involved should pay the greatest heed to the Secretary-General's advice. We believe, of course, that both sides in the conflict are entitled to appropriate safeguards and assurances, so that a cease-fire enabling the start of negotiations could be put into effect without the fear that such a cessation would be exploited to the advantage of either side, leading to an early resumption of hostilities.

25. There is need for accommodation and co-operation in the Middle East. After very careful study, my Government co-sponsored the Latin American draft resolution<sup>2/</sup> voted on at the fifth emergency special session of the General Assembly. My Government wishes to suggest to the parties directly concerned and to the appropriate organs of the United Nations that they might do well to ponder again the terms of that draft resolution and to be guided to action by its spirit.

26. Jamaica is committed to a strong and effective United Nations. During the general debate in the twenty-first regular session we called attention to the growing enfeeblement of the Organization, particularly in its peace-keeping capacity. Recent events have underscored both the urgency of our concern and the need to seek new avenues for the peaceful and effective settlement of disputes.

27. My Government is aware of the current opinion that United Nations peace-keeping operations may no longer have full relevance. We do not share this opinion. We continue to believe that full use should be made of the available procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes, whether by enquiry, conciliation, mediation, arbitration or adjudication, or any feasible combination of them. We wish to suggest that more should be done, for example, in the area of fact finding. The facilities offered by the Permanent Court of Arbitration and the United Nations Panel for Inquiry and Conciliation are not being used. Yet no one will deny that in every dispute which might threaten international peace the first need is to establish the facts.

28. We believe that adequate machinery for fact finding can and should be devised. Hence we continue to support the initiative of the Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in proposing a new organ for this task.<sup>3/</sup> My Government believes that, acting in a spirit of goodwill and compromise, the desired objective can be achieved without impinging either on the competence of the present organs of the United Nations or on the principle of the sovereign equality of States.

29. I come now to the important subject of decolonization. This year for the first time in many years the General Assembly will not welcome any new Members into the Organization. Yet the process of decolonization must go on. There are two categories of colonial Territories which present particularly difficult problems.

30. The first category includes the Territories of southern Africa. Rhodesia remains outside the law, and no effective action has yet been taken against the Ian Smith régime. South West Africa, to which we devoted the fifth special session of the General Assembly, remains as it was before that session began. In that session the major Powers of the world displayed an irresponsible and unexpected capacity for gross indifference and expediency. Although by resolution 2248 (S-V) the Assembly established a United Nations Council for South West Africa, the Council appears to be doomed to futility and frustration, while the racist régime of South Africa continues its policy with no regard to the opinion, sincere or not, of the rest of the world. Portugal refuses to grant the people of its colonies the right to self-determination and independence and persists in its policy of exploitation. This situation of frustration and indecisiveness should not be allowed to continue.

31. The decolonization of small and very small Territories presents its own peculiar difficulties. My Government fully supports the principle of self-determination and independence for all peoples. However, we recognize that account has to be taken of specific economic and geographic circumstances.

32. Since the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, Jamaica has been calling attention to the need for the United Nations to have some residual role to play in the future of those Territories which, having exercised their right of self-determination in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV), have chosen association with another State.

33. There are also those small States, economically not viable, which would choose full independence if they could. It should not be beyond the capacity of the United Nations to devise means of linking them to this Organization in order to ensure that the exercise of their right does not lead them to continuing or eventual poverty. Specifically, it would not be amiss for the General Assembly to recommend that a section of the Secretariat should devote itself exclusively to the interests of small Territories which might elect to exercise that right. This special section could provide technical and administrative assistance where needed.

<sup>3/</sup> Ibid., Twenty-first Session, Annexes, agenda item 87, document A/6373 and Add.1.

<sup>2/</sup> Ibid.

34. The right of self-determination is but one aspect of human rights. As this is the last general debate before the International Year for Human Rights begins, Jamaica could not let the occasion pass without stating what we hope and expect to see emerge from 1968.

35. Individual and collective action to promote and protect human rights is the clear and unquestioned responsibility of Member States under Article 55 of the Charter. The International Year should not only provide an opportunity to focus worldwide attention on this critical field of United Nations activity; it should also be an occasion to assess the work that we in the United Nations have done so far, and to decide on a future programme of what the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 10 December 1948 [resolution 217 (III)] calls "progressive measures, national and international" to achieve one of the fundamental objectives for which our Organization was founded.

36. My Government attaches very great importance to the word "progressive". To us it means that it is not enough simply to consolidate a position, but that we must accept the challenge to move forward, and keep on moving forward, however many the problems may be. There are before the United Nations at this time proposals in the field of human rights which Jamaica believes are significantly progressive. My Government will support those measures with our vote and with all the powers of persuasion that we can employ. While on the subject of human rights, my delegation would like to say a brief word about human welfare and the growing awareness in the United Nations of the importance of effective social welfare programmes.

37. We welcome with a great deal of satisfaction the decision of the United Nations to convene an international conference of ministers responsible for social welfare next year,<sup>4/</sup> particularly since this will be in keeping with the spirit of the International Year for Human Rights. We in Jamaica have reason to be encouraged by this important step. We have evolved major programmes of social welfare, and while there are difficulties still to be overcome, we feel that we can point with justifiable pride to many areas in which our social welfare programmes have been successful. It is therefore our hope that the growing international concern with these problems of social welfare, planning and administration will serve to accelerate national programmes in this field. Jamaica is prepared to place at the disposal of the United Nations any information based on its own experience and programmes which might be of use to the Organization, and we pledge our support to all efforts designed to make the forthcoming Conference a genuine success.

38. But the desire of the United Nations for peace and the effective realization of human rights cannot be fulfilled without the liberation of the world's masses from hunger and poverty. Developing countries such as mine realize their responsibilities in this regard and are endeavouring to solve the social and economic problems that beset them, problems of unemployment and underemployment, and of low and slowly growing

income levels. However, in this interdependent world we are all too aware that no developing country can solve all its economic problems without some co-operation and assistance from its more developed neighbours.

39. That was clear when the United Nations proclaimed the 1960s to be the United Nations Development Decade. In so doing, the United Nations appealed to the developed countries to make 1 per cent of their national incomes available for investment in developing countries. The Development Decade is now coming to a close, and yet the harsh fact is that many of the poorest economies have continued to grow most slowly. According to the annual report of the Secretary-General, last year the rate of over-all growth for developing countries was less than 4 per cent; in that same year the developed market economies and the centrally planned economies raised their output in real terms by 5 and 7 per cent respectively [A/6701, p. 95]. These differences in the over-all growth have led to a further widening of the gap between per capita incomes in the developed and developing countries.

