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President: Mr. Emilio ARENALES (Guatemala).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. KAMANGA (Zambia): Mr. President, first of all, I am delighted to fulfil the pleasant duty entrusted to me by my country of extending to you congratulations on your unanimous and deserved election to the high office of President of the current session of the General Assembly. The General Assembly was wise to entrust its work to such a distinguished diplomat who has to his credit many eminent qualities. My delegation attaches special importance to your election in view of the contribution of the Republic of Guatemala, the country which you so ably represent, and the great Latin American peoples to the evolution and jurisprudence of the United Nations. My delegation has no doubt that you will conduct the business of the twenty-third session of this Assembly to a successful conclusion.

2. Let me also take this opportunity to tender my congratulations to Mr. Manescu, the Foreign Minister of Romania, who presided with outstanding skill over the long and complicated twenty-second session of the General Assembly which ended last month. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, deserves our congratulations and encouragement for the efficient and persevering work that he has rendered in the relentless effort to find solutions to the conflicts which threaten world peace and security.

3. It was a proud occasion for my delegation when it co-sponsored the resolution for and witnessed the admission of the Kingdom of Swaziland to membership of the United Nations, not only because this brings us nearer to the objective of universal membership of this Organization but also because the new Member is a young and sovereign State dedicated to the principles of democracy and human dignity, putting to shame its foreign-dominated neighbours who are bent on the diabolical policies of *apartheid* and Portuguesism.

4. The general debate is and has always been an occasion for the leaders of delegations to review the state of the world, assess the achievements and failures of the United Nations and rededicate themselves to the principles of international peace and security and the pursuit of man's prosperity, happiness and dignity, as well as the avoidance of the scourge of war which, twice in our lifetime, has caused untold misery to mankind.

5. The authors of the United Nations Charter conceived a framework within which the causes of war had to be fought on a multidimensional basis: through debate of international issues, as we are doing now; through a watchdog institution for the maintenance of international peace and security, which is assigned to the Security Council; through economic and social machinery; and through the legal approach. From this Assembly have emerged pronouncements of great international significance: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, to mention only two.

6. The framework for achieving the objectives of the United Nations is basically sound; it is only that certain countries or groups of people have tended and tend to work against the realization of those objectives.

7. The survey of the situation in southern Africa reveals gross violations of the United Nations Charter committed by the white minority régimes. The vile rebellion in Southern Rhodesia is almost three years old, and yet the so-called administering Power has deliberately resorted to the most ineffective methods of dealing with it. Britain has come to the United Nations with half-hearted measures to bring the rebellion to an end, while at the same time opposing measures proposed by the peace-loving States as the only means to crush the rebellion. Britain has, instead, continued its policy of double dealing in the matter, that is, condemning the rebellion and yet negotiating with the rebels. We have witnessed with utter dismay the talks which were held between the Prime Minister of Britain, Mr. Harold Wilson, and the Rhodesian rebel leader, Ian Smith, on board the toothless *Tiger*; British secret envoys to Rhodesia, Mr. James Bottomley's recent visit to Rhodesia, and the present talks going on between the British Prime Minister and the Rhodesian rebel leader on board the *Fearless*, a British ship currently cruising off Gibraltar.

8. With all this in mind, we are left with the impression that British duplicity is bottomless. Zambia has consistently called for the use of force as the only measure and as the only sure way of ending the rebellion. In this call we have been joined by our sister States in the rest of Africa and Asia. The Security Council, in its resolution 253 (1968) of 29 May 1968, called on all States to render moral and

material assistance to the liberation forces in their just struggle for freedom and independence. I should like to use this rostrum to appeal to all the nations of the world to adhere faithfully to this United Nations resolution. We have now and again called for the release of the African leaders in Zimbabwe from detention and restriction so that they can effectively participate in determining the destiny of their indigenous land.

9. The majority of inhabitants of that country have been relegated to the role of spectators in a political drama whose vicious theme and horrifying acts equal that monstrous tragedy of malevolent South Africa. The state of emergency which was enforced before the illegal declaration of independence has continued to be extended for three monthly periods on grounds of insecurity on the part of the white minority régime, hence giving the rebels wide powers, including censorship, imprisonment without trial and economic control. It is clear to us that Britain is preparing a sell-out to the rebels during the current talks on the high seas. We have a genuine fear that the rights of the four million people of Zimbabwe will be sacrificed on the altar of expediency regardless of the consequences of such regrettable action on the future of that country. No settlement, negotiated or otherwise, can be satisfactory or just unless it recognizes in full the fundamental principles of freedom and justice for every citizen in Rhodesia and the right to a decent life, the right to liberty and security for all people regardless of their race, colour or national origin.

10. We remain firmly convinced, now probably more than ever before, that no settlement can guarantee peace and stability unless it gives full expression to the wishes of the majority whose rights have for a long time been the subject of a series of blatant violations by a racial minority for their own selfish interests. The views of the representatives of the people cannot be ignored if it is considered that the results of the current talks are to be the basis for the establishment of a government which would be responsible for the development of Southern Rhodesia and its people as a whole. The abandonment of the fundamental principles of freedom and justice on the part of the British Government would have dire consequences for everyone in Southern Rhodesia, and the losers in the final analysis will be the white people. The responsibility for all this will lie with the British Labour Government.

11. Despite our belief that force is the only answer to the rebellion in Rhodesia, we have participated in the implementation of the Security Council resolutions on Rhodesia. In doing so, we have incurred damage to our economy, as economic sanctions have been more felt in our country than in the colony against which they are aimed. Our report to the Secretary-General,¹ in terms of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) of 29 May 1968, gives the full picture of the extent to which our economic well-being has been damaged.

12. In pursuance of that resolution, Zambia has refused to allow persons using Southern Rhodesian passports entry to Zambia, without particular humanitarian reasons, and has insisted that all persons entering Zambia from Southern

Rhodesia should disavow the illegal Southern Rhodesian régime's cause. No organizations are permitted to exist on Zambian territory which encourage emigration to Southern Rhodesia. The Government of the Republic of Zambia has no trade or consular representation in Southern Rhodesia and does not permit such representation in Zambia. The Zambian Government stopped all flights to Rhodesia from 1 January 1968, well in advance of the United Nations resolution, and does not permit other airlines to operate to Southern Rhodesia from Zambian airports. This action has been taken at considerable cost to the Zambian national airline, and to Zambia's national tourist industry.

13. The question which we have to ask ourselves is: Are we going to watch passively the violation of human rights in Southern Rhodesia, the illegal hangings and the threat to international peace and security? Already the freedom fighters have resorted to armed struggle to liberate their country as they have been denied peaceful means to achieve their legitimate objectives towards independence and self-determination. South African troops have entered the rebel colony to bolster its military defences against freedom fighters; and yet the so-called administering Power has done nothing about it. We have called for the use of force not because we are blood-thirsty or because we hate Europeans. The President of the Republic of Zambia, Dr. Kaunda, has made it quite clear on innumerable occasions that the use of force in Southern Rhodesia at the beginning of the rebellion or now would prevent a more violent and bloody conflict that is sure to happen in that country in the future.

14. In the introduction to his annual report [A/7201/Add.1] the Secretary-General has stated that the situation in South Africa constitutes a threat to world peace. In a statement to the Assembly of African Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity held in Algiers, the Secretary-General observed:

“The continuing enforcement by the South African Government of its policies of *apartheid*, including recent attempts to extend the philosophy of racial discrimination and segregation to neighbouring territories, has given rise to a loss of faith in many quarters in the possibility of peaceful evolution towards a society based on justice and equality.”

15. The situation in South Africa is depressing and contrary to the optimistic picture given by Dr. Muller, the South African Foreign Minister, a few days ago [1680th meeting]. The evils of *apartheid* have been brought to the attention of this august Assembly. What is more agonizing to any lover of human liberty is the pernicious and degrading nature of that infernal policy. It is a policy which is incompatible with human dignity; it is a policy which flagrantly violates the Charter of the United Nations. Of late, the South African Prime Minister has called upon Zambia to co-operate with him in this misguided task of opposing injustice abroad but at the same time embracing injustice in his homeland, where the indigenous people are subjected to the most oppressive political apparatus ever conceived by man. If Mr. Vorster could stop brutalizing his countrymen of black origin; if he could humanize his institutions and uphold human dignity; if he could allow all his countrymen to participate in the determination of their destiny; if he could wind up his police-state system; if he could work for economic and social justice for all, there

¹ Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-third Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1968, document S/8786/Add.2.

would be no earthly reason why Zambia and South Africa could not develop harmonious relations to their mutual advantage. But as long as Vorster persists in his wicked *apartheid* policies there can be no compromise in Zambia's stand against South Africa; nor can we compromise with a State where a white man's wage in the mining industry is at least seventeen times that of his black counterpart, and where the latter pays taxes at an earlier age and continues to do so late in life.

16. The seriousness of the South African situation goes far beyond national statistics. The menacing aspect of it is often more traceable in its implications for world security. This régime is continually retreating more and more toward militarism as a means of guarding itself against peace-loving neighbours. Thus, emboldened by its military might stemming from the NATO military arsenal, it has threatened to attack Zambia, which is not a threat to it but only a critic of its misguided political and economic policies. My delegation would like to assure the régime in Pretoria that no amount of military blackmail or of threats will deter us from pursuing a course of justice and fair play. No amount of violence or threats of violence, either within or outside South Africa, can extinguish the light of freedom or the quest for that freedom. Those NATO countries that have armed South Africa to the teeth, and continue to do so, should not be surprised if one day the whole of southern Africa is set aflame in a military conflagration with dire consequences for the human race.