40. It now appears that the assumption that there was genuine international concern for the prevalence of poverty amongst two thirds of mankind was ill founded. For at a time when the ability of the developed countries to offer financial aid has been increasing, their willingness to assist appears to be diminishing. We are approaching the point where there threatens to be a net outflow of capital from the developing to the developed countries.

41. We recognize that there has been a problem of general illiquidity. The control of liquidity exercised by the fluctuations in gold reserves and the balance-of-payments position of countries with reserve currencies have not been sufficiently flexible or effective. There has been a purposeful endeavour to find a better system. My Government recognizes the problems involved. We hope that proposals agreed upon at the recently concluded Conference in Rio de Janeiro<sup>5/</sup> will be fully worked out and put into operation. The solution of this problem is urgently needed, because the records show that in 1966 the flow of capital to developing countries fell by \$1,000 million.

42. Then we have a situation where concurrent with the slowing down of capital transfers for economic development there is an increasing reluctance to take practical steps to develop and expand trade. Developing countries are being constantly urged to diversify their economies, but when we try to shift agricultural workers to industry we discover that the developed countries place unjustified limitations upon the entry of our light manufactures into their markets. They say that these products from relatively small plants are too competitive. The result is that the efforts of our countries to industrialize are hampered. So we must continue to rely mainly on the production of primary commodities. Yet our efforts to obtain stable marketing arrangements for these primary commodities have had little success. In the absence of agreements, the

<sup>4/</sup> Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Forty-first session, Supplement No. 1, resolution 1140 (XLI).

<sup>5/</sup> Annual Meeting of the Boards of Governors of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Finance Corporation, the International Development Association and the International Monetary Fund, held at Rio de Janeiro from 25 to 29 September 1967.

low prices of primary commodities hardly move upwards while the prices of imported capital goods and their spare parts have been rising at an average annually of 7.5 per cent since 1962.

43. The situation in which developing countries must purchase machinery and equipment at high and rising prices while their own goods are subject to fluctuating low prices cannot continue indefinitely. The absence of stable marketing arrangements is felt most keenly in the case of sugar, for example. This is one finished product which the developing countries can produce and sell more cheaply than the developed countries can. Many developing countries depend heavily on this labour intensive crop to earn foreign exchange, to maintain rural employment and generally to avoid internal instability.

44. No one denies that an international agreement for the orderly marketing of the world's exports of sugar is an urgent need. Yet for many years now, a new international agreement on sugar has eluded us. Why is that so? The answer is: largely because the developed countries persist in striving for self-sufficiency in sugar and they keep steadily reducing the share of their market which the developing countries are allowed to supply.

45. My Government renews the proposal that the sugar producers of North America and Europe should maintain a standstill—not a cutback—in the production of sugar until effective demand has caught up with supply. It is our earnest hope that this proposal for the benefit of the people in the developing countries will not fall on deaf ears.

46. In the spirit of the Development Decade, I urge the representatives of the developed countries to allow a new international sugar agreement providing for reasonable prices and quantities to come into effect as from 1968. The thousands of workers and farmers who are engaged in agriculture in my country and in other developing countries have as strong a claim to fair living standards as any worker anywhere else, and they will not be satisfied with a situation where hard work does not bring its sufficient and due reward.

47. On the subject of the work of the economic agencies of the United Nations—and here I wish to refer specifically to the United Nations Development Programme—the record of those agencies is a recognition that it is in the interest of all countries to co-operate in seeking practical solutions to remove the external constraints on the growth and welfare of developing nations. We are pleased to note that in the United Nations the developing countries are attempting to meet some of their common problems through a joint approach, as is illustrated by resolution 2186 (XXI) of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, establishing the Capital Development Fund. The spirit in which the Kennedy Round negotiations were conducted and the agreements reached, though far from satisfying our aspirations, point to a more hopeful future. We prefer to consider the concessions made as the first in a series of steps towards the general lowering of barriers to trade.

48. The second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development will provide an

opportunity to carry on where the Kennedy Round negotiations left off. In our view, the second session should concern itself primarily not with statements of the ideal but rather with working out the practical steps that must be taken to give effect to the general and special principles of the Final Act of the first session. Among these principles, general principle seven reads in part:

"The expansion and diversification of international trade depends upon increasing access to markets, and upon remunerative prices for the exports of primary products. Developed countries shall progressively reduce and eliminate barriers and other restrictions that hinder trade and consumption of products from developing countries and take positive measures such as will create and increase markets for the exports of developing countries."<sup>5/</sup>

We are particularly concerned that this should be so because we continue to believe firmly that the more opportunities there are for trade the less urgent will be the need for aid.

49. Although my country is in no sense a military Power, I could not refrain from some reference to the crucial problems of disarmament and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. We have followed with interest bordering on anxiety the negotiations at the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament at Geneva. We welcome the submission by the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of identical draft texts of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.<sup>7/</sup> But there is still much work to be done. We are, frankly, deeply concerned by the failure so far of the nuclear Powers to offer to the non-nuclear-weapon States satisfactory guarantees against nuclear attack or threat of attack. Our concern was also reflected in Jamaica's co-sponsorship of resolution 2153 B (XXI) at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, convening a conference of non-nuclear-weapon States.

50. Jamaica also participated in the efforts leading to the conclusion at Mexico City in February last of a Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America [see A/6663]. Yet, as many of the representatives here will know, Jamaica is at present the only participating State which has not yet signed the Treaty. We have hesitated to do so because, for reasons which seem irrelevant to the purposes of the instrument, the Treaty has been so drafted as to exclude the participation of such peace-loving countries as Guyana and British Honduras, which logically and geographically form part of the designated area to be kept free of nuclear weapons.

51. Whilst, therefore, Jamaica intends in due course to sign the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America as proof of our belief in the Treaty's objectives, I take this opportunity to record my country's strong objection to the exclusion of those two sister territories from participation in the Treaty.

<sup>5/</sup> Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, vol. I, Final Act and Report (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 64 II.B.11), p. 10.

<sup>7/</sup> Documents ENDC/192 and ENDC/193.

52. Before closing, let me say that at a time when the relations among States are marked by tension and distrust, when the outlook for world peace is discouraging, and when often the efforts of the Organization to achieve meaningful objectives are frustrated, we take new heart and encouragement from multilateral achievements such as that of the International Law Commission in producing its agreed draft articles on the law of treaties. The forthcoming international conference of plenipotentiaries on the law of treaties [resolution 2166 (XXI)] is therefore of more than legal significance. In practical terms, it means that the Members of the Organization are essentially committed to the cause of peace based on international legal order. If this conclusion is correct then there is yet hope for the greater fulfilment of the objectives of the Organization; indeed, there is much hope for the future.

53. Finally, let us not forget that all efforts to remedy our economic, social and political ills require courage, vision and good faith. The plea that my nation makes to all the major Powers in and outside of this Assembly is that they should cease paying mere lip service to the principles of the Charter and that they should abandon the practice of pursuing their narrow national interests through the United Nations. We all share the responsibility to work towards the achievement of the peace and prosperity which were envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations. None of us can afford to shirk that responsibility.

54. Mr. MALITZA (Romania) (translated from French): Mr. President, let me say first of all that the Romanian delegation is most gratified to see that the high office of President of the General Assembly, of whose great responsibilities the Member States are well aware, has been entrusted to you by so overwhelming a consensus. We see in this a mark of appreciation on the part of the Members of the Organization for Romania's foreign policy and the principles which govern it.

55. We too would like to associate ourselves with the warm tribute paid to your predecessor, Mr. Abdul Rahman Pazhwak, for the way in which he performed his duties, and to reiterate our high esteem for the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, whose experience and devotion are so vital to the proper functioning of the world body.

56. The present general debate, which reflects the disquiet we feel when we think of trouble spots throughout the world and the dangers they create for universal peace, is not mere lip service to tradition. The Member States exchange in this forum their experience, their analysis of events and their political thinking—matters which are of unquestionable interest to the international community. This broad exchange of views and ideas, one of the purposes of the Organization, cannot but foster the pursuit of the supreme goal set forth in the Charter: the peace and security of mankind.

57. In a world where every event that occurs has immediate repercussions on international relations as a whole, all countries are neighbours. Every step forward in the direction of co-operation and easing of tension, and similarly every crisis in international relations is bound to affect the life of each individual,

since no man's fate can be insulated from that of his fellow men.

58. Romania, deeply engaged as it is in a process of peaceful development, is sensitive to all the phenomena of international life and endeavours to make its own contribution to the establishment of a climate of peace and active co-operation. At the extraordinary session of the Romanian Grand National Assembly held last July and devoted to Romania's international activities, Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, made the following statement:

"The foreign policy of the Socialist Republic of Romania reflects the profound aspirations of the Romanian people who, while dedicating their strength and their energies to the immense task, creative and peaceful, of building up a new system, at the same time exhibit a noble spirit of responsibility for the cause of socialism and social progress in the world, and for the fate of all mankind."

59. Romania participates in international life in the conviction that forces exist in the world of today capable of coping with the threats to peace and of steering events on a rational and positive course. One basic prerequisite for the establishment of conditions in which mankind can solve the major problems of progress and civilization is strict respect for the sovereignty and independence of all States, and for the right of every people to decide its own destiny freely, without any interference from outside.

60. A characteristic feature of the age in which we live, one calculated to increase confidence in the capacity of the international community to solve its problems, is the steadily increasing participation of all countries, great and small, in that task.

61. Modern conditions of social development no longer fit in with the outdated notion that the fate of mankind is in the hands of a few privileged Powers. This is a notion which dates back to a time when dependence and servitude and the division of the world into spheres of influence placed limits on the participation of most States in international life.

62. The collapse of the colonial system has brought about the accession of large numbers of States to independence and the consolidation of the independence of certain countries, so that we are faced with a new factual situation in which inter-State relations take on a universal character and international life is given a new fillip and can enjoy the fruits of energies and benefits unknown until now. The principle of equal rights among States is thus strengthened, opening up new vistas and possibilities for all States to assert themselves politically. It is a stimulating principle embodying the need for all countries to participate in working out solutions to the problems confronting them.

63. Hard facts demonstrate the truth that a workable solution to international disputes cannot be found by a small group of Powers but calls for the active co-operation of all States throughout the world, on the basis of the principle of equality of rights.

64. It is no doubt true that the primary responsibility for safeguarding peace rests always with the great



Powers by virtue of their potentialities and influence. The Charter confers upon them a special status in respect of matters relating to international security. But the most reliable yardstick by which their role in the world can be assessed is the sense of responsibility they show in championing the norms of international justice and the way in which they observe the rules of peaceful co-existence, and the principle of equal rights of all countries, regardless of their size and stage of development.

65. The small and medium-sized countries can play an important role in creating a climate of mutual understanding and good neighbourliness in the service of justice and international law. Thus in Europe, the small and medium-sized countries, whatever their military, political or philosophical affiliations, looking beyond the moments of cold war crisis, are increasing their contacts, exploring together a vast field of co-operation which for many years has lain fallow.

66. A thorough analysis of the dynamics of political life reveals the existence in Europe of movements which are a counter to reactionary and revanchist trends and make for the establishment of conditions propitious for security; and because we are firmly convinced that progress towards making European security a reality requires first and foremost the normalization and consolidation of bilateral relations between all European States, the Romanian Government, while continuing to develop its relations with the socialist countries as the pivot of its policy, has made fruitful contacts this year with Austria, Belgium, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, Turkey and other countries. These contacts have helped to foster the atmosphere of relaxation and understanding which is making headway in Europe.

67. Life today demands the removal of artificial barriers; the refusal to accept the division of the world into antagonistic military blocs, which have hampered the flow of both goods and ideas; and the replacement of these obstacles by a climate of co-operation among all the countries of our continent. This is a sine qua non for the solution of the major problems of peace and security.

68. To our way of thinking, the complete return to normal inter-State relations in Europe on the basis of equality of rights for all States necessitates the withdrawal of all non-European troops from the continent, the withdrawal behind their national frontiers of all troops stationed on the territory of other States, the dismantling of foreign military bases and the break-up of blocs. A rational approach to European security demands a realistic and enlightened attitude towards the post-war world as it is, and first and foremost towards the existence of the two German States, and implies the creation of conditions in which both of them can participate actively, on an equal footing, in international life.

69. It is evident that the increasing rate of development of intra-European relations caters for objective needs and is the outcome of the efforts made by all countries, large and small, to help to ease tension in world affairs.

70. Because of the indivisible nature of world peace and security, Europe, and indeed the entire world, feels the impact of that grave violation of the norms of international conduct, the aggressive war being waged by the United States in Viet-Nam. Here one of the mightiest Powers of the world has mobilized its destructive capacity to bend the will of a people defending its homeland and its national identity, and to stifle its deep-rooted aspirations to independence, sovereignty and unity as a nation. The war in Viet-Nam has become a matter of conscience for contemporary society.

71. The fact of setting in motion a mammoth military apparatus to destroy a small people and prevent the fulfilment of aspirations for which every one of us would fight, even at the cost of the supreme sacrifice, has caused countries everywhere to take a vigorous stand, regardless of their adherence to this or that political system.

72. More than ever, during this debate, the warning signal is given to the United States, even by its allies and its closest friends, and it brings to mind words uttered in another historical context: "C'est plus qu'un crime, c'est une faute." Thus a country having at its command a scientific and material potential which could be of inestimable value for man's highest endeavours along the road towards the fulfilment of his peaceful aspirations projects the image of a Power which scatters destruction on a freedom-loving people. More and more voices are raised declaring that the United States cannot go on bombing a sovereign State, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, without thereby ruining the chances of any political solution and casting a shadow over international relations generally.