17. We have watched with dismay the extension of the iniquitous *apartheid* policies to the Territory of South West Africa, now appropriately named Namibia. The intransigence of South Africa and its refusal to grant landing rights to the United Nations Council for Namibia, on which my country is privileged to serve, is nothing but a continuation of its attitude of defiance of the United Nations authority over Namibia. Zambia appreciates the action taken by the General Assembly in establishing the Council for Namibia with the purpose of taking over the administration of that Territory from the control of the illegal régime of Pretoria. My delegation hopes that the permanent members of the Security Council will play an ever-increasing role in the legitimate efforts of the Council for Namibia, in its endeavour to establish effective United Nations authority over that Territory.

18. My delegation wishes also to draw the attention of this world body to the acts of aggression Portugal continues to commit against Zambia's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Not only has Portugal bombed villages, but it has also cold-bloodedly murdered our nationals in our areas bordering on Angola and Mozambique. Appropriate action is being taken by my Government to bring these acts of aggression to justice.

19. When we look at the history of Mozambique and Angola and the so-called Portuguese Guinea, we see oppression of a barbarous nature. For here we have a backward nation in Europe still extolling the virtues of imperialism in Africa under the most shameful slogan of "Overseas Provinces". What could be more immoral and blind than pretending in the late twentieth century that a small country in Europe, itself oppressed, has any moral or political claim over so vast and far-away lands? Do the

Portuguese still really think that they can continue to suppress the infinite desire of mankind to be free?

20. The United Nations has no doubt played no mean role in the over-all decolonization process. We in Zambia still hope that, as the indigenous victims of archaic Portuguese colonialism rise increasingly to assert their rights to self-determination, this Organization will rise to what is expected of it in championing those human rights. Zambia, therefore, calls upon this world body to join it and Africa in condemning in no uncertain terms the retrogressive and oppressive Portuguese régime. Furthermore, Zambia wishes to renew its appeal to Portugal's NATO allies to give renewed attention to the fact that Portugal is furthering NATO's interests in a most inhuman but eventually fruitless way. We hope that the new administration in Lisbon will depart from this negative policy in order to bring about progressive and just reforms in the administration of its colonies to prepare them for independence.

21. In West Africa, an arms war rages on. The conflict between Nigeria and Biafra deserves the attention of the world body because, instead of the conflict taking a localized course, Britain and Russia—what a queer combination of agents of bloodshed—have come in and therefore made a peaceful solution very difficult. The situation in Biafra has taken on the character of genocide. We in Zambia deplore the role of militarism in the conflict. We have recognized the Republic of Biafra because we know that real unity between peoples cannot be achieved through mass and indiscriminate slaughter. My delegation would like to make it abundantly clear that our recognition of Biafra was not motivated by any imperialist tendencies, as suggested in certain quarters. Zambia condemned secession in Katanga; it still condemns secessionist movements in that part of the world. If Zambia had any imperialist designs on any part of Africa we would have been the first to recognize Katanga, but we did not do so because secession there was engineered by imperialist forces outside Africa. Our anti-imperialist stand cannot be doubted even by the imperialists themselves. We also know that by any definition of a people Biafrans are highly qualified and capable of running their own affairs. Zambia is happy to note that the Organization of African Unity has at least called for peace in the area—but it must be an honourable and just peace. We believe that peaceful conditions are a necessary prerequisite to any meaningful negotiations.

22. Whatever happens after the current Nigerian-Biafran confrontation, we believe lasting peace will be possible only if achieved through mutual discussions and in just conditions. To that end, Zambia proposes that those supplying arms to one or both sides should cease forthwith so that meaningful negotiations can be initiated. We feel that the United Nations, in fulfilment of its universal mission in accordance with Articles 11, 12 and 35 of the Charter, should take up this vital question and play a positive role in bringing about peace in the area. This Organization cannot go to Biafra at the invitation of Nigeria to witness passively the destruction of lives and property in Biafra.

23. As we are gathered here, the situation in the Middle East continues to grow worse. It has been Zambia's consistent contention that the way to peace in that area will not best be found by interference from big Powers, nor

will it be discovered with the tool or threat of war. Yet almost all the variables in that situation are increasingly pointing to a renewal of war. Zambia cannot rejoice at the idea that ever since June last year the situation has remained tense. So long as Israel refuses to accept the fact that there cannot be peace while it occupies Arab territory through aggression, the world will continue to rise to the crash of cannon fire.

24. Zambia is fully aware that hollow victories can never be a substitute for permanent solutions in the field of international or indeed human relations. The basic considerations in the Middle East are and should be seen to be humanistic. It is the realization and acceptance of the fact that all the peoples of the Middle East have a right to exist that has made Zambia's stand remain as follows: first, that loss of human life and damage to property must be deplored; second, that Israel's withdrawal from Arab territory occupied after the war of last June should be recognized as a prerequisite to any meaningful peace talks; third, that the plight of Palestinian refugees should be given humanistic consideration and action; fourth, that big Powers should stop meddling in Middle Eastern affairs, to facilitate the taking of independent steps by the peoples of the Middle East themselves.

25. The Middle East problem is of great concern to Zambia because it is basically human and also because it clearly illustrates gross big-Power interference in relations among smaller Powers. Thus, this problem cannot be a matter of indifference or disinterest to us.

26. The question of Viet-Nam casts a very dark shadow on the history of mankind. In that situation the basic question is one of self-determination for a people.

27. Here we see one of the militarily and economically biggest Powers on our planet combating a young nation, whose resoluteness cannot be subdued through gun power. If only we mortals could one day realize that the human quest for freedom cannot be extinguished through physical injury, then some of these problems would not arise. Zambia has always held and still holds that peace would be possible in Viet-Nam if the invading forces realized and accepted a number of facts.

28. First, the Viet-Nameese have a right, like anybody else, to determine the course of their own history. Those who tell the world that they are in Viet-Nam to serve the cause of democracy should know that you cannot bring democracy to a country if you are out there deciding the content of the democracy you would like to see there. It is a legitimate democratic right for the Viet-Nameese to choose their own system. Herein lies the root of self-determination.

29. Second, the National Liberation Front is a legitimate force in the South Viet-Nameese political system and as such the world should not pretend to be oblivious of the fact that that organization will have a great impact on the course of the history of that country.

30. Third, a peaceful solution involving a democratic sounding of the thinking of the South Viet-Nameese on their future is a necessary step.

31. Zambia is happy that peace talks have opened in Paris, but we can never be complacent about their success until we see a more serious and determined effort among those attending the talks to move fast to eliminate the root causes of the war, which has already claimed a high toll of innocent civilians. As things stand, we are saddened to note that, as the talks go on, someone else in power is saying that his country's withdrawal would not be effected without honour. Human history shows us that when leaders start to talk in those terms the sentiments of nationalism and the elusive concept of power can dangerously overlook the basic human feelings. There must therefore be renewed efforts to find a peaceful solution to the problem.

32. The recent events in Czechoslovakia have shocked the conscience of mankind. The President of the Republic of Zambia roundly condemned Russian military intervention in Czechoslovakia. Permit me to quote from the speech I made in the National Assembly of Zambia on 22 August 1968—a speech which was circulated on 23 August as a document of the Security Council:

“When today the whole world was stunned by the news of Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, President Kaunda described this outrage as ‘naked aggression’. Aggression indeed: for it is unthinkable that the Soviet Union, which has not failed to condemn colonialist and imperialist acts of aggression against colonial peoples, should find herself committing this monstrous act full of dire consequences for humanity and for the lovers of fundamental human rights.

“What right has any nation, big or small, nuclear Power or non-nuclear Power to impose its will on another nation by force of arms?”²

33. In our approach to the problem of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty, we shall always continue to be guided by resolution 2131 (XX) of 21 December 1965, in paragraph 1 of which the General Assembly solemnly declares:

“No State has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State. Consequently, armed intervention and all other forms of interference or attempted threats against the personality of the State or against its political, economic and cultural elements are condemned.”

It is our hope that all States, and especially those which initiated resolution 2131 (XX), will take the lead in adhering to that solemn Declaration.

34. I said earlier that the United Nations has done some good work for humanity. Yet one cannot help admitting that some of the tension in the world is a direct result of the fact that the United Nations has, at times, tended to be an instrument of certain strong nations or groups of nations whose interests are deemed to be defensible at all times. This divisive tendency cripples the smooth operation of the United Nations. There can be no logical, moral or other justification other than archaic nationalism for the continued exclusion of the People's Republic of China from membership of this body.

² *Ibid.*, Supplement for July, August and September 1968, document S/8770.

35. Why do some countries insist that the People's Republic of China, with its 800 million people, an effective Government and super-Power, whose impact, not only on the future of Asia but also of the world, will be felt even more strongly in future, should not be a Member, while a vanishing satellite of another Power should not only be given recognition in the General Assembly but also have a permanent seat in the Security Council? This situation surely defies human reason; and the United Nations, by the standards of human reason should reverse this situation and accord the People's Republic of China its rightful place in the chambers of this Organization. In order to be an effective instrument for peace, the United Nations must, of course, not deceive itself as being capable of operating effectively without the participation in its functions of one of the most powerful nations on earth.

36. Zambia voted against the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons because we want general and complete disarmament. This is also a universal wish. Any meaningful treaty must meet the very minimum requirements of operative paragraph 2 of General Assembly resolution 2028 (XX) of 19 November 1965. These requirements are:

“(a) The treaty should be void of any loop-holes which might permit nuclear or non-nuclear Powers to proliferate, directly or indirectly, nuclear weapons in any form;

“(b) The treaty should embody an acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligations of the nuclear and non-nuclear Powers;

“(c) The treaty should be a step towards the achievement of general and complete disarmament and, more particularly, nuclear disarmament;

“(d) There should be acceptable and workable provisions to ensure the effectiveness of the treaty;

“(e) Nothing in the treaty should adversely affect the right of any group of States to conclude regional treaties in order to ensure the total absence of nuclear weapons in their respective territories.”