73. Reiterating our wholehearted solidarity with the Viet-Nameese people and our full support for their just cause, we feel it is absolutely essential that the American bombing raids against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam should be stopped immediately and unconditionally, that the aggression should be halted, and that the right of the Viet-Nameese people to decide their own future should be recognized. We declare our conviction that the ending of the war in Viet-Nam, the most critical problem of international life, would have favourable repercussions on the search for a satisfactory solution of other outstanding international problems.

74. Equality of rights presupposes that in international relations peaceful methods of settling issues in dispute prevail over the use of force, which substitutes for equality the doctrine that "might is right" and thus undermines the very structure of international life. In today's world the use of force, even on a local scale, not only entails the risk of a rapid flare-up; it is also manifestly at variance with the mutual respect incumbent on States in their relations with others.

75. Conflicts building up over a long period in the Middle East have culminated in a new outbreak of violence which, far from settling the burdensome legacy of contentious issues, has further complicated them, at the same time increasing the danger they involve for world peace.

76. The attitude taken by the Romanian Government, as stated both before and after the outbreak of hostili-

ties, namely that the only way of coping with the crisis is by a political settlement, has been borne out by the course of events.

77. The Romanian Government reaffirms its view that the issue of paramount importance and urgency at the present moment is the withdrawal of the Israel forces from the occupied territories to the lines they occupied before the outbreak of hostilities. We likewise consider improper the annexation measures taken by the Israel authorities with respect to Jerusalem, as well as all other claims to territorial gains achieved as a result of the use of force.

78. At the same time, in keeping with the principles to which we have all subscribed, every State in the region must be allowed the right to independent and sovereign existence, security, and peaceful development without interference of any kind.

79. The situation in the Middle East involves many problems which have been awaiting solution for a long time, many of them being fostered and aggravated by the intervention of foreign imperialist interests—the only ones with anything to gain from war.

80. As it has always maintained, the Romanian Government considers that the settlement of the differences between the countries of the Middle East must be effected not by military confrontation but through understanding and an approach in keeping with the interests of all the peoples living in the region. Firm in this belief, at the fifth emergency special session of the General Assembly Romania joined with other delegations in trying to find a solution to the Arab-Israel conflict acceptable to the interested parties. The Romanian Government is of the opinion that a political settlement requires the use of the peaceful instruments forged in international practice and embodied in the Charter, while at the same time it considers that the main responsibility for the solution of the problems of the Middle East, on which hangs the economic and social development, indeed the peace, of the countries concerned, lies with the Governments and the peoples living in that part of the world.

81. We feel that an effective and lasting political solution in the Middle East is feasible. The debates at this session can make a real contribution towards the attainment of this goal by promoting a constructive, calm and patient approach to the problems involved, in the spirit of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter, which should be a source of inspiration for all our endeavours as Members of the Organization.

82. The principle of equal rights among States has made headway in international life against the background of differences in size, natural and human resources, and military and economic capacity.

83. The question whether these differences are becoming more marked as a result of certain uncontrolled processes or are decreasing as a result of collective efforts, is of particular significance in the military sphere.

84. It is noteworthy that in this field, too, the disparity between the various States is growing steadily. The differences have to do not only with the quantities of weapons which States have at their disposal. Nowadays States are divided into groups qualitatively

distinct according to the nature of the weapons they possess, and we find a tendency to perpetuate and legalize this situation.

85. How, in these circumstances, is it possible to guarantee States equality of rights to peace and security? The answer to this question is to be sought in general disarmament, and first of all nuclear disarmament. This is the only way to lay the groundwork for eliminating the theory that "might is right" from international relations, establishing justice and fair play in inter-State relations, and thus safeguarding peace. The theory that world peace and security depend on the so-called balance of power or balance of terror is constantly belied by the facts, and is of its very nature dangerous.

86. The giant strides made by modern science and technology, whose progress is unfortunately being applied mainly in the military sphere, as the recent revival of the nuclear armaments race only serves to prove, makes any balance of power a permanently fragile and precarious thing. Hence mankind needs genuine peace based on disarmament, not just the absence of war based on deterrent force.

87. While working towards the long-term goal of general disarmament, Romania at the same time favours the implementation of partial measures of disarmament designed to help to bring about an easing of tension and a lessening of the danger of nuclear war.

88. A ban on the use of nuclear weapons would unquestionably be an important step towards the elimination of such weapons. The Romanian delegation, which has always advocated such a measure, once again at this session supports the efforts to conclude a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. Such a convention would have a positive effect on the problem of disarmament as a whole and a beneficial influence on the efforts to prevent another war. Another desirable measure would be the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world. My delegation associates itself with the appreciation expressed here for the progress achieved by the Latin American States in promoting the idea of denuclearized zones through the conclusion of a Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America.

89. With regard to the question of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the Romanian delegation considers that a non-proliferation treaty should cover the following points: it should constitute an integral part of a system of measures designed to lead up to the elimination of nuclear weapons; it should provide equal safeguards for the security of all States, large or small, nuclear or non-nuclear; it should place no limits on the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes by any nation, but on the contrary it should grant all States, on an equal footing and without any discrimination whatever, unlimited rights and opportunities to carry out research in this field, and to use the achievements of nuclear science to further their peaceful development; finally, it should institute a precise and equitable system of control, based on the principle of the equality of States, to which all countries would be equally subject and which should leave no loop-hole for interference in the internal affairs of



other States. Its ultimate goal would be to get rid of the present division of the world into nuclear and non-nuclear countries, to strengthen the principle of State equality, and positively to reduce the danger of war.

90. Thus conceived, the treaty would constitute an important step along the road to general disarmament, and would have the effect of releasing an immense flood of material resources and mental energies vital to the achievement of economic and social progress throughout the world.

91. The world economic situation today furnishes another eloquent example of the extent to which the principle of equality comes into conflict with the hard fact of the widening gap between national levels of development. One aspect of this which is especially topical is the discrepancy in the sphere of science and technology which threatens to confront the society of tomorrow with a situation where the various States are poles apart in their stage of development. Reference has been made here quite rightly to the desirability for all countries to be able to take advantage, on an equal footing and without discrimination, of the achievements of modern science and technology and to develop an up-to-date economy of their own, without which progress is an illusion and independence a fiction.

92. Year after year the debates in this Assembly have brought into the foreground a phenomenon which has serious repercussions at the world level, namely the increasing disparity between the economies of the various countries as a result of the long period of colonial domination, of relations founded on the exploitation of the weaker countries by the more powerful ones. The widening of the economic gap engenders new forms of dependency at the international level and at the same time encourages neo-colonialist practices which infringe the principle of equality of rights of States. Preliminary studies and statistics indicate that at the present rate of development the most powerful States will be even more powerful in the future, while the weaker ones will fall still farther behind.

93. We have at our disposal a vast institutional network of an economic type. The effectiveness of international machinery and instruments in the sphere of development may be judged on the basis of a reliable criterion—the contribution they make towards narrowing the present gap between the economies of the various countries. It must be admitted that the results are not yet satisfactory, one reason being the inequitable character of the present trade mechanisms, which regularly put the developing countries at a disadvantage. The close interdependence between economic and political phenomena is prompting the international community to make concerted efforts to devise new machinery for international relations in the financial, commercial, technical and scientific fields, so that each individual country can participate on an equitable basis in the world division of labour and find in international co-operation support for its own efforts to make the best of its national resources. We express the hope that the forthcoming Conference on Trade and Development<sup>8/</sup> will help to establish

economic relations on bases advantageous to all countries. Viewed from this angle, international endeavour appears in a new light, that of strengthening the equality of rights of States.

94. If it is to contribute as it ought towards solving the problems of the contemporary world in regard to the preservation of peace and international co-operation, the United Nations will have to adapt itself to the changes which have taken place in the world. In this connexion the primary issue is the application of the principle of universality.

95. Events themselves demonstrate that the major international problems cannot be settled by ignoring the People's Republic of China and other States now excluded from the international organizations; and this is why Romania, in conjunction with other countries, has requested the inclusion in the agenda of the present session of the question of restoring the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations [A/6831] and removing of the emissaries of Chiang Kai-shek from the Organization. We feel that the time has come to regularize a situation which is detrimental to the fundamental interests of the United Nations, to peace and to international security.

96. Romania likewise supports the request by the German Democratic Republic to become a Member of the United Nations.<sup>9/</sup> In our opinion, the admission of the two German States to the Organization would help it to achieve universality and promote peace and international security.

97. In our concern to strengthen the Organization we stress once again the need to dissolve the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and the urgent call for the withdrawal of the foreign troops now stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations.

98. We also believe that the United Nations should play a more effective part in removing the last vestiges of the colonial system and of racial discrimination, with a view to the speedy implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

99. Finally, we should like to point out the significance of a less spectacular activity carried out under the auspices of the Organization, namely the codification of the principles of international law. Any progress in this direction is calculated to help to reduce the element of the arbitrary in international relations and to promote equal rights and respect for the rule of law. This idea is also the basis of the anxiety to speed up the work of defining aggression, a problem which was on the agenda of international organizations even before the Second World War. Like the Soviet delegation which sponsored this item [A/6833], the Romanian delegation favours a more urgent approach to the definition of aggression, particularly since Romania, as a signatory of the London Convention of 1933,<sup>10/</sup> has shown an unflagging interest in the definition of aggression.

<sup>8/</sup> Documents A/6283 and A/6443, twenty-first session (mimeographed only).

<sup>10/</sup> Convention for the Definition of Aggression, signed in London, 3 July 1933.

<sup>8/</sup> The Second UNCTAD Conference, scheduled to meet at New Delhi from 1 February to 25 March 1968.

100. The principles governing international relations have made steady progress throughout history. Fifty years after the great socialist October Revolution, an event which ushered in a new era in the development of contemporary society, life as we know it puts the seal on the eloquent appeal issued at that time for a world freed from the spectre of war, a world blossoming in the atmosphere of friendly co-operation among nations carried on through open diplomatic relations, with the participation of all, and respecting the principles of non-interference and the equal rights of States.

101. The consolidation of these principles presupposes that all States by their conduct will keep the commandments of international ethics, the primary source of common responsibility in a world bound together by a host of mutual interests.

102. The United Nations has been and continues to be a forum where these principles, even though sorely tried at times, are being constantly applied in the interests of peace and security, towards which all peoples strive with the same eagerness.

103. Mr. PIRZADA (Pakistan): Mr. President, I join the previous speakers in the general debate in offering sincere congratulations to you on your unanimous election to the Presidency of the General Assembly and in paying a tribute to your distinguished predecessor. Ambassador Pazhwak presided over as many as three sessions of the Assembly with exemplary patience, judgement and ability. By these qualities and by his deep understanding of the working of the United Nations, he has earned the respect of all of us for himself and his great country, our close neighbour Afghanistan.

104. In expressing our satisfaction at your election, Mr. President, I am not merely following a ritual. I have warm personal recollections of your visit to Pakistan in May last. We have been deeply impressed by your vision and statesmanship. Our gratification also derives from the fact that a representative of the important region of Eastern Europe and of one of the great economic and political systems of the world is, for the first time, presiding over the Assembly's deliberations.

105. We are meeting in this Assembly this year under menacing clouds. The harrowing tragedy of Viet-Nam and the unparalleled suffering of its people rebuke our collective conscience, mocking the value of our deliberations here on the great issues of war and peace. The war in Viet-Nam is a main cause of international tension today. It is evident that there cannot be a military solution of the problem. It is, therefore, imperative that this war be brought to an end—the sooner the better—and that the Viet-Nameese people be enabled to settle their destiny without foreign interference, as envisaged in the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

106. For reasons rooted in the composition of the United Nations and the history of the conflict, this Assembly is in no position to make recommendations to resolve the problem of Viet-Nam. This is not the case, however, in regard to the tragic situation in the Middle East. Indeed, the Arab-Israeli conflict is par excellence a problem of the United Nations. It is a problem which is directly related to the acts and

omissions of the United Nations. Its settlement can be left neither to the parties nor to the passage of time. It remains the prime and inescapable responsibility of this Organization.

107. In the joint Pakistan-USSR communiqué of 4 October issued in Moscow on the conclusion of the visit of the President of Pakistan, it was stated:

"The two sides considered the grave situation in the Near East which had developed as a result of Israeli aggression against the Arab States. Condemning the aggressive actions of Israel, they considered that withdrawal without delay of Israeli forces from the Arab territories occupied during the military action is the most urgent task in the cause of normalization of the situation in the Near East."

I should like to discuss some of the main aspects of the Middle East situation.

108. The first aspect, to which we in Pakistan attach paramount importance, concerns a fundamental principle, namely, that conquest of territory by war is inadmissible under the Charter of the United Nations. Consequently, the invading forces must withdraw to positions held prior to hostilities. We are convinced that, unless the principle of inadmissibility of territorial or political gains through the use or threat of force is upheld by this Assembly, we shall cripple the capacity of this Organization to prevent the use of armed force in inter-State relations.