37. As far as Zambia is concerned, the Treaty did not meet those very important requirements. “Non-proliferation” means preventing the spread of nuclear weapons to those who do not have them, and preventing an increase in nuclear weapons among those who already have them. Horizontal proliferation has been blocked, but vertical proliferation is still wide open.

38. In the 1963 Moscow Treaty, the nuclear Powers assumed a commitment to reach an early agreement on banning all underground tests. Records show that since the Moscow partial test-ban treaty, underground nuclear tests have increased from thirty-six in 1964 to forty in 1965, and sixty in 1966.

39. The co-sponsors of Security Council resolution 255 (1968) on security guarantees have undertaken to go to the aid of a non-nuclear weapon State party to the treaty which becomes a victim of an act or the object of aggression. But the history of the United Nations is replete with instances of inaction. And, in any case, what in fact defines aggression?

40. Furthermore, France has not participated in the work of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee and has abstained, both in the General Assembly and in the Security Council, on the relevant draft resolutions pertaining to the Treaty. The People's Republic of China is not a Member of the United Nations Organization and has not been associated with the Treaty. We consider this to be a serious disqualification of the Treaty. South Africa has what we prefer to call mercenary technical know-how and the means to acquire nuclear weapons. It voted for the Treaty; but even then, what good reason do we have to assume that South Africa will strictly adhere to its obligations under the Treaty, when it has consistently defied even the most elementary purposes and principles of the Charter?

41. While I have dealt mainly with the most obvious dangers that humanity has to recognize and act against, my delegation is equally aware of the economic and social situation in the world. The second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held in New Delhi, the results of which, as the Secretary-General correctly pointed out, were far below our optimistic expectations, should serve to remind us of the need to bridge the gap between the few rich nations and the many poor nations of the world.

42. In conclusion, I wish to declare our unequivocal support for using the machinery of the United Nations for the survival of mankind. Let us use this Human Rights Year to rededicate ourselves to the principles and ideals of the Charter. Zambia believes in the United Nations, its specialized agencies, and all its bodies, and our belief is motivated solely by a whole-hearted desire to co-operate with all peace-loving nations to give this Organization our greatest support.

43. Mr. PAZHAWAK (Afghanistan): This Assembly is not a philosophical forum where we ask why baffling events occur or what reality is, but an institution made up of human beings who ought to pay attention to realities.

44. Our difficulties descend upon us as a torrent of confusion. We meet a universal puzzlement on a¹ continents irrespective of beliefs, ideologies or alliances—an overwhelming confusion on national and international levels. Some old illusions may have perished but most of them persist. The lost beliefs have not been replaced by any new faith.

45. Something almost new has entered international affairs. Many past fears are now ugly realities, while no hopes have developed into anticipated beauty. These ugly realities are the deviations from law and morality, and they are world-wide. Every moment is fraught with imperilling uncertainties. Never before has man's daily life been attended by so much fear. Man has never stood so frustrated by what threatens him. History has shown that no condition is more trying.

46. In this baffling position we are compelled to react in one way. We must withstand the winds of confusion and strive to overcome the difficulties tending to disrupt civility and morality. The only place to do this is in the United Nations. No one, so far, has been able to suggest a more

effective alternative. What circumstances dictate now is a “new departure” in ways of thinking, policies and positions away from the old inconclusive ones.

Mr. Alvarado (Peru), Vice-President, took the Chair.

47. Some statesmen and certain sectors of the world press have called the twenty-third session of the General Assembly a “gloom-ridden” gathering. They tell us of the frustration surrounding diplomats. But we know that such dissatisfaction is nothing compared to the despair all people throughout the world will feel if we allow this Assembly to be influenced by such an atmosphere.

48. The leadership in these circumstances has been entrusted to our President. Fortunately, the Presidency of the Assembly has gone to a representative of a continent where nations, while deeply attuned, are not participants in any of the disastrous involvements we see on every other continent. We hope that understanding of this significance will aid in the full co-operation of the membership with him so that he may successfully lead this Assembly. We further hope that he will be led personally by the spirit of the great people of Latin America in the fulfilment of his responsibilities.

49. As I extend our congratulations to the President on his election, I should like to express, on behalf of the delegation of Afghanistan, our appreciation of the accomplishments of His Excellency Mr. Manescu, President of the General Assembly at its twenty-second session, and pay a warm tribute to him for the statesmanship and wisdom with which he demonstrated the qualities of his leadership.

50. We wish to convey, through the President, our heartfelt congratulations to Swaziland on its admission to the United Nations as a sovereign Member of this Organization. We wish the people of this new State prosperity and success in the contribution they will make in the international sphere.

51. At each session of the General Assembly, one concern is more pressing than others. At this session it seems to be the breaking of the so-called *détente* and the renewal of the cold war. This, however, is no surprise to us. At the beginning of the last session I said:

“In many areas and on many levels the psychology of force has swept the minds of men and nations, and where once the virtues of peace were extolled today the efficacy of force is openly flaunted and even exalted.

“ . . .

“ . . . The cold war, we are told, is dead, but apparently its death has been somewhat exaggerated. To be sure, the cold war in the form of a nuclear confrontation and aggressive alliances, has greatly thawed, and this marks important progress.

But now we see a resurgence of rivalry in the more indirect forms of interventionism and in all manner of anti-Charter sophistry. We may appropriately ask: Has the cold war gone underground? Has it shifted from the big bombs to the small nations?

“If this is so, then the world faces a new type of power struggle, this one without even the moral justification of

an ideological crusade”. [1560th meeting, paras. 18 and 31-32]

Therefore, let us not speak about new doubts, new concerns or new sources of trouble.

52. If we allow deviation from law and order to go unpunished in one place, we should not be surprised when it happens with impunity elsewhere. Only the simple-minded would cry out separately for the same thing. Henceforth we must think in terms of future consequences.

53. Next to the rising international tensions and difficulties of war and instability, the greatest source of concern is the trend toward degrading this Organization, most recently described as a “trend of growing disenchantment with the United Nations”. We must pause here and ponder whether it is the faults or foibles of this Organization which are being criticized or if the remarks cut in a different direction and open up reasons which have not yet been presented visibly.

54. There are a few examples for us to follow in this search. Each of us in his association with the United Nations has sensed that countries which have planned to carry out their policies in the hope of securing in their own self-interest that which they thought would be of concern to mankind are the ones which have foreseen the reaction to these selfish ploys and then expressed some sort of “disenchantment” with this Organization. Likewise, whenever these countries have considered the United Nations useful in obtaining their desired purposes their attitude has been different.

55. Most of the so-called “disenchantment” with the Organization—and this may well be an indication of its internal strength—has come when some Powers have wrongly thought that they could take the United Nations for granted. This problem, therefore, should be seriously pondered, particularly by the small nations—as it is mainly their problem.

56. The smaller countries of the world, which comprise the majority, must register their dissatisfaction with the more-than-mythical zones of vital interest of the big Powers even if they are unable to change the trend in the delimitation of those areas. The uncertainty and insecurity that this has caused and causes among small countries is very great, because it is clear that its true meaning is the subjugation of the powerless by the powerful. Even a beginner in the study of history can tell us that all the dangerous situations mankind has endured have emanated from the actions of those who have been more powerful.

57. We should give particular thought to the responsibilities of the great Powers in the relationship of coexistence, for it is in their hands that the ultimate fate of the world rests. Surely the Governments of these Powers owe mankind a duty wider than their obligations to their own countries’ immediate interests.

58. The need for coexistence should be acknowledged as a fact of survival, for today not even great Powers can act independently of others—for the greater the power the more complex and widespread must be the meshing and interlocking of interests in every sphere and in every area of the globe.

59. Surely coexistence must contain a sense of justice as much as a sense of enlightened self-interest. Our awareness that justice should be the prerogative of the weak nation as much as of the strong nation is a relatively recent phenomenon and still requires careful nurturing.

60. It is important that the principle of equality of nations should be implemented and that the right of self-determination be respected as a universal right of all nations not only for achieving and maintaining their political independence, but also for attaining their free development.

61. In this International Year for Human Rights, we are pledged to pay special attention to human rights. We had an opportunity to speak our mind earlier this year in Teheran, and I personally had the honour to be there. I stated at that Conference that: "Any example of discord or of hatred between man and man can be traced to one cause: a violation of the right of one by the other." At the International Conference on Human Rights, held in Teheran from 22 April to 13 May 1968, we were not divided exactly into the "haves" and the "have-nots", as we are in other international gatherings. For in full realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms we are all "have-nots". We are all victims of deprivation.

62. Among so many blunders the most difficult to avoid, although it might sound totally startling, is the gross mistake we make when we forget that no single society exists where all individuals enjoy what they are entitled to enjoy. I emphasize: not a single society. The challenge is no longer to discover the intention of man or to define and declare his determination. His action in the direction of a new life in a new world must be assured.

63. Humanitarian work should not be subordinated to national reluctance to implement internationally acknowledged principles. We should call on all countries to strengthen the United Nations in this common humanitarian task in the interest of mankind.

64. Constitutions, declarations, conventions and covenants have been written. We should stop forgetting the fact that all these instruments are meant to lead nations to act; to wake up men and women to their duties; to weave up man's intentions and aspirations into vigorous actions. Possibly because of this, and despite more than twenty years of toil, much work remains for us to do in widening the protection of human rights. We must remember that the United Nations has not succeeded even in adopting the measures which its own bodies had originally contemplated. Many a strong proposal has emerged years later as an old, weakened shadow of principles. Scant attention has been paid to the suggestions and recommendations of the non-governmental organizations and of devoted individuals. National tribunals have paid little heed to or, in some cases, ignored even the limited decisions of international institutions.