109. The invasion of the territories of the United Arab Republic, Jordan and Syria by Israel in June was an act of aggression. Aggression is the gravest crime under international law. Even more subversive of the law of nations and the international order is inaction on the part of the United Nations in bringing about the cessation of aggression. There is no reason why the Assembly should not do the very minimum that needs to be done. That minimum is a demand for the immediate withdrawal of all Israeli forces from the territories which they overran last June.

110. If we recognize that—as is evident from most of the statements made during the emergency special session and in this debate—it is not open to Israel to claim the right of conquest over any Arab territories, it follows that it is not open to Israel to hold these territories in order to impose its own terms of peace on the Arab States.

111. If one were to deviate from this principle, the door would be open for any State to invade the territory of another and make a withdrawal of its forces conditional on the submission of the victim to its diktat or terms of peace. We cannot believe that the Members of this Organization do not appreciate the grave consequences which must follow the sacrifice of this principle.

112. Pakistan will welcome and support any constructive proposals for restoring peace with justice in the Middle East. Justice will not permit us to ignore the fact that Israel was established in Palestine through the expulsion of a million of its Arab inhabitants. This was the original injustice to the Arabs. The injustice has been compounded by the

territorial expansion of Israel at their expense. Its territorial ambitions continue to grow. Unless due restraint is put upon Israel's expansion, there can be no stable peace in the Middle East.

113. We maintain that the General Armistice Agreements concluded between the Arab States and Israel cannot be repudiated unilaterally and cast into oblivion. International agreements cannot be modified or terminated except with the consent of the parties, freely given. The sanctity of international agreements is one of the main pillars of the United Nations—and of Pakistan's foreign policy. The whole edifice of the rule of law would crumble if the United Nations were to permit any party to an international agreement to denounce it at its own will. The assertion by Israel that all agreements between it and the Arab States are dead and buried does not nullify these agreements. If anything, it brings into serious question Israel's good faith in entering into any international agreements with the Arab States, now or in the future.

114. An even more explosive element in the present situation in the Middle East is the launching by Israel of a plan for the settlement of Israelis in occupied territories. We note with a measure of satisfaction the disapproval of these moves, especially by the great Powers. But the only certain way to stop such moves is by bringing about the speedy withdrawal of Israeli forces to the 4 June positions.

115. While the stand of the Arab States, as declared at the Arab Summit Conference, held at Khartoum from 29 August to 1 September, is moderate and in favour of a peaceful solution, it is a matter for concern that Israel should continue to maintain its intransigent posture on all issues, insist on direct negotiations with the Arab States, and reject any role of mediation for the United Nations. If Israel is serious about peace in the Middle East, it should not present the Arab States with demands which are impossible for them to meet. Insistence on forcing the Arab Governments to enter into direct negotiations with Israel, even in the teeth of the violent opposition of their people, makes us wonder whether Israel's real intention is not to continue its occupation of Arab territories indefinitely.

116. I shall in this context quote from the recent statement of President Ayub Khan:

"So long as Israeli forces do not withdraw from the areas which they occupied during their aggression in the month of June, a favourable climate for negotiations cannot be created nor can a sensible solution be worked out."

117. It has been asserted in the context of the Middle East problem that the United Nations must not merely administer palliatives but also find a cure, that it must not attack the symptoms of a disease but its root cause. The real roots of the conflict in the Middle East are the concomitants of Israel's creation. The injustice done to the Arab people is not a matter of the past. The problem of Palestine refugees is not merely a humanitarian problem. Their right to resettlement in their homeland or to compensation is the very core of the political issue. A supreme effort must be made to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly

on the rights of Palestine refugees. Only thus will it be possible to assure a genuine and durable settlement of the continuing crisis in the Middle East. Only thus will all the pieces of the puzzle fall into place.

118. The hostilities in the Middle East have inflicted heavy human and material losses on Jordan, Syria and the United Arab Republic. In assisting these States to rehabilitate their economies the United Nations family of organizations can play a significant role. It is not enough to identify the specific areas in which such assistance can be rendered. Concrete help is to be provided. We hope that Member States and the members of the United Nations family of organizations will respond to this need in the best traditions of international rehabilitation efforts.

119. The second aspect of the Middle East situation to which I would refer here is that of the Holy City of Jerusalem. By its two resolutions 2253 (ES-V) and 2254 (ES-V) the Assembly considered invalid the measures taken by Israel to change the status of Jerusalem, called upon Israel to rescind them and deplored Israel's failure to comply with the Assembly's call. That, despite these two unequivocal resolutions, Israel should persist in further action to annex Jerusalem is offensive to the whole international community. The letter addressed by Mr. Eban <sup>11/</sup> on 11 September 1967 to the Secretary-General compounds this offence by taking no notice whatsoever of the Assembly's resolutions.

120. Israel's defiance is manifest from many actions and utterances of the Israeli authorities. Their disregard of the universal religious interests in Jerusalem is apparent from one example which I shall quote, according to which the Israeli Minister for Religion stated:

"The liberation of Jerusalem has placed all the Christian Holy Places, and an important part of the Moslem Holy Places, under the province of Israel, and has returned to the Jews their Holy Places. But Israel has other holy places in East Jordan, and the Holy Mosque in Jerusalem, though holy to other religions ... is a Jewish shrine, but we are not thinking at the present of building our temple there, though we will try and do it later, and we will build all the Jewish synagogues in the old City and enlarge the area of Al-Baraq Wall as soon as possible.

"As to the Holy Ibrahim Mosque, the Cave is a Jewish shrine which we bought, in the same way that we bought the Holy Rock in the days of David and the Yabusins, and our rights in the Cave and the Rock are rights of conquest and acquisition."<sup>12/</sup>

121. We had all thought that, in this day and age when the Charter is already twenty-two years old, colonialism was no longer valid and that no territory was to be conquered or acquired by force. But Israel is determined to disabuse us all of this notion. It talks of the right of conquest or acquisition.

122. Such an attitude needs to be checked. Continued defiance of the Assembly's resolutions on Jerusalem

<sup>11/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1967, document S/8146, para. 154.

<sup>12/</sup> *Ibid.*, document S/8146, annex I, part E.

has not only jeopardized peace and stability in the Middle East. It has also outraged the sentiments of peoples all over the world. Jerusalem is not only the focus of the conflict in the Middle East. It also commands the deepest spiritual allegiance of the devotees of three great religions in the world. Pakistan believes that the time has come for the Security Council to secure compliance with the resolutions of the General Assembly concerning Jerusalem.

123. I now turn to the India-Pakistan question. In the introduction to his annual report, the Secretary-General has stated:

"following last year's promising development at Tashkent, there has been no serious effort on the part of the United Nations to contribute to an ultimate solution of the problem" [A/6701/Add.1, para. 41].

It will be recalled that in its resolution 211 (1965) of 20 September 1965, the Security Council pledged itself to assist the parties to resolve the problem underlying the India-Pakistan war once the cease-fire and withdrawal of forces had been carried out. The Security Council resolution also called upon the parties to utilize all peaceful means to this end, including those listed in Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations.

124. Thanks to the welcome initiative and efforts of Chairman Kosygin at Tashkent, Pakistan and India agreed on a withdrawal of forces and to settle their disputes through peaceful means. Withdrawals were carried out soon afterwards. A meeting was held at the level of Ministers in March 1966 to consider the steps that should be taken to resolve the disputes peacefully.

125. Since that time, despite continued diplomatic exchanges and correspondence between the Governments of Pakistan and India, we regret that, except for casual statements of a make-believe nature apparently made for propaganda purposes, there is no indication of India's willingness to enter into meaningful negotiations on the issue which lies at the heart of the India-Pakistan tension.

126. This is the dispute which concerns the implementation of the right of self-determination of 5 million people of Jammu and Kashmir. India and Pakistan as well as the United Nations are committed to let the people of Kashmir decide their future freely in accordance with their own wishes. While the then Foreign Minister of India assured us that his Government was ready to discuss all questions including Kashmir without preconditions or precommitments, the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, publicly declared, "India has nothing to negotiate with Pakistan on Kashmir".

127. We have repeatedly urged the Government of India not to take any action which, instead of easing the dispute, would aggravate it. To our dismay India continues to take one step after another to consolidate its occupation of the State and to exacerbate the feelings of the Kashmiri people and the people of Pakistan.

128. India's measures to annex the State and intensify the repression of the people have been brought to

the attention of the Security Council from time to time. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and other acknowledged leaders of the Kashmir people—Mirza Afzal Beg and Moulvi Farooq—continue to be robbed of their freedom. Tension in the State is mounting. The demand for the exercise of the right of self-determination is becoming more insistent every day. Even a few days ago police firings on peaceful demonstrators in Srinagar resulted in several deaths. According to a report published today in the Washington Post, six newspapers have been banned in Indian-occupied Kashmir.

129. An ever intensifying régime of repression and ruthless suppression of the human rights of the people is not the prescription for a reduction of tensions between India and Pakistan. If India truly desires peace, India must release the imprisoned Kashmiri leaders and create a climate of freedom in Jammu and Kashmir.

130. A settlement of this dispute on a just and honourable basis would transform the situation not only in South Asia but well beyond that region. Scarce resources would be used for economic development and not be frittered away on an arms race. A new era would dawn in which the two countries would be able to co-operate in promoting the cause of peace and well-being of Asia and Africa. This is an aim which is in the true interests not only of the peoples of Pakistan and India but also of the entire international community.

131. I would quote here the words of the President of Pakistan from his political autobiography, Friends Not Masters:

"The assumption that disputes get resolved with the passage of time is open to serious question. Fundamental disputes affecting the life and freedom of people cannot be swept under the rug; nor do they get buried under the dust of time. They have a habit of erupting because human beings cannot be kept eternally in bondage.

"This is the point which India, and indeed the world, has to realize when dealing with the problem of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, who are engaged in a life-and-death struggle to establish their right of self-determination."

132. We share the regret expressed by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report for 1967 that there has been no significant progress towards a solution of the Cyprus problem. That problem continues to pose a threat to peace and stability in that region. My Government believes that a just, peaceful and lasting solution of the Cyprus problem can be found only on the basis of the preservation of the legitimate rights and interests of the Greek and Turkish communities and in strict observance of international agreements.

133. The immediate problem to be dealt with in the context of disarmament at present is the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Any addition to the number of nuclear Powers would inevitably start a chain reaction in the direction of uncontrollable proliferation. The urgency of this problem has been widely recognized.

134. Pakistan has welcomed the identical drafts of a non-proliferation treaty submitted to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament by the Soviet Union and the United States. It is our fervent hope that the differences on the inspection clause will soon be overcome and that the views of the non-aligned countries relating to the balance of mutual obligations and responsibilities on the part of both nuclear and non-nuclear countries will be accommodated to the greatest practicable extent. Certainly, no Member of the United Nations would wish that, while the non-nuclear States are required to renounce the acquisition of nuclear weapons, the nuclear Powers should not even begin the process of nuclear disarmament. At the same time Pakistan would hope that, while striving for the articulation of the principle of balance in responsibilities and obligations, the non-nuclear countries will not make their acceptance of a non-proliferation treaty conditional or contingent on an agreement between the nuclear Powers on measures of nuclear disarmament. Insistence on such measures in the light of our experience of disarmament negotiations would delay and even prejudice the conclusion of a treaty and defeat the end that all of us seek to achieve—namely, to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. The value of the treaty will largely depend on how soon it is concluded and on the extent of the unqualified adherence that it commands.

135. Last year the General Assembly, in resolution 2153 B (XXI), decided to convene a conference of non-nuclear-weapon States to consider how best their security can be guaranteed against nuclear threat or blackmail. Pakistan had made it clear that the proposal was conceived to complement, not duplicate; to supplement, and not compete with, the work on the non-proliferation treaty of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

136. It was in that spirit that the Preparatory Committee established by resolution 2153 B (XXI) decided to await developments in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament as long as possible before commencing its task. The report of the Preparatory Committee [A/6817], which was adopted only after the two identical drafts of the non-proliferation treaty had been submitted to the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, is before the General Assembly.

137. The Preparatory Committee has recommended that the conference of non-nuclear-weapon States should be held next year from 11 March to 10 April, and that the nuclear weapon States should be invited to participate with full rights except the right to vote. It is apparent from the report of the Preparatory Committee that it has tried its best to ensure that the non-nuclear-weapon States Conference will deliberate essentially on those questions which arise directly from the conclusion of the non-proliferation treaty but are outside the scope of the treaty.

138. We note the views of the United States and the Soviet Union that the question of security guarantees to non-nuclear States should not form a substantive part of the non-proliferation treaty but should be discussed in the United Nations as a separate matter. Pakistan and, I am sure, all non-nuclear-weapon States welcome the coincidence of the views of the

two super-Powers and their own in regard to the appropriate context for dealing with the question of security guarantees. We would hope that the United States and the Soviet Union, and also the other nuclear Powers, would give favourable consideration to the conference of non-nuclear weapon States as the appropriate forum for the continuation of a substantive and full consideration of the problem of security guarantees.

139. The Pakistan delegation voted in favour of the inscription on the agenda of the current session of the item entitled "Conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons" [item 96] proposed by the USSR. The question may be asked: would not a convention on the prohibition of nuclear weapons do away with the question of security guarantees? To the best of our judgement the answer is no. A prohibition by itself cannot be the full answer to the problem of security.