65. What is more important, therefore, is the implementation of the principles through full ratification of the instruments of human rights already adopted. And this is the minimum.

66. Allow me to repeat what I stated at the third plenary meeting of the Teheran Conference:

"... Suppose all countries in the world were to become politically free. Let us even conjure up a world in which

all countries become not only free, but economically developed. In that world let us suppose that international co-operation were to reach a peak, and all wars, cold and hot, were to cease. But suppose that in that highly developed world the rights of the individual were not protected? What kind of world would this be? What would peace and wealth mean to the individual? It would be a world of prosperity perhaps, but without dignity, a world in which a man would remain a slave under the false flag of freedom and independence. And it would be a very fragile peace indeed."

67. The developing countries of the world expected that, with the initiation of the United Nations Development Decade, a new era of constructive co-operation would begin between the highly industrialized countries and those which, owing to historical reasons and geographical factors, are actually in the early stages of their economic growth. But, regrettably, in the present decade the high hopes placed in a global strategy of convergent measures have not been realized.

68. The disappointing results of the second Session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held in New Delhi in February and March 1968, emphasized the shortcomings of the existing system of international economic co-operation. Much to our dismay, that second Session, which was convened to implement into practical measures the aims of the first Session and was expected to become one of the highlights of the present decade, could not make a notable contribution in bridging the gap. The unwillingness to cope resolutely with the needs of the developing countries and the urgent problems of trade and development facing them was responsible for the limited achievements of that international gathering. The Conference in New Delhi could not embark on profitable negotiations and was soon handicapped by confronting interests. This confrontation, which was certainly contrary to the purposes of UNCTAD, harmed the less-developed countries, while the affluent society seemed determined to hold to its privileged position. As long as the developed countries do not adopt a fundamental, new approach to the problems of development, the economic situation of the developing countries will continue to fall apart.

69. In order to correct the present state of affairs, it is imperative that the rich countries should change their traditional attitude. The new international trade and economic structure must be based on justice and a better understanding among nations.

70. The Secretary-General has warned us of the staggering effects it will have on the future of our world if something is not done about malnutrition—and this is only one example. As one writer records:

"The most serious crime of our time was brought to light by the World Health Organization at the beginning of this year. This organization has recognized that today there are 300 million children whose brains are in danger of not reaching their full development due to the lack of . . . essential nourishment."

That one example should be sufficient.

71. Recently, Mr. Paul Hoffman spoke of "a rising tide of common sense" for the promotion of one of the funda-

mental objectives of the United Nations Charter, namely, "promoting social progress and better standards of life in larger freedoms". But, evidently, inequality in all respects continues to increase. I do not wish to go into the details of this sphere of our work; I should like only to say that we should not forget what Pope Paul VI rightly stated, that "development is the new name for peace".

72. In the first months of the current year a positive and important step was taken on the road to disarmament by the conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and its endorsement by the General Assembly. The Government of my country, in signing the Treaty, wanted to reaffirm its firm belief in the spirit and principle of this Treaty. However, in accepting it, the Government of Afghanistan did not intend to overlook the Treaty's imperfections. We, with a majority of non-nuclear-weapon States, agreed that it was necessary to find ways and means of improving the present non-proliferation Treaty in order to render it universally acceptable.

73. Naturally, and rightly, the emphasis in disarmament talks should be put on eliminating nuclear armaments. But, while no one can deny the untold destruction which would result from the use of nuclear weapons, we must not forget that conventional weapons are enough to bring about unbearable suffering.

74. The arms race and the flow of arms is most alarming to us, as a small country. It is disturbing the balance of power in regions throughout the world and necessitates expenditures far beyond the means of all Governments. Resources stolen from high-priority economic and social needs are allocated to arms and to strengthening disproportionately municipal and police departments.

75. Our policies on all colonial issues, the standing problems of Africa and elsewhere, are well known and unchanged. They are firmly based on the aspirations of the peoples of that great continent, which have always had our support and sympathy. We firmly stand by them for the fulfilment of their legitimate demands and aspirations.

76. In Europe, we profoundly deplore what has happened in the East. Our regret naturally comes from our policy of friendship, based on principles of coexistence regardless of differences in political and economic systems, with all socialist countries. Our relationship has always been marked by constant co-operation and friendliness.

77. We listened carefully and with full understanding to the appeal made by the representative of Czechoslovakia in his statement of 4 October [1682nd meeting] to this Assembly. We share his hope that, through understanding, the situation will be normalized, with full respect for the aspirations of the people of Czechoslovakia, who have demonstrated the highest level of political wisdom—love for peace and dignity during the most trying moments which could occur in the life of any nation. We hope the peaceful efforts for the withdrawal of foreign troops will meet with success as soon as possible.

78. The situation in Europe and the great necessity for *détente* and peaceful coexistence in that continent are of great concern to us—not only because it is of world-wide

importance but also because of the very close bonds of friendship we have with the European countries, Western and Eastern.

79. In the Middle East, the basic dilemma persists. At no time have we thought a political solution impossible. We have constantly endorsed that path. The cornerstone of settlement is, first, the withdrawal of the occupation forces from all Arab territories and then acceptance of the principle that all States have the right to be free from the threat of belligerency.

80. We attach the ultimate importance to the inadmissibility of occupation or acquisition of territory by conquest. One could challenge anyone here or elsewhere to come to this rostrum and speak for its admissibility. I am sure that not a single country here or elsewhere could meet such a challenge. Nevertheless, this condition has been tolerated in the Middle East. This is the most deplorable example of what one could call the extreme degree to which the virtues of tolerance and patience could be tried in our time.

81. In this connexion, we support the resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council. The possibility of settlement has remained remote only because those resolutions have not been implemented. We further support the efforts of Mr. Jarring and their continuation with a sense of urgency—I repeat, with a sense of urgency—and hope that the goals of the United Nations resolutions will be achieved through the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General.

82. Unlike many other questions, the Middle East question has been the direct responsibility of the United Nations. Israel, unlike many other countries, is the creation of this Organization. The rejection of the resolutions of the United Nations in such cases could be considered a rejection of one's own *raison d'être*. We have been given the impression that the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on behalf of the United Nations will not be a complete failure. We hope it is true. We do not have the impression, however, that the situation will not grow worse. It is clear that another catastrophic war will follow if the business of a finished war remains unfinished.

83. We must not forget or abandon the refugees and similar victims of the war and we must, through the workings of the United Nations, bring our helpful attention to their rights and needs.

84. We deplore the situation in Viet-Nam, as we would any hot war. No situation has so continuously impaired international relations as has this tragic and pointless war. For twenty centuries the Viet-Nameese people have been deprived of the opportunity of deciding their own fate, having been subjected to the interfering domination of Asian, European and American Powers. In this twentieth century, it should be demanded that the pestilence of 2,000 years be ended and the people of Viet-Nam be enabled to decide their own fate and determine their own future.

85. When the first direct contacts were made in Paris, all who believe in the solution of problems through negotiation were greatly relieved. As long as these negotiations continue, we shall not allow ourselves to be discouraged. In

the meantime, no effort should be spared to ensure the success of the Paris talks.

86. Before the possibility of such talks was known we favoured all suggestions which might lead to direct contacts between the parties concerned, including the suggestion of the Secretary-General to halt the bombing of the North. We continue to favour such suggestions, if they will bring the restoration of peace on the basis of the Geneva Agreements. Let me add, with all humility and with full awareness of the complexities involved, that if the opportunity is once more lost, if lack of understanding results in the failure of the Paris talks, then the result will be more bloodshed and untold misery for the Viet-Nameese people, consequently greater discord even on the restoration of such contacts and therefore increased tension in the world and a prolonged hot war. If we are in earnest in our desire to seize every available opportunity, we should take a further step with a new attitude while the preliminary talks are still going on.

87. I have taken it upon myself to speak on this issue and in the way that I will, with full awareness of all the complexities and the difficulties, as I said, and fully aware of how loosely the word "naive" has been used when somebody has come with a sincere proposal. Therefore, there should not be any mistake about that.

88. For reasons known to all of us, the United Nations, in the present circumstances, cannot exercise any authority in connexion with the war in Viet-Nam. However, if it is possible to deny the competence or disregard the recommendations of the Organization for any reason, in any situation, no one can deny the moral authority of the United Nations. Though it is true that no organization can take effective steps on a matter not on its agenda, particularly if all parties concerned are not members of that organization, it is equally true that a major problem of a hot war cannot be ignored by any individual nation or by any assembly of nations.

89. Though not on the agenda, the question of Viet-Nam has been mentioned in every statement made from this rostrum. On the strength of the moral authority of this assembly of nations—I repeat, of this assembly of nations; not this Assembly of the United Nations, but of this assembly of nations—an appeal can be directed to all those directly involved in the war to think of arranging a cease-fire and to escalate the scope of the negotiations.

90. On certain occasions a temporary cease-fire has been possible in the case of Viet-Nam. I repeat again: with full awareness of the practical difficulties and the complexities arising from the rigid positions, where a limited cease-fire is possible it should not be impossible to hope for an unlimited cease-fire while at least some form of talks are going on. It is not necessary that such an appeal should have the form of a resolution of the Assembly. And it is not difficult for this Assembly to find the appropriate form.

91. It is our hope that this suggestion will be considered in the diplomatic contacts at this session without any prejudice to any positions hitherto taken by the parties concerned or any suggestions made by Governments or statesmen anywhere, to be taken into consideration only as an expression of the conscience of the world to stop further bloodshed while negotiations are going on.