140. In the context of disarmament, Pakistan cannot but pay tribute to the Latin American nations for the great example they have set by concluding in Mexico, early this year, the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. That treaty constitutes an act of the highest statesmanship which deserves to be emulated in other regions.

141. No meaningful discussion of the problems affecting the security and well-being of mankind, and especially of the issues of war and peace, can take place in this Organization as long as it continues to deny to one of its Founder Members, and a permanent member of the Security Council, its rightful place in all its organs. The exclusion of the legitimate representatives of China from this world body lends an air of unreality to its decisions and recommendations. It is ironical that, when universality is the goal set for its membership, the real representatives of the largest State in the world, and one which represents a main and self-determined world civilization, should be denied due participation. None can dispute the weight that the People's Republic of China carries in international relations by virtue of its stature as a major Power; yet it is denied representation. Little wonder, then, that its exclusion severely impairs the capacity of the United Nations to find solutions to some of the major world problems. We would, therefore, urge that the Assembly accord the People's Republic of China its rightful place in all the organs of the United Nations.

142. It is intolerable that the twin evils of colonialism and racial discrimination have not yet been fully eradicated. Besides other Territories elsewhere, large areas of southern Africa are still under colonial and racist minority régimes. The United Nations cannot weaken in its determination to ensure the full implementation of the historic General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). By their very nature, apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in their various manifestations create explosive situations which threaten international peace. The United Nations must therefore continue to accord the highest priority to issues affecting self-determination and human rights.

143. The General Assembly took a momentous decision last year to terminate the Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa [resolution 2145 E (XXI)]

and assume direct responsibility for its administration and accession to independence. The subsequent measures taken by the General Assembly in May this year are equally important steps [resolution 2248 (S-V)]. The defiant attitude of the Pretoria authorities has again posed a serious challenge to the United Nations. It is now incumbent on us to overcome the obstacles placed in the way of effective implementation of the Assembly's decisions. Heavy responsibility for their fulfilment continues to rest with the permanent members of the Security Council and the major trading partners of South Africa.

144. The rebellion of the white racist minority in Southern Rhodesia in November 1965 has not yet been quelled. Contrary to the assessment of the administrative Power, the economy of Southern Rhodesia has failed to collapse under the weight of the selective sanctions imposed by the Security Council in December 1966. Pakistan is among the Asian-African countries that have been sceptical of the efficacy of such sanctions. It now devolves on the Security Council to take more effective measures to bring down the illegal racist régime in Salisbury as a first step towards the attainment of the goal of self-determination and independence of the people of Zimbabwe.

145. The present depressing political situation in the world finds its reflection in the economic and social fields as well. Nearly all the representatives of developing countries who have spoken before me have expressed their deepest concern over the ever-widening gap between the rich and the poor countries. The results of the first United Nations Development Decade have so far been disappointing, even though the targets were indeed modest. They could have been realized if the necessary political will on the part of the developed countries had been present.

146. The lessons to be learnt from the failures of the first United Nations Development Decade are clear. If we are to continue in our joint endeavours to see a better world emerge, it is necessary that serious thought be given now to the period following the present decade. In our view, the time has come for the General Assembly to designate the 1970s as the second development decade.

147. Such a decision is necessary to give an impetus to the preparatory work on the framework of the international development strategy for the next decade. Apart from fixing targets for increase in the gross national product of developing countries, flow of development assistance and individual sectors like health, education and food consumption, we urge that special emphasis be placed on achieving "progress through trade". In this respect, the results that may hopefully be achieved at the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development will be of great significance. We are confident that the momentous Ministerial Meeting of the Group of Seventy-Seven commencing today in Algiers will go a long way to ensure the success of the second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

148. Once the framework for the next decade has been prepared, my delegation would suggest that it be approved at a special session of the General Assembly convened solely for that purpose. Such a special ses-

sion would highlight the importance attached by Member States of this Organization to working together in evolving a new world order. It would help mobilize world public opinion in support of concerted action for achieving defined objectives over a period of a decade. I need not point out that if this support is lacking, we are likely to slide back into the apathy which has been the bane of the present decade, with consequences which can only be catastrophic for peace and stability in the world.

149. In conclusion, let me stress that, as this Assembly deliberates on the different items on its agenda, mankind's eyes will be focused on it, not out of curiosity regarding how it smoothly conducts its business, but out of concern whether it holds fast to the purposes and principles of the Charter. As we think of the grave problems before us—the situation in the Middle East, the situation in Africa, the India-Pakistan question, the spiralling arms race, the imbalance in the world economy—it remains our hope that the United Nations will apply itself to them, not in a spirit of expediency but to evolve just, effective and speedy solutions. We trust that the United Nations will not abdicate its functions and neglect its duties.

150. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of India in exercise of his right of reply.

151. Mr. SWARAN SINGH (India): Members of the Assembly will have noticed that in my statement I did not refer to the India-Pakistan question. My restraint was conditioned by the Tashkent Declaration of which both India and Pakistan are signatories. It is therefore all the more regrettable that the Foreign Minister of Pakistan has once again chosen to refer to certain matters which are the internal affairs of India. I have no desire to enter into a controversy with him. I shall simply say that those charges have no basis whatsoever. I repudiate them in their entirety.

152. I shall now confine myself to some indications of positive approach which I see in the statement of the Foreign Minister of Pakistan. I welcome his statement that Pakistan is prepared to adhere to the Tashkent Declaration as a basis for settlement of all disputes between the two countries. India and Pakistan had agreed at Tashkent that relations between the two countries should be based on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of each other. They also agreed not to have recourse to force and to settle their disputes through peaceful means. Further, they agreed that the two sides would continue meeting both at the highest and at other levels on matters of direct concern to both countries.

153. Another important provision of the Declaration was the agreement of the two Governments to discourage propaganda directed against each other and, in fact, to encourage propaganda which promotes the development of friendly relations between them.

154. Ever since the signing of the Declaration, India has made several attempts to start a constructive dialogue with Pakistan. Contrary to what the Foreign Minister of Pakistan has stated, the Prime Minister of India has also affirmed more than once our profound desire to have good neighbourly relations with



Pakistan. For example, on 5 April 1967 my Prime Minister said:

"We have always stated our point that it is necessary, in fact it is vital, for India and Pakistan to work in co-operation on as many issues and in as many spheres as possible because we are neighbours and because we share the same problems and difficulties, and we shall certainly continue to make every effort possible to have greater understanding and goodwill with Pakistan."

155. On our part, I should like to repeat with all sincerity that India is willing to discuss all disputes—I repeat, all disputes—with Pakistan without any pre-conditions. The Government of India stands by the Tashkent Declaration and will patiently wait for a constructive response on the part of Pakistan.

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*