92. There are other serious situations of international concern affecting the people of the Asian continent. Some of them are old, some new; aside from the ones discussed before this United Nations, others have not yet been brought here. All of these are capable of causing immense disruption of stability and peace, so that the badly needed co-operation in international affairs in the area is severely hampered. The welfare of hundreds of millions of Asian people is involved in these insufferable tensions. We are deeply concerned about all of them and hope that a peaceful settlement of the disputes will be found in an amicable solution to the problems causing them.

93. On our own borders, the tensions between the people of Pakhtunistan and the Government of Pakistan have given birth to an alarming situation fraught with a dangerous future for the peace and security of that region. The fate of a population and territory which far exceeds that of Kashmir in both respects is involved in this dispute.

94. The people of Pakhtunistan were the only community oppressed by the British in that region of the world who fought for independence with all their tenacity of life against colonialism. Yet, ironically, they were the only people deprived of the right of self-determination there. Afghanistan firmly supports the demands of the people of Pakhtunistan. Regretfully, our efforts to persuade Pakistan to seek a peaceful settlement and a negotiated solution to the Pakhtunistan problem have failed.

95. We shall try to continue to hope that the Government of Pakistan will realize the gravity of this situation and deal with it in accordance with the accepted international standards for regulating such disputes, on the basis of the undeniable right of peoples and nations to self-determination—I repeat, the right of self-determination.

96. I am at the end of my statement. If I have not made reference to the many other meaningful items on the agenda of this session, it in no way indicates a lack of interest in those items. It is our expectation that we will have the opportunity to speak on these matters at a future time when they are again before us. But I should like to conclude by saying that in all discussions we continue to seek and to offer full co-operation with all the Members of this Assembly.

97. Mr. MOUKNASS (Mauritania) (*translated from French*): The twenty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly has opened and is pursuing its work at an especially difficult moment in the development of relationships among peoples and nations. The international climate has been made threatening for the maintenance of peace by the hotbeds of war which imperialism is stubbornly fuelling in South-East Asia, the Middle East and southern Africa. Further attacks on the freedom of nations, on their right to self-determination, on respect for territorial integrity and on non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States are being launched in various regions of our planet in defiance of the fundamental principles of the Charter. Added to that situation, fraught with alarming consequences, is the quickening social and economic deterioration of the greater part of mankind.

98. That picture indicates how important the Mauritanian delegation considers the mission of the President of this

Assembly and how heavy his responsibilities. Nevertheless, we are confident of his outstanding diplomatic qualities, and warmly welcome his unanimous election to the presidency of the General Assembly. What we know of his country, and the merited respect and admiration we cherish for the sister countries of Latin America, encourage us to believe that under his enlightened leadership the labours of this General Assembly session will succeed. Together with our most sincere congratulations we assure the President of our complete and faithful co-operation.

99. We would also express our deep gratitude to his predecessor, Mr. Manescu, who presided over the work of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly with authority, tact and a keen sense of justice. My delegation sees in President Manescu a great statesman distinguished for his pre-eminence as a diplomat and his effectiveness as a man of action.

100. Once again my delegation wishes to emphasize how much the Mauritanian people and its leaders appreciate the admirable way in which the Secretary-General, U Thant, is fulfilling his noble and difficult mission and thereby compelling the admiration of all peoples. Once more we should like to renew to him the assurance that he will always have the active support of the Mauritanian Government in the struggle that is being waged with courage and perseverance for respect for the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter, for the maintenance of peace and for harmony among nations.

101. One of my delegation's reasons for feeling gratified at the outset of the work of the twenty-third General Assembly session has been the admission of a new African State, Swaziland, to membership in the great United Nations family. It is our pleasant task to extend the warmest congratulations of the people and Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania to the people and leaders of that sister State. We are convinced that the people and Government of Swaziland will overcome every difficulty and obstacle to make a valuable contribution to the struggle that is being resolutely waged by our African brothers for liberation from Portuguese colonialism, *apartheid* and the illegal and racist Salisbury régime.

102. My delegation enthusiastically welcomes Equatorial Guinea's impending accession to independence. We are pleased at the sincere co-operation the United Nations has received from Spain, the administering Power, throughout the peaceful process that will in a few weeks raise Equatorial Guinea to the rank of a sovereign State. The Spanish Government and people have set a fine example of respect for the right of peoples to self-determination, one that we are sure will be followed by other countries in the near future.

103. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania, a meeting-point where all African races and philosophies fertilize and enrich one another, aspires to be a unifying force for agreement and understanding in Africa, thereby helping to draw men together and to maintain peace. That ambition was emphasized by the Mauritanian Head of State in January 1968 when he addressed the third Congress of the Mauritanian People's Party in these words:

“Mauritania may be said to have the vocation of a labourer in the cause of African unity. Being both African

and Arab, it is a link between white and black Africa. Mauritania has never regarded its adherence to that dual historical and cultural tradition as a choice, but rather as a fulfilment.”

104. The Mauritanian people's deep devotion to the fundamental principles of our Organization's Charter arises out of its acute sense of justice and dignity, one of the most characteristic values of Mauritanian society. In other words, racial or religious prejudice is completely foreign to our attitude towards the serious problems that trouble the world in which we live.

105. As a small country, a non-aligned country and an active member of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Islamic Republic of Mauritania is determined to stand firmly alongside peoples struggling against the forces that imperialism is hurling, with brutality or cunning, against those who are resisting the domination and enslavement of mankind. Once again we declare from this rostrum that we unhesitatingly and actively support peoples struggling in defence of their dignity and freedom, their territorial integrity and their independence. That position is in keeping with the deepest hopes of the Mauritanian people. At the same time it is in complete accord with the principles enshrined in the Charter of the Organization of African Unity.

106. Even more recently the African Heads of State, faithful to their decision made a year ago at Kinshasa,³ convinced of the common destiny of the developing nations, and guided by the fundamental principle of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, condemned for the same reasons at Algiers, during the fifth OAU summit Conference,⁴ the odious aggression perpetrated by the Israeli forces against the United Arab Republic, the military occupation resulting from it, and the insane undertaking of the secessionists whose actions, counter to African interests, are plunging a part of the Nigerian people into a tragic situation.

107. In the face of the tragic situation in Nigeria, Africa is not silent, inactive or indifferent. No African can remain unmoved by these events. When African blood is shed, every African must react.

108. We do not believe that the best way to find a solution to that serious and tragic conflict is to take a stand in favour of one or the other party. We understand humane motives and we support that international morality which is aroused by the war victims. However, we unhesitatingly condemn the organizations and the press whose intention is to side with eastern Nigeria against the Federal Government, using those noble humane motives as a pretext, and thereby delaying the solution of that serious and painful problem. Africa is already balkanized; it cannot be further split up without the risk of perishing for ever. It is hard for us to accept the theses of those who justify secession by ethnic origin, religion or, where need be, tribalism. After

³ Fourth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held from 11 to 14 September 1967.

⁴ Fifth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held from 13 to 16 September 1968.

all, do the citizens of any nation in the world all belong to the same race or profess the same religion? Furthermore, as both past and recent history have shown, it is extremely dangerous to state problems in terms of race or religion.

109. We are aware that the concept of nationality is not yet as firmly fixed as we might wish in most African countries. How could it be, when the African continent is barely emerging from a long colonial darkness and has scarcely begun to be aware of its opportunities and responsibilities? The Organization is in duty bound to assist and support those young and still fragile nations, not to help to sunder them. The developed countries, in their own long-term interest, should want to have real partners in Africa rather than to add to instability and to political and economic deterioration. In other words, my Government expresses the hope of seeing the developed countries take a solid and sane view of their own interests and refrain from further complicating the painful problem created for the Government of Nigeria by the insane attempts of the secessionists, the problem to which the Federal Government and the Organization of African Unity are trying to work out a solution.

110. Now that the forces of violence are being increasingly unleashed against the freedom, independence and progress of nations, the common destiny shared by the countries of the third world is taking on a deep significance.

111. Serious violations of the principles of sovereignty, the territorial integrity of every State and the right of peoples to self-determination are being committed in Africa, in the Middle East and in South-East Asia.

112. With regard to the Middle East, the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania has already had the opportunity during this Assembly's fifth emergency special session [1531st meeting] and during its twenty-second session [1582nd meeting] of stressing the serious concern caused to the Mauritanian people and Government by the Israeli aggression and its aftermath. That unequivocal position remains unchanged. And now that all peace-loving peoples in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe are stupefied by their growing awareness of the vastness of the shameful conspiracy woven by international Zionism and its supporters against the freedom and territorial integrity of the United Arab Republic, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the Syrian Arab Republic, in flagrant contempt of United Nations Charter principles, we wonder with amazement how much longer the United Nations will allow itself to be kept impotent. Everyone is aware that the extortions of all sorts and the depredations that the Zionist leaders of Tel Aviv have been practising with impunity for more than fifteen months in the occupied territories are creating an intolerable situation in the region, full of threat to world peace and security.

113. In face of the arrogance and contempt with which the Zionist authorities are responding to the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, it behoves the Organization to take all the specific measures needed to compel respect for its decisions.

114. During the twenty-second session the head of the Mauritanian delegation said from this very rostrum:

"The friends of Israel ought to remind the Israeli authorities that the human and material resources of the

Arab nation will enable it, though today deeply wounded in its flesh and dignity, to rise again in power after many defeats.

"Our analysis of the serious situation in the Middle East leads us to state that the essential prerequisite for some chance for success in examination of the complex problems of that region remains the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Arab territories occupied since the aggression of 5 June." [1582nd meeting, paras. 52 and 53]

115. The serious crisis created in the Middle East by the Israeli aggression of 5 June does not cause us to forget the serious situation in the Far East.

116. The Mauritanian delegation hails with admiration the heroic and successful resistance opposed by the courageous people of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the National Liberation Front to the immense resources that the world's largest Power is committing against a whole people's legitimate aspirations to freedom, independence and sovereignty. The Viet-Nam war is one of the most savage examples of violation of the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States. The American aggression in Viet-Nam, in my delegation's view, is one of the most serious threats to the maintenance of world peace.

117. We join the many delegations that have already spoken in thinking that immediate and unconditional cessation of the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is the first indispensable step towards the re-establishment of peace in that region. In any event, we are convinced that the just cause of the Vietnamese people will triumph.

118. The delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania now wishes to reaffirm its conviction of the necessity of proceeding without delay to restore the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. In fact the great Chinese nation, one and indivisible, grown to a nuclear Power, has earned for itself a place of prime importance and growing support on the international scene. We reject the two-Chinas theory that some speakers are attempting to establish within our Organization.

119. As for the Korean question, the Mauritanian delegation shares the opinion that foreign troops must be withdrawn without delay and the Korean people enabled to exercise its rights and to choose its own future.

120. Faithful to the principle of non-alignment, and holding respect for the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States to be essential, the Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania is bound to deplore the intervention and maintenance of foreign troops in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. In the interests of peace my Government expresses the hope of seeing that serious crisis resolved speedily and in conformity with the desires and higher interests of the Czechoslovak people.

121. My delegation desires to remind this Assembly that colonialism and its results continue to present problems that concern Africa.

122. The unholy alliance of Portugal, the *apartheid* régime and the illegal minority and racist Salisbury régime con-

tinues to commit desperate and criminal acts against the legitimate desires of the African peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Rhodesia. An urgent appeal should be made to all countries—in particular the NATO Powers—to refrain from providing Portugal with the financial and military assistance that enables it to massacre African patriots.

123. In the Rhodesian affair the heaviest responsibility falls on the United Kingdom. My delegation considers that the United Nations ought to ensure that the United Kingdom fulfils its obligations to the Zimbabwe people, who are kept in inhuman and degrading conditions by the illegal racist régime of Ian Smith. The brother people of Zimbabwe, aware that they must first of all rely on themselves, have already begun to free themselves. The Mauritanian Government and people intend to lend them their active and unreserved support within the African Liberation Committee, an organ of the Organization of African Unity.

124. South Africa still disdainfully ignores United Nations resolutions. Every Member of this Assembly is aware of its illegal attitude towards Namibia.

125. In all those areas of the world where peace is being threatened, whether in the Middle East or in southern Africa, our Organization must in order to restore security be able to compel respect for the principles of the Charter and to ensure that its decisions are carried out.

126. Moreover, the Mauritanian delegation is greatly concerned at the serious economic and social problems with which the developing countries are tragically being threatened.

127. In that area, which is vital to the maintenance of peace and harmony among nations, the necessary co-operation of the developed countries is sorely lacking. The achievements of the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development⁵ are disappointing in many respects. The Secretary-General states as much in the introduction to his annual report on the Organization's activities:

“The concerted effort necessary for any effective attack on the problems of under-development did not prove possible at New Delhi. Hence, the achievements of the second session of the Conference were very limited. Its proceedings and decisions suggest that the political will to work towards concerted action, which constitutes the mainspring of international economic co-operation, was lacking.” [A/7201/Add.1, para. 84]

128. The Mauritanian delegation is obliged once again to point out that in social and economic development the gaps that exist between the “haves” and the “have-nots” and are already a disgrace are continuing to widen. It is to be hoped that the competition among the great Powers may extend to the peaceful and ennobling area of scientific research for improving man's lot, whoever and wherever he may be. Our century should no longer tolerate the gigantic disparity that exists between the astronomical sums devoted to mur-

derous weaponry, for immediate use or stockpiling, and those spent on better conditions for the unjustly deprived. As we know, nearly \$200,000 million is spent each year on weapons, while the transfer of capital from rich to poor countries does not even amount to \$10,000 million.

129. The delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania ventures to hope that all Member countries will act together to establish a real dialogue and true co-operation in social and economic development, which is the essential condition for maintaining peace and harmony among nations.

130. With regard to our continent we Mauritians feel that, in order to respond to that need for economic development, action should be taken along three principle lines on the understanding that any action, to be successful, must be based on a very clear political determination to give first priority to Africa's benefit.

131. First and foremost, subregional or interregional economic groups must be set up. We of Mauritania have joined with our brothers of Guinea, Mali and Senegal to form the Union of Riverain States of the Senegal River. The Union's aim is to act jointly for navigation on the Senegal River, for control of the major endemic diseases, and for science and culture. It will co-ordinate the national planning of our four States to achieve as much industrial specialization as possible in accordance with essential economic criteria. Moreover, the flow of subregional trade will be increased.

132. In January 1969 Mauritania, with its sister States of Algeria, Mali and Niger, will also initiate the Organization of the Senegal Riparian States. Moreover, with its sisters Mali, Senegal and Guinea and all the West African States, it has helped to establish the West African Regional Group. We feel that that action, first subregional and then regional, is a positive contribution towards co-operation and the economic liberation of the continent.

133. Secondly, on the principle that Africa's economic liberation must be continent-wide, we are recommending that contacts be established among the continent's various sub-groups and regional groups. That is our second proposal. For our part, it seems to us evident that ever closer and more frequent contacts should be established among the continent's various regional groups within the Organization of African Unity. We therefore consider it essential that fruitful contacts should be established at the outset among those groups, both the Maghreb group and those of West and East Africa. Those contacts must be created to co-ordinate the action of the groups so that they may share their experiences, and especially so that they may plan continent-wide action towards our ultimate goal: African economic unification and consolidation.

134. Thirdly, we recommend the conclusion of trade agreements among African States as a method, additional to the two already mentioned, of freeing Africa's economy.

135. Lastly, it is necessary to co-ordinate the attitudes of Africa with those of Asia and Latin America. Mauritania is therefore pleased at the establishment of the Group of Seventy-Seven, and has great hopes that it will do much to settle the great questions with which the third world is rightfully concerned.

⁵ The session was held at New Delhi from 1 February to 29 March 1968.

136. In this International Year for Human Rights, the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the Government and people of Mauritania fervently hope that the labours of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly will reduce tension and lead to peace and a better life for mankind.

137. Mr. CAGLAYANGIL (Turkey) (*translated from French*): Mr. President, allow me at the outset to express my delegation's special pleasure at the election of the Guatemalan Minister for Foreign Relations, Mr. Arenales, to the presidency of the General Assembly. I should like to extend to him my heartiest congratulations on that token of esteem and confidence given him by the Members of this Organization. There is no doubt that the General Assembly will need all Mr. Arenales's statesmanship to accomplish its work and confront the challenge offered to it by the complexity of the various international problems. I assure him of my delegation's support and co-operation in the fulfilment of his task.

138. I should also like to pay tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Manescu, who led our deliberations with skill and distinction during the last session of the General Assembly, which will surely have a special place in the history of our Organization. We are all beholden to him for the untiring efforts he put forth in the cause of world peace throughout the year of his presidency.

139. This year we are meeting with our thoughts deeply concerned by the serious, indeed grave, events that mark the development of international relations. Several of the speakers who have preceded me at this rostrum have rightly stressed their concern at the virulence that has been injected into the international political scene by those events and those conflicts. We cannot overemphasize their effect on international stability, which itself is all too delicately balanced. We in the United Nations have the moral obligation to examine closely all the evils that are poisoning the life of the international community in order to isolate and begin to eradicate them from the realm of human and international relations.

140. Today we are witnessing a series of distressing events and developments, ranging from the policy of *apartheid* to the use of force for territorial conquest or the settlement of disputes. It is extremely painful to watch blows directed against human dignity and the universal principles that govern relationships between sovereign and independent countries. We cannot be content with enunciating principles; we must also mobilize our efforts to ensure respect for them by all countries and throughout the world. The International Year for Human Rights affords us a good opportunity to remind ourselves of the urgent need to act on principle. As we detest slavery, so we must take alarm at the attempts that some are making to impose their will on others by force or accomplished fact. The Organization has always attached prime importance to the eradication of *apartheid* wherever it still exists; that is a noble task to which my country has lent its wholehearted support.

141. The eradication of the last vestiges of colonialism is another subject that has continued to occupy this Assembly's attention and has called for continual efforts by our Organization. It is true that enormous progress has been

made towards that goal. However, that is not enough. As we become a great family of independent countries, we are bound to ensure that its members learn to join forces in building an international order that will enable them to live in security and to develop mutually advantageous relations.

142. That, indeed, is the reason why Member States have undertaken by the United Nations Charter to act in conformity with certain fundamental principles, such as the sovereign equality of all countries, the settlement of international disputes through peaceful means, and abstention from the threat or use of force.

143. It should also be noted that in 1965 the General Assembly adopted a declaration on the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty [*resolution 2131 (XX)*]. Unfortunately, deeds have not always conformed to those principles. That poses a serious problem which must concern all States, large and small, that have undertaken the duty to promote the purposes of the United Nations Charter.

144. After those general considerations, I would comment on the salient points of the current international situation.

145. I should like to begin with Europe. I believe that the situation brought about by recent events in Czechoslovakia deserves our special attention. I do not want to dwell on the distressing nature of those events, since my Government has already expressed its views on them. Nevertheless, I want to express my concern at their international effects. We all know that within twenty years European crises brought about two world wars that caused indescribable losses and suffering. Yet the end of the Second World War did not mean the beginning of peace. Europe has since experienced a long period of "cold war". Later, when certain propitious factors generated and quickened trends towards reducing European tensions, we welcomed those trends with relief. Distrust began little by little to give way to a better understanding among European countries owing to increased contacts in several areas. There was reason to hope that that happy change in East-West relations would in the end surely create an atmosphere of trust which would in turn facilitate the settlement of the major unsolved problems by bringing about an era of peace and lasting security in Europe. The General Assembly, aware of the importance of increasing contacts and of developing a spirit of co-operation among all European countries, saw fit in 1965 to adopt a resolution [*2129 (XX)*] to further the improvement of good-neighbour relations among European States with different social and political régimes. However, the military intervention in Czechoslovakia seriously affected the trend towards *détente*. Furthermore, there is reason to fear that deterioration of the European political climate will render more difficult the settlement of the problems that are still awaiting solution in other parts of the world.

146. Thus we express the firm hope that it will be possible to promote understanding and relations based on fruitful co-operation advantageous to all European countries and furthering both regional and world peace. Otherwise distrust and discord will again prevail on the European scene and increase the anxieties of a world already bent beneath

the weight of various international conflicts and of an arms race that is hard to check.

147. Indeed, all too many conflicts seriously threaten international peace and stability. Among those the situation created in the Middle East by the war of June 1967 is still a major cause for concern. It is our duty to increase our efforts towards finding a solution to that conflict as soon as possible, especially since opportunities to solve it by peaceful means cannot be considered permanently available. Incidents along the cease-fire line reveal the explosiveness of the present situation. The continuance of the crisis, with the prolonged occupation of the Arab territories and the disregard of the General Assembly resolutions concerning Jerusalem, is a serious threat both to the stability of the region and to world peace.

148. The efforts of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Jarring, and the concurrent steps taken by a number of countries have not so far been crowned with success. The main reason for that situation is the failure to enforce the Security Council resolution [242 (1967)] of 22 November 1967, which nevertheless raised great hopes when it was adopted and is still, in my Government's opinion, the most valuable instrument for settling the problem. It must be noted, furthermore, that the moderation and understanding shown by the Arab countries did not meet the positive response they deserved. We consider that the prospect of a political solution still lies in the success of Mr. Jarring's mission. His wisdom, tact and perseverance deserve all praise.

149. Turkey considers the maintenance of peace and stability in the region one of the basic goals of its policy, and is constantly working in that direction. The Assembly has many times heard statements reiterating our twofold opposition to the use of force and to reliance on *faits accomplis* for the purpose of gaining territory and political advantage. Thus we must do all in our power to ensure application of the Security Council resolution, to end the conflict in the Middle East, and thereby to create a stable state of peace in the region.

150. I come now to a question of direct concern to my country: that of Cyprus.

151. Since the serious crisis of the end of last year, a relative calm has been re-established in Cyprus. The Turkish Government, which welcomed the Secretary-General's appeals and his offer of good offices to pacify the island, is hopeful that pacification will be speeded by his action. Turkey has also favoured bilateral contacts in Cyprus. Current talks between the two communities are aimed at exploring the conditions of a joint life for both communities. Turkey believes that they can achieve satisfactory results if they are based on recognition of the legitimate rights and interests of both the island's communities.

152. We consider that the success of those exploratory talks can open the way to a final, negotiated and joint solution of the problem among all the parties. We are of the opinion that it is extremely important not to allow the opportunity open to us to slip by; for, if that peaceful initiative were to fail, the remaining options would be very limited.

153. Likewise, we sincerely believe that the effective presence of the United Nations Force in Cyprus is of special importance. We should like here to pay tribute to the United Nations authorities for the efforts they have made to maintain normal conditions in Cyprus.

154. I should also like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to the countries that are contributing to the maintenance of the United Nations Force in Cyprus.

155. The situation in South-East Asia still gives rise to concern because of the war in Viet-Nam. We continue to be hopeful that the Paris talks will lead to a political solution of that conflict in the spirit of the 1954 Geneva Accords, so as to restore peace and stability to that part of the world.

156. I feel that the problems now confronting the African continent go beyond the borders of Africa and concern all mankind. For that reason the material and moral support of the international community is of vital importance in solving those problems.

157. I am sorry to note that, since the twenty-second session of the General Assembly, no substantial progress has been achieved in the question of Namibia, which continues to be of serious concern to my delegation, especially since Turkey is a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia. The stubborn refusal of the South African Government to co-operate with the Council in finding a just solution to that problem represents a lamentable attitude about which the General Assembly expressed its deep concern in a resolution [2372 (XXII)] adopted at the twenty-second session. The Security Council must give priority to study of that very threatening situation in order to lay down the steps that must be taken.

158. Another matter, that of Southern Rhodesia, is still causing concern to my Government. In fact the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, under its inhuman policy of racial discrimination, continues to oppress the majority of the country, deprives the Rhodesian people of its right to self-determination, and creates an extremely serious situation that may threaten the peace and security of the African continent. Turkey, which has always supported the resolutions adopted on the question of Southern Rhodesia, finds that attitude intolerable, and considers it necessary to enforce strictly the measures drawn up by the Security Council against Southern Rhodesia and always fully supported by Turkey.

159. In the present international situation, with its serious disturbances, the question of disarmament takes on special importance. The lack of progress towards general and complete disarmament must not discourage us in our efforts. On the contrary, the concrete results achieved with regard to collateral measures should strengthen our determination to continue the pursuit of our goals.

160. I should like here to express my Government's satisfaction at the outcome of the work for the drafting of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)]. We are hopeful that that treaty will be followed by further constructive measures which will help us to advance towards total disarmament.

161. I should now like to express some ideas on the economic problems of developing countries.

162. The first United Nations Development Decade is ending without substantially changing them. The economic growth of the developing countries has not reached the hoped-for rate. The results of the second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development have also been disappointing. The gap that separates rich and poor, instead of decreasing, has continued to widen. In our opinion the lack of a world development strategy has been one of the main reasons for that situation.

163. At present, United Nations organs are carrying out studies of the various tasks involved in preparing the forthcoming Development Decade. The very modest results of the first Decade compel us to be more courageous and precise in formulating the policies and measures to be implemented during that new period, which will doubtless be a decisive phase in the struggle of the less developed countries against the evils of under-development.

164. Some of the great economic problems confronting developing countries are of special urgency. I should like particularly to mention the concern created by rapid population growth in relation to projected food production. Malnutrition is also raising serious problems, which we feel that the United Nations must carefully examine. I am also happy to express here our appreciation for the joint programmes of technical assistance and pre-investment assistance organized as part of the United Nations Development Programme, whose financial resources must be increased.

165. On the eve of the second Development Decade, we consider the basic task still to be that of formulating a world development strategy based on each country's individual efforts and backed by converging measures and policies negotiated on the various levels of a more active international co-operation. Only through such a policy can we promote efforts aimed at solving the problems of the developing world.

166. Before concluding I should like to express my delegation's sincere welcome to two new Members of our Organization, Mauritius and Swaziland. My delegation extends to them its heartfelt greetings and expresses its satisfaction at this continued growth of our community of independent nations.

167. Whatever disappointment we feel from time to time, I prefer to conclude my statement on a more optimistic note. This regular session of the General Assembly is the twenty-third since our Organization was founded. We know that this Organization, which embodies the ideals of men who desire universal peace and security, has not succeeded in solving the problems that stand in the way of that goal. However, the fact that our eyes inevitably turn to the United Nations each time we face a complicated and threatening situation proves our unbounded confidence in the part the Organization is called to play in establishing a just and lasting international order. We must exert all our efforts to draw nearer to the day when all mankind will begin to enjoy the blessings of that order.

168. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The representative of Pakistan has asked to exercise his right of reply. I call on him.

169. Mr. HANEEF KHAN (Pakistan): The representative of Afghanistan has raised what he has called the question of Pakhtunistan and the right of the people of Pakhtunistan to self-determination. I am a Pakhtun and a member of a part of the population of Pakistan.

170. We constitute an inalienable part of Pakistan. That has been brought about through our own volition. We signified our desire to join Pakistan in a referendum which was held in August 1947 under the auspices of the British Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, who was no great friend of Pakistan. In that referendum Pakhtuns from that area cast 90 per cent of their votes in favour of Pakistan. That is how we came to form part of Pakistan, and we shall ever remain a part of Pakistan. No force or threat of force can establish any other situation, come what may.

171. May I ask who authorized any representative of Afghanistan to claim to speak on our behalf? There are more Pakhtuns in Pakistan than there are in Afghanistan. This so-called Pakhtunistan is nothing more than a figment of the imagination of a small coterie of the ruling clique of Afghanistan. Our brother Afghans, we know, do not associate themselves with it and have the friendliest feelings for the people of Pakistan as a whole and Pakhtuns living in Pakistan in particular. We Pakhtuns have struggled for the achievement of Pakistan; we have fought for it; we have defended its integrity; and we shall continue to do so.

172. I would ask for your indulgence to point out that a distinguished Pakhtun, Field Marshall Mohammed Ayub Khan, today leads the country, and the Pakhtuns of Pakistan are solidly behind him. We Pakhtuns of Pakistan do not need the pleadings of any other self-styled advocate of our right of self-determination, which we have exercised for a long time.

173. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Afghanistan, who has asked to exercise his right of reply.

174. Mr. PAZHAWAK (Afghanistan): I shall be very brief. The representative of Pakistan has exercised his right of reply to what I said. That reply shows that, as I said, the Government of Pakistan denies the demand of the people of Pakhtunistan. That demand is, as I said, nothing but to exercise the right of self-determination. I think that the members of this Assembly know that Pakistan sometimes does base its policy on the right of self-determination—but only when that suits it: in one case.

175. The fact that there are two standards on these questions is proved by the statement made by my Pakhtun brother.

176. He referred to a referendum which took place in 1947. On this also I think an examination of the standard of Pakistan is necessary. We must keep in mind its stand on that referendum which he himself said was held under the auspices of a British Viceroy—I repeat, under the auspices of a British Viceroy. But in another case, for instance, in the case of Kashmir, they forget the four elections which have taken place, and they do not call that the expression of the will of the people.

177. Then he said that in that referendum 90 per cent of the Pakhtuns voted for joining the Pakistan State. There are two questions which should be kept in mind. In the first place, the referendum under the auspices of the British Viceroy offered only one alternative to the people of Pakhtunistan: either to join India or to join Pakistan. There was no other alternative. At that time their claim was to exercise their right of self-determination for the independence of the State of Pakhtunistan. That alternative was not there. And because of that—and one can consult the records of that time—50 per cent of the population of Pakhtunistan boycotted the referendum; they did not take part. And to say “90 per cent of the remainder” is not true.

178. Then he said that he was a Pakhtun. There is no doubt about it. I am glad that he is. But I said that the question was a dispute between the people of Pakhtunistan and the Government of Pakistan, and he obviously is a member of the Government of Pakistan. He said that the President of Pakistan is a distinguished Pakhtun. I admit that too. His Excellency General Ayub is a Pakhtun. But that does not mean that the right of the people of Pakhtunistan is not violated or denied under his Presidency.

179. Also we should not forget that, the other day, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan was complaining to this Assembly about the rights of Muslims in India. My friend forgets that a distinguished Muslim is the leader of India. Why does that not make any difference to Pakistan?

180. As I said, I shall be very brief. We do not interfere in this matter. It is a dispute between the people of Pakhtunistan and the Government of Pakistan. It is based on the right of self-determination, and we support the right of self-determination in all parts of the world.

181. That is the main point that I should like to make. Afghanistan has no demand of territory or population. That should be made clear. If all Pakhtuns like my friend who spoke here wish Pakhtunistan to be a part of Pakistan, we will be the first country to recognize that—if a referendum is held now to ensure the right of self-determination of these people. We shall accept their joining with Pakistan, or any other decision they may make. We will be the first to recognize that. But of course we would like it to be under the auspices of a different body—the United Nations—or there could be some other arrangements. But the referendums that have taken place under the auspices of a British Viceroy, with whom these people have fought for two centuries, are not referendums that we would go by.

182. I appeal to your good sense. It is only because we do not speak very much that our case is going to be ignored. All that I did in my statement was to give a warning. The situation is serious. I still try to hope that the Government of Pakistan will realize the gravity of the situation. Otherwise, I will at least have one excuse—that I have come before you and told you the facts.

183. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The representative of Pakistan has asked to speak again in exercise of his right of reply.

184. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): I shall be very brief. The Ambassador of Afghanistan said first of all, in his right of reply, that Pakistan denies the demand of the people of

Pakhtunistan. Who is making this demand on behalf of the Pakhtuns? Not the Pakhtuns themselves, but the representative of Afghanistan.

185. Now, it is true that Pakistan has espoused the right of self-determination of peoples. We have done so for twenty years. We shall continue to do so. The representative of Afghanistan accused us of adopting a double standard. We do not adopt a double standard. We believe that when the time came for the British Indian Government to liquidate its responsibility for the government of the British Empire of India, it initiated a process of negotiation with the leaders of the two major parties in India, the Congress and the Muslim League. And as a result of the agreement reached between them, the process of transfer of power was laid down in an elaborate instrument enacted by the British Parliament called, “The Indian Independence Act, 1947”.

186. The representative of Afghanistan has taken exception to the fact that the referendum in the Northwest Frontier Province of the then British India was held under the auspices of the British Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten. May I point out to him that the power was then held by the British Governor-General and Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, and it is a matter of record that he did his best to kill the very idea of Pakistan. It was under the presidency of that Viceroy that the whole Indian Empire was liquidated and power transferred to the Congress over the greater part of India, and to the leaders of the Muslim League over what is now Pakistan. The entire process of self-determination of India and Pakistan took place under the presidency of the British Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, who, subsequently, was so much in the confidence of the leaders of the Government of India that they made him, that British Viceroy, their first Governor-General and Head of State.

187. Now, how can exception be taken to the fact that a referendum was held under the Government of India which was then controlled by the British Viceroy? Various referendums were held in other parts of India by the British Government of India, in the process of the self-determination of the various parts of what is India and Pakistan, referendums or elections were held or the verdicts of the provincial legislative assemblies elected by the people were given, and all these took place under the auspices of that British Viceroy. How can you challenge the result of the referendum in the area which is now Pakhtunistan, so-called, while accepting the result of the referendums held under the same auspices in other parts of India? We do not adopt double standards. We stand for the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. Let me say that the question of Jammu and Kashmir is before the United Nations by virtue of an agreement between India and Pakistan to refer that issue to this Organization; and the right of self-determination to be exercised by the people of Jammu and Kashmir in specific, concrete terms, and the modalities of that exercise of the right of self-determination, were embodied in agreements negotiated under the auspices of the Security Council between the representatives of Pakistan and India. They were embodied in that international instrument, and when we raise the question of the self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, we refer to that international agreement, embodied in United Nations resolutions, as a basic document.

188. That is quite a different matter from the so-called right of self-determination of the people of Pakhtunistan, because they voted in a referendum and if, under the influence of certain leaders, some elements boycotted the referendum, that did not invalidate the process.

189. May I say, too, that the Government in power in the so-called area of Pakhtunistan just before the referendum took place was headed by Dr. Khan Sahib, whose brother is now in Afghanistan, claiming to be the leader of the Pakhtuns and carrying on propaganda and subversion against Pakistan. He has been doing this for twenty years, and now he has made the capital of Afghanistan his base. It was that man's brother, Dr. Khan Sahib, who was in power, and it is very interesting for this Assembly to know that at that time, neither Dr. Khan Sahib nor his brother, Abdul Zafar Khan, who is in Kabul, raised the question of Pakhtunistan or the self-determination of the Pakhtun people. They declared that they were for one India, a united India. They said the two, Pakhtuns and Indians, were one nation, members of one united nation. It was only afterwards, when the Pakistan movement gathered momentum, as was inevitable, and the British agreed, against their will, to transfer power, that they raised the question of a separate identity for the so-called Pakhtun people. Before that, they had maintained that these people were part and parcel of the single nation of India.

190. There is a clear difference between a plebiscite or a referendum, and elections. The two ought not to be confused. The point is that a referendum was held in the area of Pakistan we are referring to on the specific issue of whether it should become part of Pakistan or part of India, and the overwhelming majority of the people who voted expressed themselves for Pakistan. The representative of Afghanistan maintained that no choice of independence was given to the people of the area. It may be recalled that the entire process of negotiation between India and Pakistan was on whether one or two states should be created. The whole subcontinent of India compromises many ethnic groups, with peoples speaking diverse languages. According to the authorities, there are over 220 languages and dialects in India, and the people belong to practically all the ethnic strains and include a great majority of the races of the world. When it came to the question of the future of this area, it was considered that it should be on the basis of a single India or India and Pakistan, according to the wishes of the people.

191. Our State is based on the concept of nationhood which transcends the barriers of race. We are not a racist State, we are not a linguistic State; we are a pluralistic State. In our country there are many languages. There are two official languages, and there are many other languages which have considerable literatures of their own. We recognize that our nationhood is based on a wider concept than that of race or linguistic unity. Therefore the people of this area we are speaking about, the area of the so-called Pakhtunistan, decided to join Pakistan.

192. I should like to make it clear that the representative of Pakistan who spoke before me is not a member of the Government of Pakistan. He is an elected representative of the people of the area that is called Pakhtunistan and he is a member of the National Assembly of Pakistan.

193. I do not wish to enter into an argument with the Ambassador of Afghanistan about the treatment of the Muslims in India. Certainly we should like to know if thousands of riots have taken place in the areas where the Pakhtun people live in Pakistan as they have taken place in India; and if we have raised the question of the Muslim minority in India, it is again by virtue of an international agreement between India and Pakistan, signed at New Delhi on 8 April 1950, known as the Liaquat-Nehru Pact, under which both Governments agreed that the treatment of minorities in either country is the concern of the other. It is under that international instrument that we have brought up this matter and we have done so in pain and anguish because of the recurrence of those incidents. We hope that they will be ended.

194. Thus, there can be no comparison between the two situations, and we think that it is really regrettable that the representative of Afghanistan should have tried to bring up this issue, that he should have tried to make a case—which should be left rather to those more immediately concerned—to place before this Assembly.

195. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The representative of Afghanistan wishes again to exercise his right of reply. I call on him.

196. Mr. GHAUS (Afghanistan): The representative of Pakistan raised matters of detail to which we do not wish to reply at this stage. The hour is very late. We want to reserve our right to reply to his statement after a thorough examination of it in the verbatim record of the present meeting.

197. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I call on the representative of India, who has asked to exercise his right of reply.

198. Mr. PARTHASARATHI (India): I too shall be very brief. The representative of Pakistan has once again talked of the right to self-determination of the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir. We shall examine his statement when it is available in the verbatim record, and shall reply if necessary.

199. But I want to clarify one point immediately. The representative of Pakistan said that the question of Jammu and Kashmir is before the United Nations by virtue of some agreement between India and Pakistan. I should like to remind him that what was brought before the Security Council was the aggression of Pakistan against India. The matter was brought by India and it is still there. Let the representative of Pakistan not forget it.

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.